Workers press

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER • MONDAY NOVEMBER 27, 1972 • No 921 • 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

Statement by the SLL Political Committee

SEAN



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MacSTIOFAIN!

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But the T&GWU leaders are understood to have strongly advised against any form of industrial action by dockers which would bring them in to conflict with the pay control law.

And it was evident from yesterday's meeting that a majority of stewards agreed with this line.

SEAN MacSTIOFAIN was found guilty on Saturday of being a member of the IRA. He was sentenced to six months' imprisonment by a Special Criminal Court in Dublin. When sentence was pronounced MacStiofain banged his fist on the bench before him and cried: 'I'll be dead in six days. I'll see you dead and in hell before I submit.'

MacStiofain has been on hunger strike since he was arrested on November 19 and was being forcibly fed yesterday.

The Political Committee of the Socialist Labour League calls on all workers in Britain and throughout Ireland to demand the immediate release of MacStiofain. Behind this sentence stands Heath and the Tory government. Lynch and the government and courts of Eire are the puppets of British imperialism.

The arrest of MacStiofain coincided with Lynch's visit for private talks with the British Tory Prime Minister. The attack on MacStiofain is, therefore, an attack on the entire working-class movement.

It is not just an 'Irish question', but a vital question for the British working class, itself under savage attack from the Tories on wages, rents, prices and trade union freedom. Entry into the Common Market, by both Britain and Eire, will mean an enormous drop in the standard of living for the working class in both countries.

In fighting its Tory rulers, the working class must declare openly that it will not permit MacStiofain to die. There can be no doubt the British and Eire authorities are willing to let this happen.

Forced feeding does not guarantee that the victim will live. On the contrary, people have died under that brutal operation—and the authorities subsequently cleared of all responsibility.

If MacStiofain dies he will join the long list of Irish martyrs who have given



Release O'Kelly too

their lives in the struggle against British imperialism. But his death would solve nothing for the imperialists. On the contrary, it would create more problems for them. As it is, his heroism will increase the determination of the Irish people in their fight for freedom.

In this they are in marked contrast to the leaders of the Roman Catholic Church. These dignitaries—so quick to condemn the 'excesses' of those fighting against British imperialism—have said nothing about the jailing of MacStiofain, nor about the 20 Republican prisoners who have been on hunger strike in 'A' wing of Belfast prison for the past 13 days.

The Catholic Church stands exposed as being on the side of imperialism and exploitation—as it has been throughout its history.

The Socialist Labour League has very important political differences with Mac-Stiofain. His present action reflects the limits of terrorism and bourgeois nationalism. It can contribute nothing to solve the problems of Ireland.

That requires the unity of the Irish working class, Catholic and Protestant, north and south, together with brothers in the British labour movement, around a programme of revolutionary struggle against capitalism in Britain and Ireland.

This means the formation of revolutionary parties, sections of the Fourth International, in Britain and Ireland.

But despite these differences, it must be said that MacStiofain is a heroic Irish patriot and fighter against British imperial-to die.

- All trade union branches must flood their head office with demands for action to force his release.
- Copies of these demands must be sent to the Embassy at 17 Grosvenor Place.
- Demonstrations must be organized in all parts of Britain.
- Trade unionists must also demand the immediate release of Kevin O'Kelly, news features editor of Radio Telefis Eireann, who was jailed by the same court for refusing to identify the man he had interviewed in a radio broadcast.

The campaign for the release of Mac-Stiofain and O'Kelly is inseparable from the fight to defend basic workers' rights by bringing down the Tory government.

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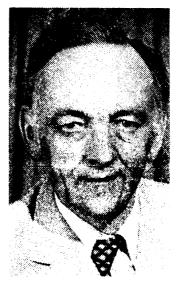
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Paris talks on brink of break-down New US demands confirm 'peace' fraud

BY JOHN SPENCER

HARSH NEW DEMANDS from the United States including the withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops from the south have brought the so-called peace talks in Paris to the brink of breakdown.

Though another negotiating session is scheduled for the beginning of next month, reports of last week's discussions make it clear the two sides are now very far apart.

The American side, headed by Dr Henry Kissinger, has vastly revised its demands and supported almost the entire package of pro-posals put forward by the South Vietnamese puppet President Nguyen Van Thieu.

Now that President Nixon has achieved reelection, partly because of the much-advertised prospect of an imminent Vietnam peace, he is now in a strong position to continue the war at an even more intensive level.

The bombing of the north has reached unprecedented heights of barbarity with wave after wave of B52 bombers dropping their lethal cargo on the industrial cities of Vinh and Dong Hoi.

At the same time, the South Vietnamese regime has been given enormous amounts of new arms and equipment to enable it to continue the ground war against the National Liberation Front and the

North Vietnamese.

The outcome of the Paris talks, together with the actions of the US in Vietnam itself, make nonsense of reports from 'Morning Star' corres-pondent Chris Myant in Hanoi, who claimed peace was just around the corner.

What is being prepared in reality is an intensification of the counter-revolutionary war in Indo-China which is being waged by US imperialism to crush the struggles of workers and peasants throughout Asia.

The Paris manoeuvres indicate that Nixon, whose election was hailed by the Moscow Stalinists as a victory of 'peace-loving and realistic' foreign policy, never had any intention of compromising with the Indo-Chinese revolution.

At the Paris talks Kissinger reportedly demanded mutual withdrawal of US and North Vietnamese troops from the south, refused to admit the possibility of 'neutralist' participation in a future Saigon administration and indicated that the US would not force Thieu to release his 200,000 political prisoners.

This position is in total contrast to the nine-point draft agreement reached in October. The Americans refused to sign this deal at the time, claiming there were 'points of detail' to be cleared up.

It is clear that this was simply ploy to spin out the talks past the election date before placing the 'radically new' and totally unacceptable proposals before the North Vietnamese.

The new American proposals ngry reac the North Vietnamese delegation headed by Le Duc Tho. At one point, he pounded the table with his fist to indicate his hostility to the American turn-about.

In retaliation against the US proposals, the North Vietnamese side renewed its demand for the immediate removal of President Thieu, a demand it had dropped in accepting the nine-point draft.

The North Vietnamese are opposed to the withdrawal their army from the south, claiming correctly that Vietnam is their country and they have a right to be there, which the Americans do not.

They are said to have agreed to withdraw 35,000 of their 120,000 troops from the south, but the Hanoi newspaper 'Nhan Dan' indicated that further concessions on troop withdrawal are out of the question.

The paper said that unless the US accepted the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Vietnam, as laid down in the 1954 Geneva agreement, 'there can be no peace'.



