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The Cryin' Shames

WORLD NEWS

PERU

Hugo Blanco

IN 1963 Hugo Blanco, the Peruvian peasants' leader, together with about 30 of his comrades, was arrested and charged with killing three policemen.

The reason for the attack on the police was to kill a police guard after he had murdered a 15-year-old boy and wounded two peasants. Those arrested were detained in prison for over three years without trial, and when the trial was finally held it was conducted by a Peruvian Military court instead of a civil court.

Many of the defendants alleged that they had been tortured by the police—one man had a broken leg and a broken arm. They also claimed that they were not defended during the trial.

The consulting judge recommended the death sentence for Blanco but he was in fact committed to 28 years imprisonment in the fortress of El Fronton. A number of his comrades received similar sentences.

On hearing the terms of conviction Blanco shouted 'Terra o Meurte'—Land or Death—which was taken up by many of those in the courtroom.

The vicious prison sentences were obviously the attempt of the Peruvian government to head off the rising tide of the peasant opposition. That it did not succeed is shown by the answer to Blanco's appeal against conviction. The Peruvian Supreme Council of Military Justice is now reported to be considering demanding the death penalty for Blanco.

In fact at the time of the trial the death sentence was only avoided by tremendous pressure from both inside and outside Peru. Already the answer to this new threat is coming from within the country itself.

Seven of his comrades, who were also on trial, have asked to share the same fate as Blanco. Many more political prisoners have gone on hunger strike in solidarity with him. From many parts of the world the demand for a general amnesty is being raised.

The Young Socialists must declare itself in fullest revolutionary solidarity with Hugo Blanco—the banners we raise internationally mean precisely this. It is our responsibility to campaign throughout the British labour movement for his immediate release.

Telegrams and letters should be sent to The Peruvian Embassy 52, Sloane Street London S.W.1.

MEXICO

KEEP LEFT NEWS REPORTERS

TROTSKYIST LEADER ARRESTED

held by secret police

THE most savage section of the Mexican Secret Police, the Dirección Federal de Seguridad arrested the Trotskyist leader in the state of Veracruz, Dr. Fausto Davila, on December 2 1966.

A Letter

Although no one knows where Dr. Davila is being held, a letter written by him has been found in which he expresses the fear that he may be detained at some time in the future, tortured and killed.

Davila's arrest is closely tied to the present position of the Mexican government, which faces a serious deterioration of the country's economy. The real standard of living has risen only 148 per cent since 1910, meaning that the most oppressed sections have hardly bettered their position at all.

This has resulted in a rising militancy amongst the Mexican working class.

With the obvious bankruptcy of the Stalinists, whose role hitherto has been to assist the reactionary Ordaz government in suppressing the actions of the

working masses, the influence of the Trotskyists has grown considerably.

Now that the Stalinists cannot even fill their traditional role they are rejected by the radicalised workers.

It is widely believed that the authorities will try to frame Davila on a charge connecting him either with a recent serious explosion in the Pemex Refinery in Poza Rica or arms smuggling.

Although it is well known that there have been 60 minor explosions at the Pemex recently, resulting from faulty equipment, it is possible that those responsible will want to cast Davila in the role of scapegoat.

After an investigation into possible sabotage following the explosion, in which one worker was killed and many were injured, the local police dropped the case. The suspects, who had been imprisoned, were realised.

Smuggling

The arms smuggling question is less clear cut. It may be that Federal agents will try to connect Davila with a shipment of arms which was intercepted near Poza Rica at the time of the explosion.

This repression of Trotskyists

SECUESTRADO EL DR. DAVILA

El doctor Fausto Davila, líder de la izquierda trotskista en Veracruz, fue secuestrado por la policía secreta mexicana el día 2 de diciembre de 1966. Se cree que el secuestro tiene que ver con la explosión ocurrida en la refinería de Pemex en Poza Rica, Veracruz, el día 15 de octubre de 1966. Se cree también que el secuestro tiene que ver con la actividad del doctor Davila en el estado de Veracruz, donde ha estado trabajando en un comité de apoyo a la huelga de los maestros de la zona.

The headline of the Mexican press reads: 'Dr. Davila kidnapped'. The story underneath relates the facts about Davila's disappearance.

by the government began with the former President, Adolfo Lopez Mateos, who was a close sympathiser of the Communist Party in his youth. He ordered Ruben Jaramillo to be shot publicly with his whole family by Federal troops. Jaramillo was a very popular and powerful peasant leader in Morelos, closely connected to the Trotskyist movement.

During 1966 Ordaz imprisoned a considerable number of Trotskyist sympathisers. In the Spring he jailed five Mexican and three Argentinian members of the Posados group, accused of smuggling arms to Guatemala. In August he jailed Victor Rico Galan and a number of young people on charges that they were

fomenting a peasant uprising.

The governor of Veracruz is known as a former member of the Communist Party and an enemy of Davila and there is reason to suspect that this arrest of Mexico's most important Trotskyist may represent a combined movement by both the State and Federal governments.

Letters and telegrams demanding the release of Dr. Davila and all political prisoners must be sent immediately to the Presidente de la Republica Mexicana, El Palacio Nacional, Mexico DF, Mexico and to the Ambassador, the Mexican Embassy, 48, Belgrave Square, London, S.W.1.

Keep Left appeals to its readers and supporters to start the campaign now.

VIETNAM

U.S. Congressman and Cardinal back extreme reaction

THE intense bombing of North Vietnam civilian areas has been dismissed as inadequate by Mandel Rivers of the American Congress House Armed Services Committee.

American journalist Harrison Salisbury recently described the indiscriminate destruction carried out in populated areas by US bombers such as in Nam Dinh, where nearly 80 per cent of the people have left this little textile town following the destruction of large numbers of textile and food processing houses and factories.

For Mandel Rivers, this brutal butchery is not enough. For him, and those sections of the Ameri-

can ruling class he represents, the US forces should 'flatten Hanoi, if necessary using to the fullest the potential of our great air power,' as they did to the European cities in the Second World War.

When asked about the effect this would have on public opinion he replied 'let world opinion go fly a kite'—his way of saying that the growing anti-war movement in the world can expect vicious response from imperialism.

Rivers of course does not stand alone—as always, when the bosses launch an attack on the working class, justification is found with the Lord—Cardinal Spellman, Roman Catholic Vicar of the United States Forces, is providing the spiritual cover for the

slaughter advocated by Rivers.

Addressing American troops he said: 'I believe that in these circumstances you are not only serving your country but you are serving God, because you are defending the cause of righteousness, the cause of civilisation and God's house.'

Just as the fascist troops were blessed by the Roman Catholic Bishops during the Second World War, Spellman declares that the poisonous gas, napalm and horrifying weapons used by the US troops are God's will.

Once again the bosses use the good old stand-by of the church to justify their repressions. But the heroic masses of the Vietnamese continue their revolutionary struggle, devising ingenious

shelters for the bombing raids, organising militant strikes on the docks and in other key industries.

What is clearly posed in this struggle between imperialism and the Vietnamese workers and peasants is not the building of bigger and bigger peace movements or the setting up of war tribunals. Such gimmicks achieve nothing.

Only the action of the working class in the advanced capitalist countries can possibly help the Vietnamese people.

Particularly in Britain this means an all-out fight against the Labour government and the smashing of British capitalism as a first step to freeing not only the Vietnamese but all workers oppressed by imperialism today.

THE end of the boom period, following the mass destruction of men and machines in the Second World War, is shown daily in the rising figures of unemployment throughout the capitalist world. The imperialists are, as a result, constantly looking around for new areas in which to invest their capital and keep up their profits.

But where? All the employers are united in their desire to recapture the Soviet Union, China and the workers' states—vast areas which the struggles of the working class and peasants have torn from the grip of capital.

But behind this agreement lie many serious differences amongst the capitalists themselves: each of the imperialist countries is anxious to break into areas now regarded by other capitalist countries as their own particular field for investment (e.g. Britain and the Commonwealth.)

It is with this background of mounting diffi-

culties for the imperialists that we must look at the situation in Rhodesia.

Ian Smith thinks that the investments of the British ruling class in Rhodesia can best be protected by establishing a vicious racist state under which trade unions would be powerless and where naked terror, enforced by dogs and police thugs, is used to keep the workers down.

Wilson, however, believes that this will have the opposite effect. In his opinion the safest way would be to find some tame African nationalist to head a government of Africans, which, while making declarations about having destroyed imperialism and building 'African Socialism', would, in fact, be obedient and loyal to Wilson and his capitalist masters.

It is because their disagreement is only on the best tactic to use to safeguard British investments that Wilson has gone to such lengths to meet Smith half way.

But the white settlers in Rhodesia regard Wilson as being 'soft' and stick out for a military state—which gave the United States its chance. As Rhodesia is in the Commonwealth the British employers have managed to keep more or less all capital, except their own, out of the country—including American dollars.

Through the United Nations, a glorified extension of the US Department for Foreign Affairs, the American government hopes to smash down the barriers put up by the British employers. In other words, far from Johnson supporting Wilson's position, he is trying to solve the American bosses' problem of where to invest—the apparent unity in fact expresses the bitter struggle between the imperialists themselves. All the talk about sanctions is fraud.

In the article printed below we give an outline of the situation in Rhodesia today showing clearly that the forces to defeat Smith exist.

LIFE IN RHODESIA

By a Rhodesian member of the Y.S. whose name we cannot, at this time, publish.

IN this article I want to try and describe some of the aspects and political implications of life in Rhodesia.

My own background is that of a privileged white Rhodesian in the capital city. Enough has already been written in the British press about the pleasant life of white Rhodesia so I shall deal with some other points.

The only terms on which most white Rhodesians come into contact with Africans is in the master-servant relationship. All white households have at least one servant.

