

# workers press

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER ● WEDNESDAY NOVEMBER 22, 1972 ● No 927 ● 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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BY DAVID MAUDE

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- Stop talking to the Tories who are daily destroying basic trade union rights or get out and make way for leaders who will.

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Socialist Labour League

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3RD ANNIVERSARY  
OF WORKERS  
PRESS

BUILD THE  
REVOLUTIONARY  
PARTY

SUNDAY  
DECEMBER 3  
7 p.m.

Everyman Theatre  
LIVERPOOL

Speakers:

MIKE BANDA  
(SLL Central Committee)

JOHN HOWE  
(Deputy AUEW convenor, CAV)

CONNIE FAHEY  
(Wilmslow tenants' leader)

ALAN PEERS  
(Young Socialists' national committee)  
(Union and tenant speakers in a personal capacity.)  
Details of other provincial meetings see p. 12.





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NEW  
FILM

THREE  
YEARS  
OF  
WORKERS  
PRESS

Showing the  
developments and  
gains since the  
first issue of  
Workers Press  
September 26, 1969

# What we think

# Nixon reveals real platform No jobs—No housing—No schools

THE AMERICAN working class now faces a crisis situation. Richard Nixon is not wasting any time in pressing ahead with his plans to smash the trade unions and destroy the living conditions of millions of workers.

Though the elections are over, the greatest political tasks lie before the labour movement. No time can be lost in mobilizing the full strength of the working class through a Congress of Labour which must build a labour party based upon socialist programmes and take action now against Nixon's attacks.

The urgency of the situation is exposed by Richard Nixon himself, who, in an interview with the 'Washington Star-News' held just before election day and published last week, outlined in chilling detail his grand design for taking away every right won by the working class over the past 40 years.

With unequalled arrogance, this spokesman of the bankers and industrialists declared:

**'The average American is just like a child in the family. You give him some responsibility and he is going to amount to**

**something. He is going to do something.**

**'If, on the other hand, you make him completely dependent and pamper him and cater to him too much, you are going to make him soft, spoiled, and eventually a very weak individual.'**

Boasting that he never promised 'a whole bag full of goodies,' Nixon stated that nearly all the social welfare programmes instituted during the 1960s will be dropped.

While deploring the decline of the 'work ethic,' Nixon pledged that he will personally supervise massive job cuts throughout American industry and particularly among federal employees.

'Masses of civilian employees who are getting in the way of each other,' he stated, '... are going to have to take a thinning down.'

In the same malicious vein, Nixon declared that 'HUD, HEW, [housing and health departments] transportation are all too fat, too bloated.' Admitting that his administration has decided to eliminate thousands of jobs, Nixon made it clear that moral considerations would not stand in his way:

**'We are going to try to do it in a way that will consider the**

**individual, but we have to accomplish the objective.'**

Make no mistake about it. In the full flush of his election victory, Nixon is talking about war against the working class.

In less than a week, it has become crystal clear that the second Nixon administration will be nothing like the first. His talk about creating mass unemployment and slashing all social programmes are no idle threats. The plans Nixon has for the working class are already being carried out.

- In Detroit, the city administration is threatening to shut down the school system in December, and deprive working class youth of education.

- In St. Louis, 25,000 are being thrown onto the streets as public housing facilities are eliminated.

- In Newark, the Gibson administration is on the verge of declaring the city bankrupt.

These developments prove that the Nixon administration is determined to make the United States a country where millions of workers will have no jobs, no housing, no unions, no security in their old age, and where their children have no future.

The Congress of Labour must be convened immediately to take action against the attacks—unemployment, speed-ups, wage controls, cuts in social programmes—and preparing the alternative by actually organizing a labour party pledged to socialist programmes that will meet the crisis.

We propose that the Congress of Labour defeat Nixon's Pay Board and productivity drive by organizing national General Strike action. There is no other way to stop the government's open robbery of workers, its stomping upon the right to negotiate a decent contract and inhuman speed-ups.

The Congress must answer the threat of massive unemployment by fighting for the 30-hour week for 40 hours' pay. We must make the 30-hour week the law of the land so that everyone may work and benefit from the productive capacity of the country. There must be real job training for youth.

The Congress must reject and fight any attempt to turn back the clock on the living conditions of workers. Billions must be spent for education, housing and medical care.

All the attacks on the working class flow from the character of capitalism in crisis. Under capitalism big business uses the vast productive power of industry for profit, not to serve the people.

Nixon and big business are saying that the corporations cannot function unless they lay off millions and destroy the living conditions of the working class.

This means that workers can defend themselves only through the nationalization of industry under their control. Only this way can the economy be planned, organized and developed in the interests of working people. By controlling the economy, the working class will see to it that everyone has a job, that schools and housing are built and decent living conditions assured.

The Congress of Labour must unite all sections of the working class in struggle against Nixon around this programme.

We urge every trade unionist to take up the fight for the Congress of Labour in his union.

Reprinted from the November 20 'Bulletin', organ of the Workers League of America.

# The war threat

ON THE EVE of the preliminary meeting to prepare the European Security Conference in Helsinki, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization has unveiled new war plans against the Soviet Union.

The plans laid before the NATO Assembly meeting in Brussels provide, among other things, for the laying of mines at the mouth of the Baltic to be activated in case of war with the USSR.

The mines, supplemented by shore-based missile batteries, would be used to bottle up the Soviet fleet and prevent it entering the North Sea and the Atlantic from the landlocked Baltic.

This was only one of a number of similar proposals at the NATO gathering, which was also urged to send warships to the South Atlantic and Indian Oceans to protect oil supplies from what was described as 'a serious Soviet threat'.

'The NATO government should give the military authorities of NATO permission to plan for the surveillance and protection, south of the Tropic of Cancer, of seaborne supplies to Europe,' says the organization's political committee.

It also urged 'a permanent western naval presence in the Indian Ocean to counterbalance Soviet influence in the area' and steps to keep the Russians from closing off the oil-rich Persian Gulf.

NATO was founded in 1949 to prepare World War III for the reconquest of the USSR and eastern Europe for capitalism. The 200 delegates gathered behind closed doors at NATO headquarters in Bonn are discussing the tactical and strategic details of these plans.

Their preparations are made necessary by the worsening economic crisis of world capitalism which cannot and has never reconciled itself to the conquests of the 1917 October Revolution.

World capitalism requires markets, sources of raw materials and, above all, new outlets for its capital in the USSR, eastern Europe and China. Hence the excitement generated on Wall Street by the recent visit to Moscow of James Needham, chairman of the New York Stock Exchange.

## Imperialists prepare as Stalinists make big concessions

BY JOHN SPENCER

At a Press conference in New York yesterday, Needham estimated that the Russians need \$100,000m in capital for the continued development of their economy. He has asked a newly-formed advisory committee on international markets to look into 'ways for Wall Street to answer this need'.

Capital export from the west to the Soviet Union on anything like this scale would be a direct threat to the foundations of the workers' state, the nationalized property relations, the state monopoly of foreign trade and all the gains won in struggle by the Soviet working class.

The Stalinist bureaucrats are driven along this road by their fear of the Soviet working class. They see the import of foreign capital as a bulwark against the danger of political revolution in the USSR.

Needham and his Wall Street friends are slavering at the mouth over the prospects opened up for them by the Stalinist bureaucrats in the Kremlin. This, and this alone, explains their 'conversion' to the idea of peaceful co-existence with Moscow.

For them the arrangement of capital exports to the USSR is a step—and only a step—along the road to their ultimate ambition: the restoration of capitalism in the USSR and the enslavement of the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union and eastern Europe.

Sam Russell, writing in the British Communist Party's 'Morning Star', notes that the Helsinki meeting opens on the 30th anniversary of the Battle of Stalingrad. He writes that the conference is essential 'to ensure that Europe is protected against any recurrence of that nightmare'. This is the crudest Stalinist

deception. Did Stalin's infamous pact with Hitler in 1939 'ensure' against the invasion of the Soviet Union? While Stalin shipped vital oil and grain to the Nazis, Hitler was massing his troops for the drive to Moscow.

Stalin entrusted the defence of the Soviet Union to the 'goodwill' of the Nazi dictator and cost the Soviet working class 20 million dead. While the biggest blows of capitalist reaction were being prepared, the working class all over Europe was lulled to sleep with lying talk of mutual security and the sanctity of treaties.

The European security conference plays the same treacherous role. Behind closed doors the NATO powers prepare for war with the Soviet Union. The chief architect of these plans, President Nixon, is feted in Moscow and his re-election hailed as a triumph for 'peace-loving, realistic foreign policy'.

Meanwhile the bureaucracy bargains with the representatives of Wall Street, the arch-enemies of the entire world working class, to open the USSR to foreign capital on a scale never known before. Their running-dogs in the communist parties of western Europe proclaim the advent of a 'new era' in Europe.

The European security conference can neither ensure the security of the USSR nor guarantee peace in Europe. The danger of war does not spring from what the Soviet leaders describe as 'bellicose circles', but from the irreconcilable contradictions of the capitalist system of production.

There can be no peace in Europe so long as capitalism and bureaucracy remain. Those who claim the contrary, as the British Communist Party does, are consciously deceiving the working class and laying the basis for new and even more bitter conflicts in the future.

European capitalism has been the cradle of two world wars. Egged on by the United States, NATO is preparing a third.

The defence of the Soviet Union is inseparable from the struggle of the working class to build revolutionary parties to overthrow capitalism all over the Continent, overturn the rule of the bureaucracy in the deformed workers' states and realize the demand for a Socialist United States of Europe.

## French Stalinists expose unions to big attacks

STRIKING potash miners continued to occupy pits in Alsace, France, yesterday as their strike entered its fifth week. Their trade union leaders resumed negotiations in an attempt to reach a settlement.

Over 6,000 miners and their wives marched through the town of Mulhouse on Sunday to show their determination to win a decent living wage. A local Gaullist deputy had claimed no one supported the strike.

The silent demonstrators carried a single banner with the slogan: 'We will overcome.'

The miners rejected a company offer last Friday to discuss possible increases in 1973 and demanded an improved offer for 1972. The managing-director of the nationalized mining company said a 7-per-cent increase was enough for 1972. But miners know that prices have already risen by 9 per cent this year!

The Communist Party has confined the struggle to a simple wages question which it claims can be resolved by pressure on the government.

On the miners' demonstration through Paris last Thursday, the main placards simply said: 'Negotiations'.

The corporatist policy behind the government's hard line is concealed by the Stalinist leaders, who have admitted they would have accepted the present terms had they been offered at the beginning of the strike.

Yet the Stalinists know full well that the police are interrogating trade unionists and that seven trade union representatives in Lyons are to appear before the courts for organizing a demonstration and distributing leaflets.

SYRIA's air defence system yesterday shot down an Israeli plane which fell in the Bazzaniya area of the Israeli-occupied territory, a Syrian military spokesman said. Israeli aircraft bombed an advanced Syrian army post, wounding a soldier, and one and a half hours later bombed 'heavily populated areas' in southern Syria, the spokesman said.