Dr Henry Kissinger, (left) with Le Duc Tho (right) in Paris last week

17 countries agree on increasing exploitation

PLANS to encourage the export of capital to countries with low wages and high un-employment were laid at a meeting of European Ministers of Labour in Rome at the weekend.

They were vigorously supported by Tory Minister of State at the Department of Employment Robin Chichester-Clark. The policy is in line with the British government's plans for investment in the Common Market and Mediterranean countries Mediterranean countries.

This involves setting up factories in Spain, Portugal, Greece, southern Italy and other areas where wages are low and unions outlawed or weak. The invest-ment can then be used to create unemployment in Britain in order to whip workers into line at

Proposals from the conference, which was attended by Ministers from 17 countries, will be put to the European Council of Foreign Ministers when it meets next

LABOUR won a resounding victory in the New Zealand election at the weekend, taking over office for the first time in 12 years. Led by Norman Kirk, the Labour Party has a majority of 25 seats over the Nationalists, who have ruled without interruption since 1960. The new government is pledged to withdraw military advisers from Vietnam, scale down other military commit-ments abroad and keep a tight rein on foreign investment.

Bolivia: Workers in moves

BOLIVIAN bank employees and textile workers called off their strike at the weekend after forcing right-wing President Hugo Banzer to release trade union leaders arrested after he imposed a state of siege last Thursday.

Banzer now faces a clash with the tin-miners who are demanding the immediate re-opening of the Bolivian Trades Union Federation (COB) and an amnesty for workers, peasants, students and politicians who are either in exile or in prison.

The COB was closed down by Banzer in August 1971 when he removed General Juan Torres in a coup which costs hundreds of workers' lives.

The heroic resurgence of the Bolivian working class has been provoked by the massive devaluation of the peso, carried through on orders from the International Monetary Fund.

It is one of the first rounds of Nixon's post-election onslaught on the masses in the semi-colonial countries who must now provide US imperialism with raw materials under slave conditions as a re-quirement of the international trade war.

Drastic cut-backs in jobs and sky-rocketing prices are faced by Bolivian workers.

The National Chamber of Mining has declared that 200 pits employing 30,000 workers will have to close, if the terms of the devaluation are not modified.

The Chamber clearly intends to speed up pit-rationalization, pioneered by Soviet and east European technicians, in order to make the most of the advantages of devaluation.

BY JUAN GARCIA

Thirty - two cotton - producing co-operatives and leaders of the Bolivian timber industry have also threatened closure.

The Bolivian capital, La Paz, is full of rumours of coups and counter-coups. Banzer has arrested members of the National Revolutionary Movement (MNR) of Paz Estenssoro which is part of the ruling coalition.

He has also jailed supporters of ex-President Barrientos and accused them of conspiracy.

Opponents of the regime are making great play of

the speculation which pre-

ceded the devaluation.

Banzer's wife and the commander-in-chief of the armed forces made small

fortunes by buying dollars.

However, the main danger to the renewed workers' struggle does not come from the vying right. wing forces, but the leader-

The POR of Guillermo
Lora was in large part
responsible for Banzer's

initial victory.

Lora spread the illusion that the nationalist general Juan Torres would arm the working class.



General Banzer

After the August defeat, Lora proceeded to form a so-called Anti-imperialist Revolutionary Front (FRA), Stalinists, uniting with petty-bourgeois nationalists, revisionists and Torres supporters.

against Banzer

In a recent analysis published by the French revisionists of the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI), the POR claims the gain of the recent strike movement was that 'the masses were on the streets again'.

The POR added that the climate was being created for a military coup d'etat under the slogan 'democratization'.

Many young officers in Banzer's army are said to have welcomed the call made recently by General Eduardo Mendez Pereira, Minister of Mines under the governments of General Ovando and Torres, for 'the installation of a national democratic and anti-imperialist government'.

The POR and the FRA are clearly hoping to

channel the workers' movement once more behind the 'democratic' demagogy forres-style g

The construction of a section of the Fourth International in Bolivia, which can break the working class from these creators of illusions by fighting for socialist policies, is an urgent necessity.

GENERAL Carlos Prats, Chilean Minister of the Interior, will be in control of government in Chile when Salvador Allende and his wife Hortensia leave next week on a round-the-world tour which will take them from Mexico to Moscow. This is the President's third trip abroad since he was elected. His first visit was in July 1971 to Argentina to speak to President General Alejandro Lanusse. Obviously impressed by Lanusse's statesmanlike Lanusse's statesmanlike qualities, Allende now entrusts the peaceful road to socialism in Chile to Prats, commander in chief of the armed forces.

Oppositionists' appeals rejected

THIRTY Czechoslovak oppositionists sent to prison in a series of show trials last summer have had appeals against their sentences rejected by the Supreme Court, according to sources in Prague.

Another three out of the total of 46 people convicted have had sentences cut as a result of appeals. They are Anna Sabatova (3½ years reduced to 3 years), her brother Vaclav (25) (his 2-year term was suspended for 3 years) and Karel Cejka (2 years reduced to 18 months).

Most of the rest received suspended prison

sentences and did not appeal, the sources said. Among those whose sentences were confirmed are Professor Milan Huebl, former head of the Communist Party College, former Central Committee member and and applications of the Committee member and applications of the Committee member and applications of the Committee members and applications of the Commi Committee member and a one-time friend of party leader Gustav Husak. He received 6½

years. Another is Professor Jaroslav Sabata, former Party chief in Brno and a leading supporter of the Liberal Party leader Alexandr Dubcek in 1968 and 1969. His 64year sentence was con-firmed as was a 2½-year term passed on his son

GRIM FUTURE FOR TEXTILE WORKERS

BY STEPHEN JOHNS

The TUC believes that the chaos and crisis in the British and European man-made fibres industry will be resolved inside the Common Market.

This is the message of a TUC survey into the industry. It notes the discussion now taking place between the UK manufacturers and the Continental giants and concludes:

'The Commission [of the EEC] will be in a position to regulate and control, and issue directives should changes in methods of regulation be required if left to private enterprise, there is a great danger that regulation will take the form of cartelization with price-fixing and market-sharing arrangements...'

The TUC's hope for smooth transformation from the chaos and crisis that now characterizes the industry to growth is entirely fatuous—as any brief examination of the industry will show.

The cancer of man-made fibres has always been the violent investment cycle—itself a product of the capitalist mode of enterprise. But this has been overlaid recently by fierce foreign competition, represented by the flood of cheap yarn and clothing from Japan and the Far East.