Working hours are long. A typical day begins at 6.30 a.m. with an hour for breakfast at 8.30 to 9.30, and two hours off in the afternoon. The day finishes when work is done, probably about 8 p.m.—making a 10½ hour day.

A well-paid senior 'houseboy' with some education might be paid £12 a month, plus food and a room in the servants' quarters. The system allows many further evils—longer hours, very primitive washing facilities, more than one servant in a room, sometimes men and women together, inadequate food and pitiful wages.

Wives and children are not usually allowed to live on the premises; although many do, either because they are never caught or because the employer does not care. So the men have one month's holiday per year to visit their families in the reserves or in Mozambique, Malawi or Zambia.

No way

There is no way that the domestic servant can fight for better conditions. Servants who complain are sacked and there are many others looking for work.

Domestic workers are also hampered by the fact that they are the least well equipped to fight their employers. They are the most poorly educated of the urban workers coming from distant areas and in most cases speaking only the tribal language of their own area.

Other urban workers and some non-resident domestic workers live in the African townships in a separate part of the town.

Europeans avoid going there but occasionally the reality of the situation—crowded living conditions, high crime rates and undernourished children—seeps through to the outside world.

Much of the accommodation in the townships is in the form of 'batchelor' hostels which again make normal family life impossible. These hostels deteriorate rapidly with overcrowding.

There are separate townships for the coloured and Asian sections of the population. Conditions here are usually better because the community is smaller and slightly more affluent—many own stores and businesses and thus they too belong to the exploiting class.

Rural conditions are very primitive. People are subject to all the prevalent tropical diseases, in particular sleeping sickness, a disease which causes extreme lethargy. Many of the rural Africans are driven by poverty to the towns.

Segregation

State education is segregated Coloured and Asiatic, and African.

European schools are of a very high standard with large playing fields and swimming pools. Coloured and Asiatic schools are similar.

African children are put into schools which are inferior and totally insufficient in number. In the rural areas all the schools are mission schools so that God is presented as the absolute consolation for the evils of Rhodesian society.

Secondary education is extremely difficult to obtain. Places are gained on the results of examination at the end of junior school.

For many rural children the only way to obtain secondary education is to go and live with relatives in the city. Study is often difficult with noisy and overcrowded living conditions.

The University in Salisbury is multi-racial and is regarded with the utmost hostility by the white ruling class who feel that the African graduates will provide the leadership which threatens their white rule.

Most of the African students are probably members of the African nationalist parties but in the main they are trying to escape from the hell of the

masses into the comforts of the middle class.

Liberal whites are intent on the creation and stabilisation of the rising African middle class. They run programmes of social work—feeding schemes, education programmes, courses on the social graces for the wives of educated Africans and courtesy campaigns.

The effects of these actions is to ease some of the tensions for the moment, thereby stabilising the system for a little longer.

Ultimately however this is no solution to the problem—the tension between the classes is still there. Exploitation and oppression still continue.

The solution can only lie in the overthrow of the capitalist system and for this the Rhodesian people must turn away from liberal movements and from the opportunism of the present African nationalist leaders and build an alternative revolutionary movement.

To do this the demand must be raised in Britain for the arming of the Africans.

African workers like those in the picture opposite live in the townships. Below: Rhodesian students in Britain demonstrate against the Smith regime.



The beginning of a series on the theories of Karl Marx

Das Kapital.

Kritik der politischen Oekonomie.

WHAT IS Von KARL MARX. MARXISM?

JUST a century ago a work was published which, for the first time, examined a social system from the standpoint of those who were its victims.

Marx's 'Capital' was written as a weapon for the working class, the new class of exploited and oppressed people which capitalism created.

'Capital' is a scientific treatise, not a popular work. Because its subject matter is complex the work itself is frequently difficult. Because the standpoint of Marx differed from that of the apologists of capitalism he had to create a new scientific vocabulary.

In popular articles of the kind which follow it is necessary to simplify quite a bit, to deal only with the main lines of Marx's analysis and thus to miss out many of its finer points.

It is for the reader to use these articles as a bridge to the work itself and not see them as containing all the answers.

Marx begins his analysis with commodities, although he expected it to cause his readers some difficulty.

He looks at the commodity from many different aspects because it was the basic unit of capitalist production and contained within itself all its secrets.

In this first chapter there are an enormous number of statements about the commodity which cannot be listed here.

What, then, are the essential points which Marx wants to make?

As soon as we say that a commodity is an article produced for sale we have already, in fact, said many other things without being aware of it.

For example: for the producer it is merely a means to obtain something else in exchange; that is he is interested primarily in its exchange value.

But he will not be able to exchange it unless it has a specific utility, or use value for somebody else.

Exchange value is a question of quantity: How much? How many? And it means that all commodities can be related to each other.

Use value is a matter of quality—what human want does it satisfy? What use is it? A use value for one person may be of no use to another.

If a commodity has both exchange value and use value, and if all commodities can be exchanged for each other, there must be something else common

Dritter Band, erster Theil.

Buch III:
Der Gesamtprozess der kapitalistischen Produktion.
Kapitel I bis XXVIII.

Herausgegeben von Friedrich Engels.

Das Recht der Uebersetzung ist vorbehalten.

Hamburg
Verlag von Otto Meissner.
1894.

Title page of the first German edition of Vol. III, 1, of *Capital* (Reduced)

to all of them. All commodities are the product of human labour.

When different commodities are exchanged, therefore, the human labour embodied in them is being exchanged. A commodity thus represents a social relation between the producers. An exchange between things, commodities, is really a relationship between social beings.

Now many varied sorts of labour enters into the production of commodities, but they can all be reduced to human labour in the abstract.

When commodities exchange they will tend to do so in such a way that equal amounts of this abstract labour are exchanged. They exchange at their value, i.e. according to the amount of abstract human labour embodied in them.

If it requires less labour to make a particular commodity it will command less in exchange with other commodities—its value will fall.

What is involved in the measurement of values is the socially necessary labour time which Marx defines as 'that required to produce an article under the normal conditions of production, and with the average degree of skill and intensity prevalent at the time'.

The exchange of commodities pre-supposes that some people produce more of what they need

of some things and less of what they need of others.

As a result a social division of labour takes place. Commodities exchange because they embody different kinds of labour. If they require a high degree of skill for their production they will command more in exchange than those requiring a less degree of skill.

We have not so far examined the social relations which prevail where commodities are produced. In fact, commodity production is carried on in

societies of many different types.

Commodity production generally comes into being side by side with the use of money and the rise of markets.

As Marx puts it: 'All commodities are non-use values for their owners, and use-values for their non-owners. Consequently they must all change hands.' The exchange of commodities for money—a commodity which can stand for any other commodity—immensely increases the possibilities of exchange, and therefore of commodity production.

The buying and selling of commodities for money takes place through the market. In the market each commodity will exchange at a price in money terms. The value of a commodity is, as we have seen, given by the amount of socially necessary labour time embodied in it.

Its price will be determined by the forces of supply and demand on the market. Commodities tend to exchange at their values and thus prices reflect values. But while total value must equal total price, the prices of individual commodities may diverge from their values for reasons which will not be gone into at this point.

However, we are not yet done with the commodity. It is the social relation concealed in the commodity which Marx insists upon. And it is when some men work for others—when a division takes place between employers and workers—that this aspect, which Marx calls the fetishism of commodities, becomes of special importance.

Class society begins when some men work for others and produce a surplus for them.

In slave society the slave-owner owns the slave body and

soul; he puts him to work and takes the whole product except the essential minimum needed to feed and clothe the slave.

In feudal society the serf is tied to the soil, he works part of the time on his own land, the rest on his lord's land; he is not free to change masters and the surplus he produces, above bare necessities, is taken by the lord.

In such societies, where commodity production plays only a minor role, the exploitive character of social relations is clear.

Under the capitalist mode of production, where practically all production is in the form of commodities, the real social relations between employer and employed are concealed.

Under this mode of production:

- (a) the means of production are owned by a few;
- (b) the owners of the means of production purchase in the market the labour power which they require;
- (c) they produce commodities for sale at a profit.

This means that capitalism is the result of a lengthy historical process which has deprived most people of ownership of the instruments of production and concentrated ownership into few hands.

Put in another way, a class of people has come into existence which has to sell its labour power as a commodity.

But, because of the fetishism of commodities, to which Marx drew attention, this social relation, which enables the capitalists to appropriate the surplus produced by the workers, is not obvious even to the workers themselves.

Our next task, therefore, will be to show how this takes place, as it were, behind their backs.

