

# Keep Left

UNITES APPRENTICES • YOUNG WORKERS STUDENTS • UNEMPLOYED AND IMMIGRANT YOUTH



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for details of  
Conference and  
application  
form**

**invites all  
its readers to  
the 9th annual  
conference of  
the Young  
Socialists**

**Further  
reply to  
Monty Johnstone's  
slanders on  
Trotskyism  
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Morecambe—

April 5 & 6, 1969

# Capitalism

# A MARXIST ANALYSIS

## The second of the questions and answers articles by PETER JEFFRIES on capitalist production and exploitation

**Q** Can you explain why there has been a rapid increase in mergers and take-over bids in recent months?

**A** IN its early days, during much of the 19th century, capitalism was a highly competitive system. That is, in most branches of industry there were usually many small firms, none of which controlled a large share of the total market.

But as Marx showed in his book 'Capital', as the system developed, this position tended to turn into its opposite. Through the constant struggle between the owners of capital for profits and preservation against their rivals, the number of firms in each industry tended to decline. Monopoly tended to replace competition.

This drive towards mergers and monopolization is especially strong during periods of difficulty and crisis for the capitalist system.

Thus throughout the post-war boom many relatively small firms managed to survive, taking their part in the expansion of the entire system.

Once the rate of expansion slows down, all the weaknesses of the smaller branches of industry and finance tend to be exposed.

They are increasingly swallowed up by their larger and more powerful rivals. This competition between the owners of capital is of course international.

The recent wave of take-overs in the British economy is part of this growing international rivalry between the capitalist economies as they face growing difficulties at the end of a long post-war boom.

In particular, there is enormous pressure upon the European industrialists and financiers in the face of growing competition from the American monopolists. Thus the merger, last year of BMH-Leyland, AEI-GEC, as well as the rapid concentration in banking, represents the opening of a new stage in the relations between the capitalist states and between the working class and the capitalist class.

**Q** THE words 'capitalism' and 'imperialism' are often used in economic discussion. Is there any difference between these two terms?

**A** YES. In its early stages capitalism played a revolutionary role. The new capitalist system of production, starting in Europe at the end of the 18th century and early in the 19th century (the period of the 'Industrial Revolution' as it is known) was destined from the very start to become a world system.

Capitalism was ultimately to bring the whole world market under its domination in a system of trade, finance and division of labour.

All previous systems which existed at this period were broken up and brought under the sway of this new capitalist world market.

Although industrial capitalism first started in Britain, the new system of production also de-



## The Industrial Revolution of the late 18th and early 19th centuries saw the development of the new capitalist system.

veloped, but at a later stage, in other parts of the world, notably the rest of Europe, North America and Japan.

These became the Great Powers which were ultimately to divide the world up between themselves.

By the close of the 19th century this stage was, in effect, completed. At this point, capitalism had fulfilled its historical mission. This new stage of capitalism Marxists refer to as imperialism.

It was the highest stage capitalism could achieve in this historical sense. In the 19th century, capitalism had been able to advance mankind with enormous rapidity. In spite of the great human suffering involved, wealth had been accumulated at an enormous rate, the population had increased rapidly; the world market had been opened up and all in a relatively short space of time.

In its imperialist stage, capitalism took on a more and more reactionary character. It increasingly became a barrier to progress. The capitalist class could, at this stage, survive only by threatening humanity through war and the preparation for war.

For Marxists, imperialism marked the opening of an epoch of wars and revolutions by the working class.

**Q** CAN you describe the main features of this imperialist stage?

**A** LENIN, in his work, 'Imperialism', provides the classic study of this stage of capitalism. This work was

written in the middle of the First World War.

In his book Lenin outlines five features of this stage of capitalism.

1. The concentration of production and capital develops to a point where monopoly plays a decisive role in economic life.
2. The merging of bank capital with industrial capital and the creation, on the basis of this 'finance capital', of a financial oligarchy.
3. The export of capital, which under imperialism becomes extremely important, as distinct from the mere export of goods.
4. The formation of international capitalist monopolies which share the world market between themselves.
5. The completion of the territorial division of the world among the great capitalist Powers.

**Q** YOU say that, under this stage, capitalism tends towards crisis. Can you explain the basic cause of the series of recurring crises from which capitalism has suffered throughout its history?

**A** THERE is no single cause for these crises. Each crisis from which the system suffers is in a sense unique, with its own history and

particular features. But in general we can say the following about the nature of economic crisis under capitalism.

**1.** CAPITALISM, because it is based on the incessant drive towards accumulation cannot be rationally planned and controlled. Each capitalist can only be interested in the expansion of his capital, if necessary at the expense of his rivals.

This produces a general tendency towards greater and greater unevenness of development between different sectors within any one national economy and between different parts of the world economy.

In other words the capitalist system tends, inevitably, towards disproportionate development, and towards contradictions between the different branches of the economy.

Each branch is interdependent with all others. Motors depends, for example, upon steel, glass, rubber, paint, etc. Unless each of these industries is just the 'right' size, so that it slots in with all the others, unbalance and dislocation will occur. Since production only takes place if it can produce a profit, a crisis in one branch—because for example it has over-expanded in relation to the branches to which it sells and on which it depends—can spread to other branches and produce a more general crisis.

In particular, there is a tendency for the proportions between departments one and two to get out of line, that is, the department producing capital goods as against that producing commodities for final consumption on the market.

If the proportions between the branches are 'right', it is a balance achieved only through accident, and not by design.

In a period of general upswing, such as that occurring after 1945, these dislocations and potential breakdowns tend to be ironed out or damped down. Once the rate of expansion slows down, and even more when there is a general turn-down, the dislocations in any one branch threaten much more, not to remain isolated problems, but to spread into a general crisis which can ultimately engulf the whole system.

**2.** AS we saw earlier, there operates throughout the accumulation process under capitalism, a tendency for the rate of profit to fall. We need not say any more about the operation of this law. But once more, this law does not develop mechanically. For long periods, although this law of capitalism continues to operate, it does not necessarily assert itself openly.

For example, the capitalists may take action which temporarily overcomes the operation of the law; credit may be expanded, monopolies may keep up prices and hence profits. In other words, the law asserts itself at critical points, asserts itself through crisis. Once the turn-down comes, it is all the sharper and more dramatic in its impact because its operation was, in a sense, 'suspended' throughout the period of boom.

**3.** FINALLY, capitalism does not merely involve the problem of creating surplus value out of the labour of the working class. This surplus value has to be realized upon the market. That is, the commodities in which this surplus value is embodied have to be sold for money upon the market.

We saw this in the schema last month,  $M-C-M'$ . Unless the owner of capital can end up with a sum of money  $M'$ , greater than that with which he started, his efforts are in vain.

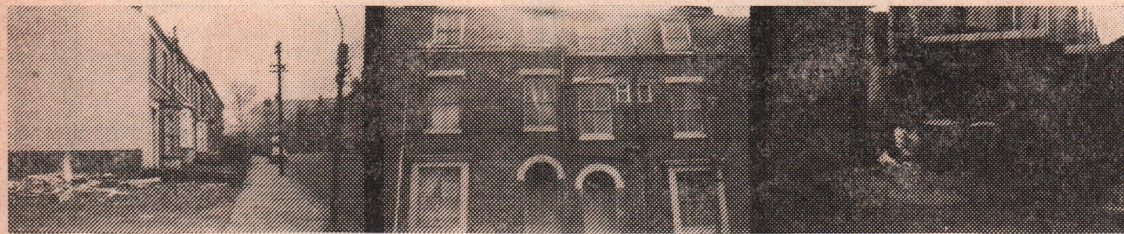
It is no use to him if this money is tied up in a pile of commodities. He must be able to turn these into money capital which can then be re-invested in the next, expanded round of production.

Once more there is no planned relationship between the expansion of 'production' on the one hand and 'consumption' on the other. But unless they expand in line, crises associated with 'realization' can occur and disrupt the whole system, especially bearing in mind that, while production is expanded, the consuming power of the working class is being held down by the bosses.

Two points should be made about this answer. It is presented in highly schematic form. That is, these three 'aspects' of the crisis will, in reality, operate together, in a complex manner. This is only a skeleton guide, as it were. Second, for capitalism, crisis is necessary and inevitable. Because capitalism is not planned, it is not production for use but production for profit, crises are a part of its normal existence.

Crisis are necessary in that they pave the way for a new phase of expansion and accumulation. The deeper and longer-lasting the crisis, the more protracted the boom which follows, and vice versa.

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## Student accommodation Sheffield YSSS fights on political policies

**AT THE START** of the new session last October Sheffield University was still providing its students' accommodation through a bureau run by the authorities—a system it has operated for a long time.

It functions through a warden of lodgings who has a list of approved accommodation for Sheffield students. Each person, however, only has one or two addresses to choose from.

There is no freedom of choice. The situation for first-year students is even worse; they are obliged to live in the university's halls of residence or in approved lodgings.

Both alternatives have great disadvantages—the halls of residence provide accommodation at high prices, anything up to £7 a week in the newest ones. They are so high because of the

services, largely unnecessary, which are offered—daily cleaners and waitress service at meal times.

Whilst in lodgings a student may have to travel five or six miles from the university, or he may have to face the discomfort of studying, or trying to, whilst surrounded by children in the 'approved' abode.

When it was taken up by the student executive council, one member, Pete Beach, obtained over 1,000 signatures calling for a reform of the system. At a Students' Union general meeting Beach proposed a motion outlining various reforms, such as student representation on all university committees dealing with accommodation.

The Young Socialist Student Society put an amendment making the following points:

(i) Freedom of choice for accommodation was desirable but what did it mean? Freedom to live in slums and to choose from a whole range of sub-standard accommodation. As long as there was no basic

standard this would be the situation.

(ii) The real struggle lay in the fact that accommodation was not built for need, for students, or for the general public, it was not rented out at rates which students could afford.

The amendment called for the nationalization of the building industry and the banks.

The fact that the government's University Grants Commission had already turned down a request for more money to build accommodation showed that the real fight was against the government and its policies.

Finally the amendment called for the requisition of all empty office blocks in the city for use as accommodation until adequate lodgings were built.

There was opposition to the amendment and the Students' Union bureaucrats denied that there were any political issues involved.

But although the amendment was defeated at this meeting the YSSS was able to prepare for the next stage of the campaign which was at the Student Rep-

resentative Council.

A second YSSS amendment was accepted by the council. This led to the setting up of a committee of inquiry into the standard of accommodation. It consisted of seven students, two of whom were YSSS members.

The Young Socialist Student Society put out a leaflet explaining that the fight for real student representation was not over on the university committees.

It pointed out that all that had been achieved so far was a student majority on a sub-committee of a sub-committee of a committee of the Senate. Meanwhile a group calling itself 'October 14', a collection of students who had decided to campaign on the accommodation issue—amongst them a number of revisionists—thought that whole issue was finished after the Student Representative Council meeting.

At the next Union general meeting the YSSS proposed a second motion calling for student representation on all university

committees on the basis of a fight for policies of nationalization of the banks and building societies, the opening of the books of the university bodies to show where the profits go and the opening of the books of the Halls of Residence.

A call was made to all 'left' MPs to fight for such policies.

The motion was carried and a working party of five was set up. It was to meet a committee of the university to discuss the students' demands on accommodation.

The working party, which included a YSSS member, held its own meeting and decided on the proposals which it would put forward.

The university committee consisted of two landladies, a landlord, a representative of the university accommodation bureau and a member of the academic staff.

The working party demanded that the students be allowed to take over the running of the bureau of lodgings with

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## No victimization! Support L.S.E. students!