The prospect facing the British and European monopolies is how to fight off this competition and rationalize their own operations in Europe. This can only mean more massive redundancies on top of the wave of sackings that have already occurred over the last three years.

The industry has always been plagued by instability and periodic overcapacity. In 1966 the world production of all textile fibres—natural and man-made—was 39,000m lbs. Of this 13,000m lbs were manmade.

At first production was con-

fined to the British and American pioneers like Courtaulds, ICI, Monsanto and, in Germany, Hoechst.

Later Japan and the Far East came roaring into the market.

As the TUC report notes, each additional manufacturer must have a minimum output of 100m lbs for most types of yarn if the fibre is to be competitive.

Hence, to preserve their markets, producers are forced internally into massive capital expenditure—the result is vast overcapacity. This outcome is not, of course, due to some inhe ent feature of fibre-production, but simply the direct result of production for profit—a point the TUC pamphlet does not make.

Unhindered

For a period the boom continued unhindered. One useful section of the TUC's publication shows the incredible increase in productivity in the British industry — dominated almost completely by Courtaulds and ICI.

Between 1963 and 1971 the UK production of all manmade fibres almost doubled from 719 to 1,351. But the labour force remained more or less static at a little over 40,000.

The rise of man-made fibres, therefore, did nothing to absorb the vast redundancies in the natural sectors of cotton and wool. It was a classic case of technical improvement within an industry casting thousands onto the dole (over the last three years employment in the Lancashire cotton industry has slumped by 17,000 to around 30,000 men and women).

It is obvious from these figures that the textile bosses got a vast productivity increase for almost nothing—wages were higher in the manmade sector, but this hardly

detracted from the advantages of three-shift working and a massive output.

Courtaulds, for example, estimate that output per employee increased 200 per cent between 1948 and 1965, compared with the textile industry average of 60 per cent profits rose correspondingly from £17.7m in 1962 to £45m in 1972.

The ultra-conservative bureaucrats who ran the textile unions did little or nothing to safeguard their members' jobs on the traditional textile mills, or to get some of the rewards for the vast profit bonanza in the new sectors—another fact that is curiously absent from the TUC's investigation!

But for the UK and European producers the golden era when the yarns with a chemical base meant millions seems to be over.

The first tremors shook the industry in 1969 when the manufacturers caught the hangover from the investment binge of the early 1960s.

The redundancies began. The big Dutch chemicals and pharmaceuticals combine has announced a plan to slash its European labour force of 47,000 by 5,700. Courtaulds have already kicked 4,000 onto the dole, ICI wants to get rid of 1,450 from its fibres division (its head Sir Jack Callard says he's 'doing a Weinstock') and Hoechst pulled out of nylon production in 1971.

But the troubles in Europe have only just begun. One virtue of the TUC investigation is that it does gather together figures which highlight the massive challenge from the East.

These started when Nixon upturned the entire world economy by pulling gold backing from the dollar. One of his major worries was the massive and continuing deficit on the US balance of payments and particularly its trading

Lord Kearton, boss of Courtaulds: 'work harder on my terms'.

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Eastern producers.

Eventually the US and the Far East came to some sort of a deal. But a main factor was a promise by the cheap manmade fibre and clothing producers to curb their imports to America. As a result the flood of cheap imports changed course and began to swamp Europe and Britain.

Polyester fibres provide a startling example of the effects of this invasion. Low-priced polyester filament yarns have been diverted to Europe causing a collapse of prices.

The TUC cite one example.

The TUC cite one example. The most popular 150 denier polyester yarns fell by 40 per cent between September 1971 (a month after the fateful Nixon decision) and April 1972. Imports now account for 45 per cent of the polyester market in Britain—two years ago they took 16 per cent of the market.

Policy

The penetration of Far East goods in the made-up clothing sector has been even greater. In 1963 the value of imports was £32.2m and in 1971 it was £99.6m.

The aim of the pre-entry talks in Europe is to thrash out some common policy against this offensive. A major factor will be a ruthless efficiency drive throughout the European industry involving rationalization. One of the most important topics in the

talks, therefore, is how investment plans can be integrated and how markets can be shared.

There is a degree of antagonism. Britain is looked upon as a Trojan horse—since her imports from abroad are way above imports to the Common Market countries (due to their tariff policy). The Six do not want them smuggled into Europe.

But Britain, too, is threatened. Her remaining cotton industry faces collapse. For the present quotas still protect British cotton. But the EEC allows cotton yarns in freely after paying the 7 per cent common tariff.

Whatever the outcome of the talks, the future for textile workers in the man-made and 'natural' sectors looks grim.

Lancashire's cotton workers seem to face massive redundancies and perhaps the virtual destruction of their industry. But the workers in man-made fibres too will face redundancy and those that remain will be pressured into speed-up and more productivity deals.

Lord Kearton, the boss of Courtaulds, sounded a new note when he whipped his Skelmersdale employees into line with a threat of immediate closure. His cry 'work harder on my terms, or get onto the dole' will undoubtedly be the war-cry of the textile bosses in Europe, the TUC notwithstanding.



If workers get the sack they are given a one-way ticket to the dole queue. So-called government retraining is nothing more than a cruel joke.

Not so for redundant managers. Once they lose their jobs they can either retire on their pensions or grab another lucrative managership.

The British Institute of Management has produced a 30-page pamphlet to explain to these down-trodden managers that the sack for them isn't the end of the line.

In fact, a vast industry awaits them. The BIM says: 'Within the last decade several organizations and agencies have been established or developed to cater for the needs of the redundant executive. These vary in size, range of services offered and their availability to the individual.'

The booklet then lists dozens of firms in this lucrative field.
Anonymous Appointments Limited can get you replaced in a top job for as little as £15. You pay a fraction more—£15.75—for the psycho-analysis

and career guidance service of

Career Analysts, Career House, Gloucester Place in west London.

Or perhaps you might try the Henry Davidson Management Training Service in Regent Street. This outfit specializes in 'individual counselling'.

A company blurb says: 'Through Real Time Use (RTU), redundant executive helped to identify and assess potential advantages of current situation and to decide upon appropriate action.' Each session lasts an hour. And you pay Henry Davidson £7.35 for helping you to 'assess the situation and to decide upon appropriate action'.

All of these organizations are detailed in the BIM booklet to help the out-of-work manager.

'Most executives are not at all prepared for the time when they might be made redundant. In cases where little prior warning is given the shock and problems to be faced are even more acute.'

So as you're going down to collect your next dole instalment, spare a tear for the shell-shocked executive who is off to Henry Davidson for a pyschotherapeutic hour costing seven quid.