The CP daily 'L'Humanité' reported yesterday that co-operation between Spanish President Franco and French President Pompidou has not been limited to police activity against Basques, but has been aimed at the independence of the French trade unions:

'The vertical unions [of fascist Spain] have been seeking the support of the Paris government to try to limit the influence of the big French trade unions among Spanish immigrant workers.'

The Pompidou government tries to cover up these reactionary moves with pieces of social legislation, like the law proposed at the weekend by Minister of Social Affairs Edgar Faure.

Faure's new law stipulates that an employer must give reasonable explanations for sacking workers and gives the workers the 'right' to appeal in a court of law against unfair dismissal.

The employer can also take a worker to court and demand compensation for the breaking of a work contract.

The law pleases certain trade union bureaucrats who have been demanding protection against dismissal of militants.

It is, in fact, a cover for more attacks on the working class.

# Mersey dockers to decide on pay-law fight

BY DAVID MAUDE

LIVERPOOL dockers' shop stewards are to hold a vital meeting today to decide whether to fight it out with the Tories' state pay-control.

At issue is an 'agreement in principle' to grant the port's 10,000 dockers a 35-hour working week—a cut of five hours in their present arrangements.

Made by the port employers in May, the agreement formed the basis on which the dockers agreed to work the new Seaforth container terminal to the north of the docks. Up to that time the terminal had been blacked.

Now, however, the employers have declared that they will not implement the agreement because of the Tories' pay-control law.

Since 'no definite agreement was ever reached', a spokesman for the port employers told Workers Press, implementation would 'obviously be held up'. Union officials had been informed of the employers' decision, he said.

A final agreement on pay and hours, due for implementation on November 25, has still to be agreed with the port's joint modernization committee.

But the agreement on hours was announced to a mass meeting in May. Since the employers have already had six months' lucrative work at Seaforth out of it, there will clearly be considerable pressure from the rank and file for a fight.

It is not even certain that the cut in hours will be implemented at the end of the present 90-day law, since the employers are preparing to argue against it on the basis of the government's planned follow-up legislation.

The hold-up on the agreement was announced to a stewards' meeting last week. No immediate action was forthcoming, although a number of stewards said afterwards that they were incensed by the decision.

Dockers will be watching closely, however, to see if their leaders take up the Tory challenge after their recent retreat on the blacking of haulage firms.

# Labour's 'low-profile' treachery

Comment by ALEX MITCHELL

THE Industrial Relations Act and the state wages Bill now before parliament are both corporatist-style pieces of legislation.

They bring the threat of courts, unlimited fines and jail sentences for trade unionists who try to fight for their basic rights or for the preservation of their standard of living.

Yet in the face of these historic legal assaults on the trade unions, the Labour Party leadership is seen in its most craven posture.

First of all in relation to the Industrial Relations Act . . .

On Monday night on BBC 1's 'Panorama', Harold Wilson advised trade union leaders to obey the Act.

'So long as the law is in force,' Wilson said, 'it should be obeyed. There have been a number of suggestions by trade union

leaders—not members of the TUC General Council—that they feel the law should not be obeyed. I think it should.'

Now let us see what the same leadership is doing about the state wages Bill . . .

During the third reading stage of the Bill on Monday, Chancellor of the Exchequer Anthony Barber congratulated the Labourites on the 'low profile' opposition they had given the Bill.

There had been a certain amount of shadow-boxing, he said, but no real opposition.

'One of the significant aspects of the passage of this Bill—and the public will have noted it—is that there has been no steam in the Opposition from the Labour benches.

'There have been one or two lurid phrases, and

there has been a certain amount of shadow-boxing by the Opposition Front Bench, but there has been no real opposition throughout all our proceedings.'

Both these examples spell one thing—a secret coalition of interest between the Tories and the Wilson leadership. We have warned persistently of this conspiracy against the labour and trade union movement, particularly in relation to Common Market entry.

During the passage of the European Communities Bill, Wilson led a phoney war of words while, all along, the necessary majorities were being achieved through the votes and abstentions of the Jenkinsites.

The same coalition exists over Ulster: there is not a whit of difference between the two parties on the policies of brutal re-

pression being carried out against the working class.

What is the meaning of Wilson's advice to the labour and trade union movement to accept the Tory government's corporatist measures?

The laws that he says workers must obey deprive them of the right to a decent wage, the right to build strong, independent trade unions and the right to defend their unions by strike action, picketing and blacking.

These are the very rights and strengths on which the entire trade union movement and the Labour Party and its finances were built.

With all the arrogance of a Labour bureaucrat Wilson is asking the working class to abandon 200 years of struggle and bow down to Tory dictatorship. Wilson and the Tories have another think coming—the undefeated, determined, working class.

# Pit pay blackmail over coal sales

BY STEPHEN JOHNS

MINERS' leaders met with National Coal Board representatives yesterday to discuss the future of the industry, including wage rates for the next 12 months.

The union is sounding-out the Board's possible response to a pay claim to be formulated in mid-December. Union chiefs have already postponed putting a figure to the claim twice. The miners' annual conference sought rises of £5 to £7 and shorter hours.

Meanwhile the pressure on the union leaders to moderate their claim is increasing.

Yesterday Central Electricity Generating Board chairman

Arthur Hawkins said the Board's coal consumption could rise 10 to 15 million tons in a year—safeguarding 20,000 miners' jobs—only if coal prices were kept down.

In an obvious reference to the prospect of another pay battle in the industry, Hawkins said:

'This potential bonanza for coal is possible only if the coal industry improves its competitive position. It is for them to take up this challenge.

'We are not anti-coal; we are simply anti-dear fuel,' he added.

Hawkins was echoing a Tory threat issued by the Minister responsible for the industry, Tom Boardman, two weeks ago. Boardman warned that the breakdown of the tripartite talks over inflation should not encourage miners to press for wage demands.

'Until inflation is successfully controlled, no industry, firm, or individual can feel secure about the prospects for future prosperity,' he said.

'The coal industry is not immune. As a labour-intensive industry, it is more vulnerable than many. I hope and expect the industry to respond to whatever is now necessary to beat inflation.'

He repeated his earlier threat that the government review of financial support for the industry would depend on labour relations.

'The overtime ban, then the strike, utterly wrecked the position that had been built up over many years. The government and the industry have to put that right,' he said.

Another method of intimidating miners' leaders has been the Common Market. Coal Board chief Derek Ezra has made a series of speeches outlining the prospect for sale of British coal in Europe.

The corollary of this is that any battle over pay would destroy the chances of expansion through exports to Common Market countries.

This is a particularly crafty move by Ezra since the key competitive period for the industry will begin in the early months of next year after entry on January 1. But this is normally the time that the struggle for higher wages is reaching its climax on the coalfields.

Miners' leaders are already in retreat over this offensive. They have dragged their feet over the £5 to £7 claim and last week the Stalinist leader of the Scottish miners, Mick McGahey, promised to raise productivity after a warning of pit closures by the Scottish Coal Board.

# Walk-out over three Coventry suspensions

BY OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

STRIKE ACTION over the suspension of the convenor, secretary and steel stores shop steward has shut Renold Chains, Coventry.

Shop stewards' secretary Bill Moore told Workers Press:

'The firm's steel suppliers are on strike. We feel the management wanted to avoid paying us a guaranteed week, so they took action against individuals claiming they had not completed their jobs. We organized the lads in our own steel store to bring steel onto the production lines. We actually occupied the foreman's and superintendent's offices in the steel store.

'This kept the factory in work. On Monday the management called me, the convenor John O'Connor and the steel stores shop steward Jim Conway into the office. They told us we were suspended indefinitely.

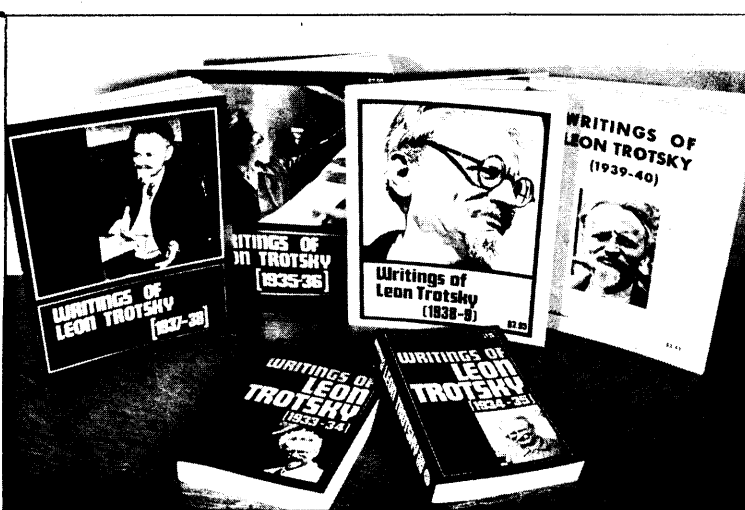
'The factory then walked out, but returned while we got in touch with the union officials who have arranged a works' conference.

'The steel stores members and maintenance department men, however, walked out again saying they would remain out as long as the suspension on the stewards remained. The firm immediately sent the rest of the 1,000 workers home.

BELGIAN military court yesterday sentenced an officer and five NCOs to suspended prison terms of up to five months for torturing prisoners captured during a NATO exercise a year ago. The court ruled that the accused had acted without any other motivation except bullying or sadism.

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# MARXISM OR RANK- AND-FILE-ISM?

Michael Banda continues his analysis of the tactics and strategy of the International Socialism Group

## Dialectics and apologetics

Marxism unequivocally repudiates IS leader Mr T. Cliff's assessment of the historic task facing revolutionaries. It is not, as he says, to 'raise theory to the level of practice', but consists of 'overcoming the contradiction between the maturity of the objective revolutionary conditions and the immaturity of the proletariat and its vanguard'. ('Transitional Programme of the Fourth International', New Park Publications.)

This means, first and foremost, a constant struggle between the theory and practice of the revolutionary party in order that the political consciousness of the vanguard, and through it the vast majority of workers, can be raised to the level of the historical task: the conquest of power.

This also presupposes a continuous struggle of the vanguard minority against the dominant bourgeois ideas in the working class.

The Marxist prognosis does not base itself on a fatalistic acceptance of the *status quo* in society or the consciousness which such a situation generates in the majority of workers.

On the contrary, and unlike the revisionist empiricist who accepts implicitly and exclusively what his senses tell him—i.e. 'facts' and the identity of things as they are—Marxists cannot content themselves merely with what their perceptions inform them. They do not dismiss facts, but grapple with the contradictory reality which lies behind every fact. They criticize the facts in order to transform them.

The empiricist does not wish to go beyond what things seem to be—their appearance.

The Marxist, on the other hand, seeks to discover the essence of things through a process of perception, abstraction and practice. In this cognitive process, practice is the decisive criterion of the truth. It is only in this way that the contradictions within everything can be revealed, their manifold relations grasped, that a more profound knowledge is gained of the lawfulness and necessity of every process and the scope for subjective control, i.e. leadership, enlarged.