THREE lecturers at the London School of Economics have been called before a school disciplinary committee. Thirteen students have been served with injunctions by the High Court. These actions arise out of what can only be described as a premeditated provocation involving the Labour government, the police and the university authorities in which gates were installed at certain points in the school to seal one section off from another. Students had voted at a union meeting to take down the gates and proceeded to act on that basis. The police were called in and 36 arrests were made. Keep Left prints below the statement issued by the London School of Economics Young Socialist Student Society because there are serious lessons which must be learned. The Labour government's vicious attack on students in parliament is part of its preparation to act in the factories. This means the question of preparing seriously a disciplined Marxist revolutionary party is the main issue—the only issue today.

The following is the text of a leaflet issued by the Young Socialist Student Society at the London School of Economics:

THE CLOSURE of LSE is not just the decision of Dr. Walter Adams. The government and the ruling class have decided to 'settle' the question of students and student protest. When the new school gates were put up, this amounted to a provocation, from which the closure of the school and rigid discipline could follow: it was 100 per cent in line with the plans of the government—for all the universities and colleges, not just LSE.

Along with this, sub-committees of the Parliamentary Sub-committee on Student Relations are touring the universities and colleges collecting material to broaden the attack.

The disciplinary attacks on students, against a background of rapid deterioration of student living and accommodation standards, are just as deliberate and conscious as the government's proposed anti-union and anti-strike legislation. To save themselves from the growing struggle and force of the working class, as revealed in France last year, the ruling class is seriously and thoroughly making its own preparations.

Among these it needs to guard against the kind of initiative and solidarity with the general public which French students and teachers showed last year.

This is why they have made up their minds to crack down on the students and to change the universities into more strictly disciplined agencies of the ruling class.

They want a right-wing force to help them deal with the workers. This is the meaning of their constantly recurring appeal to 'the moderate mass of students'.

Something much bigger than protest or 'confrontation with authority' is therefore required. Student politics and student actions must be carried out and planned as part of a struggle for this whole class fight, a fight which will centre on the struggle for workers' power.

For that, as the French events last year proved once again, a revolutionary Marxist party is the prime necessity.

Without this party, trained through every phase of the struggle and devoted to the development of Marxist theory, the militancy even of millions will



Whilst police block the entrance to LSE, students march in protest along Aldwych

end only in defeat.

Talk about 'workers' control', 'student power' and 'relations between students and workers in struggle', opposed to this central task of building the revolutionary party, contains enormous dangers.

It is a substitute for Marxist theory, and for the unity of theory and practice.

It leads to a situation where 'confrontations' are engineered without any worked-out strategy, the idea being that the more violent the confrontation the greater the possible impact on other students and on workers. Of course this receives the support of the anarchists and anti-Marxists like Cohn-Bendit and Dutschke, who have abandoned the theory of the revolutionary role of the working class.

Only this class, led by a Marx-

ist party in which students accept their revolutionary, and particularly theoretical responsibilities, can defeat the forces behind the LSE closure.

There is no substitute or short cut which can replace this work of building the party on a basis of Marxist theory.

A great danger results from theories of 'student power' and 'confrontation'. Students go into unplanned actions against an enemy they do not understand, an enemy who prepares on much broader and more thought-out ground.

These students then face repressions which are supposed to heighten consciousness and ignite wider struggles, but their principal effect is to breed disillusionment and 'disappointment' in the working class.

'Confrontation' is essentially a product of the middle-class tradition of protest politics, backed by the crude theory that 'propaganda by deed' will somehow spur on revolutionary struggles by the 'inert' masses.

It is by no means too late to turn the tide. Support for the students of LSE can and must be nation-wide.

We must support the right of students to meet, to organize politically, to use the facilities of universities and student unions without harassment, provocation and repression from the authorities and the government.

A serious fight along these lines will win support from the working class.

This struggle provides the

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**GREECE**

SIXTEEN members of the three left-wing political organizations in opposition to the Greek military dictatorship were sentenced to savagely long jail terms on January 22 and 23.

The 16 were all charged with seditious activity and received sentences ranging from six years to life.

The prosecutor had demanded the death sentence for seven of the 16, who included workers, students and intellectuals.

They were members of the United Democratic Left, the Patriotic Front and the Rigas Ferraias.

The charges ranged from forging documents, printing and distributing leaflets and pamphlets to bomb throwing. During the year in which they were jailed before coming to trial, all 16 were subjected to barbarous torture.

The viciousness of the military dictatorship increases daily, in its attempts to crush the organizations of the Greek working class and students. Yet there is not a murmur from the British Labour government, in spite of the fact that several of its MPs visited Greece recently and described the jails and concentrations camps into which those who oppose the regime are thrown.

**FRANCE**

TWO hundred students were arrested in Paris on January 23 after the police (CRS) had made a baton charge against 1,000 demonstrators.

The students were protesting against the continued presence of large numbers of police in the student quarter of Paris, and also against the threat made that grants and national service deferments would be revoked for student militants.

Police were also called in to forcibly remove 100 students who had occupied the rectorate of the University of Paris.

**SPAIN**

GENERAL FRANCO, fascist dictator of Spain, has declared a three-month state of emergency.

This gives the police rights to search and arrest at will and also to detain indefinitely without trial. Military censorship will be imposed on the press.

Such an action is designed to crack down on the organizations of the working class and the students, in preparation for smashing their living standards.

**POLAND**

THE Polish Stalinist bureaucracy has once again jailed Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski, two young university lecturers.

Both were found guilty of working for a 'hostile political organization' and having sympathies with Trotskyism. They received sentences of three years each.

Whilst not in political agreement with the two jailed men, who characterize the workers' states of Eastern Europe, Russia and China as capitalist countries, we condemn absolutely these acts of repression.

Living daily in fear of the working class the bureaucracy attempts, by jailing its opponents, to halt the developing political revolution in Eastern Europe.

By jailing Kuron and Modzelewski the bureaucrats attack the whole of the international working class, which advances rapidly towards revolutionary struggles. The Young Socialists demand the immediate release of the two university lecturers.

# WORLD NEWS

## NORTHERN IRELAND

FOLLOWING violent clashes recently, the struggle in Northern Ireland moves towards a more extreme stage. Captain O'Neill, the country's Prime Minister, has announced that there will be a general election on February 24 and it is obvious that the Unionists are seeking a new consolidation in order to come to terms with the working class.

Although an uneasy relationship has been established between the Civil Rights movement's leaders and the government it so loudly condemned only a few weeks ago, vital questions are posed for the working class.

**extreme**

In Ulster, because of the centuries of imperialist oppression, all the economic and political problems of British capitalism in crisis are expressed in more extreme form.

Whole sections of traditional industry are in decline and the developing world trade war means the drying up of foreign capital. All the symptoms of decline are accentuated, chronic unemployment, low wages, and undemocratic procedures in order to suppress the working class.

The moderate reforms of the Civil Rights leaders would not satisfy the working class in this

situation and yet O'Neill has been forced to take certain reformist steps at this stage.

Two things are necessary for the ruling class: first the working class's move towards unity, thus breaking through the barriers of religious prejudice, must be halted; secondly the unionist party has to re-establish itself on a firm footing ready to really crack the whip.

Thus, Craig was sacked as Minister of Home Affairs as a warning to the Paisleyites that the opportunist leadership of the working class had to be given time to sell the idea of a 'democratic Ulster'.

Although sharp differences have threatened to split the Ulster party, in essence O'Neill, Craig, the Reverend Paisley and Harold Wilson of the British Labour government all serve the same master, imperialism. Their role is to stabilize capitalism by making the working class pay. The 'moderates' and social democrats simply open the door for the extreme reactionaries.

Complementary to the attempt at stabilization is the setting up of a Commission of Enquiry and the strengthening of the Public Order Act.

The ruling class finds a use in Paisley and his supporters inasmuch as the real attacks on the working class can be buried in a quagmire of Protestant and Catholic religious prejudice.

The role of the Civil Rights leaders in this situation is very revealing. Far from giving any lead to the working class they try to maintain the movement's coalition of middle-class liberals and businessmen.

Their call has been for order

and calm, and an end to all marches.

On the other hand there has been a demand for the occupation of public buildings and for civil disobedience. This has been linked by the press with an alleged captured document of the outlawed Irish Republican Party.

In answer to the push from the middle class the working class has emerged in the last few months as a force quite definitely on the move against the government.

**preparation**

With many thousands now involved in industrial dispute it is clear that the main task is not the building of a bigger and better civil rights movement but the preparation of a revolutionary leadership for the taking of power.

Only such a leadership can cut right across the confusion of the religious bigots and unite the working class behind a programme for a socialist Ireland.

In this way the Young Socialists of Northern Ireland must be decisive and join with the All Trades Unions Alliance and the Young Socialist Student Societies on a programme for:

**A workers' and farmers' government in Northern Ireland breaking from Westminster.**

**Nationalization of the land, industry and the banks.**

**Stop all closures.**

**Guarantee all democratic rights to the working class.**

**Unity of workers in North and South Ireland.**

## TOKYO, JAPAN

### students fight with police

by Rosemary Boxall

1969 has already witnessed struggles of students and workers in every part of the world, reflecting the worsening crisis of international capitalism. Tokyo in Japan has been no exception.

For some years a centre of student activity, the last few weeks have seen a climax in the situation at the university.

On Saturday, January 17, 8,000 policemen stormed the Yasuoka Hall of Tokyo University. Helicopters sprayed liquid tear gas on students during the siege, which lasted 36 hours.

The hall was eventually captured by the police and 768 students were arrested, ending a six-month occupation of the building.

In the nearby Kanda area, students set-up barriers around an area one mile square.

The basic reason for the unrest, which is now affecting 50 Japanese universities, stems from the post-war occupation of Japan by the United States imperialist forces.

The security treaty linking Japan and the United States has brought fears that under Nixon's administration Japan will be expected to play a greater role in the Far East, notably in Vietnam.

In 1960, the first big student protests were staged when the government proposed to renew the defence treaty, and over the American occupation of Okinawa and other Japanese islands. President Eisenhower was successfully prevented from paying a visit to the country.

In education the students complain of corruption in the system of entrance examinations, increases in tuition fees and bad housing conditions. Accusations have been made to the effect that the universities receive financial aid for American-sponsored research work into bacteriological weapons.

During the last year the students have been occupying university premises and on several occasions the police have been brought in against them.

(The leadership is at present concentrated in the hands of the All-Japan Federation of Students' Councils, composed of anarchists, socialists, Maoists and so-called Trotskyists.)

Although the university authorities are prepared to negotiate with the students over a dispute which began with the disciplining of 11 medical students, the government is determined not to give an inch.

However, it must be said that the students of Japan, like those of any country, can only change their educational system by fighting the capitalist government which perpetuates it. That means uniting with the working class in struggle through the building of a revolutionary party.

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA-students win support

by John Edwards

'IT IS better to die standing up than live on your knees'. This poster, carried by thousands through Prague in memory of Jan Palach—the student who set fire to himself and subsequently died—shows clearly the determined struggle of the Czech students and workers.

The march followed reported incidents in which two Russian officers' cars were overturned and a series of hunger strikes and boycott of classes by students was threatened.

**protest**

More than 1,000 people crowded into two university lecture halls to hear speakers protest at the Soviet occupation and the limitations on political freedom.

They also demanded that the elections postponed by the invasion be held and censorship ended within six months.

Thousands of organized workers have joined the students.

Just before the demonstration it was reported that students and writers would be attempting to attain a national organized movement together with workers.

**assurance**

In Red Army Square a Metal Workers' Union member assured the students that the workers were with them. Another union speaker assured the students of full support for all their demands 'because these are also the demands of workers'.

Earlier a conference of printing workers had demanded that there should be workers' control of press censorship.

The trade union newspaper 'Prace' contained a statement from the chairman of the Central Trades Union Council that 'the unions must come to the forefront as an important political force'. He also said that they had the strike weapon and would take political action when it was for the good of the workers.