Writings of Leon Trotsky

	•
1933-1934	£1.43
1934-1935	£1.43
1935-1936	£1.25
1937-1938	£1.25
1938-1939	£1.25
1939-1940	£1.05



These extremely vital writings by Leon Trotsky between the years 1929 and 1940—his third and final exile from the Soviet Union—are now available in Britain from the Paperbacks Centre (see advert below).



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Mon, Tues, Wed, Thurs 9 a.m.—6 p.m. Fri 9 a.m.—7.30 p.m. Sat 9 a.m.—5 p.m.

BOOKS • PERIODICALS • NEWSPAPERS

PAGE 4 Workers Press, Monday November 27, 1972



SAN QUENTIN LETTER

David Johnson is one of the San Quentin Six who has been awaiting trial for more than 12 months.

The accused face charges of conspiracy to attempt to escape, conspiracy to possess firearms and conspiracy to kidnap. If found guilty the defendants will have their present sentences extended to

The State of California has been employing continuous delaying tactics. This is because they fear any court This is exposure of the events which occurred in San Quentin on August 21 last year when the alleged offences are said to have occurred.

It was on that day that George Jackson was shot dead during a so-called escape bid. When the shooting had stopped the San Quentin authorities rounded up Jackson's six closest colleagues and charged them. They have since

been placed in separate prisons and their attempts to organize a defence have been hampered by various interferences by the state.

These restrictions have even extended to banning books which the Six may read. In this letter which has come into the possession of Workers Press, David Johnson is writing to complain about the chief librarian's refusal to let him read a book by former 'Time' magazine correspon-dent, John Gerassi, who now lives in London.

Although only 23, Johnson has a considerable history of struggle against racialism and brutality in prisons. In 1970 he became the first prisoner to file a complaint against the San Quentin authorities. This followed the death of Fred Billingslea, a black prisoner who was tear-gassed and beaten to death.

He wrote a short time ago:

'I have dedicated my life to exposing to the people the corruption that exists in these pig-sties. For my efforts I have been the victim of all types of persecution which has culminated in my indictment on this fraud case.'

To: Officer J. E. McHenry-Chief Librarian, San Quentin State Prison. Subject: Book Suppression. Officer McHenry:

I am writing you this communication from the prison's adjustment centre (A/C), in response to your memo of October 6, 1972, concerning the matter of the book entitled 'Coming of the New International' authored by John Gerassi. I've acted in accordance to the strict procedures recently instituted here by the fascist administration of the San Quentin Prison

complex in moving to secure the approval required so as to be able to receive this book, but again—as you have in the past—you've arbitrarily exercised your petty authority so as to obstruct and disapprove my request.

I am personally aware of your prejudice towards both this book, its contents and its author, although you've omitted to reveal all this in vour memo to me.

It is quite obvious at this point that you have access to this book yourself and are opposed to its content (as your recent action indicates), and thus you choose to deprive me of the right to read and study this book for further political understanding and mental growth.

You should now also know, by your familiarity with this book, that its contents do not pose a threat to the internal security of this prison comLeft: George Jackson, author of Blood in My Eye', and Fleeta Drumgo in prison at San Quentin before Jackson's murder in August 1971. Inset: David Johnson 1971. Chaptin Sir. son, one of the 'San Quentin Six' awaiting trial.

plex nor to the present fascist bureaucracy, thereby making your present action nothing more than a personal attack and attitude directed at me, a politically-held prisoner.

I recognize your disinterest in my life and my human rights, also though you and your superiors project the image of concern and consideration to the public, you and I know it to be false and non-existent.

In your memo you cite 2600.4 Pen.C., as the legal grounds of authority by which you act, you are not only being ridiculous, but also ignorant besides, to not know (as the chief legal librarian here) that this state's 2600 section has been rendered obsolete and found to be contrary to the US constitutional rights and guarantees by recent actions and decisions of both state and federal higher court findings.

henceforth, So. restrict your erroneous illegal citations to your own imagination and prejudiced views to yourself, for you will not convince anyone with a little bit of legal knowledge (inside or outside of these prison walls) or the correctness of your actions in denying us access to certain political writings.

Except for those few individuals that you serve as your fascist superiors in carrying out your policy of suppressing leftist ideology and authors (such as John Gerassi and similar others) your prison policy of suppressing political materials diametrically opposed to your views is evident. It is common knowledge among the prison bureaucracy that John Gerassi was a friend of our fallen comrade George Jackson, whose life was viciously taken by your psychopathic henchmen, and whom you are now anxious in trying to eraze from the political understanding and memory of the political prisoners, by not only denying us access to 'Coming of the New International', but also by not letting us obtain 'Blood In My Eye' written by Comrade George Jackson. All of which you have denied to us through unfair, unjust, and illegal prison policies and practice.

The immediate conflict between you—your politics and the system you help upholdand myself are further heightened and made more antagonistic by your recent act of political malfeasance and

I am one of many prisoners who are becoming aware of your morbid right-wing efforts, utilizing your position as the prison librarian to keep me and other prisoners in a void of political unconsciousness by denying us certain political books, periodicals, and under-ground newspapers.

In doing this you hope to maintain and further create an atmosphere conducive to propagating your own rightwing politics, hence inducing a dormant to backwards consciousness among the general prison population. If I had instead requested to obtain Hitler's 'Mein Kampf', it would have really received your approval because it conforms with your own political views, but because the book I requested does not espouse fascism you disapprove of it.

You have no real right, other than those exercised by the fascists in power to fill the warped egos at the given expense of us held under state oppression. Your aura of power and corruption is at an

'All Power to the Prisoners.' Prisoner: David Johnson, San Quentin Prison—A/C B-16381 1-AC-7 Tamal, California-94964.

PROFITS IN FRENCH PROPERTY

BY OUR FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

'Office block—for redevelopment and extension—bought by the Reamhurst group. London-Paris-Brussels-Amsterdam' reads the notice-board in red and blue lettering on the front of a six-floor building on Avenue Kléber, almost opposite the offices of the French National Building Federation in Paris.

Similar signs throughout Paris are putting terror into the hearts of financiers at the Bourse and ministers in the Pompidou government. There is an invasion of sharp-witted property men from the City of London who threaten to take over the lucrative sector of property development in France.

The old jokes about the British millionaires romping with starlets on the Cote d'Azur have now turned sour with the arrival of the new style man of business.

Julian Markham, chairman and managing director of Reamhurst Properties Ltd., at a recent conference on 'Building in the EEC,' spoke confidently of the profitable future ahead in Europe.