This is the nub of the Marxist theory of knowledge which is cogently expressed by Hegel in his 'Doctrine of Essence' quoted by Lenin in his Philosophical Notebooks: 'If now the primary Deter-

minations of Reflection—Identity, Variety and Opposition—are established in a proposition, then the determination into which they pass over into their truth [namely Contradiction] should much more so be comprehended and expressed in a proposition: all things are contradictory in themselves, in this meaning, that this proposition as opposed to the others expresses much better the truth and essence of things . . .

'But it has been a fundamental prejudice of hitherto existing logic and of ordinary imagination that Contradiction is a determination having less essence and imminence than Identity; but indeed, if there were any question of rank, and the two determinations had to be fixed as separate, Contradiction would have to be taken as the more profound and more fully essential. For as opposed to it Identity is only the determination of simple immediacy, or of dead being, while Contradiction is the root of all movement and vitality and it is only in so far as it contains a Contradiction, that anything moves and has impulse and activity.' (Lenin's emphasis.) (Lenin's 'Collected Works', pp. 138-139 Vol. 38.)

## Cliff ignores crisis

What Lenin presents in the quotation from Hegel is more than confirmed and very clearly revealed in a comparison between the method of Cliff in his 'Socialist Worker' article and that of Trotsky.

In his article, Cliff has only a passing reference to the 'deepening crisis of capitalism'. Nowhere is there even an attempt to explain the titanic conflicts which will lead inevitably to an attempt by the Tories to establish a corporate state and ultimately to social revolution. (Significantly, neither the word corporate state nor revolution occurs once in the compass of his article.)

Thus after a lyrical description of the spontaneous militancy of the workers, Cliff virtually dismisses the need for a conscious leadership by reserving one paragraph—the concluding one—to the question of the party:

'Because the ruling class is highly centralized, its ability to manoeuvre is much greater than any individual section of the working class. Therefore the need for a revolutionary party, to repeat, as a school of strategy and tactics, and at the same time an active combat organization, will become more vital than ever.' ('Socialist Worker', August 5, 1972. Our emphasis.)

Everything here is wrong and centrist to the core. The manoeuvrability of the ruling class is determined not so much by the fact that it is 'central-



Trotsky in 1921. He was convinced the European working class must take power—or be faced with barbarism.

ized', but mainly because the ruling class has a very acute sense of its desperate political situation flowing from the insoluble crisis of the economic system. Trotsky analysed the crisis of the capitalists in his speech to the Third World Congress of the Communist International in July 1921:

'If the further development of productive forces was conceivable within the framework of bourgeois society, then revolution would generally be impossible. But since the further development of the productive forces within the framework of bourgeois society is inconceivable, the basic premise for the revolution is given. But revolution in and of itself signifies a living class struggle. The bourgeoisie, even though it finds itself in a complete contradiction with the demands of historical progress, nevertheless still remains the most powerful class.

'More than that, it may be said that politically the bourgeoisie attains its greatest powers, its greatest concentration of forces and resources, of political and military means of deception, of coercion and provocation, i.e. the flowering of its class strategy, at the moment when it is most immediately threatened by social ruin . . . Let us not forget also that the bourgeoisie finds itself face to face with mortal danger, after having accumulated colossal political experience.

'The bourgeoisie has created and destroyed all sorts of regimes . . . All this varied and rich experience which has entered into the blood and marrow of bourgeois ruling circles has now been mobilized by them in order to maintain themselves in power at any cost.' ('First Five Years of the Communist International'. Vol. II, pp. 4 and 5. New Park Publications. Our emphasis.)

The politics of the capitalists antedates that of the workers. This, however, is a relative

advantage which can and will be overcome only to the extent that the conscious vanguard 'must train its own proletarian "class politicians" who will be as skilled as the bourgeois politicians'. ('Left-Wing Communism'. Lenin, p. 61.)

## The task of the party

In contrast to the bourgeoisie the working class remains politically tied to the apparatus of reformism and Stalinism and, through this apparatus, to bourgeois politics. No amount of the trade union struggle can alter this fact. Only the revolutionary party, fighting for political power and based on Marxist theory, can solve this contradiction.

Trotsky urged the European communists in 1921 to set up communist parties with the principal aim of setting up the dictatorship of the working class because he was absolutely convinced that the insoluble crisis of imperialism and the class contradictions in Europe threatened the working class with barbarism. The victory of Hitler proved how correct was his struggle against opportunism and for new leadership.

There is no such urgency in Cliff's pedantic analysis which determines his conception of the party, not as the instrument of proletarian dictatorship, but as a 'school of tactics and strategy' and as a 'combat organization', i.e. an organization that fights but does not seek to conquer power.

Morover the necessity for this party, according to Cliff, is not present now, but only in a future sense. Thus there is neither 'vitality' nor 'impulse' in Cliff's analysis because his outlook eliminates all real contradiction and motion.

That is why there is no independent practice of the revisionists and why they accept uncritically and, in the

case of Mr Cliff, euphorically, the spontaneous practice of the working class as their starting point. That is also why IS theory is never enriched and becomes a sterile dogma. This is the surest path to scepticism and subjectivism.

The history of revisionism is a brilliant demonstration that those who reject the conflict of thought and practice eventually end up by completely and arbitrarily separating the unity of thought and being. This method opens the door to the most reactionary forms of idealist thought—to the substitution of intuition, myths, etc. for reason, to the rejection of materialism and to complete prostration before the capitalist class and its state.

The differences with Cliff, therefore, are clear and unbridgeable.

They are:

- a complete rejection of the Trotskyist premise that 'the objective prerequisites for the proletarian revolution have not only ripened they have begun to get somewhat rotten' ('Transitional Programme');
- a blind indifference to the prospect of a major catastrophe threatening the working class in the event of the failure of the socialist revolution;
- a total rejection of the Marxist principle that the 'chief obstacle in the path of transforming the pre-revolutionary state is the opportunist character of proletarian leadership', Stalinist and social democratic ('Transitional Programme');

- a conscious refusal to see the historical crisis of mankind and the substitution of the 'self-mobilization of the working class', i.e. capitalist ideology for the conscious struggle for dialectical materialism and for the raising of the political consciousness of the working class to the level of the revolutionary tasks.

CONTINUED TOMORROW

# GEORGES MARCHAIS TALKS TO 'THE TIMES'

Like Maurice Thorez before him, Georges Marchais, secretary of the French Communist Party, has chosen the arch-bourgeois, 'top people's' newspaper 'The Times', owned by multi-millionaire Lord Thomson, to make an authoritative policy statement.

In a famous interview 26 years ago, Thorez laid down the main lines of the French 'road to socialism'. Acting on Stalin's instructions, every Communist Party, including the British, drew up programmes of reforms to be attained through parliamentary means.

The intention was to remove any lingering suspicion in bourgeois political circles that the communist parties intended to carry out a revolution. It was hoped that they would continue to be accepted as partners by bourgeois parties, as was already the case in France where Thorez was deputy Prime Minister.

At the time, Thorez drove to Party meetings in a big official limousine with a police motor-cycle escort.

His services in restoring bourgeois institutions were spoken of highly by General de Gaulle in his memoirs. Perhaps President Pompidou will have to find similar compliments for Marchais. 'The Times' interview certainly prepares the ground.

Nostalgia for the good days when communists held ministerial portfolios was recently expressed in the book 'When We Were Ministers' by some CP veterans. Marchais evidently hopes to follow in their footsteps. That is the purpose of the electoral pact and common programme drawn up in association with François Mitterand's Socialist Party.

## RESPECT

Marchais' interview says nothing new. But it does make plain, for the benefit of 'public opinion' in Britain and in other countries, that a Communist Party-Socialist Party coalition government would in no sense be revolutionary.

'The Times' Paris man Edward Mortimer quotes: Marchais:

'The nationalizations proposed in the programme affect less than 1 per cent of existing firms' he said, re-assuringly. The CP will respect 'democracy', meaning the institutions of bourgeois parliamentarism in the form in which they exist under Fifth Republic's constitution, tailored to the needs of the Bonapartist General de Gaulle.

And Marchais said categorically: 'Obviously by applying this programme we shall not establish communism or even socialism, in France.' But if there is, as he says, a capitalist crisis and he wants to introduce 'democratic and anti-monopolistic reforms of unprecedented scope'—with only 1 per cent of firms nationalized—what can this be but an attempt to reform capitalism?

In the common programme, the CP has given ample guarantees that it will accept a multi-party system and will relinquish office if it is voted out.

In the run-up to the March 1973 General Election the Party is seeking to win the greatest possible 'unity', not of the working class, but of 'all

French men and women, whatever their religious beliefs, their philosophical opinions, their former voting habits. Union: that is the key word of all our activity'.

The same plea is constantly being made in the CP's daily 'L'Humanité' and every concession is made to the Socialist Party and left-wing radicals who support the common programme. In the November 16 issue, Rolan Leroy says that everything must be done to preserve these still fresh links.

The political battle is not a question of 'polarization', but of 'opposing the people to a handful of those who profit from the present system. It is not a sterile confrontation which is taking place, it is the future of the country which is at stake'.

At the same time, party goon squads strike viciously at left-wing groups which oppose its class-compromise policy. The French CP wants to lead the working class behind a coalition to preserve bourgeois rule, not to overthrow it.

Clearly the CP does not intend to fight for working-class power. It also hopes that if the common programme does win majority support, Pompidou will call upon it to form a government.

'The latter', said Marchais, 'would take a grave responsibility, and would be behaving most undemocratically, if he did not take account of the wish expressed by universal suffrage, and therefore if he did not appoint a left-wing Prime Minister.'

This appeal to the good intentions of the man who, even more than de Gaulle himself, was responsible for holding the state together when it was threatened by the May-June 1968 General Strike, is a good indication of Marchais' politics. He would be happy to serve as Prime Minister under Pompidou, as Maurice Thorez served as deputy Prime Minister under de Gaulle.

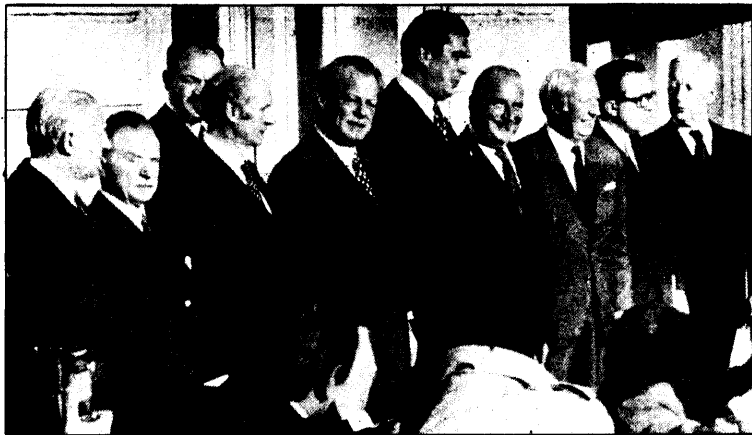
Failing that, 'we shall not make any excessive demands'. No, the French CP is led by moderate men who sincerely desire to play the parliamentary game of ins-and-outs within the framework of a Bonapartist constitution under which the Prime Minister is chosen by the President of the Republic.