These actions terrify the leadership of Dubcek and Svoboda who thought that the deals made with the Soviet bureaucracy would be accepted.

The problems which created the Czechoslovakian crisis are not resolved. As the capitalist crisis sharpens so the Stalinist bureaucracies are thrown into

crisis. No new stability is possible.

These bureaucracies, set up after the war by the Stalinists, depend on class collaboration with imperialism. The moves of the international working class put an end to this.

The so-called 'liberal wing' of the Communist Party show their true position in the face of these actions of the working class. They can only bleat about the dangers of anarchy and appeal for loyalty and confidence.

**resolute**

'The Times' reported that Dubcek had 'condemned radical demands put forward outside the mechanism of the national front and promised resolute measures against action and publications at variance with the policy of the Party'.

What have the Young Communist League, International Marxist Group and International Socialism to say now?

Unprincipled politics brought these people together behind Dubcek, who now openly threatens the Czechoslovak working class.

We never supported any illusions in Dubcek or his political stance and will fight bureaucracy in a principled way by building the YS.

# Monty Johnstone— an apologist for Stalinism



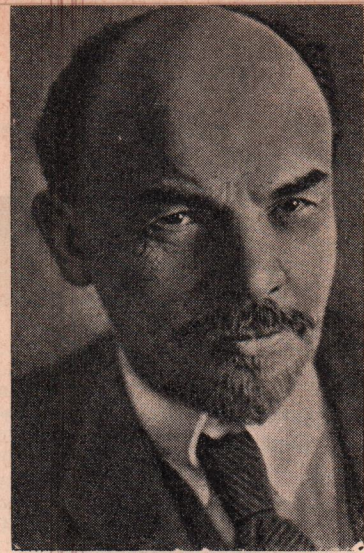
LEON TROTSKY

"In the passing of J. V. Stalin the working people of the whole world have suffered an irreparable loss. . . . No man in our time has done so much as Stalin to change the course of world history through the irreparable loss he has given to the rear and corners 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 conditions 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, firmness 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 nearly 70 years ago: 'Marxism is shorter for 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)

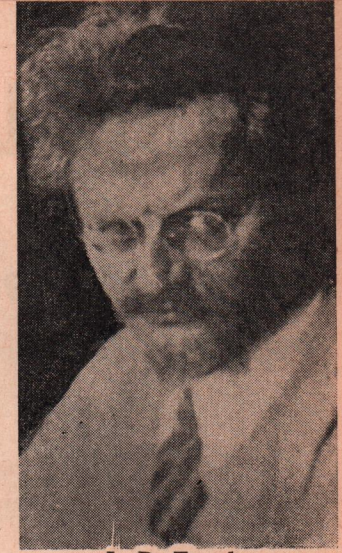
**LEON TROTSKY** founder of the Fourth International - leader of the fight against Stalinism - murdered by Stalin's agent in 1940

**STOP PRESS**—Shelia Tawana, National Secretary of the Young Socialist League, **Keep Left** and Monty Johnstone is quoted as a public, honest Trotskyist.



V. I. Lenin

# Lenin, Trotsky and the Permanent Revolution



L. D. Trotsky

## A further reply to Monty Johnstone

Monty Johnstone's article appeared in 'Cogito', the discussion journal of the Young Communist League.

**TROTSKY'S** most enduring and original contribution to Marxism—a contribution which has not only enriched Marxism but has proved absolutely indispensable for the victory of the working class today—is his theory of Permanent Revolution.

It is logical of course that Monty Johnstone should devote seven pages of his document to an insidious attack against Trotsky's theory—which we shall show to be the only scientific and integrated conception of the Russian Revolution.

Johnstone's aim is to discredit Trotsky's prognosis—made 12 years before October 1917—and resurrect the outworn and untenable thesis of Lenin's 'democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry'.

Why does he do it? Because as Johnstone himself unashamedly admits: 'The significance of this question is not confined to a historical assessment of Trotsky's role in the Russian labour movement up to 1917. We have devoted so much attention (*sic*) to it because his theory of "Permanent Revolution" developed at that time was, as we shall see, to determine all major Trotskyist policies in the future whether it be in relation to the building of Socialism in the Soviet Union, the whole question of allies for the labour movement involved in the strategy of the Popular Front (*sic*) and the resistance movements against Fascism, or the "general trend of revolutionary developments in all backward countries".'

### Implications

This is about as honest a statement as we can expect from an unregenerate Stalinist such as Johnstone and it reveals clearly the implications of this discussion.

Either we uphold the theory of Permanent Revolution in its entirety and go forward to the victorious socialist revolution, or we resurrect the formula of 'democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry' and go back to the reactionary suicidal policies of Stalinism which produced the greatest defeats of the working class in China, Germany, Spain, Greece and Indonesia and a host of other countries.

It is no accident therefore that today, in the epoch of new European Socialist Revolution, every wretched revisionist and reformist group should either be distorting Trotsky's theory—like Mandel does—or denying its validity as Johnstone tries to do.

Indeed the spectre of Trotskyism, despite the efforts of Stalin and his supporters to exorcise it, is stalking the world labour movement!

What was Trotsky's theory that he advanced as a hypothesis in 1904 in his book 'Results and Prospects'? Briefly and simply this:

According to Trotsky, Russia was facing a bourgeois revolution which, once it began, would gain 'final victory only by transferring power to the only class capable of standing at the head of the oppressed masses, namely the proletariat.

'Once in power, the proletariat

not only will not want, but will not be able to limit itself to a bourgeois democratic programme. It will be able to carry through the revolution to the end only in the event of the Russian Revolution being converted into a revolution of the European proletariat.

'The bourgeois-democratic programme of the revolution will then be superseded, together with its national limitations, and the temporary political domination of the Russian working class will develop into a prolonged socialist dictatorship.

'But should Europe remain inert the bourgeois counter-revolution will not tolerate the government of the toiling masses in Russia and will throw the country back—far back from a democratic workers' and peasants' republic. Therefore, once having won power, the proletariat cannot keep within the limits of bourgeois democracy. It must adopt the tactics of Permanent Revolution, i.e. must destroy the barriers between the minimum and the maximum programme of Social Democracy, go over to more and more radical social reforms and seek direct and immediate support in revolution in Western Europe.' (Preface to 'Results and Prospects', pp. 162-163 of 'Permanent Revolution'. New Park Publications Ltd., 1962.)

From this succinct formulation of the prospects of the Russian Revolution two conclusions emerge clearly. The first is that the capitalist revolution in a backward capitalist country, such as Tsarist Russia was in 1904, would lead, paradoxically, not to victory of the capitalist class or the middle class, but to the dictatorship of the working class.

Trotsky based this conclusion on four very important facts: the extreme weakness of the Russian capitalist class, the preponderant role of European finance capital in Russian economy, the massive concentration of the Russian working class in relatively few, but modern, industrial enterprises, which gave this class a striking power and cohesiveness far beyond its numerical strength, and lastly—and most important—the political impotence of the multi-millioned peasantry and the flabbiness of the democratic intelligentsia before Tsarism and the bourgeoisie. Neither of these two groups were capable of playing a leading role in the revolution.

Thus, there is nothing 'absurdly left' as Johnstone alleges, about Trotsky's theory. It was a scientific theory based on a rigorously objective analysis of Russian society and its relation to world imperialism.

The second and even more pertinent

conclusion relates to the connection between the Russian Revolution and the European Socialist Revolution.

Trotsky saw the Russian Revolution as the prologue to the European Revolution.

If the victory of the bourgeois revolution was conceivable only in the form of the dictatorship of the working class leaning upon the peasantry, then the victory of the socialist revolution, which the working class would be forced to inaugurate once it came to power, was conceivable only in the form of the victorious European and, ultimately, the American socialist revolution.

### Conviction

It was Trotsky's profound conviction, which animated all his writings, that the very same relation of forces—the peculiar combination of cultural and political backwardness with modern industry and commerce—which permitted the Russian working class to come to power sooner than any other proletariat, would also obstruct the progress to socialism unless it was assisted by victorious socialist revolutions in Europe—principally Germany.

Trotsky not only understood the uneven development of capitalism, but—and this is what is unique about his analysis—he also understood, more keenly and clearly than any of his contemporaries, the combined development, the interpenetration of backward and modern socio-economic relations in the imperialist epoch and their implications for the revolutionary movement.

And what was Lenin's prognosis? Lenin, as Johnstone readily admits, saw the bourgeois revolution as a necessary and inevitable stage of capitalist development in Russia.

Lenin saw two possible paths of development for capitalism in Russia: either a 'Prussian' solution to the agrarian question, i.e. the creation of a land-owning bourgeoisie with vast estates, and the peasants converted into labourers and semi-serfs, or an 'American' solution, which would lead to the break-up of the big estates and the creation of a large land-owning peasant bourgeoisie.

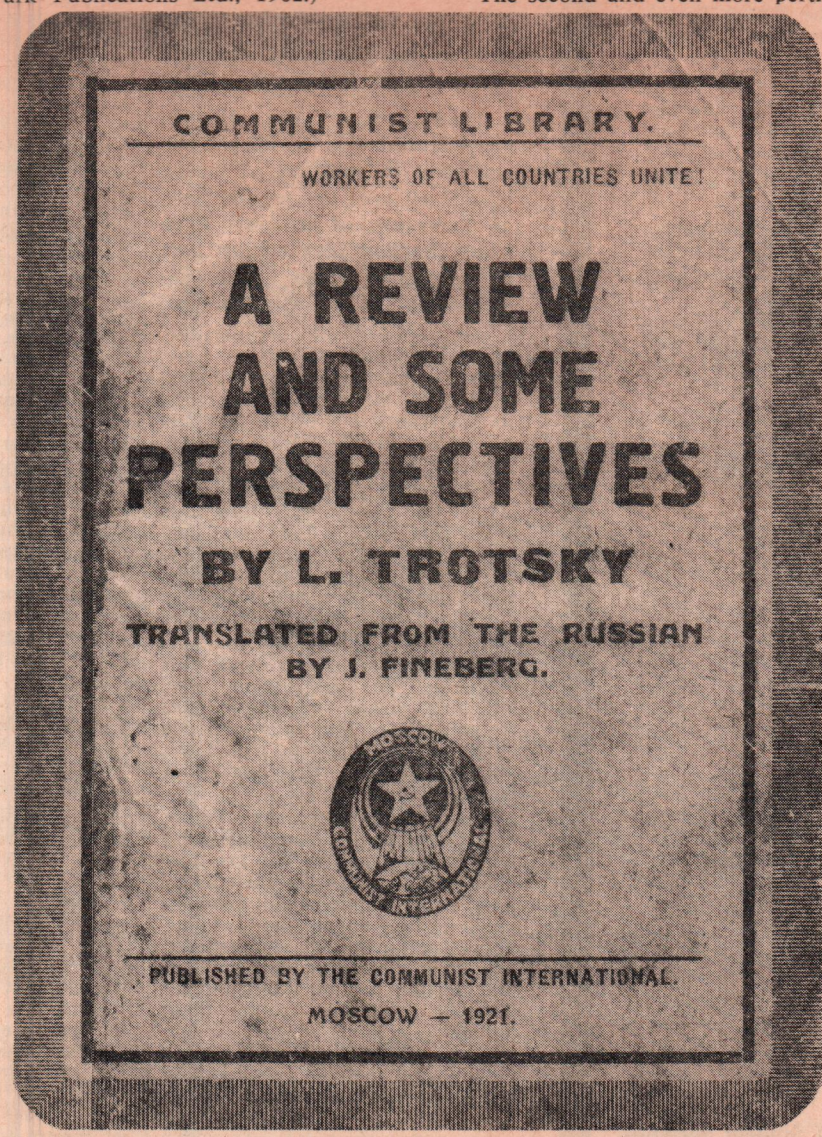
### Suspicion

Lenin was in favour of the second path and rightly concluded that the Russian liberal bourgeoisie would try to prevent such an outcome by striking a bargain with Tsarism at the expense of the people.