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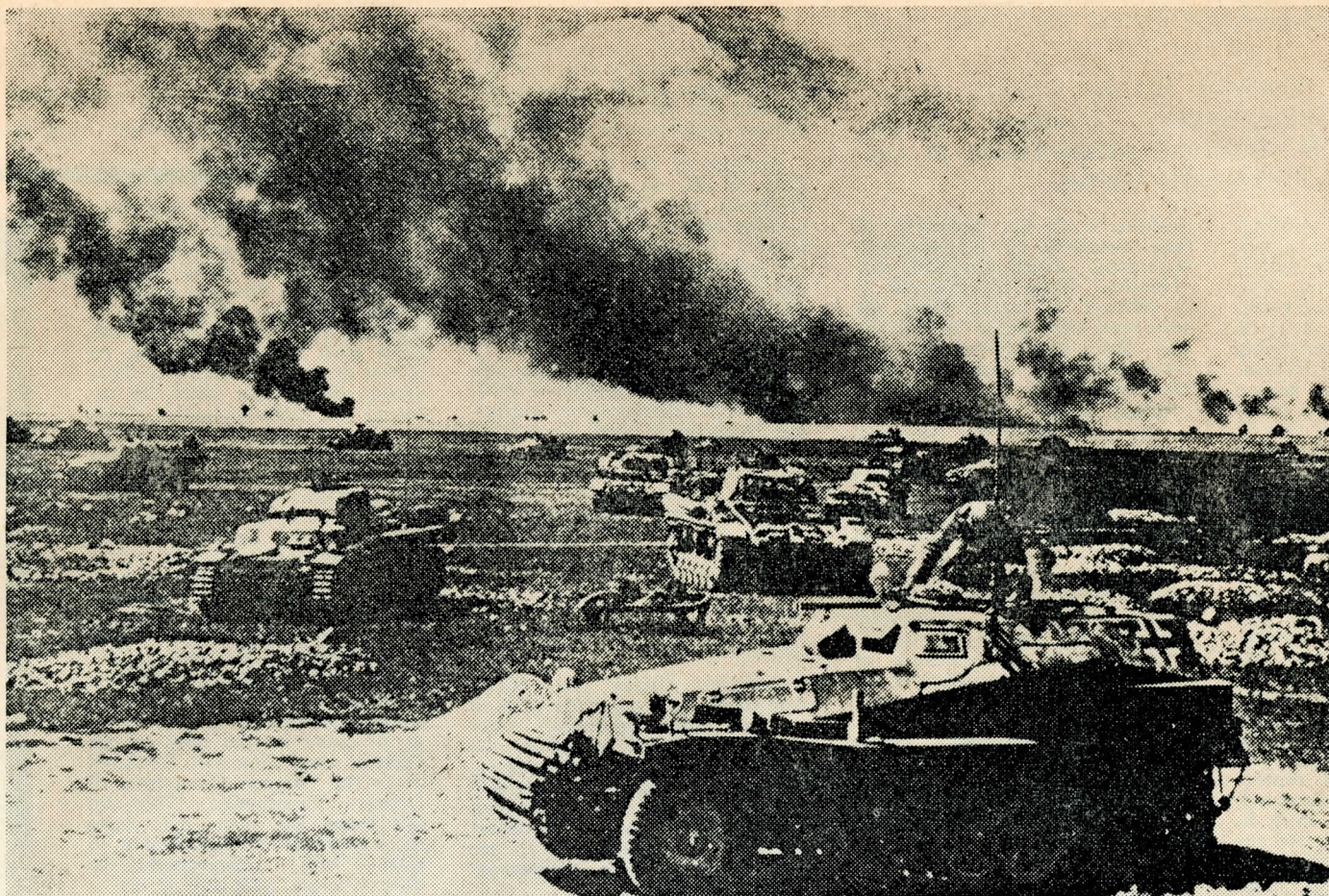
This is an invaluable record of Leon Trotsky's struggle against the petty-bourgeois opposition in the Socialist Workers' Party of America during the last two years of his life—1939-1940. It was not just a fight against the revisionism of James Burnham and Max Shachtman, but a struggle of living forces for Bolshevism in the Fourth International.

Illustrated board cover * 263 pages * Price 10s. 6d.
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IN DEFENCE OF MARXISM

Leon Trotsky

Available from New Park Publications Ltd.
186a Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4



German tanks advance across the plains of Russia in June 1941 after Stalin refused to heed warnings of a German invasion.

A crime against the working class

Stalin's record before and during the Second World War

WE in the Young Socialists loath Stalinism as a bitter and desperate enemy of the working class the world over. The list of crimes against the working class would fill, many times over, the pages of this issue of Keep Left.

Instead, we reproduce on the next three pages a record of a discussion on just one of these betrayals—that of the disastrous effects of Stalin's policies in the Soviet Union on the fighting ability of the Red Army in the first stages of the war with Nazi Germany.

Stalin, as the main leader of a privileged Soviet bureaucracy, which came to power as a result of the exhaustion of the Russian working class after long years of imperialist and civil wars, struck terrible blows against the Red Army on the eve of the Second World War.

On charges of being in league with Nazi Germany, and of being the military wing of the Trotskyist opposition in the Soviet Union, Stalin had the finest Army leaders in the Soviet Union shot without trial. Together with these veterans of the Civil War, old comrades of War Commissar Leon Trotsky, nearly 80 of the general staff of the Soviet armed forces were exterminated.

In their places were installed loyal Stalinist yes-men, who might have known nothing about fighting, but everything about how to denounce a Trotskyist.

After Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union

(an invasion that Stalin had been warned of many times) literally millions of Soviet soldiers and civilians lost their lives because the Army was not in a position to fight back, being leaderless and practically unarmed.

Read the text of this discussion. See how violently the Red Army men express their hatred of Stalin and the top party leaders.

1937 and 1938: 20,000 to 35,000 Red Army officers liquidated.

90 per cent of the generals and 80 per cent of all colonels killed by the NKVD (secret police).

Three marshals, 13 army commanders, 57 corps commanders, 110 divisional commanders, 220 brigade commanders, all the commandants of the Military Districts executed by NKVD squads.

And these military leaders share many of the privileges of the party bureaucracy!

How deep therefore must be the hatred for this bureaucracy felt by the millions of ordinary Soviet workers and peasants who lost countless relatives and dear ones through the criminal policies of Stalin and his supporters.

The Red Army men discuss behind closed doors—they have no intention of involving the working class and the student youth in

this discussion as it may well get out of hand. But the discussion on Stalin, on his pact with Hitler that paved the way for the disaster of June 1941, and on the purge of the Red Army leaders, has a logic of its own.

Most important of all, it must not be forgotten that during the Second World War Trotskyists in Britain were accused of being fascists for saying what the Soviet generals and academicians are now saying—that Stalin ordered the murder of thousands of Red Army officers prior to the German invasion in 1941.

The Soviet working class still has to speak on these and many other questions. The rumblings from the military and history academies will be whispers compared to the anger of the Soviet working class when it at last breaks free from the grip of this rotten, corrupt bureaucracy and begins to build the type of socialist society for which the great Bolshevik party leaders fought and died.

At this moment the bureaucracy leans over backwards to help the US imperialists to crush the Vietnamese revolution. Its counter-revolutionary role remains—to prevent the working class from taking power and to maintain co-existence with capitalism.

Keep Left publishes the discussion on the next pages so that readers can see for themselves the true nature of the crimes of Stalinism and compare them with the betrayals of the Soviet bureaucracy today.

AGENDA: Discussion on A. M. Nekrich's book 'June 22 1941'.

Present: Major General E. A. Bolton, Major General B. S. Telpuchovsky, Professor G. A. Deborin and A. M. Nekrich, academician in the historical sciences. Chairman: Boltin.

Deborin: The central question is the research into the causes of our failures in the first period of the war. In his section, 'The Warnings that Were Disregarded', the basis of Nekrich's thesis is incorrect. He reduces everything to Stalin's stupid pig-headedness. This is superficial. This means that with Stalin's death the problem ceased to exist. But this is not accurate. It was not only a question of Stalin.

In one instance the author bases himself on a statement by Marshal Golikov of the Red Army [he cites that part of the book]. Golikov did not inform the government as much as he deceived it. Altogether his reports were a complete deception. These reports are divided into two parts: the first consists of the reports that Golikov considered reliable; these include information about the German preparations to invade England. The second part consists of reports which he considered unfounded; for example, the report from R. Sorge on the dates bracketed for the German attack on the USSR.

It is necessary to go more deeply into the criticism of the cult of the personality. There were persons who altered intelligence reports to please Stalin, to the disadvantage of the truth.

The Tass communiqué of June 14, 1941, was a normal diplomatic manoeuvre. It was necessary to test the reaction of the German government. But because of the situation that had been created in our country this was taken to be true.

In evaluating Stalin's be-

haviour, it is not necessary to base ourselves on Khrushchev's statements, which are often not objective. Thus, for example, it is difficult to agree with the statement that Stalin feared the war. Since he received incorrect intelligence, he reached incorrect conclusions.

Stalin placed too much hope in the pact, while the Germans, under cover of the pact, were preparing to attack. And Stalin's judgment was confirmed by all those who surrounded him. We cannot blame everything on Stalin.

There is a series of errors of fact in Nekrich's book. Among other things, 45-millimetre cannons were useless against the German tanks and because of this the government decided to stop producing them.

A Voice in the Hall: That's not true! The 45's were used throughout the war and worked splendidly against tanks. It was a crime to stop production of the 45's. We fought the German tanks with our fists. At the beginning of the war we didn't have any anti-tank weapons at all.

Deborin: Besides, Blucher and others knew that the Tukhachevsky-Yakir group were innocent and still they condemned them.

A Voice in the Hall: Of course they knew it.

Deborin: But, comrades, I do not believe that it can be doubted that Voroshilov and Budienny, who were there at the time, were men of conscience and honour!

Outraged Voices in the Hall: Voroshilov was not at the trial. What honour and conscience did these persons have? Cowards and bootlickers! (*Deborin leaves the podium amid tumult in the hall.*)

Anfilov, of the General Staff: First of all, on the honour of Budienny and Voroshilov. These persons neither had nor have any honour. Considerable material in our archives, which is barred for the time being from being made public, compels us to draw decidedly negative conclusions concerning their activities.

I will cite only one minor episode. Toward the middle of 1937, at a very representative gathering, Stalin said: 'And Voroshilov and I arrived at Tsaritsyn in 1918 and in a week we unmasked the enemies of the people.' And he said this about many ex-officials of the General Staff and front-line forces who served the Soviet government with honour.

A Voice in the Hall: And he drowned them all in the river without a trial!

Anfilov: 'While you,' Stalin continued, 'are not even able to unmask your neighbours.' After Stalin, Voroshilov joined in, declaring he was in complete agreement with Stalin and he called on us to denounce our own friends and colleagues. My heart beats with anger when I see Voroshilov on the mausoleum during parades.