In fact Marchais is careful to say nothing at all about this reactionary constitution, reactionary even by bourgeois standards, under which France is now governed. It places great powers in the hands of the President and the ministers he chooses and keeps the use of parliament to a minimum.

Again, in reply to Mortimer's question about the Party's position on the Common Market, Marchais gives a straightforward reply:

'The left-wing government will have a double aim with respect to EEC: on the one hand, to take part in the construction of the EEC, in its institutions and its common policies with a view to freeing it from the domination of big capital, to democratize its institutions . . . and so on.

Whatever conditions Marchais adds, this means support—accepting the EEC as a 'reality' and pretending to change it from within. But if the Socialist-Communist government has no policy to fight capitalism in France, how can it fight this powerful international line-up of big capital?



Common Market heads meet with Heath. Above: Marchais who talks about democratizing the EEC institutions, the most reactionary amalgam of representatives of monopolists and big business.

Referring to Britain's forthcoming entry, Marchais tells 'The Times' readers:

'We want to strengthen the bonds of friendship and the development of co-operation between France and Britain on the basis of the national interests of both countries.'

So don't panic if we are elected, he says in so many words, we are quite respectable people, always ready to uphold 'national interests' and play the diplomatic game according to the rules.

## GUARANTEES

Marchais' statement is fully in line with the Stalinist policy laid down by Thorez in 1946 and pursued by the French CP, with tactical adaptations, ever since. It does not set the goal of working-class power. It seeks admission to a bourgeois government and offers all the necessary guarantees of good behaviour.

That is not to say that the bourgeoisie in France or in Britain accept the protestations of Marchais at their face value. Behind Marchais they see the Kremlin bureaucracy; but they also see the strength of the working class which the election of a Socialist-Communist coalition next March would represent.

They will remain deeply suspicious of Marchais, though they will take what advantage they can of his concessions. The more intelligent recognize that Marchais may have a key

role to play in holding back the working class—as the CP and its unions did during the May-June 1968 events.

If a Socialist-Communist election victory in March 1973 sparked off a great working-class upsurge, like that which followed the Popular Front victory in May 1936, they would have to count on Marchais in the same way as at that time they counted on Thorez. It was Thorez and the communist leadership of the CGT (unions) which finally got the workers out of the factories and enabled the authority of the employers to be restored.

The same thing happened in June 1968. In between, when, after 1944, the French bourgeoisie was demoralized and discredited, it was Thorez who, with the slogan of 'one police, one army, one state', disbanded the partisan formations and provided the basis for the post-war revival of French capitalism.

In fact, in this statement to 'The Times' we can see once again that while Marchais is trying to delude the working class, he is also offering his services to the bourgeoisie.

He does this with the full consent and support of the Moscow bureaucracy which desperately needs to make a deal with the capitalist countries of western Europe to finalize the division of Europe and provide a guarantee against revolutionary upheavals.

## THE CIA ASSURES VITAL RAW MATERIALS

The dependence of American imperialism on imported raw materials is heavy and that it is growing rapidly is shown in a recent sensational Department of the Interior report.

By 1985 the US will be dependent upon imports for more than half of its supplies of nine of the 13 basic raw materials of modern industry. These include iron, lead and tungsten.

Already in 1970 the US was dependent on imports for half of its supplies of six of these raw materials. Imports of energy fuels cost \$8,000m in that year, but this will soar to \$31,000m by 1985, it is estimated.

The report says that the economy will become more and more sensitive to events outside its control for supplies of industrial and strategic raw materials from foreign countries. It fears that foreign suppliers will unite to force up prices as US dependence increases.

What the report does not say is that US capitalism's need for vital raw materials has been an important factor in its expansionist policies over the past two decades. Intervention in the affairs of foreign countries, especially in Latin America, by US forces and the Central Intelligence Agency has been frequent.

It is not a question of keeping down trade barriers, as the report suggests. US imperialism will be forced to take political steps in order to secure supplies without which its industry or military machine can be maintained.

More interventions by the CIA against governments like that in Chile and open military operations by puppets or by US forces can be expected.

## GREEK COLONELS SAY 'NO SANDALS'

The Greek colonels' military junta continues to crack down on every aspect of life in the country with decree upon decree.

One of the latest measures is aimed straight at car drivers and taximen, ordering strict disciplinary measures against them.

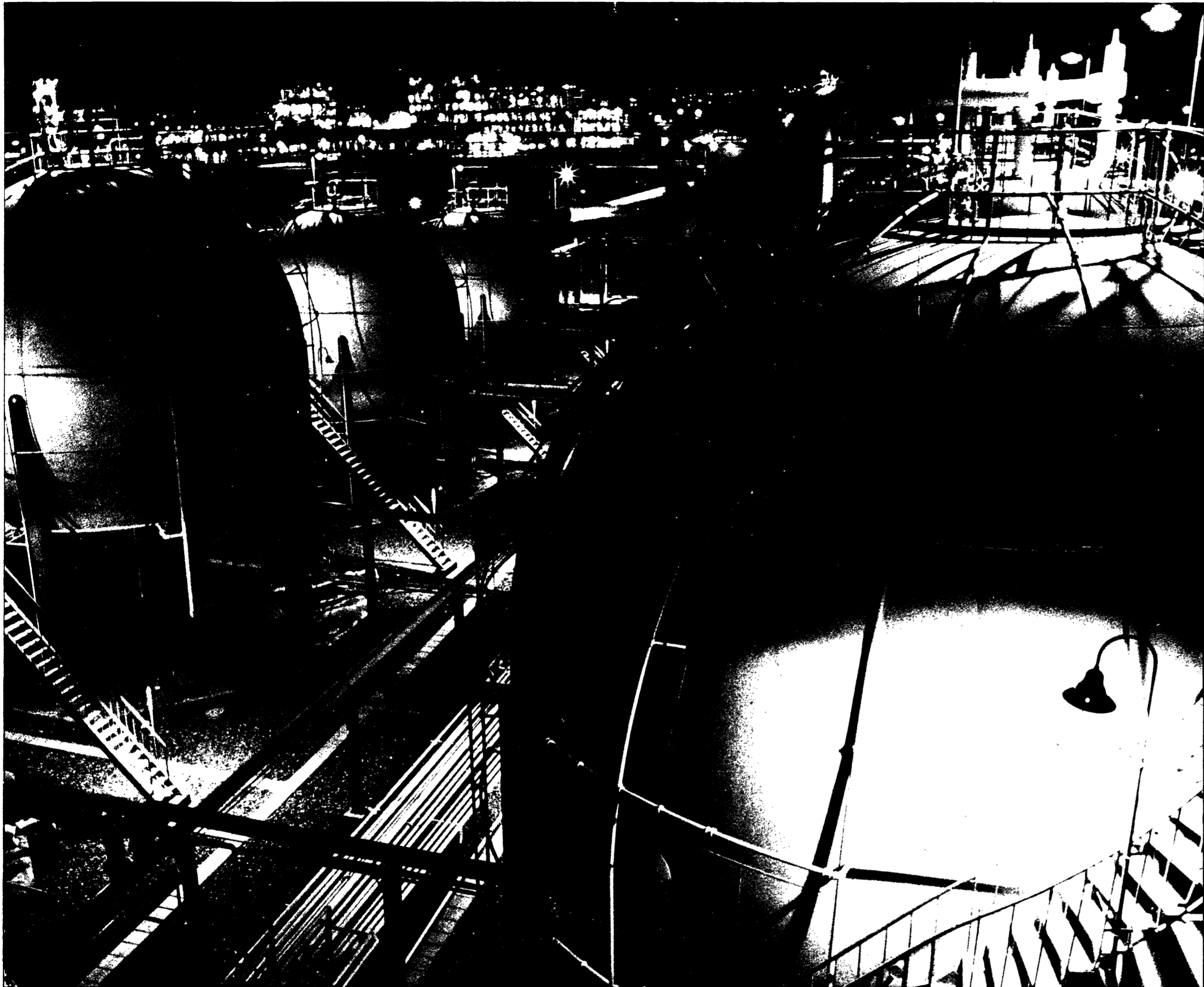
Drivers 'who are not properly dressed, clean, well-mannered or behave improperly' will lose their licences for from ten to 30 days, according to the edict issued by the Ministry of Transport, Communications and Merchant Marine.

Police have been asked to be 'severe' in their control of drivers.

The chief victims are going to be taxi-drivers who will now be prevented from working if they fall foul of the colonels' regime.

One taxi-driver said it was not the first edict aimed primarily at them: 'There is also a ruling calling for fines of 500 drachmas (about £7) for taxi-drivers wearing sandals rather than shoes in the summer at the airport,' he said.





# A DROP OF OIL— A DROP OF BLOOD

BY STEPHEN JOHNS

Once an officer of the Japanese Imperial Navy recalled the reasons for the genocidal war started by his nation in Asia.

'The most important question was oil,' he said. 'It was feared that as we expanded bit by bit the country would eventually face the fate of a consumptive patient who dies a miserable death by the roadside. Japan dared to sally out and secure the oil resources of south-east Asia. This, I think, was the main reason Japan started the war.'

Japan's catastrophic defeat by US imperialism put an end

to her Asian ambitions. But now, almost 30 years later, she is casting a greedy eye over her old south-eastern possessions and again the greatest prize is oil.

So far the invading armies have been equipped strictly with briefcases. But the statements of the more exuberant enthusiasts of the new 'friendship' policy with the nations of the South China Sea have a distinct whiff of power about them.

Take this war whoop from the Mining and Coal department of the Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI):

'The grand pulsatory motion

of the overseas resources development is a spearhead to expand the horizon of the Japanese economy in the 1970s and is a mighty motif to give vividness to the dreamful national spirit of development, construction and enterprise.'

## RICHEST

Japanese capital has a particular desire to capture the rich oilfields below the coastal shelf that runs from South Korea, Taiwan and the Philippines to Vietnam, Thailand and Burma—now recognized as possibly the world's richest virgin oil source.

Already President Suharto of Indonesia has picked up a \$300m loan for oil development from the Japanese government and industry and will supply Japan with 58 million kilo-litres of low sulphur crude oil over a ten-year period, starting from next year.

Of the 330,000 square kilometres of new oilfields secured by Japan, approximately 300,000 lie in Asia and the Pacific.

The Japanese began to bank-roll the Indonesian government in 1958. When Prime Minister Kishi, an A-class war criminal, started pumping \$223m official war reparations and \$400m private war reparations into the country. This led to the formation of the 'Indonesian Lobby' within the Japanese capitalist class who bought concessions for leading companies in Sumatra.