He shared Trotsky's hatred and suspicion of the Russian liberals and, contrary to what Johnstone says, he also shared Trotsky's scepticism of the peasants.

Johnstone's attempt to prove Trotsky's 'under-estimation' of the peasantry is pathetic. He states that Trotsky saw an inevitable conflict between the peasantry and the working class once the workers came to power and therefore the working class would have to rely on the support of the European Revolution.

If this seems strange and unreal to Johnstone, let him consider what Lenin had to say. Speaking of the democratic revolution in Russia he wrote in his 'Two Tactics of Social Democracy': *Continued on page 8*



Title page of the Communist International's 1921 edition of Leon Trotsky's 'Results and Prospects' which sets out the theory of Permanent Revolution.

# Keep Left

February 1969

## The relation between racialism and anti-trade-union legislation

**DURING** the winter of 1965, the Young Socialists launched the first national campaign in the labour and trade union movement against what was then the Prices and Incomes Bill.

One of the best-attended national demonstrations and lobbies of Parliament was held on January 26, 1966, and from then on we have never ceased to campaign continuously against government interference with the rights of the trade unions.

In reply to all those who in one way or another tried to ignore or mildly justify the legislation, we explained that once the Capitalist State begins to take legal action against trade unionists then this is a step towards dictatorship.

Here the Young Socialists were doing nothing more than emphasizing a major lesson from history. In this period of the decline of capitalism and the growth of large-scale monopoly, taking place under conditions of increasing economic crisis, it becomes necessary for the state to take steps which eventually could lead to the destruction of the unions, just as it did in Germany when Hitler came to power in 1933. Although the situation is not the same there are important similarities.

In his attack on the German working class and the trade unions, Hitler utilized anti-semitism as a weapon for dividing the working class and opening the gates for fascism.

So too, today, the racialists are fulfilling the same role. We say, that the growth of racialism over the past year is inextricably interlinked with the attacks by the government and the state on the trade unions.

The politics of those who encourage racialism are plain enough for all to see.

Three young Lambeth Tory councillors, well-known for their campaign to prevent immigrants from living in Brixton, have now emerged as strike breakers in the official Transport and General Workers' Union dustmen's strike against the Lambeth Borough Council. Racialism leads to strike breaking.

Powellism in the future can only lead to strike breaking and attacks on the unions. The Young Socialists have played an active role in mobilizing the local Lambeth labour movement in support of the dustmen but this is only a beginning.

The fight against the anti-trade union legislation and racialism is the fight to construct the revolutionary party.

Significantly, the 1965 National Conference of the Young Socialists carried a resolution calling for Young Socialists to work along these lines.

Here again, important progress has been made. The Young Socialists have strengthened their position not only amongst their own branches but also amongst many adult trade unionists and leading factory workers.

We are in the forefront of the campaign to establish a daily Newsletter by the end of September 1969.

We are now going all-out to make the February 23 demonstration a national demonstration of young workers and trade unionists, a decisive turning point in the fight to mobilize nationally against the Tories and their Labour government lackeys.

Preparations for the Ninth National Conference of the Young Socialists to be held in Morecambe in April 1969 are now well under way. It will undoubtedly be the most important and best-attended conference in our history.

## Young Socialist summer camp

Saturday, July 26 to Saturday, August 9, 1969

Cost £7 10s. 0d.

does not include fare

East Coast Resort

Discussions — Lectures — Swimming

Film Shows — Dances to top groups

### KEEP LEFT'S EDITORIAL BOARD 1969

Jeremy de Rose—YS National Committee Southern Region

Rex Henry—Southern Region

John Simmance—YS National Committee London Region

Pete Evans—London Region

Ray Efford—London Region

Dany Sylviere—International Youth Commission London Region

Mary Healy—London Region

Chris Bolton—Middlesex Region

Rosemary Boxall—Western Region, Young Socialist Student Societies

George Myers—Yorkshire Region, Young Socialist Student Societies

Re-elected Editor—Aileen Jennings.

# KEEP LEFT ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING 1969 - a year of revolution

1969's KEEP LEFT Annual General Meeting on January 4 proved to be a magnificent success both for our paper and for the Young Socialists.

Seven hundred and fifty readers of the Keep Left and members of the Young Socialists from all over the country pledged unanimous and decisive support to our call to make 1969 a year of revolutionary decision everywhere.

As a good beginning to such a decision we were able to announce that our circulation is only a few hundred short of the 20,000 target we set ourselves at the 1968 Annual General Meeting and we have experienced an all-round increase in finances.

Such a big step forward for our paper shows the growing response amongst working-class youth and students to the policies of the Keep Left and the Young Socialists as the class struggle in Britain gets sharper and clearer.

## Extracts from The Editor's speech at the AGM

KEEP LEFT'S annual meetings are important occasions in which it is possible for us to begin the work of the New Year by a review of past activity in relation to political tasks which lie ahead.

1968 was a year of unprecedented and revolutionary activities by millions of young people all over the world. Tens of thousands of students have been shocked into taking part in struggles they had no knowledge of 12 months ago.

Our sister youth organization and its paper 'Révoltes' were made illegal in France. Along with other leaders of the youth, its leadership was imprisoned for a period during the summer months.

We certainly did not envisage, when we met at this time last year, that before 1968 was out we would be marching and raising funds in support of our comrades locked in struggle against the de Gaulle regime—and yet this is what took place.

1968 was a year of shock and violence; an affirmation that mankind under capitalism has entered into the most serious crisis of its history in which the future of this whole planet is involved.

Keep Left and the Young Socialists have never flinched from facing reality. We say now that just as man has reached the height of technological achievement in the space flight around the moon, so he has also entered the most revolutionary period in the history of mankind, which can be summed up in three words.

### LIFE OR DEATH

It is after all the technological level of the productive forces which lies at the root of this crisis. Private ownership for profit constantly tends to restrict the development of the productive forces in order to maintain

Not only do we start the year with an increase in circulation, but we were able to show the meeting just how we intend to contribute to the development of Marxist theory in the working-class movement in 1969.

Almost the whole of the January issue of the Keep Left, which was on sale at the meeting, was devoted to answering the Stalinist slanders of Monty Johnstone against Trotskyism. In this February issue we have followed this up with a further reply on Trotsky's theory of Permanent Revolution.

More than anything else, the success of our work depends on the way in which we defend and develop Marxist theory against those who attempt to revise it.

Our guest speaker Gerry Healy, National Secretary of the Socialist Labour League, made it clear that the most recent attacks on the working class, through the medium of the BBC and the press, were all part of the employing class's preparation for laws against the unions and the development of a corporate state.

He warned that the working class

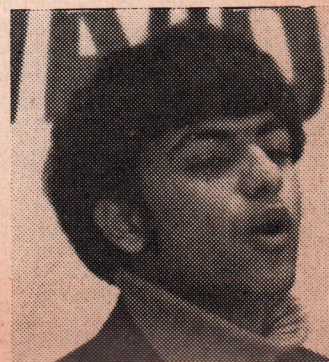
was in the grip of a crisis since the 1960s the crisis at mass unemployment, recession, and up in the air day.

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Winners of the NATIONAL S... at the Keep Left Annual G... (left) from the West Midland

**MORECAMBE VITAL ISSUE**

DISCUSSION at the Young Socialist Annual Conference in Morecambe centre around one main task—a revolutionary alternative to Labour traitors, in preparation of power in Britain out of the capitalist class.

That the Young Socialist branches in the country take this task seriously, the 183 resolutions which have been submitted for the preliminary agenda circulated.

Highfields YS and South London YS both tabled resolutions demanding government's actions in the betrayal of the working class.

'Young Socialists must put pressure on Wilson and his Tory friends', said YS.

In addition to resolutions demanding the repeal of the Incomes Act and the laws against picketing, there are eight resolutions carried by the All Trades Unions Alliance.

An important part of the discussion on the preparation of the daily revolutionary newspaper and 11 branches have submitted questions.

After the success of last year's Conference of apprentices in Morecambe on this day, workers will be able to bring pressure for the development of a future work.

Branches with a particular interest in their area are implementing the Youth International League of Engineers and an immediate wage increase for the nationalization of the banks, workers' control and without the repeal of the Prices and Incomes Act.

Last year the Young Socialist branches in the fight for the engineering industry the productivity 'strikes'

Continued on page eight →

# MEETING Revolutionary decision

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film on the Young Socialists and Keep  
Left was being made by technicians  
sympathetic to our movement.

Paying tribute to work of the YS  
in the fight for a revolutionary daily  
paper, Comrade Healy said that the  
work for the last stage of the £25,000  
Fund must urgently begin.

The answer of our readers and sup-  
porters at the meeting was to give a  
sum of £134 3s. 2d. in answer to an  
appeal by John Simmance.

In concluding this section of the  
agenda three emergency resolutions  
were passed—condemning the persecu-  
tion of Greek Trotskyists, and declar-  
ing solidarity with the struggles of our  
comrades in Northern Ireland and in  
France.

From our Annual General Meeting  
we must go forward to the annual con-  
ference of the Young Socialists at  
Morecambe on April 5 and 6.

On behalf of the editorial board I  
should like to urge all our readers and  
supporters to do their utmost in this  
campaign. It is decisive for the launch-  
ing of the daily Newsletter in 1969  
and the building of a revolutionary  
leadership in Britain. --The Editor



MAKING CONTEST for new members of the Young Socialists, judged  
at Meeting by the YS National Committee. First was Bill Panesar  
second was Irene Kirk (centre), from the North-East coast; third was  
Charlie Skinner (right) from Middlesex.

## CONFERENCE TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

Keep Left Reporter

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For the More-

cambe conference there are many resolutions  
condemning the sell-out of the engineering union  
leadership and explaining the role of so-called  
'lefts' such as the AEF president Hugh Scanlon.

Other industries that will be discussed on the  
agenda are: cars, steel, mining, shipbuilding, fishing,  
transport and chemicals.

On the docks Hull YS demand the repeal of  
Devlin, no sacking or redundancies and the nation-  
alization of the docks under workers' control.

The Young Socialists have had a great deal of  
experience in the fight against racialism and  
fascism. A clear position has always been taken in  
relation to the confusion created by the call for  
Black Power. Brixton YS, who have a large number  
of immigrant workers in their area, have submitted  
that:

'In order to defeat the bosses the working  
class must be united as a class no matter what  
colour. Therefore, the Young Socialists are op-  
posed to both White Power and Black Power.

The discussion on foreign policy will take up  
Northern Ireland, Rhodesia, the Middle East, Viet-  
nam, Greece, the United States and Czechoslo-  
vakia.

Making clear the lessons of the May/June events  
in France last year, Gateshead Young Socialists  
say: 'the Communist Party led the working class  
back into the shackles of the Gaullist dictatorship  
and French capitalism. . .'

South Shields YS takes up the question of youth  
unemployment and the Aston branch demands the  
unity of employed and unemployed workers.

Other resolutions include school leavers and  
recruitment amongst the schools into the YS,  
education cuts, student accommodation and grants.  
There have been many resolutions from Young  
Socialist Student Societies.

In its final section the preliminary agenda  
concerns itself with the building of the Young Social-  
ists and its official paper Keep Left. South Paddi-  
ngton YS has the following to say: 'Young revolu-  
tionary leaders must be educated and trained as  
Marxists on YS committees and federations to lead  
the struggle of the working class in 1969.'

That most certainly must be the basis on which  
the conference goes forward.

MANY young overseas tele-  
graph operators returned  
to work at the end of last  
month after a fortnight on  
strike even more reluc-  
tantly than their older col-  
leagues.

'I think the government was  
forced to back down', com-  
mented one 18-year-old  
telegraphist on February 1,  
'But we should have come  
out in the first place for far  
more than we did.'