And now, as regards the beginning of the war. If all our forces had been prepared for battle, something that depended completely on Stalin, we would not have suffered such a disastrous defeat in the first period of the war and, in general, the war would not have been so long, so bloody or so costly.

Of course, it is necessary to take into account also the degree of responsibility of our most important military leaders. In

Below we publish a translation of the minutes of a discussion held between historians and members of the General Staff of the army on which Germany prepared to invade the Soviet Union.) The left-centrist magazine 'La Sinistra'. Footnotes on page 8 are the

their speeches, Golikov and Kuznetsov seemed to be heroes. In reality, Golikov passed on to Stalin a report in which the entire Barbarossa Plan was outlined, writing, however, that it was a provocation emanating from those who wanted to see us go to war against the Germans. Kuznetsov writes that when he received the communication from the naval attaché in Berlin, Vorontsov, on the dates and plans of the German attack, he immediately referred everything to Stalin. It is true. But in which way did he refer it? You should read his story! He writes that Vorontsov's report was a provocation sent us by counter-espionage.

Stalin is still the main culprit in the tragedy. Not long ago, I spoke with Zhukov. He told me that Golikov was directly responsible to Stalin and did not report at all either to the head of the General Staff (Marshal Zhukov), or to the People's Commissar of Defence (Timoshenko). They did not know the plans and dates of the attack. I wasn't able to talk with Timoshenko—he doesn't speak with any of us.

Zavstavenko, from the Institute of Marxism-Leninism: The people around Stalin did not help to evaluate the situation properly. In the beginning of June (June 5, 1941) Kalinin gave a speech at the Political-Military Academy. He said: 'The Germans are preparing to attack us but we are ready. And the sooner they do it the better. We will wring their necks.'

A Voice in the Hall: The old windbag!

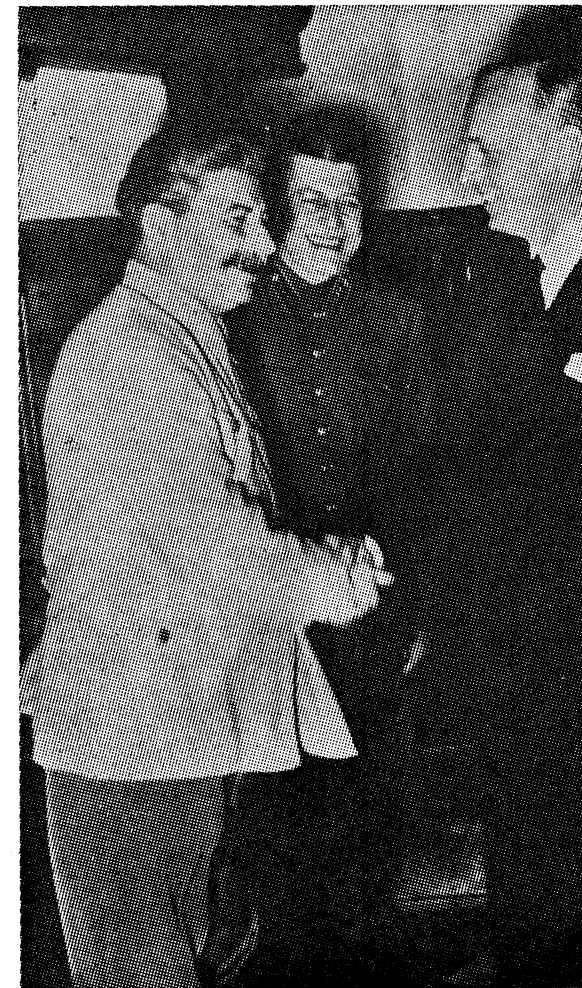
Zavstavenko: That was the way the Politburo judged the situation; they underestimated the power of the Germans. Stalin was not the only one responsible for what happened. (*Murmurs in the hall.*)

Dashichev, of the General Staff: Deborin has said some incorrect things concerning the 45 cannons. At the beginning of the war this cannon shot clear through all kinds of German armour. To stop production amounted to disarming the army, since the other type of cannon (the 82 millimetre) was not yet ready for production. The army found itself without anti-tank artillery and without ammunition.

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Voice in the Hall: Including Sorge!

Dashichev: Are the causes of the tragedy of June 1941 completely clarified in this book? It is necessary to explain them still more profoundly. Stalin was the one chiefly responsible for this tragedy. He was the one who created such a situation in our country. Stalin's greatest crime was to usurp power, to destroy our best cadres in the army and the party. None of our leaders, although they understood the international situation, had the courage to fight for the measures needed to defend the country. This is their terrible guilt before the party and the people. There are still people today who say that we must not speak ill of Stalin, that Stalin was not the only one. This is wrong. For a driver of a bus, any accident that happens is his fault. Stalin took the responsibility of leading the country on himself alone. And his guilt is enormous.

It is necessary to define with more precision the positions of Churchill, Schulenburg, Raeder, Halder (the latter two in Hitler's staff were opposed to a war with the USSR). It is necessary to explain the motives for their actions; they were not exactly lovers of our country. Hitler strongly influenced the decision of the military. During a meeting at the highest level, Hitler said: 'The Red Army has been decapitated; eighty per cent of its commanders have been liquidated. The Red Army has been weakened as never before; this is the fundamental factor which leads me to make this decision. It is necessary to go to war to prevent the formation of new cadres.' Every historian must have the courage to speak the truth.

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Stalin's policy of decapitating the army command on the eve of war led to the death of millions. Russian prisoners were moved in open freight wagons in temperatures well below freezing. A German report complained that 'there is no sense transporting manpower in open and unheated cars because . . . we have only corpses to unload.' In the last four months of 1941 500,000 died.

Below we publish a translation of the minutes of a discussion held at the Institute of Marxism Leninism between historians and members of the General Staff of the army on the book 'June 22, 1941' (the date on which Germany prepared to invade the Soviet Union.) The minutes first appeared in the Italian left-centrist magazine 'La Sinistra'. Footnotes on page 8 are the ones given in 'La Sinistra'.

their speeches, Golikov and Kuznetsov seemed to be heroes. In reality, Golikov passed on to Stalin a report in which the entire Barbarossa Plan was outlined, writing, however, that it was a provocation emanating from those who wanted to see us go to war against the Germans. Kuznetsov writes that when he received the communication from the naval attaché in Berlin, Vorontsov, on the dates and plans of the German attack, he immediately referred everything to Stalin. It is true. But in which way did he refer it? You should read his story! He writes that Vorontsov's report was a provocation sent us by counter-espionage.

Stalin is still the main culprit in the tragedy. Not long ago, I spoke with Zhukov. He told me that Golikov was directly responsible to Stalin and did not report at all either to the head of the General Staff (Marshal Zhukov), or to the People's Commissar of Defence (Timoshenko). They did not know the plans and dates of the attack. I wasn't able to talk with Timoshenko—he doesn't speak with any of us.

Zavstavenko, from the Institute of Marxism - Leninism: The people around Stalin did not help to evaluate the situation properly. In the beginning of June (June 5, 1941) Kalinin gave a speech at the Political-Military Academy. He said: 'The Germans are preparing to attack us but we are ready. And the sooner they do it the better. We will wring their necks.'

A Voice in the Hall: The old windbag!

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I do not agree with Deborin with regard to the Tass communiqué—it was not a diplomatic manoeuvre but a crime. This communiqué disarmed the people morally. Stalin and those around him did everything to prevent the Soviet people from readying themselves for war.

When Kuznetsov informed Malenkov that some defensive measures had been carried out by the fleet—it was June 17, 1941—Malenkov laughed at him and said: 'You act as if the war was going to start tomorrow.' Zhdanov was present at this meeting; his attitude was more serious, but even he did nothing. Malenkov revoked all the measures taken. But even our military leaders cannot avoid responsibility.

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To hide these preparations from the Soviet government, Hitler proposed a top-level meeting. The chairman of the Council of People's Commissars Molotov goes to Berlin. Hitler conveys to him a plan for partitioning a good deal of territory in general. Molotov asks concretely for the Dardanelles, Bulgaria, Rumania and Finland. Hitler did not want to initiate a discussion of this type because he feared that the news would leak out to his future allies. In response to Molotov's requests, he proposed that the Soviet Union should join the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis.⁵ This demonstrates his principles of action.

Vasilenko, of the Institute of Marxism - Leninism: Deborin's concern that the book puts too much emphasis on Stalin's role is without foundation. Objectively we had every possibility of resisting the Germans. But Stalin ruined everything. When it was too late to justify his shameful defeat, he put forward the commonplace notion that the aggressor is always better prepared for war.

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It is necessary to study the problem more deeply. Why did such a situation develop?

How did our government, ruled by Stalin, rule the country?

How did it defend our people against the danger?

Was the government fit for the position it occupied?

No, it was not fit. It is necessary to analyse the process that produced Stalin, who was not fit for his position as head of the party and of the state, with unlimited powers.

Still another very obvious error: in all our historical literature, the reunification with the western Ukraine and western Belorussia is always held to be a factor that improved the defensive capacity of the country. Still we know that things were different. These areas, for a series of well-known reasons, weakened the frontier defensive capacity. Therefore in judging the reunification of the western regions, it is better to speak of the liberating and internationalist functions of the Red Army.

Gnadin: It is a good book. I did not want to speak but the discussion has forced me to take the platform. For two years I gave intelligence reports to Stalin and Molotov. All these reports passed through my hands. Golikov, of course, was a deceiver, but that is not the question.

All the 'reliable' parts of the reports were usually reflected in one way or another in our official press but Stalin paid attention fundamentally to the things considered 'dubious'. He knew everything and his policy was to do nothing. Golikov was responsible for the repressions among the cadres of the GPU, but it is not his fault that defensive measures were not taken.