'There are no people in the world more able to take advantage of the out-of-date conditions and land scarcity which exists in Europe than the UK developers. Weaned on the redevelopment of London and other major cities at a time when European development was fairly static, British property men know more about the problems and the solutions than any other nationality.'

RUSH FOR QUICK PROFIT

These words were not mere exhortation. Conservative estimates put the total investment by British property developers in the Common Market at over £500m.

Reamhurst itself has just extended its interests to Eindhoven in Holland, where it is developing a £2.25m office and shopping complex in one 12-storey block.

However, back in Paris the rush is on for the quick profits.

Harvey M. Soning, joint managing director of Guardian Properties (Holdings) Ltd, has described 'France, and particularly Paris,' as 'the primary target of most British property companies'.

The best returns are in office development . . . so there is hardly an office block in Paris which does not have the expertise of the City of London behind it.

Star GB are pioneering the largest office development by a British firm in Europe, a 65,000 square metre development at La Boursidière on the outskirts of Paris.

Reamhurst, British Land and Mackenzie Hill have ten office developments in progress and the Heron Corporation have begun their third development in Paris at Montparnasse.

Mackenzie Hill and Guard-

ian Properties are already looking beyond office blocks to industrial development. Mackenzie Hill and Slough Estates are pioneering a £9m industrial programme over the next three years.

The speculators operate with capital loans from British banks, the Euro-dollar market or funds from the Swiss banks.

In principle, investment programmes have to be approved by the Bank of France, which sometimes delays approval but generally allows programmes to go ahead with finance comprising 20 per cent foreign exchange and the remainder loans from French banks

VIRTUES OF 'LE FAIR-PLAY'

Paul M. Raingold, the 36year-old chartered surveyor with a University of London diploma in urban studies, is head of the European branch of the property group, English and Continental Investment.

In his Paris office, he assured the correspondent of 'Le Monde' that he intended to abide by that virtue of the English middle class known in France as 'le fair-play'.

Raingold, whose motto is 'The right building in the right place', was most adamant that his firm worked with French capital and preferred 'working with the best specialists in the country rather than bringing a large staff with us'.

'Le Monde' remained unconvinced that the men from the City really intended to play cricket and complained about the 'subtle paths taken by British penetration of the French property market'.

One of these paths is a very simple one. Nothing can prevent foreigners from opening a special non-residents account in a French bank which can than accept deposits of foreign exchange and give their foreign credit in francs.

The three property deals which British companies promoted in Paris last week certainly give some substance to 'Le Monde's' doubts.

The Heron Corporation has reached conditional agreement on the purchase of the Intra Bank site on the Champs Elysees, while English and Continental is to undertake an office scheme worth about £16m on the Rives de Seine complex near the Gare de Lyon.

In the third deal, Argyle Securities, the development group led by Michael Rivkin, bought the Galeries du Louvre department store in the main shopping street of Paris for COO.

Forced with the threat of the office-block take-over of Paris by British speculators, Secretary of State Christian Bonnet recently expressed the need to limit British investment at a meeting of the Senate. A counter-offensive is planned and the British market is being prospected.

However, for the moment, the Comon Market, and France in particular, is real boosting ground for the Tory property men who, with the rest of their class, are the only ones who will benefit from the Market entry.

Willy Brandt's election victory in West Germany has been greeted enthusiastically in the Soviet Union and E astern Europe. Moscow radio said 'most West German citizens have consciously rejected the CDU/CSU and just as consciously voted for a policy of

detente, co-operation and

peace in Europe'.

'Pravda' exulted: 'An overwhelming majority of electors resolutely supported those constructive things that have been introduced into the life and politics of the FRG in recent years.' Its Bonn correspondent continued: 'The coalition parties' electoral triumph is tantamount to a plebiscite in support of the Brandt-Scheel policy, and is a mandate to an active continuation of the realistic course.'

The Polish premier, Piotr Jaroszewski, expressed the wish, in a congratulatory telegram to Brandt, that the victory would have a favourable influence on the further normalization of relations between the two countries.

The same sentiments were echoed in Prague where a radio commentator said: 'The time has come for the normalizing of relations between the German Federal Republic and Czechoslovakia on the basis of recognizing the Munich dictate as null and void from its very inception.'

(This refers to the meeting between Hitler, Mussolini, Chamberlain and Daladier which divided up Czechoslovakia in September 1938, handing over a large part of the country to Germany.)

The bureaucracy in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe is happy that the voters have supported Brandt's

THE KREMLIN'S PRAISE FOR BRANDT



Brandt, German Chancellor, during the election campaign.

'Ostpolitik'. Its organs therefore have nothing critical to say about Brandt, his own reformist party or the liberal 'Free Democrats' with whom he is allied.

In fact it does not care what policy Brandt pursues at home as long as he continues the policy of improving relations between capitalist West Germany and the Eastern countries.

It says nothing about the other reasons why German workers supported Brandt rather than the right-wing CDU and its extreme reactionary ally, Franz-Joseph Strauss.

In fact, like the German Communist Party, the bureaucracy gives unconditional support to Brandt. The demand is never raised that the Social Democrats should break their alliance with the liberals and carry out socialist policies aimed at breaking the strangle-hold of the big capitalists and bankers in West Germany.

If Scheel and Strauss had won we can be sure that Moscow would have done its best to woo them into continuing the 'Ostpolitik' and would have been prepared to make a few concessions for that purpose.



The death of Martin Dies, who was first chairman of the witch-hunting House Un-American Activities Committee from 1938-1945, recalls an episode in Leon Trotsky's life.

In October 1939 Trotsky received a telegram from the Committee inviting him to appear as a witness before it in Austin, Texas (see p. 8). It said: 'The Committee desires to have a complete record of the history of Stalinism and invites you to answer questions which may be submitted to you in advance if you desire.'

Trotsky replied: 'I accept your invitation as a political duty . . .'

His decision met some resistance inside the Political Committee of the Occidital Workers' Party in the United States led by James Burnham who was shortly to quit the movement and go over to the red-baiters.

Trotsky said it was necessary to appear before the Committee, although it was reactionary, not in order to facilitate its work, but in order to use it to inform American workers of the truth about Stalinism.

In the event Dies withdrew the invitation on the spurious grounds that if Trotsky left Mexico he might not be readmitted. Evidently he came to the conclusion that Trotsky's testimony would have exposed the Committee's aims. Later the Committee stepped

up its campaign against 'subversives', ordering witnesses to appear before it, using the testimony of informers and renegades and employing character-assassination and smeartactics.