This reflects the strong mood  
among a large number of oper-  
ators that while they are back  
at work for the moment, they  
are also poised for further ac-  
tion.

The settlement reached between  
the GPO and leaders of the  
Union of Post Office Workers  
gives the telegraphists a five  
per cent pay increase back-  
dated to August 1, 1968; a fur-  
ther two per cent from April 1,  
1969, for working a new 're-  
ceived revision' procedure; and  
a special allowance for re-  
introduction of the semi-auto-  
matic Overseas Tape Relay  
Unit (OTRU).

Such a percentage increase will  
probably amount to less than  
£1 a week for most young  
operators. It is unlikely that  
this will even compensate for  
the overtime pay they will lose  
as a result of the productivity  
concessions made by the UPW  
leaders.

One feature of the dispute was  
the enthusiastic participation of  
many members of the grade  
who were quite new to indus-  
trial action. Groups of young  
OTOs came on to the picket  
line on a number of occasions  
even without being rostered for  
the duty.

When the UPW called a one-day  
stoppage of all Post Office work-  
ers in 19 cities on January 30,  
the telegraphists were joined  
by postmen and telephonists in  
strike rallies all over the coun-  
try. Hundreds of young tele-  
phonists gave spirited support  
to the OTOs during a rally of  
10,000 postal workers in Lon-  
don.

Wages, both for young OTOs and  
telephonists, are low for what  
are skilled and tiring jobs. At  
strike headquarters a young  
telegraph operator told me:

'We have times when there's  
almost nothing happening, and  
then big hourly rushes when  
you're going so fast you don't  
know what you're doing. If you  
do a week of eight-to-eights  
you're dead at the end of the  
week.'

The incremental scale is very  
long, and a number of young  
OTOs I spoke to during the  
strike felt that one of their  
demands should be for the  
shortening of this scale so that  
telegraphists could earn their  
maximum wage before the pre-  
sent age of 32!

Another young operator reflected  
a common feeling when I  
spoke to him a few days after  
the start of the dispute:

'I was very worried about coming  
out on strike—nobody wants  
to lose money. But now we  
are out, I think we should be  
fighting for something worth-  
while.'

'The strings, for a start, should be  
scotched completely.'

Hours of work are also a prob-  
lem. Once over 18 an OTO can  
be expected to do night work.

A UPW branch committee mem-  
ber at Electra House, London,  
told me:

'Constant changes of shift make  
the hours terribly unsociable.  
This is particularly rough on  
the younger members of the  
grade.'

One young OTO active in the  
strike, explained further from  
his own case:

'I am 16 and getting £9 a week  
basic. We are really used as  
cheap labour by the Post Office  
—doing the same work as  
others for a much lower scale.  
When you come in you're split

# Young telegraphists poised for action



by Dave Maude

into four different groups and  
trained for eight or nine  
months. You can be deferred  
back on to training for periods  
of three months at a time if  
you build up late arrivals, etc.,  
during the initial period.

'Late' can mean only five min-  
utes over your starting time.  
Some people have been de-  
ferred four times!

Young telegraphists not only feel  
that the UPW leadership has  
done little to improve their  
position. Like other members  
of their grade they point out  
that strike action was only  
called officially after London  
operators had walked out un-  
officially three times.

It is also feared that the terms

on which the strike was called  
could pave the way for sweep-  
ing re-organization and wage-  
bill savings in the overseas  
cable service.

Some estimates suggest that the  
GPO could save annually al-  
most four times what it costs  
to settle the deal as a result of  
productivity concessions.

This is one reason why the poli-  
cies of the Young Socialists  
and the All Trades Unions  
Alliance have already had a  
big impact amongst telegraph-  
ists.

Keep Left urges all young postal  
workers to prepare for the next  
round of struggle by joining  
the Young Socialists.



New  
invention for  
police force

WITH the news that the Ministry of Technology has received an  
invention from the US Secretary for the Army which will assist  
in the use of CS gas against demonstrators, it is clear that the  
Home Office and the government in general are preparing for sharp  
struggles in Britain.

Obviously neither the Ministry of Technology nor the Home  
Office has in mind some tame student 'confrontation'. The develop-  
ment of the use of CS gas is designed to meet the intensification of  
the class struggle.

Anyone who has illusions about the police serving the interests  
of law and order is going to quickly have them dispelled.

The invention is a powerful fragmentation grenade, designed  
to break into separate jet-propelled elements which will slide along  
the ground at great speed towards a crowd.

They are impossible to evade and too hot to be picked up  
and thrown back. These are to be added to the stocks of CS gas  
which are already held by 20 police forces in Britain.

'Beyond the boundaries of democracy there can be no unity of will between the proletariat and the peasant bourgeoisie. Class struggle between them is inevitable; but on the basis of a democratic republic this struggle will be the most far-reaching and extensive struggle of the people for socialism.' ('Two tactics of social democracy', Lenin, 'Selected Works', Vol. 3, p. 99.)

It was just this fear of a peasant bourgeois restoration that obsessed both Lenin and Trotsky in the period before October. It was a prospect which both of them believed could be averted only by an alliance with the victorious working class of Europe.

Does Johnstone deny this? Then consider the following extract from Lenin, written during the 1905 revolution:

'5. The liberal bourgeoisie, temporising in the third period, passive in the fourth, becomes downright counter-revolutionary, and organizes itself in order to filch from the proletariat the gains of the revolution. The whole of the well-to-do section of the peasantry and a large part of the middle peasantry also grow "wiser", quieten down and turn to the side of the counter-revolution in order to wrest power from the proletariat and the rural poor, who sympathise with the proletariat.

'6. On the basis of the relations established during the fifth period, a new crisis and a new struggle blaze forth; the proletariat is now fighting to preserve its democratic gains for the sake of a socialist revolution. This struggle would be almost hopeless for the Russian proletariat alone and its defeat would be as inevitable as the defeat of the German revolutionary party in 1849-1850, or as the defeat of the French proletariat in 1871, if the European socialist proletariat should not come to the assistance of the Russian proletariat. . . .

'The European workers will show us "how to do it" and then in conjunction with them, we shall bring about the socialist revolution.' ('The stages, trends and prospects of the Revolution', Lenin, 'Selected Works', Vol. 3, p. 135.)

### Necessity

So, Johnstone! Not only did Lenin believe in an inevitable clash with the peasantry, but (Stalin forbid) what was worse, he did not believe that a socialist revolution, leave alone socialism, could occur in Russia without the help of the European Revolution! Believe it or not, the man was a dirty Trotskyist from the start.

Lenin correctly pointed out the absolute and imperative necessity for organising the working class in a separate party because of the opposed historical interests of the petty-bourgeois peasants and the socialist-orientated working class.

Since the capitalist class was

opposed to a genuine democratic revolution leading to the creation of a democratic republic, Lenin saw the working class as the only force capable of leading the peasantry to victory in a democratic revolution.

Such a revolution, however, would lead neither to the dictatorship of the big capitalists nor the working class, but to a petty-bourgeois republic which Lenin preferred to call the 'democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry'.

Johnstone in his usual Philistine manner tries to show that there was no contradiction between Lenin's perspective in 1906 and what happened in 1917.

Let us see. What was the purpose of the 'democratic dictatorship'? It was to carry out a series of bourgeois reforms which would open the arena for the working-class struggle for socialism.

What would have been the composition of such a dictatorship? Since it was to be democratic, it would mean inevitably that the peasantry would dominate such a coalition and use it to defend its own interests against the big bourgeoisie as well as the workers.

### Untenable

But since the peasantry cannot play an independent role in the revolution, the dictatorship would soon pass under the dominance of the big capitalists. It is clear from this that Lenin's perspective was theoretically untenable.

The proof? Lenin's abandonment of this scheme from the very moment that the bourgeois republic was proclaimed in February 1917, his stubborn refusal to give the slightest support to the Provisional government, and the crisis which wracked the Bolshevik party in April, 1917.

No matter how Johnstone distorts and prevaricates he cannot show anywhere that the 'democratic dictatorship' was ever realized in practice. His only attempt to do so is slightly ridiculous.

'The February Revolution was . . . the . . . overthrow of Tsarism by a bourgeois revolution . . . Power did not pass into the hands of a workers' government, it was shared between (sic) Soviets (councils) of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, representing the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry (the bulk of soldiers were peasants) and the capitalist Provisional government to which it was voluntarily surrendering its supremacy.' ('Cogito'.)

Anyone who knows anything about the history of 1917, can tell Johnstone that the period from February to October was characterized by Dual Power in which the Bolshevik party leading the working class strove to replace the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, i.e. the Provisional government, with the dictatorship of the working class.

Lenin's speech at the Tauride Palace in April 1917 set out his April Theses, refusing any support to the Provisional government and precipitating a crisis in the Bolshevik Party.



There was no intermediate dictatorship of any kind and could not have been for the reasons we have already indicated. It was in fact the undemocratic dictatorship of the capitalists and landlords in alliance with the chauvinistic peasants in the soldiers' soviets.

It was only after the failure of Kerensky's July offensive and the government's consistent refusal to carry out land reform, that the Bolsheviks were able to win the majority of soldier peasants to their side and overthrow the Provisional government.

Thus the bourgeois revolution which began in February was aborted by the bourgeoisie in alliance with the richer elements of the peasantry and was only completed in October when the Bolsheviks seized power and granted self-determination to the colonial people of Russia and land to the peasants.

History records, Johnstone notwithstanding, that there was no sharing of power and that the fundamental tasks of the bourgeois revolution, as Trotsky predicted, were carried out by the dictatorship of the working class which then went on immediately to inaugurate the socialist revolution throughout Russia and the world.

It is instructive that Lenin, after 1917, never again advocated the 'democratic dictatorship' in any country in the world, but spoke insistently of the necessity to carry the socialist revolution into all corners of the planet.

The formation of the Comintern was an irrefutable proof that Lenin's perspective of world revolution did not permit of any 'democratic dictatorships' in the backward countries. Whatever forms of governmental power might arise, there would only be two types of dictatorship representing the interests of the two basic classes of society: the dictatorship of the capitalists or the dictatorship of the working class.

In case anyone might think that this is an esoteric discussion with no relevance to real struggles today we should like to point out that one of the greatest defeats in working-class history was perpetrated when Stalin and the Comintern tried to impose this idea on the Chinese communists in the 1925-1927 revolution, drove the Chinese Communist Party to enter the Kuomintang and allowed Chiang Kai Shek to come to power after massacring thousands of communists in Shanghai and other industrial towns.

Does Johnstone wish to be reminded of the fact that, under the slogan of 'democratic dictatorship' and the 'bloc of four classes', the Kuomintang and its counter-revolutionary warlords were admitted into the ranks of the Comintern by Stalin—with only one vote against, that vote being Trotsky's? 'Absurdly left' indeed!

### Menshevism

The same 'theory' paved the way for the defeat of the Spanish workers in 1936-1938 by subordinating the Communist Party to the Republicans in the name of the People's Front.

This does not exhaust the list of betrayals, but it must suffice to prove that Johnstone is trying to rehabilitate the reformist politics of Menshevism under the stolen banner of Lenin.

Whatever Johnstone might say of the Moscow Trials or the so-called 'excesses' of Stalin, it is compellingly evident that the sole purpose of his attacks on Trotskyism is to justify the past traitorous policies of Stalinism and to prepare for more treachery in the future.

The Young Socialists and Keep Left are confident, however, that through the struggle for the development of Marxist theory and leadership, Stalinism will be smashed. **M.B.**

## Editor's speech

From page 6

theory, which arises from an analysis of the class struggle in society, is developed through a constant struggle against those who have betrayed Marxism by revising it.

I have valued, more than anything else, the fact that I have been able to be the paper's editor since September 1964.