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Stalin became head of government not to prepare the country for war but to make a deal with Hitler.⁶

Slezkin, of the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR: I was at the front and when I was nineteen years old, I participated in the battles at the frontier in 1941.

Stalin acted in a way that can easily be described as criminal. The situation of the cult of the personality—provocations, repressions—created a vicious circle.

Everyone strove to please his own boss, giving him only such information as would please him, or adding a negative commentary on information which would not please him.

Everyone tried to avoid expressing his own ideas.

All this brought immeasurable harm to the country.

Everyone is guilty, although in differing degrees. Some are guilty for not having decided to say what they thought. The more important the officials, the higher you go, the greater the responsibility. At a certain level the renunciation of truth in the name of one's own privileges is a crime, and the higher the level, the greater the crime. The chief culprit was Stalin.

The 1939 pact was perhaps necessary. It was a crime to base one's hopes on this pact, and above all to cease, as a result of it, to fight against fascism (and this was done on orders from Stalin).

Yakir, of the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR: The book is very good. Some speakers have dealt with the Tukhachevsky-Yakir affair. I believe that the speeches on the fascist provocation, on the 'red fascicle' and the documents contained in it are useless and even harmful, in that they draw the discussion away from the central point.

There was no red fascicle at the trial and the red fascicle was not brought up. All of the accused were found guilty on the basis of accusations inspired by Stalin which were made to the War Council on June 1-4, 1937 and of the desire openly expressed by Stalin to be rid of them.

Some among the preceding speakers have spoken of Stalin as 'Comrade Stalin'. This is improper. Stalin is no one's comrade and still less ours.

Stalin impeded the development of our armaments by liquidating many eminent technicians, among others the founders of missile science, Ikomirov, Lange-man (the inventor of the katusha, a multiple rocket launcher used as ground artillery) Kurchevsky, Bekaury.

It is necessary to study the problems of the concentration camps. Study it from the economic point of view. It was wartime and in the concentration

Continued overleaf →



Molotov, arriving in Berlin on November 12, 1940 to confer with Nazi leaders was given a salute and a guard of honour. Stalin sent him in response to Hitler's invitation.

EDITORIAL

Pledge for good work in 1967

1966 was a year of great political progress for the Young Socialists. Right from the beginning, January 26 to be exact, we were in the forefront of the fight against what is now the Prices and Incomes Act.

We were the only labour youth organisation to participate in all the activities of the working class during the months that followed.

On March 1 we joined with members of the Communist Party in a demonstration and lobby of Parliament. On May 25 we joined with seamen and dockers in defence of the seamen's strike and against the Prices and Incomes Bill. On June 21 we again linked up with members of the Communist Party in another demonstration and lobby on the eve of the Bill becoming law.

The demonstration in Brighton on October 2, on the eve of the Labour Party conference, brought home to thousands of workers the political significance of the struggles being waged by the Young Socialists. There were 1,200 on that demonstration and at the great public meeting which followed.

How better to finish the old year than with a pledge to continue with the good work for 1967? But this coming year we will be joined by thousands of workers who last year were only prepared to give us sympathetic support. The Labour government has brutally convinced them that the policies being pursued by Wilson are Tory policies.

The Young Socialists salute, in particular, the decision of the conference of the National Association of Labour Student Organisations (NALSO) in calling for a mass demonstration and lobby of 'left' Labour MPs towards the end of February. The Young Socialists will support this action to the fullest. This time we know we are going to enjoy substantial support from a number of very important factories.

1966 was also a great year for our paper. October saw the new 12-page Keep Left. Young Socialists fought tooth and nail to provide us with the finance to take this significant step forward. We in turn are producing a paper of 12 pages for 4d., which was the price previously paid for the eight-page issue.

At a time when there is great discussion as to the future of newspapers in Britain, this is a remarkable achievement, due entirely to the political devotion and hard work of the Young Socialists.

We have left our greatest 1966 achievement purposely until the last. Need we mention it? Yes, of course, it was the Liège demonstration. On that memorable Saturday, October 15, we forged solid revolutionary ties with thousands of young people from all over Western Europe.

The Young Socialists is the only socialist youth movement in Britain with a real international tradition and contact. August 1967, just seven months from now, will see the International Assembly of Youth. We hope to bring together the largest number of young socialists from the most important countries of Western Europe.

Our aim is to establish the closest and most friendly relations leading to preparations for an international youth conference covering Western Europe. The International Assembly of Youth will be a preparatory step towards this conference. Look out for the details in the next issue of Keep Left.

Meanwhile, on behalf of the Editorial Board, we wish all our Young Socialist readers a happy New Year.

From page 7

A crime against the working class

camps were imprisoned millions of healthy men who were specialists in all sectors of the economic and military life of the country. Furthermore considerable forces were required to guard them.

Telegin: The author has a non-critical attitude toward foreign sources, in particular toward memoirs which contain few elements of truth. . . .

Voice from the Hall: And in our memoirs?

Telegin: In our memoirs, too, there are many outrageous lies. (Laughter.)

It is necessary to remember that there are obvious traces of the exaggerations of the Khrushchev period in these memoirs. (Murmurs in the hall.)

Telpukovsky: The political leaders of all countries underestimated Hitler. However, after the fall of France, these evaluations were reconsidered, except those of Stalin. Stalin relied on the hope that Hitler, if he did not break his neck, would become entangled in the war in the West.

Clearly, when the war began, Stalin was still making attempts to avoid the conflict. Otherwise it is difficult to explain the three separate strategic directives of the high command of the Red Army in the first days of the war. Stalin is the main culprit, but there were others too, each in his own sphere.

Petrovsky, of the Institute of Historic Archives: It is necessary to keep in mind that fascism emerged while Lenin was still alive. Mussolini took power in Italy, the Kapp putsch, etc. Lenin pointed out that fascism was the main enemy. Stalin did not pay any heed to Lenin's warning and declared that the social democracy was the main enemy. This 'theory' was widely disseminated and divided millions of workers throughout the world. Stalin is a criminal.

Boltin: Comrade Petrovsky, in this hall, on this platform, it is necessary to choose your words. Are you a Communist?

Petrovsky: Yes.

Boltin: I have not read any document, in any directive of our party, obligatory for both of us, that Stalin was a criminal.

Petrovsky: The 23rd Congress of the party voted to remove Stalin from the Mausoleum for his crimes against the party. Therefore, he is a criminal.

Snegov: Nekrich's book is an honest and useful book. When there is disorder in a military unit, when the breechblocks are in one place and the guns in another, when the patrols and sentries are asleep, the unit is defeated. When headquarters orders it, the commander of a detachment of this kind is shot. And none of us has anything to laugh about. Stalin was in the same position as this commander, but his detachment was our entire country. Stalin ought to have been shot and instead they are now trying to justify him.

Why is Nekrich's book, where Stalin is attacked, submitted so quickly to discussion and even condemned, while the book of the notorious falsifier of the history of the party I. Petrov, which attributes positive acts to Stalin which he never did, has awaited discussion for some years

already? Why did Deborin attempt to justify Stalin?

When Hitler was preparing to attack Poland, Stalin helped him.⁸ He shot all the Polish Communists in the USSR and outlawed the Polish Communist party. Why is the fourth partition of Poland defined as a liberating expedition?

How can you be a Communist and speak calmly about Stalin who betrayed and sold out Communists, who liquidated almost all the delegates to the 17th Congress and almost all the members of the Central Committee elected at that Congress, who betrayed the Spanish Republic, Poland, all the Communists in all countries?

Deborin (in conclusion): I have not created any new theory and I have not taken on the task of defending Stalin. It is necessary to examine all the aspects of the cult in greater depth. As for Snegov's remarks, we have heard what Snegov said about Poland more than once. And these claims came from the enemy camp. It is strange that Snegov also shares this point of view. Comrade Snegov, you must tell us to which camp you belong.

Snegov: I am from Kolyma.⁹

Deborin: All these things have to be verified.

Voices in the Hall: Do you want his telephone number? Like the old days? (They do not permit Deborin to continue.)

Nekrich: Thank you for your observations. There's no doubt that Deborin does not hold the ideas that have been attributed to him. One often exaggerates in the heat of discussion. The main one responsible for the grave defeats and the whole tragedy of the first period in the war is Stalin. However, one should not give his own chief incorrect information just to please him.

Stalinism begins with us, with the little people. Stalin wanted to outwit Hitler and instead deceived himself and the whole business ended in a catastrophe.

He knew better than anyone about the liquidation of the leading cadres and about the weakness of the army.

Snegov (three minutes on a point of personal privilege): I thought that I was participating in a scientific discussion. Deborin, instead of scientific proofs, has

introduced 'arguments' vintage 1937. But it is not easy to frighten us with concentration camps! Times have changed and the past will not return. (Applause.)

Boltin (in conclusion): This meeting has produced many new and interesting things on the entire problem in its complete context. The remarks of comrades Snegov and Petrovsky were very impassioned. I can agree with much of Comrade Snegov's remarks but not all.

Our country cannot be accused of desiring to deprive the Polish state of its independence or of partitioning it. This is the point of view of the bourgeois historians and the White emigrants. It was up to us to defend the independence of Poland.

Some comrades have described criticism of the cult of the personality as an exaggeration of the Khrushchev period. This is fundamentally wrong. The resolutions of the 20th and 22nd congresses on the cult of the personality are not exaggerations of the Khrushchev period but are of vital importance for every honest Communist. (He thanks the author and all those present.)

The sessions lasted from 10.15 to 4.45 with an intermission of one hour.