Trotsky was invited to appear before the Dies Committee.



National Association of Local Government Officers (NALGO)

chief Walter Anderson rose

uncertainly to his feet to de-

liver a speech which all but put NATSOPA leader Richard

Briginshaw to sleep and drove sections of the audience to a

slow hand clap and shouts of

'This is really unfair', moaned

the chairman, Transport and

General Workers' Union sec-

retary Jack Jones, who urged

stewards to throw out the

troublemakers, punctuated with

shouts from a pensioner that

'this is the first time we've

had the young people behind

'sit down'.

Victor Feather ended his speech to pensioners rallying at the Central Halls, Westminster, last Wednesday on what he clearly believed was a triumphant note.

Trade unionists, he shouted at the conclusion of a speech which had got faster and faster as the heckling got worse, would 'stand their corner in meeting the cost' of higher pensions.

Understandably the applause for this proposal was mingled with shocked and strangled cries of 'no, no'.

Feather's screwed up eyes darted beams of hatred at the hundreds of young trade unionists who had turned the finale of the TUC's 'great' and 'historic' campaign for higher pensions into a political battle-field.

He was, after all, only telling them what his friend Anthony Barber had told him on Wednesday afternoon: 'If the pensioners want more you will have to pay for it with higher contributions of as much

as £1.60 a week.' For good measure the Tory Chancellor had added that Feather should realize the pensioners' plight was by no means unrelated to 'other sections of the community trying to "grab" more than their

Feather told the audience that his meeting with Barber had been 'disappointing' add-ing hastily and off the cuff: 'But don't take it to heart. It only means we shall have

to have more of this' (waving his arm round the rally).

But the young trade unionists and some of the pensioners did take it to heart. 'Strike, strike, General Strike', they shouted. 'Industrial action' and 'they are not taking it out of our pay'.

T&GWU stewards rushed about the hall like harassed firemen in a burning forest struggling vainly to identify the hecklers with a view to silencing them.

Sensing a need for militancy, Feather again departed from his prepared speech to shout: 'I defy anyone to live on the present pension.' He rushed on to unveil his second major plan for helping the old: 'Much as it goes against the grain, I appeal to them to claim sup-plementary benefits,' he said.

'I bet you don't live on it', shouted an anonymous voice, possibly with the foreknow-ledge that until recently Feather had been taking £500 a year from the 'Daily Mirror' in addition to his salary.

The Tory £10 hand-out would be a welcome help to get a little extra for Christmas or some warm winter underwear, he continued, barely audible above cries of 'You're joking' and '3 pence a day'?

Everyone knew that present pensions were not adequate for subsistence, but the Tories had said no to all the TUC's suggestions, said Feather.

'You're telling us' roared the reply from the floor. 'What are you going to do about it? Change the government. We

Jones closed the meeting. He said nothing different from anyone else, but perhaps with an eye to the BBC cameras want action now.' Into this charged atmosphere making a documentary of a

day in his life, he remembered to wave his fists and bang the

Jones began speaking (cheers and whistles): 'Many industrial workers have left their work to join us.' (Cheers and applause.) 'Further action will be taken until we get what we want.' (Cheers.) 'The 10 per cent who own 75 per cent of the wealth of this country must be made to pay.' (Cheers.)

The time had come, he said, when all Labour MPs must put down a motion in the House of Commons demanding higher pensions. 'There are enough Tories to back it to get it through,' he added.

But while he and Feather signed autographs and the pensioners filed out to the buses and taxis paid for by the trade unions, one woman

Left: 'Daily Mirror' Pensioner, Victor Feather and Jones on the platform of the Central Hall meeting singing 'Keep Right on to the End of the Road'. Top and Bottom right: Some of the pensioner. tom right: Some of the pensioners who showed they were more concerned about action than their demagogic leaders.

said: 'Taik, talk, talk, It's all talk. With a bit of practice even I could get up there and say that. What we want is action.

The TUC estimated that 18,000 pensioners from all over Britain had turned out with their banners on a cold winter's day to fight against conditions in which they are underfed, underclothed and underheated in their homes.

The union chiefs telling them they were 'heroes' was definitely not what they had come to London to hear.







BOOK REVIEW



THE YOUNG LENIN' by Leon Trotsky, translated by Max East-man. Published by David and Charles. £2.95. pp 224.

The future leader of the Russian Revolution was born in 1870 as Vladimir Ulyanov. He was one of seven children of a schools' inspector in the rural area of Simbirsk.

His mother - Maria Alexandrovna — was half-German and the daughter of an estate owner on Kazan. Family life, in the early years, was close and comfortable.

But the fate of the Ulyanov family was bound up with the revolutionary movement of the Russian intelligentsia. Russian feudal society decomposed at a faster pace than the forma-tion of the bourgeoisie. This meant that the intelligentsia increasingly found neither a sufficient demand for its skills nor a real sphere of political influence.

The state needed an intelligentsia, yet strangled it in the grip of Tsarism. In these circumstances, the most advanced intellectuals broke with the nobility, the clergy and the

Tsarist bureaucracy, but they could not ally themselves with the bourgeoisie, which had developed too late to be a revolutionary class.

Thus, after the end of serfdom, the vehicle for revolu-tionary ideas became the younger generation of the intelligentsia. That is, political life took the form of a conflict between them and the Tsarist police—with the basic class forces largely passive.

Trotsky explains how, as a socially weak strata, the intelligentsia's attempt to play a role was a combination of opposites. On the one hand it saw itself as the sole vehicle of critical thought and on the other tried to merge with the 'people'—that is, the peasant Disappointed in their hopes of a spontaneous peasant uprising, the intelligentsia turned to propaganda and agitation in the countryside and — when that failed — to individual terror.

The turn of the intelligentsia to the peasants, with all the personal sacrifice that it involved, could not be successful. Since the end of serfdom the slave-like dependence upon the nobles had been lessened. And favourable economic conditions enabled the upper and more influential levels of the peasantry to advance. They therefore did not regard Tsarism as their enemy but blamed their sufferings on the nobles and officials whom they thought were frustrating the Tsar's wishes.

Accordingly they considered the Tsar's enemies to be their enemies — and rejected the self-sacrificing young intellectuals who came to live among them calling for Tsarism's downfall.

It was an ironic contradiction that the early 'Populist' preachers of socialist ideas denied any future to Russian capitalism and therefore granted the working class no important role — but their socialist propaganda found no root in the countryside, gaining instead a response in the cities.