But if there is anything I value more than that it is the role our paper has played in the development of Marxist theory. That is why I am especially proud to introduce the January issue of the Keep Left, which is devoted to a fighting reply to the Stalinist attack against Trotskyism.

The success of our work in 1969 will depend more and more on the development of Marxist theory. I think that we have made an excellent beginning.

We have now reached a circulation of 19,000 and we still need 1,000 more to complete our target, which we would like to see achieved by the Ninth Annual Conference of the Young

## Apprentices' Committee call: ALL OUT ON FEBRUARY 23!

THE FIRST MEETING of the National Apprentices' and Young Workers' Committee met on January 25.

This committee was elected by over 150 delegates who attended the national conference of apprentices and young workers in Manchester on December 15.

Hughie Nicol from the North East coast presented the main report in which he stressed the need for building the apprentices' and young workers' movement.

'Capitalism is preparing for the election of a Tory government—a government led by the policies and ideas of Enoch Powell, which will take on the trade unions and attempt to smash them,' he said.

The election of a Tory government had been prepared for by Wilson's latest white paper on the trade unions, which threatened to fine workers who took unofficial strike action if they broke the government's 28-day cooling-off period.

Socialists in Morecambe in April.

We are going into 1969 fighting to build a revolutionary party for the taking of power. We shall be foremost in our defence of the rights of young people everywhere, in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe as well as in the capitalist countries.

We fight alongside the youth of Vietnam, the heroic students of Mexico and the young people fighting the military dictatorship

in Greece, the young Negro workers of the southern states of the US, who have especially distinguished themselves in their fight against white capitalist supremacy. We fight alongside the youth of Northern Ireland in the struggle against dictatorship and above all alongside our comrades in France.

We must pledge ourselves to make 1969 a year of revolutionary decision everywhere.

It also demanded secret ballots for all national official strikes, he explained.

In the discussion following the report it was pointed out that these laws would take away the independence of the trade unions and that the rights of the movement could only be defended by the building of a Marxist leadership in the trade unions.

The demonstration called by the Manchester conference for February 23 was now supported by the All Trades Unions Alliance. We had to make this a massive demonstration against the anti-strike laws and for better wages and conditions for all young workers.

Plans were made to cover all factories and technical colleges in the local areas.

Alan Foote, engineering apprentice from Swindon, was elected secretary and the name, National Apprentices' and Young Workers' Action Committee, was adopted. **JOHN SIMMANCE**

## DEMONSTRATION

on **SUNDAY FEBRUARY 23**

\* **FOR HIGHER WAGES, BETTER CONDITIONS!**

\* **FIGHT LAWS AGAINST TRADE UNIONS!**

Assemble: 2.30 p.m. at Malet Street, W.C.1

Meeting: 4.00 p.m. at Porchester Hall

Coaches leave from all parts of the country



## AT THE CINEMA



'If . . .'

A Memorial film directed by Lindsay Anderson  
Starring Malcolm McDowell, Richard Warwick, and David Wood

THE film 'If . . .' tells the story of a violent rebellion by three boys against their public school.

It has been so successful in the West End that the organizers have decided to put it on general release in March. Its topicality has probably ensured an immediate success.

Such a school revolt seems almost credible after the student rebellions throughout the world during the past year.

'If . . .' is most effective in its portrayal of a public school from the inside. It shows a brutal hierarchy, with prefects tyrannizing the younger boys.

One upper sixth former sits in his bath while a fag brings him tea. Another orders a boy to go and warm the lavatory seat for three minutes!

Three of the lower sixth formers, Mick, Wallace and Johnny, rebel against this hierarchy. They are beaten by the prefects 'for being a general nuisance' and given a pep talk by the modern 'progressive' headmaster.

He reminds them that it costs the equivalent of a working man's wages each week to keep them

at school, and points out that non-conformists can be very useful to the establishment, provided that they do not go too far.

The boy's hatred of the school establishment comes across very powerfully. But their opposition to it begins and ends in violence; 'Violence and revolution are the only pure acts', writes the leader Mick.

On the boys' study wall are pictures of wild animals and revolutionary leaders, so that the two are equated. No theory or discussion of aims is felt to be necessary, violence itself is enough.

The belief that theory is unnecessary and hatred is enough has been a major weakness in the student movement, and, if Lindsay Anderson intended to attack the Establishment as a whole, it is a limitation in the film.

The photography is keen and dynamic and the acting excitingly fresh. Schoolboys have been used for supporting roles, and a relatively unknown actor, Malcolm McDowell, plays the leading part as Mick. He himself attended a similar type of boarding school, and his experiences there helped him to play this part.

Mary Healy.

## Back-stage at the pantomime

VARIETY COUPLE DESCRIBE WHAT LIES BEHIND THE GLITTER



Konrad Fredericks  
Liza Martin

NOW the pantomime season draws to an end—the tinsel, the fairyland scenery, all the paraphernalia of the traditional Christmas make-believe is packed away into cardboard boxes for another year.

But what happens to the artists, the front-liners and the chorus, who have been hard at it slogging away at rehearsals, afternoon matinees and evening performances since last December?

They face the prospect of either unemployment or the beginning of a long search for another job in another town, in a profession which is crowded with hundreds of other men, women, boys and girls, all doing the same thing.

Variety entertainment is a very tough side of show business and one in which the artists are very highly exploited. The man who makes all the money—thousands of pounds—is the impresario. Local chorus girls get £12 a week during a show and £6 a week during rehearsals, the wardrobe mistress gets £11 a week.

What looks glamorous on the stage is far from being so behind the scenes. Keep Left interviewed 25-year-olds Liza Martin and Konrad Fredericks, two artists who have some experience in both pantomime and cabaret. This season they have appeared in pantomime at Southsea.

Liza Martin, a talented young woman who studied at the Royal Academy of Music and finished

an appearance in the West End production of 'Cabaret' a few months ago, told me that the hardest conditions were encountered in the provincial theatres.

'First of all you have to find lodgings and on the money we get you end up in the kind of place where there is nowhere to dry your clothes and the landlady rules the roost. That's your home for a month or two.'

At the theatre itself the dressing rooms are crowded, with no showers, no basins, and a high-kicking chorus girl's rheumatic enemy—damp!

As a one-time member of the touring 'Black and White Minstrels', Liza says that it does not matter what the prestige of the show; in nine cases out of ten the architects have forgotten about the artists.

Things which are taken so much for granted on the audience side of the footlights become enormous bones of contention back-stage. Everyone must provide their own make-up, in many cases artists wear their own shoes. Konrad described one show in which the choreographer ended up making the costumes.

Both agreed that theatrical companies trade on people's professionalism—so that no matter what, the show goes on.

This means of course that in the two or three weeks that there are for rehearsals something has to be moulded out of what at times appears to be sheer chaos, with artists acting out their parts in odd corners of the theatre.

In one case, because the man-  
continued on page twelve

## capitalism A Marxist analysis

continued from page two

**Q SOME groups argue that if wages were raised this would remove any tendency towards crisis in that this would allow the working class to buy back all the commodities which the capitalists produce. Can you comment more fully upon such theories, in relation to what has just been said about the nature of capitalist crisis?**

**A** THESE 'theories', as we said earlier, are a crude form of underconsumptionism. That is, they are based upon the idea that the basic deficiency of the system stems from inadequate consuming power among the masses. Such theories are wrong and highly dangerous for several reasons.

1. They mistake the nature of 'consumption' under capitalism. This item does not mean only commodities bought by workers out of their wages or salaries. 'Consumption' also includes items bought by the owners of capital for carrying out production, what some have called 'productive consumption'. In other words, the limits of capitalist expansion are not limited by the final purchasing power of the working class.

2. For the capitalists wages are a cost. Their aim must always be to keep wage levels down to a minimum. In fact, in periods of crisis, which are often preceded by a period during which wages rise, the capitalists invariably go in for a policy of savage wage cutting. This again arises inevitably from the fact that capital and its expansion are governed by the requirements of profit and not of consumption.

3. Such 'theories' are dangerous in that they spread reformist illusions: the crisis can be overcome simply through the struggle to raise wages. This is in fact what the Stalinists of the Communist Party say.

**Q OTHER groups say that increased arms expenditure would solve the crisis. What is your opinion of these ideas?**

**A** GAIN these are reformist ideas; the ideas for example, of the 'Permanent Arms Economy' of the 'state capitalists'. These revisionist groups argue that if the State can continue to increase the resources devoted to arms expenditure, capitalism can be stabilised almost indefinitely.

In one sense arms do play a special role in capitalist economy. They provide an outlet for commodities which do not have to be sold in the normal market. That is, they are sold to governments who can pay for them out of printed money.

In other words, the 'realization problem' for the system may be overcome for a period. But to think that this can be a permanent solution to the capitalist crisis is nonsense.

Arms expenditures also produce in their wake a series of other problems. They undoubtedly are one of the key factors in producing a tendency towards inflation.

This in turn sets in train a series of monetary and financial disturbances which can, at critical points, throw the whole system into crisis. The Vietnam war would be a classic case of this.

**Q CAN you explain, briefly, the nature and roots of the present world monetary crisis?**

**A** THIS is a complex question and we shall be able to give only the bare essentials.

In order to finance world trade, investment and capital export, the capitalist system internationally requires a means of debt settlement which is universally acceptable.

This means has traditionally been gold. The reason for this will be made clear presently.

After the war, some other means of debt settlement, of international money, had to be found. This was the dollar. It was the currency of the leading capitalist power, a power which had a huge supply in reserve of the world's mined gold and therefore the dollar, along with gold, became international money for these reasons.

But the dollar always rested upon gold. Gold is a commodity

which embodies exchange value. It has been selected historically as 'world money' because a small quantity of gold embodies a large quantity of labour; it is virtually indestructible; it is easily divisible.

The crisis of the world money system began to emerge at the end of the 1950s with the large loss of gold from the United States.

This itself was in turn the consequence of the massive outflow of paper money from the United States in the form of dollars. American money was required to prop up European capitalism; to provide military protection for the capitalist system internationally as well as to provide huge sums for the American monopolists in their drive to export capital.

This, as we saw earlier, is one of the key features of imperialism and was vital for US capital to stop its rate of profit going down as automation developed.

Such developments produced a situation where the volume of paper money (in the form of dollars) represented about three times the value of the diminished gold holdings of the United States.

Thus there is a general crisis of confidence in all paper money and in the dollar in particular.

**Q BUT surely some solution can be found to this money crisis?**

**A** FOR capitalism, money plays a vital, central role. Money is not merely a convenient means of settling

debt, a more manageable system than direct barter, the exchange of commodities against commodities.

The schema of accumulation under capitalism is M—C—M'. This means that money is the crucial question.

Capital is accumulated in the form of money. Capital does not mean just machinery, buildings, raw materials, etc. For Marxists these are means of production. Capital involves these means of production as they confront labour power.

Thus a breakdown of confidence in money means a breakdown in confidence in the entire capitalist system. Because capitalism is based upon individual decisions about production, which are guided by the expectation of profit, confidence is itself an enormously important factor. Without confidence, production cannot and does not continue on the same scale.

So, although there are numerous 'schemes' for the 'reform' of the monetary system, the capitalists do not and cannot understand this crisis themselves. Money has to obey the laws of commodity production.

That is, if money is the 'universal equivalent', it must be exchangeable into all other commodities. To fulfill this role it must itself have value.

Hence paper money must always be ultimately based upon gold or at least one of the other precious metals which have similar qualities. The dollar crisis is not therefore a technical matter. It is a reflection of a deep and insoluble crisis of the whole capitalist system. It is above all an enormous vindication of the power of Marxist theory.

# EDITOR'S POSTBAG

## No abstract discussion!

THE article by Robert Black in January's *Keep Left*, replying to M. Johnstone's anti-Trotskyist slanders, is not an abstract discussion.