1 The communiqué referred to was written, according to A.

Tasca (Due anni di alleanza germano-sovietica) [The Two Years of the German-Soviet Alliance], by Stalin himself. In it the British ambassador, who had tried to warn Stalin of the imminent German attack, is accused of spreading false rumours, the product of propaganda emanating from powers hostile to Germany and the USSR.

2 The tribunal which condemned the Tukhachevsky-Yakir group was presided over by Ulrich and was composed of Alksnis, Budienny, Shaposhnikov, Belov, Dybenkov, Kashirin, Goryachev and Blucher. Voroshilov, who supported Stalin in the decapitation of the General Staff, did not take part in the tribunal. However, it was he who announced on June 12, 1937, that the Soviet generals had been shot on charges of having been in contact with an enemy power.

3 Voroshilov, who was commander of the Tenth Army on the Tsaritsyn front, was the chief opponent of the kind of military organisation projected by Trotsky.

4 Schulenburg, German ambassador to Moscow at the time, later became involved in the plot to assassinate Hitler and was executed in 1944.

5 Molotov remained in Berlin on November 12 and 13, 1940. Hitler tried to convince Molotov that the Soviet Union's natural sphere of interest was in Asia, while Molotov asked instead for European territories. On Hitler's offer to join the Axis, Molotov replied, according to the testimony of the interpreter Schmidt (*Statist auf diplomatischer Buhne 1923-45*) that this was acceptable in general but only on the basis of equality.

6 Before May 5, 1941 Stalin had no official responsibilities in the government of the USSR. Shortly after that date, the Belgian, Norwegian and Greek diplomats, representing countries occupied by the Germans, were expelled from the USSR. At the same time, Bogomolov was sent as ambassador to the pro-Nazi Petain government.

7 The son of the Yakir mentioned in the proceedings.

8 It is evident that it is considered that the existence has been confirmed of the secret August 23 protocol which granted Germany a free hand in attacking Poland (the partition of which was provided in the protocol) and which promised to furnish Soviet supplies for the war against France and England.

9 Kolyma was a famous concentration camp in the Stalinist period.



Many of the Generals were liquidated such as those in the picture above. Tukhachevsky, mentioned by Dashichev in the discussion, is second from the left on the top row.

Special Report on the NALSO conference

Keep Left Reporter

THE special conference of the National Association of Labour Student Organisations, held in London on January 3 and 4, clearly indicated that left-wing students are strongly opposed to the policies of Wilson and the present Labour government.

In motion after motion the government's policies were condemned. The students at the conference expressed themselves strongly against the incomes policy, against unemployment, and against the wage freeze.

They called for nationalization and workers' control as the only solution to the economic crisis. They condemned Wilson's attempts at compromise with the Smith regime in Rhodesia, and called for the arming of the African workers as the only way to defeat imperialism there.

The role of labour students in campaigning for these policies was also discussed. It was agreed that students could only fight for these policies in association with young workers and the whole of the working class.

This is why efforts to secure higher grants and better conditions for students could only be made as part of a whole opposition to Wilson's support of big business against the working class.

For this reason the conference passed a motion giving full support to the Lucas/CAV shop stewards in their campaign for a national lobby of Parliament calling on the 'left' MPs to demand the resignation of Wilson. It was agreed to secure support for this campaign in universities and colleges, and throughout the labour movement.

HOUSE OF DEATH

CAPITALISM—the system that the Young Socialists fight to destroy—has a long history. There are few better introductions to this history than the book by Peter Batty on the House of Krupp—perhaps the most notorious of the world's capitalist families.

We are often told by defenders of capitalism that the working class has no right to nationalize the big industries and banks. Their stock argument is that nationalization robs the employers of the hard-earned wealth, which we are told, is their reward for self-sacrifice and brains.

'The House of Krupp', written by a man by no means opposed to capitalism, smashes for all time the stupid lie that the workers owe their jobs to the boss, and that the boss owes his profits to his own intelligence and hard work.

Batty succeeds in sketching a history of capitalism in biographical form by following through the rise of the Krupp concern from its earliest days in the Ruhr town of Essen in the late 16th century to the vast industrial empire that spans the entire world in 1966.

It was Karl Marx who said that capitalism came on the scene of history dripping with blood. This description could not be better applied than to the story of Krupps. The first Krupp fortune was made in the Plague of 1599, when in a panic the landowners and merchants of Essen, believing that death was certain, sold their property to Arndt Krupp for a song, and made merry on the proceeds.

With the Plague gone, Krupp the First sold back these same assets at their real value, netting enough in the process to make himself the richest man in Essen.

From the very beginning, the Krupps saw death and destruction as a means to wealth and power.

It was with the development of large-scale warfare in the 19th century that Krupps launched out into gun making. Though much sought after by the kings and military leaders of Germany as a supplier to their armed forces, the Krupp concern was never so foolish as to forego business with countries that might turn their guns against Germany.

Not once, but many times, did Krupp's guns blaze away at each other from opposed trenches. Meanwhile, the Krupps grew rich, as thousands were killed and maimed on the battlefields of the world.

★

★

For Gustav Krupp, (the father of the present Alfred) war and death was good news and even better business. He made no less than £40,000,000 clear profit on the First World War alone. It was of little or no interest to him which side won—win or lose, he and his kind were the real winners, while the losers were the millions of dead workers and peasants whose bodies littered the battlefields.

Eager for more business, Krupp made secret plans to rebuild the German army once again. Cautious at first towards the Nazis (Krupps only backed certain winners) Gustav threw his full weight behind Hitler when the Nazi leader outlined his plans for the crushing of the German labour movement and the rearmament of the armed forces.

Such an enthusiastic supporter of Hitler's was he, that Gustav Krupp gave the Nazi party funds £150,000 towards the expenses of the last pre-Nazi election in Germany. (March, 1933).

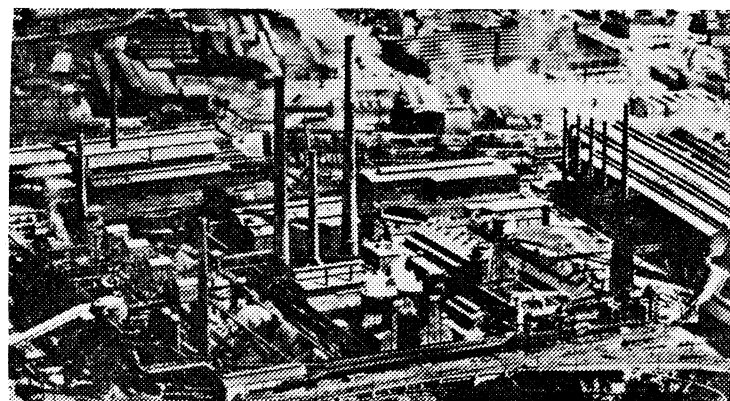
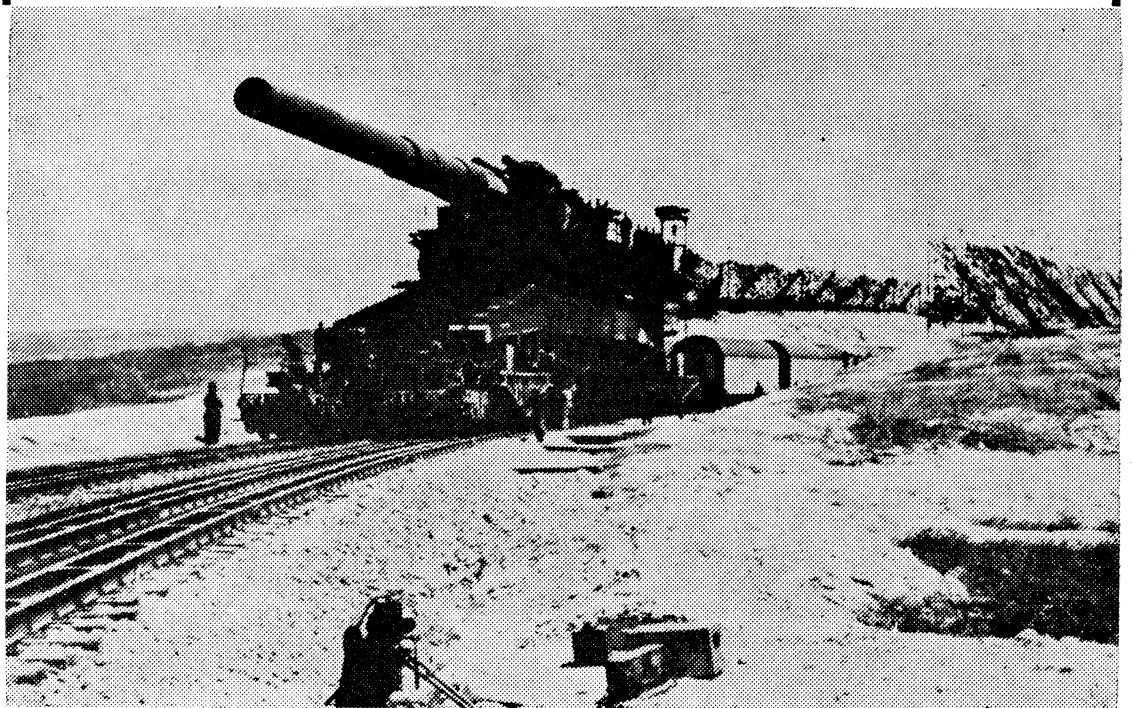
Always a bitter enemy of the working class, Krupp now had a free hand in dealing with the trade unions in his plans. Even before the victory of the Nazis, Krupp had dealt ruthlessly with any militant trade unionists—now he could really go to town.

Hitler made him 'German Fuehrer of Economics' and he was given of all things the title 'Pioneer of Labour'. Meanwhile the real labourers were dealt with by the Gestapo, who dragged 700 of Krupp's workers off to the concentration camps during the Nazi era.