Yet these revolutionaries had a part in the historical development of the Russian revolution. There was, indeed, a direct link. In 1878 a young girl terrorist shot the Petersburg chief of police. Her name was Vera Zasulich — and 20 years later she was to work with Lenin on the editorial board of 'Iskra'.

In 1879 the People's Will group was formed - propaganda in the countryside wa being abandoned for organized Party terrorism.

Earlier individual acts of revenge for executed comrades had now turned into a developed system of political struggle.

These people were the flower of their generation. They subordinated themselves completely to the goal that they had chosen, yet, in 1881, at the time of the assassination of Alexander II, the entire People's Will organization consisted of 37 persons.

The death of Alexander II unleashed a wave of counterrevolutionary terror which soon burned up this heroic

but tiny group.

In the 1880s its revolutionary implacability died out, replaced by a programme of constitutional reform in the interests of the small pro-prietor—and dependent on the goodwill of the ruling class.

The broad circles of the intelligentsia degenerated even

further. The self-sacrificing and revolutionary heritage of the 1860s and 1870s was replaced by the slogan 'Life for Ourselves'.

The collapse of People's Will opened the way to a turn to religion among the intelligentsia and to the influence of Tolstoy — 'Every struggle against Evil only increases it.' The road to bourgeois individualism was opened.

Lenin's elder brother Alexander Ulyanov, came into political activity in this period. A student in St Petersburg, he joined in minor student protests and, when these were suppressed, turned to terrorism — although the heroic period of People's Will was over. The plan was to murder Alexander III on 1887.

Trotsky describes this attempt as the 'belated and declining echo' of the great movement of the intelligentsia.

The attempt was unsuccessful and Ulyanov was hanged. It was a portent for the future, however, that of the six youth who drew up the programme of their group, three (including Ulyanov) considered themselves adherants of People's Will, but three called themselves Social Democrats-that is, they recognized that Marxism was valid not only for the west but for Russia also.

Two camps

This dispute split the Russian revolutionary movement into two irreconcilable camps. The Marxists, Plekhanov and his supporters, saw the basic force for the overthrow of the autocracy in the developing struggle of the working class. The terrorists

declared that revolutionary activity by the masses was impossible until the intelligentsia had overthrown the autocracy by terror.

The execution of Alexander Ulyanov had an enormous effect on Lenin, who had already become critical of the high-school authorities and of religion. The family of a full state councillor became overnight the family of an executed state criminal. Friends and acquaintances, without exception, avoided their house.

(Lenin was also affected by the suffering of his mother and the desperate yet determined efforts to save her son's life. Trotsky points out how women like this were reeducated by their experience epressiv machine. From perfectly conventional backgrounds, they found themselves spending hours in police stations, courtrooms and in prosecutors' offices. They did not become revolutionaries, but they helped to make the regime hated by their outcry against its tyrannies.)

Apart from his break with religion, Lenin had a conventional and successful school career receiving a glowing report from his principal, Fyodor Kerensky (father of the future head of the Provisional Government). At Kazan University, however, he was reported for being 'secretive, inattentive and impolite'. As the brother of a hanged revolutionary he was under close police surveillance.

His first arrest at the age of 17 was for participating in student disorders. He was subsequently expelled from the

university. He was on the path to becoming a revolutionary, but it is necessary to avoid the hagiography of later Stalinist biographers. These claim, falsely, that Lenin's father held revolutionary ideas, that Lenin himself was a political leader in his schooldays, that he consciously rejected the terrorist ideas of his brother at the time.

It is true, that the young Lenin took a different road from his brother. But at the beginning of the 1890s many of the younger generation of the Russian intelligentsia were turning abruptly to Marxism. This was a result of the development of capitalism in Russia and the first stirrings of the working class, plus the dead-end at which the attempts at an independent revolutionary road for the intelligentsia had arrived.

The central question about Lenin's early development is how he mastered Marxism and equipped himself to use it as it was intended—as a revolutionary tool.

For one thing he retained some of the best aspects of People's Will—its centralism, willingness to use conspiratorial tactics when necessary and its ruthlessness in struggle against the enemy.

He came into contact with Marx's works after being expelled from the university and had read 'Das Kapital' and 'Anti-Duehring' before getting hold of any material from Plekhanov's Emancipation of Labour Group.

These were years of reaction, but at the same time the working class was beginning to develop as a decisive social force and Russian Social Democracy was born.

Populist teachings, though based on the peasantry, found a response in the urban proletariat and groups of workers established by People's Will outlasted that organization.

Meanwhile Russian Social Democracy — led by Plekhanov, Zasulich, Deutsch and Axelrod—came into existence among Populist exiles.

But the decline of the revolutionary movement in the second half of the 1880s created an intellectual stagnation that prevented any broad dissemination of Marxist ideas. This was true not only in Russia but abroad. In France the working class had not recovered from the defeat of the Paris Commune; in Germany, Bismarck had driven the workers' movement underground; in Britain, trade unionism was saturated with conservative complacency.

In addition, communications between the emigré Emancipation of Labour Group and Russia were haphazard and unreliable.

But, while layers of the intelligentsia were politically prostrate and reaction ruled, the industrial workers were awakening. The 1880s marked an upward turn in strikes and battles with the police.

The Tsarist government—at the very time when its 'educated' opponents were surrendering in droves—found itself forced to make concessions to a new and more powerful foe. In 1886, for example, it became mandatory for the first time for factory owners in Russia to pay wages at regular intervals.

Trotsky explains how the strike wave of the early 1880s was led by workers who had been involved in the revolutionary movement of the preceding decade.

The strikes, in their turn, stimulated the more responsive workers in the new generation. At first, of course, they became contaminated with the Tolstoyan ideas of the fading intellectuals. But whereas, for the latter, these ideas marked a renunciation of revolutionary struggle, for the workers it was a first, confused consciousness of opposition to the Tsarist regime. The same ideas were fulfilling opposite functions in different strata of society.



Lenin in 1900. Left: St Petersburg 1897, Lenin with members of the League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class.

Trotsky quotes a remarkable statement from one of the first worker-Marxists, Shelgunov, who points out how the workers, in the main abandoned by the intellectuals, sought out books from the second-hand dealers — who, more often than not, had acquired them from the disenchanted intellectuals!

Then, young layers of the intelligentsia, in turn, were inspired by the movement among the workers.

Student Marxist circles began to spring up in the early 1890s.

Events outside Russia also stirred them. The 1888 Dockers' Tanner strike in England marked the emergence of new forces in the working class. In 1889 the first congress of the Second International was held in Paris and Plekhanov declared: 'The Russian revolution will conquer only as a workers' revolution.' In 1890 the illegal German Social Democratic Party received almost 1.5 million votes.