It marks a new stage in the life and death struggle which the Trotskyist movement has waged against Stalinism. Do not forget that Trotsky described the counter-revolutionary Stalinist butchers as, 'the syphilis of the working class'. He said that 'between us and the Stalinists runs a river of blood'.

Johnstone's recent attack is very much a part of the history of the role of Stalinism. It comes from this completely conscious counter-revolutionary force.

For 42 years they attacked us with lies and physical extermination. Faced with the international growth and development of Trotskyism, Stalinism now attacks through a seemingly 'liberal' attitude towards Trotskyism's opposition to Stalinism, whilst of course completely defending every premise of Stalinist politics.

Come clean Johnstone! You still support the Moscow Trials don't you? Although you, more than anyone else, know they were a frame-up from start to finish, and that they are impossible to defend.

Most of those murdered were political opponents of the Stalinist theory of socialism in one country.

This you do defend and in doing so you are taking on the whole basis of the Russian Revolution itself and Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution, which sees the transition to socialism internationally as a process of the liquidation of class society.

Trotsky's theory holds no compromise with the so-called democratic regimes of capitalism, under which the working class can supposedly take power peacefully, or with any question of establishing socialism in a single country. Permanent revolution is the basis of both Leninism and Trotskyism.

Johnstone attacks permanent revolution because the Communist Party is preparing for big struggles on the part of the working class in Britain. They are envisaging the coming to power of a British Kerensky, whom of course they will support in opposition to workers' power. In this they will be joined by all the revisionist groups.

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

Take warning from Johnstone's article. Every Young Socialist member must study the questions that Johnstone raises—only by arming ourselves theoretically against Stalinism can we assure our political future.

A *Keep Left* reader.

## Castlemilk Young Socialists launch a campaign

GLENWOOD, attended by 1,000 pupils, is a large comprehensive school in one of the biggest housing schemes in Europe, Castlemilk, which has a population of 50,000.

Situated on the south side of Glasgow this is one of a number of vast housing projects, built to relieve the enormous problem of slum housing.

Hundreds of thousands of people are rehoused in the cheap, uniform rows of tenements, interspersed with tall tower blocks.

Pupils at the school are streamed into two layers, depending on their academic ability. Those who manage to get into the upper stream may leave school with some sort of educational qualification, enabling them ultimately to become school teachers, technicians and office workers.

The vast majority leave school at 15 with the minimum number of qualifications and face very poorly paid jobs in factories, shops and other trades.

Most school-leavers are unable to use the education which they do get, at jobs such as van boys, labourers or as other unskilled workers.

For large numbers of these youth the prospects of unemployment will be bleak, with the threat of further closures in engineering and shipyards over the next six months.

Castlemilk Young Socialists have been active in the school and several new members have been recruited. There is taking place continually a serious political discussion on questions such as Czechoslovakia, the May events in France, the role of the Communist Party in betraying the working class and the policies of the Young Socialists.

The Young Socialists' branch has begun a campaign to leaflet factories in the area and large numbers of young workers have been brought in to the YS locally.

So far this work has resulted in a number of people signing up for the Morecambe Conference in April. The response to leafleting on the estate has been very good and we have made ten new members in the last week.

It is planned to run film shows and record nights and to invite speakers on subjects including the daily Newsletter, the economic crisis and Stalinism.

Our members in the

schools are taking part in this campaign.

Castlemilk Young Socialists are planning to take a large contingent of youth both to the February 23 demonstration and the Morecambe conference. They are also planning to win the national branch competition this year.

Castlemilk itself is alright but if you want to go anywhere it is expensive to have to pay the bus fare.

The wages for girls working in shops are only £5 11s. a week and by the time tax is paid you are left with practically nothing.

I want to go to the Morecambe Conference to fight for higher wages and against the Tories and the bosses.

Helen Laughlin, Scotland.

## Scottish region Y.S. Regional Conference

Sunday, February 16 3 p.m.

KINGSTON HALLS, GLASGOW

followed by:

## DISCOTHEQUE

## The balance of payments and anti-trade union legislation

AFTER the publication of the December 1968 trade figures, which failed to achieve the predictions and expectations of Harold Wilson, Jenkins and the capitalist economists, the task of explaining this economic see-saw to the working class was left to the right arm of capitalism, that is the press and the bureaucratic trade union leaders.

Despite all recent attacks on the living standards and working conditions of the workers, the Labour government has intensified its attacks on the working class's organizations—the trade unions.

These attacks were published in the government white paper: 'In Place of Strife—a policy for industrial relations'.

On the day of publication of this White Paper, Mr. Woodrow Wyatt, MP, wrote in the 'Daily Mirror':

'We have a hell of a struggle ahead of us to get a healthy surplus this year. We won't get it if we go in for crazy official strikes about such silly things as union recognition in the steel industry, or if we indulge in unofficial strikes.'

'All life is a struggle. For us more than most—that is if we want to maintain our present standard of living, let alone increase it.

It is not even a question of "two years' hard slog" as Mr. Jenkins has put it. To keep afloat, and ahead in this competitive world it is "hard slog for ever more".

One example of this hard slog is shown at Fords, Dagenham, where workers on the night shift are expected to work from 10 p.m. to 10 a.m. For this period on the night shift workers are expected to keep at it—work-sleep-work-sleep, with no time at all for anything else.

This is the life the Labour government and the employers hope to impose on the working class, all in the name of getting the country's balance of payments right.

Counterposed against this, Peter Jeffries in the first part of his article 'Capitalism—a

Marxist Analysis' points out how this is impossible:

'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 the 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.'

When this system is applied on an international level, with each capitalist country striving to achieve the maximum from exports to other capitalist countries in order to stabilize their domestic economic policies, then one is bound to realize the chaos in which British capitalism lies today.

That is why the capitalist press and the trade union leaders are endlessly propagating 'hard slog', the effectiveness of productivity deals, and anti-trade union legislation to achieve the higher rate of profit which is so essential to save capitalism in Britain from complete collapse.

The employers and the Labour government are busy trying to organize British capitalism to run on the American model. This requires a very high rate of unemployment and antagonism between sections of the working class.

That is why so much prominence is given to Enoch Powell, who is busy stirring up hatred between the various sections of the working class.

The poverty of the Negro masses in America shows how ineffective a weapon this can be for capitalism, with the help of the Black Muslims and the Black Power movement, whose main task is to strengthen the division between black and white workers.

Another capitalist paper advises the working class to turn to religion. But as Marxists we must never forget what Karl Marx had to say about religion.

Although many workers are obviously confused by the endless propagandizing of the ruling class, there are also many workers who are ready and willing to activate the intensifying class struggle.

The task to unite all workers in the struggle for the final destruction of capitalism is one we all face together, not as a challenge, but as our historical duty.

Lester Lewis, Stoke Newington.

## Trade union work in an unorganized factory

I HAVE recently left a factory near here which I should like to tell the readers of *Keep Left* about, as I think there are some valuable lessons.

The rate of exploitation at this factory is very high, and nearly all the workers are women, who literally have the sweat running down their backs all day to earn £10 or £11 a week.

The basic rate is just over £6, and earnings above this have to be gained by productivity deals, which are determined by the speed set by the time and motion study man.

Often these times are just impossible. The productivity scheme also includes grading, which in this case means that women are constantly being moved from job to job and from place to place. This makes union organization extremely difficult.

I tried to start a union there, but I was met with a feeling of defeat amongst the women, who said that girls had been sacked in the past for trying to do this, and that I would lose my job too.

I met one other girl who was in a union, but she was moved to another shop when the chargehand realized that two militants had accidentally been put close together.

I also found a feeling that there was no point in joining a union since, as one woman said: 'They sell their members down the line these days.'

This factory is a bosses' paradise; they want to see this situation in every factory, and Heath has said that the Tories will stop at nothing to take on and defeat the working class, using Castle's anti-strike laws and their own more vicious measures.

The prevention of anti-strike and anti-union laws is the first essential for making sure that the system in the factory I worked in does not become more common.

As far as I can see, only the Young Socialists are putting up a fight on the policies of the All Trades Unions Alliance amongst working-class youth for a campaign against these laws.

Charlotte Lacey, Southampton Central YS

## Apprentices must join political movement

WHEN we have been out recruiting in East London we have met many youth who have been apprentices at one time, but have given up their apprenticeships.

There have been better-paid unskilled jobs to go to. But now unemployment is increasing rapidly. Those who have apprenticeships or are taken on as trainees will try to keep their jobs, even though they know they may be sacked when they finish their time because there are plenty of other youth who would take their places.

We met an engineering apprentice who had a week's pay cut because he and his mates came out on the one-day strike in May in support of the men.

Everybody we spoke to was in agreement with the demands of the AEF youth charter—for decent wages and conditions for apprentices and junior workers. It is very important that they join this with the demand for full union rights so that organized young workers are united with adult workers.

Just expressing their frustration by hitting the foreman is no good when the employers have the best weapon for disciplining youth—unemployment created by the Labour government's policies.

That is why the apprentices and junior workers must be a political movement—the only protection against unemployment for youth will be socialist policies of nationalization under workers' control and throwing out the Labour traitors.

Jane Gibson,  
East London YS.

## Cuts in the teaching staff

AS the crisis of capitalism develops the government is forced to make increasingly savage attacks on the wages and conditions of the working class.

This applies not only in factories, but also in the schools. The government has seen that it is necessary, in order to try and balance its budget, to make extensive cuts in educational grants.

Young  
Socialists  
pamphlet

**THE WORLD  
STRUGGLE  
OF YOUTH**

price 6d.

obtainable from 186a Clapham  
High Street, London, S.W.4.

# Bulletin

OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

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

It no longer needs to concentrate on training young workers whilst they are still at school, as the employment is not available when they leave.

In recent years, there have been cuts in allowances for equipment and new buildings. Now, however, there have been further developments, and the teaching staff themselves are involved.

'The Times' on December 12 reported that there would be as many as 4,000 part-time teachers laid off in 1969. Already many teachers have been forced on to the dole, and they will remain there.

The Labour Exchange in Newcastle-upon-Tyne admitted to this, but refused to disclose actual numbers of unemployed teachers.

Local authorities are already beginning to implement cuts in expenditure. In South Shields the council made the decision, on December 9, to sack 25 part-time teachers at Christmas, to save £6,300—originally it was proposed that 73 part-timers should lose their jobs.

One councillor commented at the meeting: 'We are not making economies. We want to stop gross over-spending.'

Nineteen of those to be sacked are married women. This comes after a long campaign by the Department of Education and Science to persuade married women to re-enter teaching.

This also suggests a move away from the reduction in class sizes, which the Department advocates should average 22.4 pupils per teacher. (On Teesside there is a general tendency for junior schools to have classes of 40 to 45 pupils.)

As early as June 1968, a teacher who was in the Young Socialists was told in Peterlee, when applying for a teaching post, that if she wished to remain in teaching permanently, it would pay to work full-time because there was a possibility that part-time teachers would no longer be employed.

It was added that if cuts in education continued, many part-time staff would not have their contracts extended. This teacher later obtained employment with Teesside Education Committee, but only on the understanding that she would take up full-time teaching after Christmas.

Edward Short may, as he did in South Shields on December 16, claim to oppose cuts in staffing, and the Department may have given permission for more teachers to be employed nationally, but it is the government in their efforts to solve the present crisis, who make it impossible.

By depriving local authorities of finance they force them to make cuts and sack teachers. Capitalism can no longer afford to provide a decent education for the working class, as there is no longer any need for many young people in industry and it would be a waste, as far as the government is concerned, to educate them for the dole.

Young teachers and student teachers must fight in the National Union of Teachers and Young Teacher Associations for a complete rejection by the Union of all cuts in education, and to establish solid

arity with other trade unions in their struggle against the wage freeze and redundancies.