The oil dam was opened by enormous bribes. Corruption was practiced on such a scale that it gave birth to a new Indonesian word 'corrupshi'. Since the bloodbath of 1965, when Suharto took power at the head of the army and wiped out the Communist

Party, 'corrupshi' has escalated.

Now Japanese oil interests have penetrated into Vietnam, Thailand, Burma and even the Tiao Yu-tia Isles, close to mainland China.

The reasons for this plunder of Asia and the Pacific are two-fold.

First, Japan has an ever-growing and ravenous hunger for raw materials and especially oil. This is not a feature unique to Japan. It was Lenin who noted in his 'Imperialism the Highest Stage of Capitalism': 'The more capitalism is developed, the more the need for raw materials is felt, the more bitter competition becomes, and the more feverish the hunt for raw materials proceeds throughout the world, the more desperate becomes the struggle for the acquisition of colonies.'

On a world scale, oil needs are outstripping resources. Consumption in the 1970s and 1980s is expected to be twice as much as in the last 110 years. On top of this there is a growing demand for low sulphur oil. This, together with the offensive of the oil exporting countries, is forcing

the mammoth companies to search further and further afield for new deposits.

But the problem in Japan is particularly acute. Her economy is totally dependent on raw material supplies from abroad and her annual 180 million tons of oil is entirely imported. Even so, her oil stock is only enough to sustain Japanese industry for 45 days—far less than the margin in other western imperialist countries.

But by 1980, Japanese oil imports are expected to soar to an incredible 750 million tons—the expansion will make her industry immeasurably more dependent on supplies from areas over which she has no control.

Hence the second reason for the drive into Asia—the desire for 'independent development' of overseas commodity resources. This cry is threatening to displace the old motto of Japanese capital: 'Export or perish.'

The Japanese oil industry was begun in 1950 with massive support from the US, primarily to build up Japan as a counter-revolutionary bulwark against the revolutionary

movements in Asia.

The international oil companies wanted to set up wholly-owned refining subsidiaries in Japan, but the Americans persuaded them to limit their share to 50 per cent.

## DEPENDENT

But as a compromise the foreign companies who put up the money won the right to supply all the crude oil—so-called 'tied oil'. Even when completely independent oil companies were allowed to flourish, they were forced to borrow capital from the international giants and enter into obligation to buy tied oil.

At present the 'tied-oil', more expensive than the 'free oil', accounts for 75 per cent of Japanese supplies and the Japanese business community is eager to cut loose from this paralyzing dependency.

The move is not entirely unwelcome by US imperialism, which is trying to discharge some of its Asian burden onto Japan—the so-called Kata-gawari policy.

Characteristically Japanese economic development into

the free areas has been encouraged by massive government help.

The Petroleum Development Public Corporation is in charge of fostering new schemes. It used to put up 50 per cent of the capital needed by any exploring company and by 1971 the cumulative direct investment of the PDPC amounted to \$200m.

But this government assistance is quite insufficient. The Japanese monopolies are now aiming at establishing enterprises large enough to sustain the enormous capital funds needed to open up the fields to exploitation.

Already an immensely powerful group is being formed. It incorporates most big business interests and threatens to bring down the law barrier against the monopoly erected by the Allies after World War II.

Its vast extent can be gauged from a remark made by Kobayashi Chu, chairman of Arabian Oil, one of the Japanese independents.

He has a plan for the joint development of a 'one trillion a year holding company for the promotion of overseas

development, not only of oil but also of gas, uranium and various other metals'. The PDPC will be involved with 20 odd private giants and the holding company is supposed to buy out five of the 'independent' oil-exploration companies not affiliated with the Zaibatsu groups (Japanese cartels).

## EMPIRE

According to the Ministry of Industry the aim of this and other developments will be to improve Japan's status 'in the conception of the Pacific Economic Sphere, a new economic block incorporating both underdeveloped countries, and, above all, Japan should play a leading role, entrusted to her, by combining development of her resources and economic co-operation in Asia'.

In short, Japan will be boss of a new economic empire with its fulcrum in Tokyo. This is bound to mean a rapid extension of Japanese political and military influence in south-east Asia. The future oil needs will be supplied by an unending convoy of tankers

suffering caused by the 'war for oil' in South East Asia. Left: Japanese Petro-chemical plant. (photo—Japan Information.)

through the South China Sea.

The implications have already been noted by the president of the Japanese Weapons Industry Association and chairman of the board of Mitsubishi Electric Company, Ohkubo Yuzuru. He reminded the world: 'In order to secure stable oil transportation from abroad, the maritime defence force in the Fourth Defence Build-up Plan must be made what it is today.'

The words do not fall on deaf ears. Last October the Japanese fleet had a war game. A total of 22 warships, four submarines, 46 other vessels, 60 planes and 1,700 soldiers were deployed in the East China Sea.

'Hostilities' began after a tanker loaded with Japanese oil had been 'torpedoed' to the bottom of the ocean and oil refineries raided by 'guerillas'. The Navy won.

There once was an officer of the Imperial Japanese Navy who said the cause of the last war was oil...but that was a long time ago.

# WRITINGS OF LEON TROTSKY

A review by Tom Kemp. The years 1939-1940

The volumes of Trotsky's writings so far published for the period after 1935 differ in several respects from the two already reviewed. The selections are grouped under headings according to country or subject rather than being in chronological order. This makes it possible to follow through Trotsky's thought on a particular topic, such as the Moscow Trials. On the other hand, the notes do little more than indicate the source of the articles, thus leaving the reader to find out for himself about the many persons, organizations and events which are referred to. In addition, there is no index. Apart from the faults of editorship, these volumes are still to be highly recommended because they bring together writings which are otherwise virtually inaccessible or, in certain cases, have never been available in English before.

In the last months of his life, covered by this volume, Trotsky was absorbed by three main questions: The character and consequences of the war which had just begun, Stalin's attempts to kill him and the struggle inside the American Socialist Workers' Party against the opponents of Marxist dialectics.

Only incidental references are made to the latter in this selection of his writings, but it is, of course, the theme of a separate book, 'In Defence of Marxism'. It is an indispensable complement to this volume, which does not acquire its full meaning without it.

Trotsky had expected the war for many years. The fact that it came after the making of the Nazi-Soviet pact of August 1939 also came as no surprise. For many years he had pointed out that in order to defend the bureaucratic regime, Stalin would seek an understanding with Hitler. Writing on the pact on September 2, 1939, Trotsky said:

'If Germany succeeds with the Kremlin's help in emerging victorious from the present war, that will signify mortal danger for the Soviet Union.'

He recalled that after the Munich agreement Dimitroff had put forward a timetable of Hitler's aggression which showed an offensive against the Soviet Union in the autumn of 1941.

## Ignored

In his articles on the pact, Trotsky emphasized that the Soviet bureaucracy ignored the interests of the working class. 'In reality', he wrote, 'there is no government in the whole world which at the present moment would fear the revolution more than the privileged caste ruling the Soviet Union. The Kremlin does not consider itself safe and revolutions are contagious. Precisely because the Kremlin fears revolution, it fears the war that leads to revolution.'

On a number of occasions Trotsky wrote to the Press or issued statements concerning published lies and distortions which had to be unmasked. He wrote to the 'New York Times' to expose a statement made by a well-known foreign correspondent, G. L. R. Geddes, who had maintained that Lenin propagated the theory of 'socialism in one country'.

Geddes' analyses, basically favourable to the Kremlin,

were much in vogue in 'left' circles in the 1930s. Trotsky showed that in dealing with the theories of the permanent revolution and 'socialism in one country', Geddes had committed a number of errors of a kind which could only gratify the bureaucracy.

He dealt similarly sharply with one John Stuart Hamilton who wrote a letter to the 'New York Times' also claiming, on the basis of a sentence in an article of Lenin's dating from 1915, that he stood for 'socialism in one country'. Trotsky had no difficulty in exposing this lie, which had been investigated by the Dewey Commission, which found as follows:

'A careful study of the relevant historical material has convinced this Commission that Lenin's actual view on this subject was that while the socialist revolution could triumph initially in a single country, it could not be ultimately successful without the aid of successful socialist revolutions elsewhere.'

It went on to say that at the Moscow Trials, prosecutor Vishinsky had falsified the position both of Lenin and of Trotsky on the question.

'I accuse the Comintern school not of concealment of one quotation', Trotsky added, 'but of the systematic falsification of ideas, facts, quotations in the interest of the Kremlin ruling clique. A codified collection of such a series of falsifications, is "The History of the Communist Party of the USSR". . . I take upon myself to prove before any impartial commission that in the library of humanity there is not single book more dishonest than this "History", which serves now not only as the basis of political propaganda, but also as the directive for Soviet painting, sculpture, theatre, films and so on.'

Dealing with the invasion of Finland by the Red Army, Trotsky said that it indicated that the Soviet leaders had lost the confidence of the masses who saw it as an act of violence and it 'thereby facilitates the mobilization of world public opinion against the USSR by the imperialist powers. That is why it will bring, in the last instance, more harm than advantages to the USSR'.

In analysing the possible course of World War II, Trotsky was convinced that Nazi Germany would be defeated, but that before that happened its drive for world domination would topple many things in Europe.

'Only a new world coalition', he wrote, 'can crush the German army through a war of unheard-of proportions. The



A Soviet tank in operation on the eastern front after Hitler invaded the Soviet Union. Above: Hitler reviewing troops, in the Oder sector.

totalitarian regime can be crushed only by a tremendous attack on the part of the German workers.'

As we know, with the benefit of hindsight, although the first part of this proposition was realized, the second was not. Trotsky had unquenchable faith in the revolutionary potential of the working class. He was not wrong as far as

the revolutionary possibilities released by the war were concerned.

## Perspective

In any case, if one examines Trotsky's writings carefully, without isolating statements of this kind from the whole body of his thinking, it is obvious that he did not see

the coming revolution as in any way an automatic process.

Otherwise his entire life work at this time, directed to the building of the Fourth International, would have been meaningless.

As he puts it in the Manifesto of the Fourth International on the war, the following years, if not decades, held a future of wars, uprisings, brief interludes of truce, new wars and new uprisings.

'A young revolutionary party must base itself on this perspective. History will provide it with enough opportunities and possibilities to test itself, to accumulate experience and to mature. The swifter the ranks of the vanguard are fused the more the epoch of bloody convulsions will be shortened, the less destruction will our planet suffer.'

'But the great historical problem will not be solved in any case until a revolutionary party stands at the head of the proletariat. The question of tempos and time-intervals is of enormous importance; but it alters neither the general historical perspective nor the direction of our policy.'

'The conclusion is a simple one: it is necessary to carry on the work of educating and organizing the proletarian vanguard with tenfold energy. Precisely in this lies the task of the Fourth International'.  
CONTINUED TOMORROW



# WORKERS NOTEBOOK

## SKY-HIGH TAX CALIFORNIA

One man said to be doing well out of commercial television is Peter Cadbury, chairman and managing director of the Westward channel.