Batty describes in detail what lay in store for any worker who opposed the Krupp reign of terror; 'Allied troops discovered torture equipment in the basement of Krupp's head office at Essen, including a tiny steel cage in which rebellious workers were imprisoned—it was so small the luckless victim must have been almost bent double, and in addition it had a hole at the top through which cold icy water was apparently poured.' (page 161)

House of Krupp
by Peter Batty
Published by
Secker and Warburg
Price 36s.

Book
Review
by
Robin
Whyte



Above: The biggest gun ever made—Fat Gustav, produced in Krupp's factory and used in the siege of Sevastopol in 1942.
Left: The Krupp steel-mills at Rheinhausen as they are today.

The Krupp's workers even had their dustbins searched for socialist and trade union leaflets when the German working class was pioneering its labour movement in the last century. The sack at Krupp's not only meant losing a job, but a house and a pension as well. In this way, the Krupps hoped to buy the worker, body and soul, and turn him into a machine for producing profit.

During the last war, Alfred Krupp hired out slaves (men, women and children captured by the German army in occupied countries) from the Gestapo at 4s. per slave per day.

The conditions of those slaves defied description, those that survived it being physically and morally reduced to the level of animals.

From the first year of the war alone, Krupp made £28,000,000 profit, and with the employment of 100,000 slaves during the course of the war, increased this figure as the war went on.

After the war, there was much talk of the break-up of the Krupp concern by the allies, and the punishment of Alfred Krupp as a war criminal.

But Alfred Krupp was a capitalist and the war was fought by the American and British capitalists, not to destroy German capitalism, but to curb its expansion, and if possible, win it to an alliance against the Soviet Union.

That is where Krupp came in, and after three years in gaol (where he held board meetings with his business colleagues) he was set free, gradually to piece together his old empire.

The 1945 Labour government was pledged, under pressure from its rank and file, to work for the nationalization of all the properties belonging to Hitler's business allies. But then, as now, they backed down before the pressure of British and particularly American big business, who saw in Krupp and his like a capitalist ally in the cold war against the Soviet Union.

There are many things to be learned from this very readable book. But let us be on guard against one thing—nationalism. Not all Germans supported Hitler—as the concentration camps, the S.S. and Gestapo testify.

The working class never fell for the Hitler myth that he was going to bring prosperity to all Germans.

The war booty and profits fell only to Krupp and his kin, while the German workers either slaved in the factories or died on the battlefields.

Krupp was just one of an international class of capitalists, and it is against this international class that the British, the German and the whole world's workers must fight to achieve their final goal of socialism.

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As a result of what is happening, and due to the fact that most of the youth in Stockton have nowhere to go except hang around the High Street in the evenings (nobody has any money after Sunday), we decided in the local YS branch to book a bus and go to Newcastle on December 17 for a demonstration against unemployment.

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(get paid)
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And why? They own the machines we made.

And while we live, work, feel things,
every day they take
everything we make.
And we are forced to grind on. All the time
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men's strike without giving any support to the seamen and their just claims against the shipowners, he kept quiet and saw the Emergency Powers Act brought against fellow trade unionists by his government.

Look at the so-called stand he took on work-sharing and redundancies. Although he defeated the government on this issue at the Labour Party conference he refused to make a fight on it. What is the AEU trying to prove?

The union bureaucracy is trying to make Cousins a champion of the rank and file of the trade union movement in order to confuse the working class.

By such actions the union bureaucracy shows how it not only hinders the workers but actually attacks them.

There is no doubt that right-wingers such as Carron and company are actually proud to associate themselves with 'left' people like 'Big Frank Cousins', who mislead the rank and file.

The photographs on the inside pages of the journal of Cousins, George Brown and Sir William Carron show this quite clearly.

Disgusted AEU member.

Unemployment in Sunderland

I PAID a visit to the Central Employment Exchange in Sunderland recently in order to assess the numbers of youth who are redundant. From what little information which could be prised from the officials there are approximately 250 youths in the Sunderland dole queues.

During the course of interviewing I got to know why these young people had been made redundant and of all the answers I received two stick in my mind the most:

(1) A little note was handed to those who were to lose their jobs saying: 'Due to the government's economic measures we no longer find it profitable to continue our association. We trust you will be able to find other suitable employment.'

(2) Boys and men were told by officials; 'Here is one week's pay. There is a shortage of money and we cannot afford to pay you any further. You had better look for another job.'

First let us examine these statements. What an employer really means when he says it is 'no longer profitable to continue our association', is, 'I am not taking any money out of my pocket. Find a job somewhere else.'

As for the second statement; 'we cannot afford to pay you any longer' the employer is simply declaring that after he has taken his share of the profits there is not enough money to go round therefore he must sack a few workers.

These two statements made to redundant workers reflect the views not only of the Sunderland employers but of capitalists throughout the country—pay the workers but wait until I have got my cut first.

These methods, which are used in Sunderland, will be used in every town and we

can expect that these conditions will bring recruits flocking to the Young Socialists and show the capitalist class for what they are, selfish, grab-all dictators, exploiting what they think are the ignorant workers, buying them off. But they cannot do this any more because the workers are not so ignorant!

L. W. Callaghan,
Chairman Sunderland YS.

December 3 Conference

THE conference on the prices and incomes policy at the Beaver Hall on December 3, 1966 was of great importance to the Young Socialists.

Called by the Shop Stewards Defence Committee who used it as an excuse to avoid supporting the demonstration outside the Labour Party Conference on October 2 in Brighton, it showed the line-up between these bodies and the bureaucracy in the trade unions e.g. Bill Jones, vice president of the Transport and General Workers' Union who was in the chair.

The conference took place at a time when unemployment is rising, caused by the selective employment tax of the Labour government, and when the wages of the whole working class are daily being reduced, due to the rising cost of living.

The essential starting point for any conference of trade unionists in this period should be what ACTION are we going to take to defend our conditions and organisation.

The conference consisted of a battle between the supporters of the Young Socialists, calling for the 'left' MPs to bring down Wilson and call on the support of the working class, and the Communist Party supporters (the main advertiser for the conference was the 'Morning Star') who called for PROPAGANDA in the working class and the PERSUASION of Wilson to change.

The Young Socialists members, the only young people at the conference, continually pointed out the need to understand what had happened in relation to the fight against the wage freeze i.e. in the seamen's strike the role of the Communist Party. An understanding of the lessons of the struggle had to be combined with ACTION. This was why we supported the calling of a massive lobby of parliament in 1967.

Tony Richardson,
Slough YS.

An answer on Socialist Societies

IN ANSWER to the letter from four members of the Norwood Young Socialists about starting Socialist Societies in the schools, which appeared in the December Keep Left: a couple of weeks after I first joined the Young Socialists I decided to take up a definite fight for it and its

policies and I thought about starting a Socialist Society at school. Unfortunately there was not enough support to make this possible.

This made me realise that it was time for some serious recruitment in my school, and with some other members of the YS Federation Committee I decided that the best way to introduce other pupils to the YS was through its social activities. From then on I flooded the school with leaflets and posters advertising YS social activities, such as the popular YS Discotheque, held weekly in Addiscombe.

Quite a few people came along from school to the discotheques, where they were made to feel very welcome. Members of the Federation Committee spoke to them about the YS and they encouraged them to buy copies of the Keep Left and the 'Socialism and Youth' pamphlet.

At the same time we were trying to bring political discussion into the meetings of the debating society and we found that an amazing number of people agreed with quite a few aspects of the YS policies.

As support for the YS grows in our school we have great hopes that a Socialist Society will be formed there.

I feel that recruitment in the schools is a very good idea because even if the other pupils only agree with us in a passive way, at a later date, when they have left school and are workers themselves, they will realise that we are right and will most likely join us in our fight for the working class and against the forces of capitalism.

Marion Kavanagh
Chairman and Keep Left
Organiser
Thornton Heath
Young Socialists

Willesden meeting

THE meeting called by the Young Socialists in Willesden on December 15 was a success. There were more than sixty workers present to listen to the YS policy as put by our speakers.

In the audience also were some members of the Communist Party whom we managed to attract with our policies against Wilson and the wage freeze. Six months ago a meeting of this size could not have been arranged in this area, and this shows the rising consciousness of the working class.

From the contribution of one of the Communist Party members present we could see that the CP was not capable of providing a revolutionary leadership built on the needs of the working class (not that we ever believed any such thing).

The CP member said that there was some doubt about the leadership and the role that they were playing.

From the actions of the CP in the trade unions and especially their betrayal over the seamen's strike we can see that the CP is incapable of providing any sort of political leadership which is necessary for the working class to take power.

Here the false leaders of the working class fall down as they cannot and will not organise the trade unions as a political force of the working class.

At the meeting claims were made that the unions should be non-political but that they should still fight the wage freeze.

Anyone can see that the working class must organise and summon all its forces to see where its enemies are.

This means making the 'lefts' in Parliament fight. In answer to the question of whether this would be a hopeless gesture or not we said that the working class should know its friends and its enemies and know where a leadership, which will not betray and back down at the first sign of opposition, will come from. Only on the basis of YS policies can such a leadership be founded.

Member of Willesden YS.

The French Communist Party

AS EUROPEAN capitalism finds itself in its most serious economic and political crisis since the second world war it is not surprising to Trotskyists to find Stalinism returning to the same weapons with which it beheaded the working class during the period of the 1940s.

In France this is most clearly shown by the conclusion of a new version of the notorious Popular Front Agreements, which saved French capitalism during and after the war. This action follows closely on the heels of the cordial meeting between the Russian Premier Kosygin and de Gaulle.

The Popular Front Agreement is between the Stalinists, led by Rochet, and the Federation of the Left, including the Socialist and Radical Socialist parties led by Mitterand.