Teachers must recognize that this latest attack is not only against them, but their pupils and the whole of the working class.

Madelaine Flack.  
Newcastle East.  
Young Socialists

## Redundancy in South-East London

ALL OVER South-East London factories are closing down and unemployment is growing.

At a well-known biscuit factory in Bermondsey at the moment there are rumours that after the sacking of 100 workers last month, there are bigger redundancies to follow.

These workers were sacked at very short notice because they did not wish to do shift-work. This is typical of the way in which this factory is managed.

their sleeve as their answer to the economic crisis.

The lesson is that the treacherous trade union leadership which managed to get some concessions during the boom period has now to be replaced with revolutionary leaders who understand what the working class must do in the face of capitalism's crisis.

Many young workers who read this letter may feel that things are not so bad where they work or, if they are young people who are still at school, they may be looking forward to getting out and earning some money.

But the wages and conditions are going to be attacked. If we do not build a mass revolutionary youth movement urgently then we can look forward to a future of absolute slavery.

Two members of  
South East London  
YS Federation.

## Wythenshawe YS fights for conditions

WYTHENSHAW, as you may already know, is probably the largest housing estate in Britain.

At the moment the population numbers over 100,000 and in our opinion the facilities for youth are about equal to those of a rural village.

The vast majority of youth clubs are run either by churches or by using a school hall run by charity workers.

There is only one swimming pool; as anyone can imagine

## Conference of apprentices and young workers

THE conference of apprentices and junior workers held in Manchester on November 7, 1968 proved to all present, most conclusively, that the only way to preserve conditions in the trade unions was to completely overthrow the capitalist system.

Apprentices and young workers attending were lucky in being able to hear the employers' view. One revisionist from the paper 'Militant' stated that as a socialist and Marxist he was in favour of productivity agreements!

Keep Left readers may have thought that a socialist was one who fought for the establishment of a socialist system—perhaps the 'Militant' supporter thought we were mistaken?

The speaker went on to say that he was in favour only if the working class received the greater proportion of the benefits from productivity agreements.

This line may go down well in the Labour Party discussions but certainly not in a hall full of young workers, many of whom are facing time-and-motion study and Measured-Day Work.

These lads know that productivity means unemployment. The problems of the bosses are not particularly to produce more but to produce more cheaply.

The employers can only attempt to do this by getting fewer workers to work harder, producing twice as much as before, in half the time.

We must fight tooth and nail against unemployment. The Youth Charter of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering and Foundry Workers demands a shorter working week and higher wages and that is what we must fight for.

If the bosses find they can use machinery which shortens the working time needed to produce commodities we have to answer with demands for a shorter working shift without loss of pay; and nationalization of industry under workers' control.

Jim Delliston,  
South East London  
YS Federation.

## Suggestions for YS branches

I THINK the Young Socialists branches could be strengthened if the members consciously thought about how they could make varied and interesting education and social programmes.

We have the policies that can lead the working class to power and to a socialist way of life.

But we must realize that most young people are not as politically minded as we are. Many of them just want to enjoy themselves. The answer is for the YS branches to strike a balance—to provide activities in which large groups of youth can participate.

On the basis of my own experience in the Young Socialists I want to ask that all branches should provide these kinds of activities in the next period and work to build a revolutionary youth movement that will work for the overthrow of this decadent society.

Mick Yanni,  
Vauxhall YS, London.

PEGKHAM YOUNG SOCIALISTS

DANCE

Friday, March 7 8 p.m.

WARWICK HALL, KIMPTON ROAD, LONDON, S.E.5

Tickets 4s.

pay at the door 4s. 6d.

The wages and conditions there leave much to be desired. Women workers (full time) get under £10 a week for the kind of work that only a few can stand for a long period of time.

The position with the men is similar. They get £13 16s. 3d. a week. In addition workers have strict rules which they must follow.

The trade union officials in the factory do little more than collect the dues. When asked to take any issue up they say that they cannot do anything because not everyone is in the union. What they don't see is that if they took up a struggle every worker in the factory would join.

When a shop steward was asked if he intended to fight the recent redundancies he said: 'Look at AEI's in Woolwich. They had plenty of stewards there and they couldn't stop the factory closing down.'

The AEI factory in South-East London was allowed to close down precisely because the stewards there did not take up a fight against the closure and 6,000 workers joined the unemployed.

There are many hard lessons to be learnt from this factory. Capitalism today is as vicious and ruthless as it ever was in the time of Marx and Engels.

This latest attack at our factory is nothing to what the bosses internationally have up

this is ridiculous, but Manchester Corporation seems to have left Wythenshawe completely helpless.

The facilities for football are also very poor and in fact our own YS team does not have a pitch to play on.

Our branch of the YS is, at the time of writing, drawing up a resolution for the Morecambe conference in which we demand better facilities.

By campaigning with this on the estate we hope to further our membership.

At present our circulation of the Keep Left is small in comparison with other cities in which the YS is well established; although our circulation is still small we have not yet mounted a full-scale campaign for the sale of the paper.

We hope to do this early in the new year.

There are two very large industrial estates in Wythenshawe, each one containing about 15 large factories, and we are trying at present to contact people who would sell Keep Left for us in these factories and by doing so we can build up a very strong branch here.

We have already contacted a few apprentices who are selling the paper and our branch is expanding all the time.

Keep Left organizer,  
Wythenshawe YS.

**WEST MIDLANDS LEAGUE**

	P	W	D	L	F	A	Pts
Handsworth	6	4	1	1	18	16	9
Bordesley Green	4	3	2	0	22	5	7
Castle Vale	3	2	1	0	8	7	5
Tile Hill	4	2	0	2	18	16	4
Aston 'A'	5	1	1	3	23	30	3
Aston 'B'	2	0	0	2	5	7	0
Northfields	4	0	0	4	15	3	0

**LONDON FOOTBALL LEAGUE TABLES**

**WEST LONDON**

	P	W	L	D	F	A	Pts
Willesden	4	3	1	0	26	6	6
Southall	4	3	1	0	23	19	6
Watford	5	1	4	0	14	34	2
Acton	1	0	1	0	4	8	0

**SOUTH LONDON**

	P	W	L	D	F	A	Pts
South West	6	4	2	0	30	25	8
Vauxhall	2	2	0	0	14	2	4
Clapham	3	2	1	0	33	12	4
Waddon	3	2	1	0	11	16	4
South Norwood	2	1	1	0	4	0	2
Brixton	4	0	4	0	7	16	0
Crawley	2	0	2	0	1	11	0

**EAST LONDON**

	P	W	L	D	F	A	Pts
Stratford	7	4	0	3	29	19	11
East Ham	6	4	2	0	22	17	8
Peckham	5	4	1	0	12	11	8
Dagenham	6	3	2	1	18	27	7
Islington	5	2	3	0	9	10	4
Enfield	3	1	1	1	13	10	3
Bermondsey	3	1	1	1	11	17	3
Romford	1	0	1	0	0	2	0

**MATCH OF THE MONTH**

Keep Left football correspondent

Queens Park Rangers 1  
West Ham United 1

The idol of Loftus Road, Rodney Marsh, was taken out of the game between West Ham United and Queen's Park Rangers 13 minutes from the final whistle.

Marsh quietly went into the

changing room, and left the ground before his team-mates came off the field at the end of the match.

He said afterwards: 'The manager was completely right, I was playing badly and was feeling the pace.'

In a match where good football could not really be played because of ground conditions, both teams just about mastered the mud and the standard of playing was quite high.

Both goals matched the football. Rangers scored first with Roger Morgan, the elusive winger, beating a couple of men in midfield to give a great pass to Frank Clarke.

This recently re-called centre forward slotted the ball past goalie Ferguson. Clarke chased and looked for the ball throughout the whole of the game.

Martin Peters and Herry Redknapp combined and this resulted in United's equalizer by Brian Dear. Geoff Hurst had a marvellous game making chances all the time.

And just one last word on Marsh. He has shown his football genius many times before he went off the pitch, however, matched against Hurst, his £150,000 transfer tag seems ridiculous.

**LONDON**

**CUP RESULTS**

Third Round:  
Willesden 2 Vauxhall 10

Semi-Finals:  
Vauxhall 8 Crawley 4  
Enfield 2 Southall 4

**Belgrave**

(East Midlands) 10

v Aston

(West Midlands) 2

By Reg Molloy

WITH Aston kicking off against the wind after Belgrave won the toss, the first player to make a try for the goal was G. Beechy whose diving header hit the post in the first five minutes of the game.

Fifteen minutes later Beechy (Belgrave) made a score with another header from a cross by D. McNamara, who also followed this up with a second goal for the Belgrave side, a few minutes later.

Steady pressure led to a third goal, again from Beechy, just before half-time.

Early in the second half Belgrave paid a price for relaxing their grip of the game. Aston scored two goals inside ten minutes and were challenging for the equalizer through P. Monaghan.

A shaken Belgrave side hung on and scored their fourth goal. After this Aston were unable to offer any further opposition.

Belgrave spurred forward and finished the game with ten goals to two, after scores from G. Beechy, B. Molloy, J. Weightman (2) and late penalties converted by M. Hand and goal-keeper D. Spencer.

**L.S.E. students**

continued from page three

opportunity to halt the offensive which the government is mounting.

The revolutionary, political and theoretical preparation which is needed will meet its response in the next few months from the working class, which is shaping up for its struggle with the Wilson government and with the next Tory government, which has already accepted the Powell doctrine.

Begin the preparation immediately. Join and support the Young Socialist Student Societies, which were set up in September 1968 to carry out this fight for Marxism in the universities.

Implacable struggle on student demands against the government and the authorities.

Defence of students in struggle against all attacks.

Reject the false and dangerous theories of 'confrontation' and prepare seriously as Marxists the only revolutionary road.

Adams says: 'This is a community affair, which I'm sure we can handle within the family.'

Only a few hours before, he had called in the police! There could be no more consummate expression of English bourgeois hypocrisy and the mailed fist which it conceals; hatred for the working class and for anyone who challenges the authority of the ruling class. While Adams was saying this, he is reported to have been considering 'conspiracy' charges in the courts.

- Re-open the LSE!
- No restrictions on political activity in LSE or any university or college!
- No victimization of students or staff!
- Drop all legal charges!
- Remove the gates at LSE!
- Unions with members employed at LSE or supplying materials must immediately black it!
- For a massive demonstration of support in all universities!
- Withdraw the memorandum!

**Student accommodation**

continued from page three

adequate financial safeguards. These proposals were to be discussed at a further committee meeting.

However, at a second meeting of the Student Representative Council the proposal was rejected.

Opposition was based on the financial impossibility of such a scheme, in spite of the fact that financial safeguards were specifically mentioned in the proposals from the working party.

**rejected**

At the subsequent Union general meeting the working party's report was rejected by a very narrow majority—127 votes to 126. All five members of the working party then resigned.

However, the YSSS motion passed at a previous Union general meeting, calling for nationalization of the banks

and building societies and the opening of the university books, was passed at the Student Representative Council and committees were instructed to implement its demands.

The success of this motion is yet to be decided. The real fighting ground for the YSSS is now the Committee of Inquiry.

It is the YSSS's aim to make this committee an open, regular meeting for all students, where the political questions can be discussed and where action over the standards of accommodation can be decided.

The importance of this struggle with Sheffield University for the YSSS is this: we set certain objectives right from the very beginning and refused to be side-tracked by other issues, which led to such movements as 'October 14'.

Students at Sheffield responded to the YSSS's political fight and our position is now much stronger.

**confusion**

The line followed by the revisionists, which developed into issues on student representation and the exam system, confused the accommodation issue.

It is necessary for the YSSS to continue its fight on accommodation through a political struggle to expose the union bureaucrats and the revisionists.

We have to make our stand on the basis of the resolution passed at the second Union general meeting.

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**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.