Cadbury (53) has just brought a £32,000 Piper Seneca plane.

Not as if the television magnate needs the extra plane. He already has another small aircraft together with a helicopter.

Cadbury runs all these necessary flying machines from his tiny 700-acre property at Winkfield Row, Berkshire.

Said Cadbury: 'I'm starting an air-taxi service. As personal toys my planes are expensive and by putting them in a business I'll be able to claim depreciation and various costs off my taxation.'

Nothing like saving the taxpayers money, especially after all those prosperous years enjoying the 'licences to print money' in the shape of commercial television franchises.

## GOD GRANT

You might think that the Catholic Church, with all its gold and treasure, would be able to provide amply for 30 aged nuns in a convent at Houston, Texas. The Bible, after all, tells us that charity begins at home.

Not, in fact, so. The nuns have been forced to apply for state old-age assistance because their convent has run out of cash. Their bishop has said they should accept welfare payments if they are eligible.

The nuns live at the Sacred Heart convent. Their order operates directly under the Vatican, but receives no money from Rome. Each convent operates independently and its funds come from members' incomes, mainly raised through teaching.

Fewer women are now entering the order, raising the average age, and the Houston nuns' income is not sufficient to meet the rising costs of looking after elderly members.

The Mother Superior says the convent has no retirement fund. Amazed welfare officials in Austin, the Texas state capital, have described the application as unprecedented. The nuns are entitled to £32 a month if their application is approved.

One state where the pace is being set for the abolition of basic and elementary democratic rights is California, under the leadership of right-wing Governor Ronald Reagan, a former Hollywood actor.

Reagan is currently leading the campaign for the abolition of the farmworkers' right to organize a union in the state. His other campaigns include the restoration of the death penalty, while judges have just sanctioned the use of a lie-detector in the Californian courts.

Now William Farr, once a reporter on 'The Los Angeles Times' has just been given a prison sentence for refusing to reveal the source of a news story. This is the second case of its sort in recent months.

The case derives from the mass murder trial of Charles Manson and others in 1970. Farr received a copy of a prosecution witness's statement from one of the lawyers and wrote a news story on it which appeared in his paper.

In a main leading article 'The New York Times' wrote last week of 'fresh evidence of the speed with which constitutional protections for freedom of the Press are being hacked away'. It described the case as a 'powerful new threat'.

## RED PINS



The great acupuncturists of the world are the Chinese. Surprised, therefore, to learn that needles are going to be stuck into the crippled frame of George Wallace, the Alabama Bomber. Watch it, Wallace, this could be a red plot!



The wedding of Mike Sirros. Special Branch detectives whip hand-cuffed Sirros back to his cell.

## THE CASE OF MIKE SIRROS

Mike Sirros, the social worker who was deported to Algeria on a visa charge, is continuing his writs against a High Court Judge, the Metropolitan Police Commissioner and a Special Branch detective.

All three parties named in the writs have taken counter-action: they have asked the courts to strike out the writ.

These actions will be heard jointly by the Master in Chambers over the next few weeks. Following these private hearings the matter will be heard by a Queen's Bench judge and later in the Court of Appeal.

How Sirros (26), his common law wife, Pauline Conroy, and their son, Cormac, were deported is a remarkable case-study of the process of the judiciary.

Sirros was born in Greece, but travelled on a Turkish passport. He is now stateless.

He first brushed with the law in November 1971 on a driving licence charge. It was later dropped. But this trivial case led to his being held in custody for almost six months.

In December 1971 he was found guilty of overstaying his visa and fined £50 and recommended for deportation.

He was released from custody pending the consideration of the Home Office.

When his appeal, against deportation was dismissed Sirros found himself thrown in jail by Judge Oswald Seawright Macleay.

On appeal against his imprisonment Sirros won and Macleay's judgement was severely criticized. Another judge said Macleay must have been 'confused' and made a wrong order.

Sirros was kept in Pentonville prison from May until September while he shopped around from one country to the next looking for one to adopt for his new 'home'. No less than 14 countries turned him down.

Eventually Algeria stated that he could stay there—on the condition that he married Miss Conroy, a polytechnic lecturer and mother of his one-year-old son.

A brief wedding ceremony was held at Camden Town Hall at which dozens of Special Branch detectives were present. Sirros was then whipped back to his cell.

Three days later, again

under armed escort, he was taken to Heathrow to join his wife and family to be deported.

Before he left Sirros, through his solicitors, issued writs against Macleay, Mr Robert Mark and a Special Branch officer named Sergeant Moore, alleging assault and wrongful imprisonment. His lawyer said the case 'would be prosecuted' in Sirros's absence.

Although there have been denials that his case is 'political', his friends say that he has been victimized by the law because of his contacts with community action groups.

Pauline was arrested last year when police made massive raids in north and west London. She originally appeared in the dock with the Stoke Newington defendants charged with conspiracy to bomb homes, including Robert Carr's.

But at one of the first magistrate's hearings, the police asked for Miss Conroy to be discharged because of lack of evidence against her.

## THE MYTH OF THE TEMPORARY FREEZE

The Tory government's inflation Bill is not a temporary 'freeze', but an attempt to impose permanent state control over wages as a step towards the corporate state.

Support for this view comes from a leading bourgeois economist—Frank Blackaby, deputy director of the National Institute for Economic and Social Research. Writing in last week's issue of 'New Society', Blackaby says:

'We in this country are in the early stages of a new major field of intervention in the running of our mixed economy—intervention in the settling of relative incomes. We are moving gradually towards a situation in which it is the government, or some other body to which it delegates its powers, which will be the final arbiter about how much different jobs, occupations and professions are paid.'

Blackaby dismisses all talk of 'temporary' measures. There can, he says, be no return to the old days:

'The first step is to argue that some form of incomes policy is likely to be the norm, and periods of free bargaining the exception from now on.'

'Certainly, the present proposals are put forward as temporary. But does anyone believe that, in a year's time, the government will be happy

to abandon the whole exercise and go back to free bargaining? This seems most implausible.'

'One-fifth of the employed population works in the public sector. It would be very difficult for the government to go back to a position of passivity about the wage claims in this sector. But equally it is not viable as a long-term policy for the government to intervene in the public sector and do nothing about the private sector. So here is another force making for a permanent state of incomes policy.'

At the basis of this wage-control scheme lies state control over trade union action. Blackaby wants a system where the government would not have to yield to what he calls 'bargaining strength':

This, he says, is rationalization of 'the present ad hoc system, in which arbitrators are brought in at the last minute to make rushed decisions—decisions which are usually just cosmetic concessions to bargaining power.'

And Blackaby really gives the game away when he says that only the security of profit, based on rigid control of wages and trade union action, will make Britain an attractive proposition for world capitalism:

'A country running an effective incomes policy, in which there is some countervailing power to bargaining pressures, is likely to be a relatively attractive country for international business.'

Of course, such a state of affairs requires one thing—the defeat of the working class.

Blackaby hopes for 'another potential ramification—that economic policy may increasingly, over the decade, become a kind of compact between the three estates—government, CBI and TUC'.

But the determination of the working class to fight for wage rises blew such a compact apart and forced the government on to the road of confrontation.

Thus, the imposition of state control of wages is not just an economic measure but involves severe political battles. And Blackaby recognizes this:

'Incomes policy, as a permanent institution, is a big game, not a minor conjunctural device. It is likely to have ramifications which spread right through the economic and political structure.'

Blackaby's article shows that serious bourgeois economists are well aware of the implications of Tory policies. It is only the trade union leaders, backed up by the Stalinists and their revisionist hangers-on, who spread the myth that the 'freeze' is temporary.

## BOOKS



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# ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

Fight Rising Prices  
Force the Tories to Resign

**SOUTH SHIELDS: Wednesday November 22, 7.30 p.m.** Labour Club, Westoe Bridges. 'Support the Barbour's strikers.' Speakers: Joyce Patterson (Barbour's strike committee), Jack Grassby (secretary Trades Council), Hughie Nichol (ATUA).

**DEPTFORD: Thursday November 23, 8 p.m.** Engineers' Club, New Cross Road.

**SWANSEA: Thursday, November 23, 7.30 p.m.** Council of Social Services, Mount Pleasant Hill (next to fire station). 'Why we say: "Return a Labour government".'

**ROTHERHAM: Thursday November 23, 7.30 p.m.** Bridge Inn. 'The sell-out at Arthur Lee's and the fight against the pay laws.'

**LEEDS: Thursday, November 23, 7.30 p.m.** Peel Hotel, Boar Lane. **CENTRAL LONDON (Press and Entertainments Branch): Sunday: November 26, 3 p.m.** Royal Shakespeare Rehearsal Rooms, Floral Street. 'The Fight for Shepperton'. Speakers: Yvonne Richards (ACTT), Roy Battersby (ACTT), Roger Smith (ACTT), Corin Redgrave (Equity), all leading members of their respective unions speaking in a personal capacity.

**ACTON: Monday November 27, 8 p.m.** Co-op Hall, High Road.

**WEST LONDON: Tuesday November 28, 8 p.m.** 'Prince Albert', Wharfedale Road, King's Cross.

**PRESTON: (Please note date change), Thursday November 30, 7.30 p.m.** Waterloo Hotel, Friargate.

**SHEFFIELD: Thursday November 30, 7.30 p.m.** The Grapes, Trippet Lane. 'The sell-out at Arthur Lee's and the fight against the pay laws.'

**BRACKNELL: Monday December 4, 8.00 p.m.** Priestwood Community Centre.

## CIRCULATION

01-622 7029

## NEWS DESK

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# TV

## BBC 1

9.15 Schools, 12.30 Nai zindagi naya jeevan; 12.55 News. 1.00 Pebble Mill at one. 1.30 Mary, Mungo and Midge. 1.45 Made in Britain. 2.05-2.50 Schools. 2.55 A chance to meet. 3.30 Mastermind. 4.00 The mole. 4.10 Play school. 4.35 Magic roundabout. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 The aeronauts. 5.20 Search. 5.45 News. Weather.

6.00 NATIONWIDE.

6.50 TOM AND JERRY.

7.00 WILDLIFE SAFARI. To the Argentine. To the Falls of Iguazu.

7.25 MISSION IMPOSSIBLE. Cable Car.

8.10 SOFTLY, SOFTLY: TASK FORCE. Welcome to the Club.

9.00 NINE O'CLOCK NEWS. Weather.

9.25 SPORTSNIGHT. League Cup soccer and All Blacks v North West Counties.

10.45 MIDWEEK.

11.30 LATE NIGHT NEWS.

11.35 BELLAMY ON BOTANY. Decay and Delicacy.

12.00 Weather.

## ITV

9.30 Schools. 10.30 Yoga. 12.15 Rainbow. 12.25 Adventures of Rupert bear. 12.40 First report. 1.00 Scotch corner. 1.30 Crown court. 2.00 Harriet's back in town. 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 Looks familiar. 3.30 Danger man. 4.25 Lift off with Ayshea. 4.50 Ace of wands. 5.20 University challenge. 5.50 News.