The agreement is reported to be in three sections:

(1) A list of points of agreement and disagreement between the Communist

Party and the Federation in the struggle against the 'personal' power of de Gaulle;

(2) An agreement on the tactics at the second ballot where only the best placed 'left' candidate will stand;

(3) The 'long-term' objectives of the 'left'.

Mitterand commented on the agreement: 'We have embarked on a very profound study so that the whole of the left can join in battle. Effectiveness is the outcome of the good understanding of the left, which must reject all stupid sectarianism. Thus it will obtain a majority or, failing that, will be the powerful axis of a minority.'

In other words the whole object of the exercise is to provide a loyal opposition to de Gaulle—some kind of escape valve for the rising tide of the working class.

It reflects the present role of world Stalinism in trying to head off the struggle of the Vietnamese workers by reaching an agreement with Washington via de Gaulle.

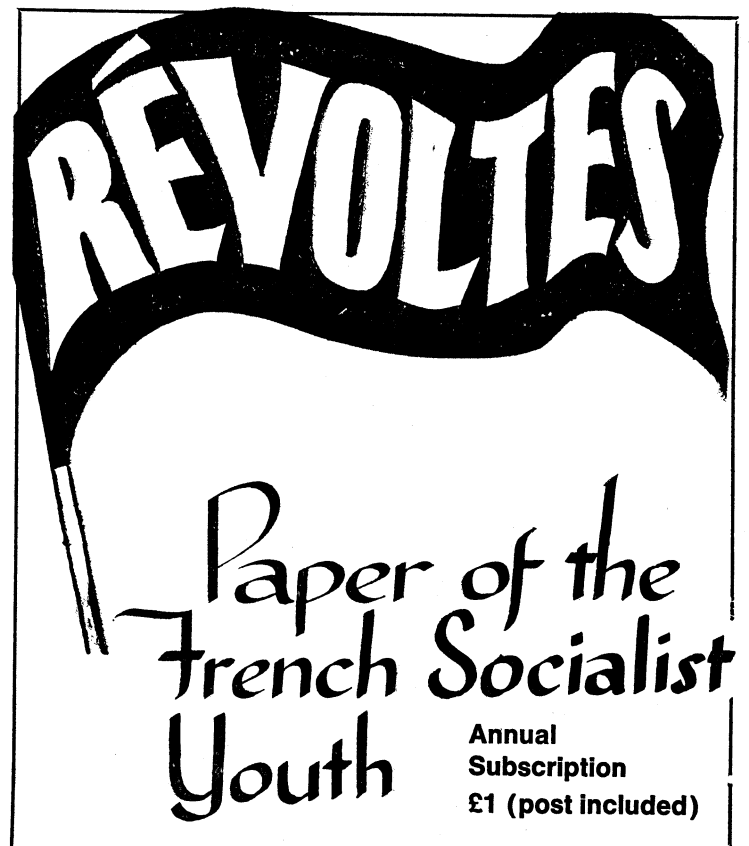
Mitterand knows that his friends the French Stalinists long abandoned any idea of the overthrow of capitalism in France. They are for 'a true democracy in which the people will find their rightful place'. ('Gaulism') . . . constitutes a major obstacle preventing the development of liberty, economic and social progress and the implementation of a coherent policy of peace and disarmament.' ('Morning Star'.)

However the days are past when Stalinism can smash the working-class movement and save capitalism in crisis. This latest move reflects the fact that the ground is slipping away from under the feet of the Stalinists as they move instinctively to the right.

For today French capitalism faces a strong working class with a great fighting strength and a great history.

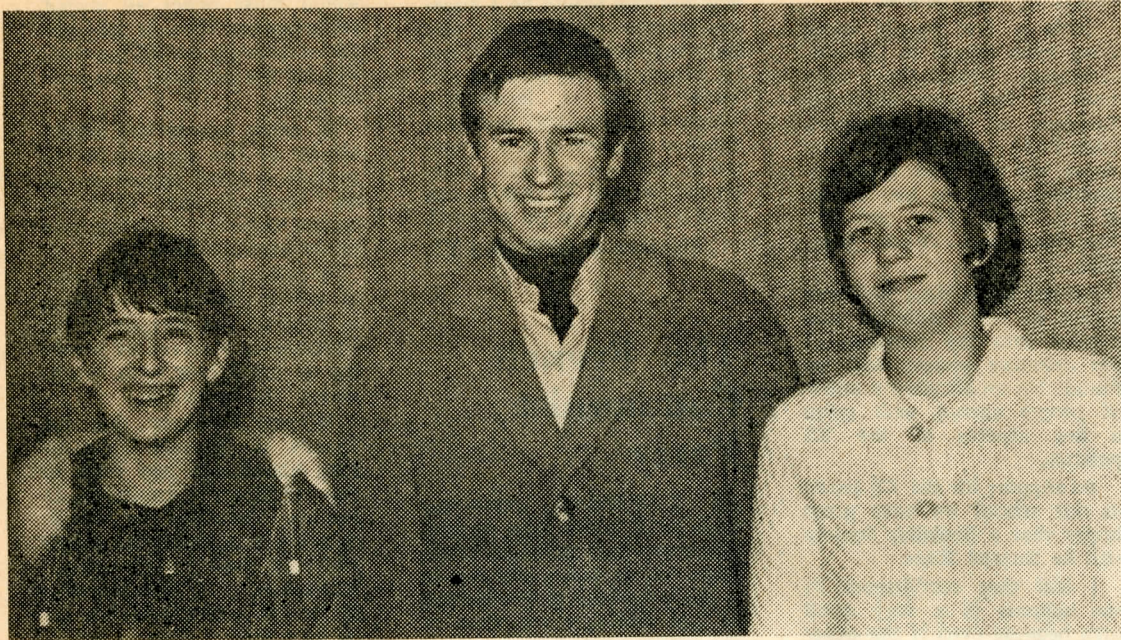
Above all, there exists in France today a strong section of the Fourth International pledged to destroy Stalinism truly the 'syphilis of the labour movement' for all time.

Middlesex Young Socialist.



SPEAKERS' CONTEST - LONDON HEAT

Apprentice Ray through to final



The winner and runners-up in the London speaking contest: Ray Waterman, the winner, with Anne Wetherley (left) and Joyce Robertson (right).

SEVENTEEN-YEAR-OLD Wandsworth apprentice and member of the Young Socialists, Ray Waterman, won the London heat of the National Speaking Contest with an interesting contribution on the struggle for apprentices' conditions over the past five years.

He and nine others spoke before an audience of 70 London Region YS members at the Caxton Hall on December 29, 1966. In spite of their nervousness all the competitors made a highly commendable job of their speeches.

Runners-up

Runners-up were Anne Wetherley of West London YS (left in photograph) and Joyce Robertson (right) of Peckham YS. (Earlier in December Joyce was involved in rescuing three youngsters from a blazing house whilst she

was on her way home from a Keep Left sale.)

The speeches covered a wide variety of subjects: housing, education, building the Young Socialists, why we need socialism, the fishing industry, the Labour government, apprentices' conditions, and unemployment.

Interesting

An especially interesting contribution came from Paul Brown, Norwood YS, on the role of the Young Socialists in relation to education and the need to build Socialist Societies in the schools.

Anne Wetherley impressed everyone with a fiery speech on the YS alternative to the betrayals of the Labour government. Housing was the subject chosen by Joyce Robertson, who was able to relate experiences from her own area.

The winner goes forward to the National Contest held at the Keep Left Annual Meeting on Saturday, January 7, 1967.

First local march against unemployment

ON December 17, one week before Christmas, apprentices, unemployed youth and students from all parts of the North East coast marched through the streets of Newcastle-on-Tyne against unemployment and the government's wage freeze.

The demonstration, the outcome of many campaigns around factories, trade union branches, dole queues and technical colleges by Young Socialist branches, was the first to be held in a local area.

As part of the campaign, the North East region Young Socialists held a series of three lectures on unemployment, the role of the Labour government and the need for a revolutionary party as part of the political preparation for the demonstration.

Banners and posters calling for an end to unemployment,

wage freezing and rising prices and for the nationalization of the basic industries, attracted the attention of the weekend shoppers.

Through the city centre the Young Socialists marched with their slogans calling on the 'left' Labour MPs to fight Wilson and to break publicly from his policies.

The demonstration ended with a meeting at the Connaught Hall at which Hugh Nicol, a South Shields apprentice, took the chair.

Speakers were Jack Williamson, on behalf of the Regional Committee, and Jean Annan, YS National Committee member for the North East.

The struggle to build a socialist youth movement

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

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Socialism and Youth

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

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New turn in E. Midlands

BRAUNSTONE, who appeared to be walking away with the East Midlands football league lead, have suffered two shock defeats against South West Leicester and Highfields B. The fight for the top position in the League is now very close with only goal average separating the first two teams.

Against South West Leicester, Braunstone got stuck in the mud after fighting back from a 3-1 deficit to a 4-3

lead, and later allowed South West to score two goals through defensive mistakes.

After a three week lay-off Braunstone appeared to have lost the edge in the match against Highfields 'B'. Taking a 4-2 lead Braunstone slipped and allowed Highfields to score three goals to win 5-4.

The side which has shown the most improvement in the League is South West, who, having defeated Braunstone, went to Nottingham and won 2-0.

League Table

	P	W	D	L	F	A	Pts
Braunstone	7	5	0	2	56	16	10
Highfields 'B'	7	5	0	2	30	14	10
Nottingham	5	3	0	2	30	19	6
Highfields 'A'	7	3	0	4	22	21	6
South West	9	3	0	6	31	64	6
Stocking Farm	6	2	0	4	17	49	4

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