6.00 TODAY.

6.35 CROSSROADS.

7.00 THIS IS YOUR LIFE.

7.30 CORONATION STREET.

8.00 THE BOB MONKHOUSE COMEDY HOUR.

9.00 BOXING. Muhammad Ali v Bob Foster.

10.00 NEWS AT TEN.

10.30 A PLACE IN THE COUNTRY. Chartwell.

11.30 LATE NIGHT THEATRE. Staying On.

11.45 DELTA. Beautiful Burn.



Above: Bob Foster the New Mexico deputy who put down Chris Finnegan recently and, in 1960 defeated Cassius Clay in qualifying rounds for the US Olympic team, meets the Louisville Lip in a Stateline, Nevada ring at 9.00 on independent channels. Right: Elizabeth Bell as Ella in Alisdair Gray's 'Dialogue', a Thirty-Minute Theatre production on BBC2.



## BBC 2

11.00-11.25 Play school.

7.05 MAN AT WORK. Situation Vacant.

7.30 NEWSROOM. Weather.

8.00 MUSIC ON 2. The Stuttgart Ballet in The Taming of the Shrew.

9.25 MAN ALIVE. Did You Hear the One About . . . ? Stand-up comic George Plimpton.

10.15 THIRTY-MINUTE THEATRE: 'DIALOGUE'. By Alasdair Gray. With David Swift and Elizabeth Bell.

10.45 THE EDWARDIAN AFFAIR. Rich man, poor man.

11.10 NEWS ON 2. Weather.

11.15 LATE NIGHT LINE-UP.

## REGIONAL TV

**CHANNEL:** 9.30-11.55 London 1.30 London. 2.30 Helem McArthur show. 3.00 London. 3.30 Saint. 4.25 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 F troop. 6.35 London. 10.30 Tony Bennett. 11.00 London. 11.45 News, weather.

**WESTWARD.** As Channel except: 12.05 London. 12.25 Wonder boy. 12.37 Gus Honeybun. 12.40 London. 12.57 News. 1.00 London. 6.00 Diary. 11.42 News. 11.45 Faith for life.

**SOUTHERN:** 9.30 London. 12.00 News. 12.05 London. 2.30 Houseparty. 3.30 London. 5.20 Cartoon. 5.25 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.30 University challenge. 7.00 London. 11.45 What the papers say. 12.00 News. 12.10 Guideline. 12.15 Shirley's world. 12.40 Weather.

**HARLECH:** 9.30 London. 2.30 Houseparty. 3.00 London. 3.25 Saint. 4.25 London. 5.20 Chuckleheads. 5.35 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.01 Report West. 6.15 Report Wales. 6.30 Jimmy Stewart show. 7.00 London. 10.30 Dick Van Dyke. 11.00 London. 11.45 Cinema. 12.15 Weather.

**HTV Cymru/Wales 7 and 41 as above except:** 4.25 Miri mawr. 4.35-4.50 Cantamil. 6.01-6.15 Y dydd.

**HTV West as above except:** 6.15-6.30 Report West.

**ANGLIA:** 9.30 London. 2.30 Houseparty. 3.00 London. 3.30 Odd couple. 3.55 Romper room. 4.20 News. 4.25 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.35 London.

**ATV MIDLANDS:** 9.30 London. 3.30 Saint. 4.25 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35 London. 10.30 Julia. 11.00 London. 11.45 Stories worth telling. 11.50 O'Hara US treasury. Weather.

**ULSTER:** 11.00 London. 1.32 1.34 Schools. 2.40 Romper room. 3.00 London. 3.25 Women today. 3.55 Harriett's back in town. 4.23 News. 4.25 London. 6.00 Reports. 6.35 London. 11.30 World War I.

**YORKSHIRE:** 9.30 London. 3.30 Saint. 4.25 London. 6.00 Calendar, weather. 6.35 London. 10.30 North country. 10.55 London. 11.40 Spyforce. 12.35 Weather.

**GRANADA:** 9.30 London. 3.25 Ugliest girl in town. 3.50 Cartoon. 4.00 Crossroads. 4.25 London. 6.00 News. 6.30 Crown court. 7.00 London. 11.30 What the papers say.

**SCOTTISH:** 9.30 London. 2.30 Dateline. 3.00 London. 3.30 Saint. 4.25 London. 5.20 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today. 6.30 University challenge. 7.00 London. 10.30 Plain Mr. Knox. 10.40 Report. 11.10 Theatre. 11.55 What the papers say. 12.10 Love American style.

**GRAMPIAN:** 10.58 London. 1.38 Schools. 2.52 News. 3.00 London. 3.25 Women today. 3.55 Harriett's back in town. 4.25 London. 6.00 News. 6.35 London. 11.45 World church and world development. 12.25 Meditation.

## SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE LECTURES

### OXFORD

Thursday November 23  
Opponents of Marxism

Thursday November 30  
Marxism—the science of perspective

**SOUTH OXFORD COMMUNITY CENTRE**  
Lake Street, 8 p.m.

Lectures given by  
G. Healy  
SLL national secretary

### LONDON

Sunday November 26  
Basic Essentials of Marxism

Sunday December 3  
A theory of knowledge  
Sunday December 10  
Opponents of Marxism

**BEAVER HALL**  
at Mansion House tube  
7.30 p.m.

Lectures given by  
G. Healy  
SLL national secretary

### LIVERPOOL

Wednesday November 22  
The Third International  
1924-1929

Wednesday November 29  
Stalinism 1932-1938  
Wednesday December 6  
Trotskyism and the founding of  
the Fourth International

**COMMON HALL HACKINS HEY**  
off Dale Street, 7.30 p.m.

Lectures given by  
Tom Kemp (SLL Central  
Committee)

### LEEDS

Monday November 27  
Capitalism and the crisis  
Monday December 4  
The struggle for power  
Monday December 11  
Revolutionary theory and the  
Marxist Party

**PEEL HOTEL**  
Boar Lane, Leeds 4  
8 p. m.

### BARNESLEY

Sunday November 26  
Capitalism and the crisis  
Sunday December 3

The struggle for power  
Sunday December 10  
Revolutionary theory and the  
Marxist Party

**RED LION HOTEL**  
(Worsborough) 8 p.m.

Lectures given  
by Cliff Slaughter  
(SLL Central Committee)

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# First strike in history of the university colleges

# Olga from the other Oxford

## upsets the traditions

OXFORD University is a place of two traditions—both bad ones. One is visible to all each Sunday when the academic relics emerge from their dusty book-lined enclaves and follow the mace—which is a kind of ornate silver lollipop—down to St Mary's to praise the Lord for their exceeding good fortune.

On the way they might pass Olga Hastings. She represents the other Oxford of low pay and super exploitation.

Olga and one other woman clean out students' bedrooms, the stairs and the don's flats at St Anne's college. For her labours she gets £5.60 a week—about as much as the average professor pays for his port each week.

Workers like Olga are the minions that have supported this training camp for the ruling class ever since the first college was founded seven centuries ago.

But now the revolt against the era of the 'scout', the skivvy and the faithful retainer is on.

The new mood among the university's 4,000 manual staff broke to the surface more than two weeks ago when Frank Keen, a handyman at St Anne's College, was sacked.

The authorities claimed that Mr Keen had to go as part of an economy drive. But the St Anne's workers think differently. Frank Keen was a pioneer of the unions and made sure everyone in each department he visited knew their rights. The workers say he's been victimized.

For its own part the National Union of Public Employees sees the move as a desperate attempt by the die-hards in the university administration to stop their drive to organize Oxford's 39 colleges.

### Wealthy despotism

So far the union has penetrated 22. In some, like St John's, it has not met any resistance. But at others, reactionaries have blocked progress. At St Anne's, for example, one head of department refuses to employ workers who express a desire to join NUPE.

The militants are doubly plagued by the crushing weight of tradition. Oxford was built by the medieval ruling class and successive class élites have moulded it to their requirements.

The colleges are islands of wealthy despotism. The loot comes from accumulated endowments of land, property and shares, managed by the college bursar—a quaint name for the man who minds the treasure chest.

Some are financial wizards and some are dummies. One Oxford bursar is reputed to have made a million speculating with the funds during a recent currency crisis.

But another unloaded his college's lucrative endowment for a dud investment during the inter-war years. He is still regarded with undisguised contempt and hatred. At Oxford misdemeanours with young boys can be forgiven, but bad financial management is a damning sin.

But usually the business is

Frank Keen, a handyman employed by St Anne's College, Oxford, was sacked over two weeks ago. His dismissal caused the first major industrial dispute in the university's 700 years history. The college has now climbed down somewhat and an independent tribunal is looking into Keen's case. Here STEPHEN JOHNS describes the background to this unique dispute.



Left: Olga Hastings probably earns a much in a week as a cleaner in Oxford university as a don will spend on his port. Below left: Students helped the pickets along with cups of tea.

all the college's facilities last week and workers at five other colleges came out in sympathetic strike.

Some of his strongest backing has come from the women cleaners like Mrs Hastings, treasurer of the St Anne's NUPE branch.

'The wages in the college are a disgrace. We get 28p an hour—they recently offered 33p, but we have turned this down,' she said.

'On my cleaning squad there used to be four women, there are now two, so even if we do get an increase we will be working harder.'

### Hostile to unions

'I think it is true to say that there is resistance to the union in the college. Mr Keen did the repairs and he would tell people he met to stand up for their rights and back the union. A lot of people didn't like him because of this,' said Mrs Hastings.

One of the key men in the NUPE drive is Tony Cross, secretary of the University branch. Mr Cross is a 'scout' at St John's.

'The attitude of the colleges varies. Some like my own have a pretty reasonable approach, but in others the die-hards put up a hell of a fight. The governing bodies of the colleges are not the worst obstacle. The main trouble occurs at lower managerial level—some heads of department are completely hostile to unions.'

'The other snag is to break some of the staff from the past. There used to be the bowing and scraping attitudes, often the job went in the family—there are still scouts in Oxford who earn as little as £12 for as much as 60 to 70 hours a week.'

### Encrusted privilege

Lodge porter Albert Baughan represents the new attitudes. He is the shop steward at Balliol college, which is 50 per cent unionized.

'I was a steward at the Cowley car factory for 25 years—you can imagine the change it was to work in the college. People looked up to the bursar as God; it was very hard to break through. But the university can't keep it up. For a start they can't get the staff they want. Few people are prepared to accept the old conditions and low pay, especially the young ones,' he told me.

Unions have come to stay in Oxford. But so far they have only a tiny impact on the despotic, almost medieval way the lofty rulers treat their staff.

It will take more than unions to break up the encrusted privilege built into the Oxford system over seven centuries of class rule.



more mundane. Most cash comes from land and property. Holdings are often enormous—it is said you can walk the 70 miles from Magdalen (pronounced Maudlin) College to Cambridge and never leave college land.

At Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, the dons go out on an annual junket. They hire a coach, get in stocks of champagne, chicken and pheasant and drive off to Grimsby. There they inspect their property and play squire to the 'humble' inhabitants.

It sounds feudal—but that exactly describes the prevailing atmosphere at Oxford.

The main aim of the Oxford bosses has been to create within each college a servant caste to cater to the every need and whim of the 'young gentlemen' who spend a leisurely three years within the cloisters.

The linchpin of this system is the 'scout'—a male general factotum who is called to do any-



Tony Cross, university branch leader of NUPE.

thing from polishing an upper-class undergraduate's shoes, dressing the blades for one of Oxford's many ballis and serving at table.

Attitudes vary. Some older scouts have servility ingrained in their characters, others have imbibed some of the attitudes of industrial Oxford—led, in terms

of militancy, by the British-Leyland car complex at Cowley.

Equally, many more enlightened students abhor or are embarrassed by the prospect of being waited on by a grown man. But others, who have absorbed the public school ethic, exploit their position of power eagerly—practice for later life.

But slowly the grip of the reactionaries is being broken.

The first serious attempt to unionize the staff came two years ago from the Transport and General Workers' Union. But this drive was beaten back by the authorities. But NUPE, which began its campaign over a year ago, seems here to stay and the response over the Frank Keen issue has demonstrated the depth of feeling to make a break from the past.

Mr Keen has been backed by the vast majority of the St Anne's staff and a good proportion of the students and lecturers. Pickets virtually shut off

## BRIEFLY

INDIAN Press Trust yesterday reported three people were killed and two injured when police opened fire on rioters at Ongole in the south Indian state of Andhra Pradesh. A local official was injured when a crowd demonstrating against government rules on employment in the state threw stones.

# ULSTER: Army tactics go beyond harassment — priests 'Campaign of violence against civilians' alleged

FROM IAN YEATS

THE CATHOLIC Church in Ulster is clearly concerned that security measures maintained at their present intensity will wreck rather than encourage their peace efforts.

For months Catholic priests have been storming against the IRA and violence in a bid to restore calm to the streets of the province's riot-torn towns and cities.

But army brutality, coupled with a spate of unexplained assassinations, has led Protestant and Catholic communities virtually to isolate themselves in semi-armed camps patrolled by their own para-military security forces.

The identity of the assassins who have murdered well over 100 people in past weeks is blurred by the fact that the killings are carried out by plain-clothes soldiers, Protestant extremists and hard-line Provisionals.

However a report by more than half Belfast's Catholic priests alleging a 'campaign of violence against the civilian community by the Regular Army' has blown the lid off the military's contribution to continuing sectarian tension and distrust.

The 65 priests claim that soldiers in uniform and plain clothes have shot at innocent civilians, that homes have been raided repeatedly at all hours and that arrested men have been subjected to beatings and inhuman treatment.

Ill-treatment of civilians, they say, has sometimes been used deliberately by the army to provoke the IRA into breaking their cover.

They add that when complaints are made against individual soldiers they are not adequately dealt with and that their efforts to bring about peace among the civilian population are being



Below: one of the stark photographs in Clive Limpkin's new large-format book of pictures he took in Ulster. Published by Penguin, it is reviewed in tomorrow's Workers Press centre pages. Limpkin's own caption to the picture reads: 'An onlooker, helping a woman pinned down by the gas, starts cursing the soldiers. They draw betons, hustle him into the back of a Pig and he's driven off.'

been widespread and security is now oppressive.

In the city centre only main streets are completely open with steel gates and two-man army patrols at both ends of all side streets.

At sectarian flashpoints in suburban areas corrugated iron barricades effectively seal off the two communities.

The city is virtually blanketed with troops moving on all streets at all times on foot and in armoured vehicles.

Catholic homes, at least, are searched without warning at all hours of the day and night. Some families are so used to

Joseph's College of Education told a Belfast Press conference of instances where soldiers in plain-clothes had shot civilians.

He said: 'On April 15 two brothers called Conway were going to work when they were shot at by people in civilian clothes.

'Daniel Rooney from the St James Street area was shot dead and his companion seriously wounded and the army admitted that a patrol in civilian clothes had shot them although the army said the two men had guns. I am convinced from witnesses that these people were unarmed.

'There was John Kelly of Rosnareen Avenue. The army admitted they shot this man by accident, but said Kelly was struggling with a soldier when the gun went off. I do not believe this is true.'

Father Brady said that many people are afraid to make complaints against the army in case there are reprisals.

He added that even when full details have been given of military violence against people who have no involvement in any political movement, 'redress' has been refused.

An army spokesman denied all the charges and said: 'Allegations of this kind seek to shift the blame for inconvenient measures from the terrorists to the security forces. It seems to me that these priests are very much playing the IRA's game.'

Despite this denial there is little doubt that the army is operating its own assassination squads, spying on the civilian population, going in for systematic harassment and is guilty of sustained brutality and ill-treatment of prisoners.

**PROVISIONAL IRA** Chief of Staff Sean MacStiofain has been charged with membership of an illegal organization less than an hour before he was due to be released from Dublin's Bridewell police station.

The Dublin government seems determined not to let MacStiofain slip through its fingers and, if proved, which it almost certainly will be, the charge brought under the Offences Against the State Act carries a maximum penalty of two years' jail.

Seamus Twomey, the Pro-

visional IRA's Belfast brigade commander is being tipped to replace MacStiofain while he is detained.

Twomey was principal speaker at a 1,000-strong protest rally in O'Connell Street, Dublin, on Monday which called for the immediate release of MacStiofain.

● Hard on the heels of Tory leader Heath's second 'co-operate-or-else' warning to Protestant organizations, Ulster loyalists are to speed up moves to form a new political party as an alternative to the Unionists.

frustrated by the army's behaviour.

Army security techniques in Belfast, which has borne the bulk of the terror, are markedly different from those in other towns.

In Derry, since Operation Motorman, the military have adopted a low-profile approach designed to create an atmosphere of normality and win the confidence of the Catholic population.

The two communities are physically separated by the River Foyle and since the Catholic population gave short shrift to the IRA's plan to bomb what was essentially their Derry to the ground, terror there has been limited.

In Belfast, where the two communities live cheek by jowl, bombings and shootings have

the searches that even if the front door is forced open in the middle of the night they stay in bed while the soldiers search around them.

The object is to intimidate and harass the IRA and particularly their supporters to the maximum and the army says that where as before Motorman there were about 80 explosions and 800 shootings a week now there are 20 and 100 respectively.

But the Belfast priests claim the army campaign goes a lot further than harassment and is directed against both Protestants and Catholics.

A spokesman said: 'Innocent and unarmed civilians, regardless of sex or age, are being shot by soldiers in and out of uniform.'

'People are arrested daily in their homes, places of work, social clubs and on the streets. Many of those arrested are subjected to beatings and inhuman treatment.'

Father Brian Brady of St

## Strike over piecework

ALMOST 500 workers in the machine shop at GEC, Stoke, Coventry are on strike over piecework prices and earnings.

At least 400 other workers have been laid off. T&GWU factory convener Jack Sherrington told Workers Press:

'We think the company is making its own interpretation of the government wage control Bill. It is offering prices and saying that the workers must accept them.'

● In yesterday's Workers Press we said that Chrysler shop steward John Worth 'remains suspended on full pay'. In fact Mr Worth has been reinstated, but under the threat of losing his shop steward's credentials.

MERCHANT SEAMEN yesterday became the first workers to get a closed shop under the Industrial Relations Act. At a five-minute hearing the National Industrial Relations Court in London approved closed-shop proposals for the 45,000 men prepared by the National Union of Seamen and the British Shipping Federation. The union, with the support of the Shipping Federation, applied for a post-entry closed-shop in March. The court referred the matter to the Commission on Industrial Relations, who reported favourably on the proposals in July.

**Workers  
Press  
MONTHLY  
APPEAL  
FUND**

**WE NEED  
£724.46 IN  
NINE DAYS**

OUR CAMPAIGN to raise this month's Fund has begun to slow down. We must go into action immediately and pull our figure right up.

Not a month has gone by where you, our readers, have ever let us down. Each month your magnificent support not only completes our £1,750 target, but without exception, raises an amount well over the top.

But we cannot afford just to sit back and wait. The Fund is more important than ever this month.

Workers Press is needed to reach out more effectively than ever to thousands of workers coming into political struggles for the first time. Everyone has begun to feel the bite of the latest round of price increases. A huge movement is growing against the Tory government.

Let's therefore press ahead immediately. Raise extra amounts wherever you can. Keep Workers Press in the front line of this fight against the Tories. Post all donations immediately to:

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CELEBRATE 3rd ANNIVERSARY OF WORKERS PRESS See p. 1)

NEWCASTLE  
SUNDAY DECEMBER 10, 7 p.m.  
County Hotel

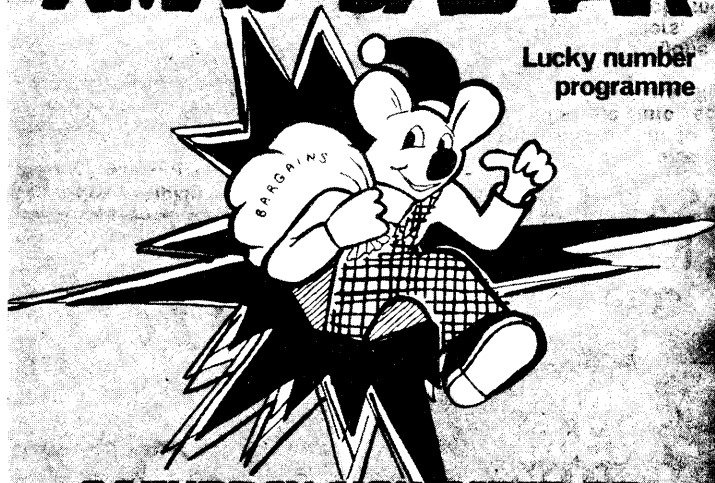
Speakers:  
MIKE BANDA (SLL Central committee)  
DAVID JONES (YS national committee)  
BOB MAINS (Unemployed)  
VINCENT FOY (secretary Jar-row Trades Council. In personal capacity.)  
GLASGOW  
SUNDAY DECEMBER 17, 2 p.m.  
Woodside Halls  
St George's Cross

Speakers:  
MIKE BANDA (SLL Central committee)  
JOHN BARRIE (YS national committee)  
WILLIE DOCHERTY (chairman Paisley Tenants' Action Committee. In personal capacity.)  
BIRMINGHAM  
SUNDAY DECEMBER 17, 7 p.m.  
Assembly Hall  
Digbeth Civic Hall

Speakers:  
G. HEALY (SLL National Secretary)  
WILLIE AITKIN (YS national committee)  
PETER SMITH (Rover shop steward. In personal capacity.)

## YOUNG SOCIALISTS XMAS BAZAAR

Lucky number programme



**SATURDAY NOVEMBER 25  
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