Conditions

So the development of Marxism in Russia and Lenin's own development as a Marxist flowed from a whole series of objective material conditions. To sum these up: Capitalism had to make significant development in Russia; the intelligentsia had to exhaust all alternative routes—from Bakuninism to Tolstoyanism; a wave of workers' strikes had to be launched; the socialist movement in the west had to become more active.

Finally, the enormous suffering caused by the famine of 1891, in Trotsky's words, 'lay bare all the sores of Russia's national economy'.

But for the ideas of Marxism to penetrate Russia was not enough. These ideas were distorted to suit the social strata which first adopted them—the intelligentsia. Only with the appearance of a conscious proletarian vanguard could Marxism grow in Russia.

Marxist ideas could not develop purely as ideas because ideas are socially conditioned. They are not only a cause of facts and events but are caused by them. As Trotsky says: 'An idea does not tower above a fact like a court of higher appeal. The idea is itself a fact which can enter as a necessary link in a chain of other facts.'

The personal evolution of Lenin was thus linked with the evolution of the Russian intelligentsia and the formation of a layer of politically conscious workers. His subjective development interacted with the objective development of a revolutionary crisis in Russia.

Simultaneously with the appearance of the first Marxist cadres and the first Social-Democratic circles, under the cover of reaction, the future leader of the revolution was preparing and maturing.

Lenin studied Marxism intently while living in Samara

Lenin studied Marxism intently while living in Samara between 1889-1893. At the same time he qualified as a lawyer—externally, since he was refused readmittance into university. But he practised for only one year.

A legal career or life as a professional revolutionary. It could hardly be presented as a choice!

In 1892-1893 on the basis of his Marxist studies and under the influence of the publications of Plekhanov's Emancipation of Labour Group, he joined an illegal group of Social Democrats.

This step involved a break with the ideas of the Populists. This was the major dispute in the Russian revolutionary circles of the time: was capitalism (and, therefore, a working class) developing in Russia?

Lenin's 'The Development of Capitalism in Russia'—his first major work—was a polemic, a contribution not to 'knowledge' in the abstract but to a political fight.

Although it appeared in 1899 (the date given in this book—1889—is a misprint), he had worked on it for over six years and it was a model of his method — patient, detailed, thorough and incisive.

The revolutionary leader was on his way to leading the first successful Socialist Revolution in history.

WORKERS NOTEBOOK

RESISTANCE

Browsing through some ancient news cuttings the other day, we discovered an item about the fighting past of the Sheffield Council.

We'll quote it in full.
'The Sunday Times', June 11,
1922:

'Riot scenes in Sheffield—councillors arrested—attacks on police'.

The article said: 'Remarkable developments followed the remand of Cllr Arthur Edward Butcher at Sheffield on Friday on bail with sureties amounting to £1,000 on a charge of riotous conduct in the disturbances there on Wednesday

day.

'He had been arrested following upon an attempt to reinstate a labourer ejected from his home by a magistrate's order, when a crowd of 400 attacked 25 policemen and five civilians, who have had to be sent to hospital.

'Early yesterday morning the police made systematic raids, arresting Cllr Albert Smith and five others—Alfred Haydock, George Melia, Charles Barker, William Riley and William Goodwin. All six were later charged with riotous conduct.

'The police allegation was that Cllr Butcher addressed the crowd from a window sill saying that his family must go back, and adding: "If it means fight, we are going to fight, and we will deal with the authorities afterwards." The crowd then proceeded to put back furniture into the house. Stones were thrown, property was damaged and the police had to draw their staffs and clear the mob off.

'Missiles weighing licwt were afterwards picked up in the neighbourhood.

'There was far more behind the case, said the prosecuting solicitor, than would appear from the evidence that morning. The police corroborated and strongly opposed bail, particularly in the case of Cllr Smith, who was described as a leader.

'During the hearing of the case, one of the prisoners, who wore bandages round his head and was seated, partially swooned, and was given a glass of water. All the accused applied for bail, Cllr Smith protesting that there was nothing against him but his political opinions. It was stated that, when arrested, Smith admitted that he demonstrated but denied taking part in the riot.

'All were remanded on bail till tomorrow on an undertaking to conduct themselves peaceably. Louis Newall, also charged with riotous conduct, was similarly remanded. He had just been discharged from hospital and appeared to be in a very weak condition.'

It is now 50 years since the heroic resistance to the state authorities by these Sheffield councillors. It is a long way from the present Labourites' almost instant implementation of that other piece of state repression of tenants—the Housing Finance Act. Will today's councillors take a bold stand if tenants are evicted because they cannot afford the latest swingeing rent rises?

EMPORIUM

The council of the Industrial Society continues to flourish with new appointments. Members just elected include Mr M. A. Balfour, chairman of Scottish and Newcastle Breweries Limited, a Tory firm which contributes heftily to party funds; Mr L. E. H. Williams, chief general manager of Nationwide Building Society; Baroness Seear, reader in personnel management at the London School of Economics; Mr M. A. Bains, clerk of the Kent County Council; Nethercott, Ron Bristol regional secretary Transport and General Workers' Union.

Full-time union officials like Nethercott are now trooping after their unions leaders (Jones, Scanlon, Cooper, Chapple, etc.) in joining this emporium of Tories and employers.

Will they all be present at the society's next big event? This is a day-long seminar on pensions to be held at the Connaught Rooms. Members need pay only £18, while nonmembers are to be charged an astonishing £27.

Among those speaking will be such fighters on behalf of the pensioners as Sir Keith Joseph, the Tory Secretary for Social Security, Richard Neale, pension fund manager of the Imperial Tobacco Group.

Will Jack Jones, the clothcap defender of the pensioners, join his fellow Industrial Society members for this expensive talk-in? It's disgusting that the cost of a ticket to this lunch is more than most pensioners see in a month.

BOOKS



LEON TROTSKY:
Germany 1931/1932
Paperback £1.25—cloth £1.87½
Where is Britain Going?
Paperback 37½p
Revolution Betrayed
Paperback 62½p—cloth £1.05
Problems of the Chinese Revolution
Paperback £1.12½—cloth £1.87½
Permanent Revolution:
Results and Prospects
Paperback 75p
In Defence of Marxism
Paperback 75p
Lessons of October
Paperback 60p

Postage 10p per book, 3p per pamphlet. Order from : NEW PARK PUBLICATIONS 186a Clapham High Street, London SW4 7UG.

FABIANS CALL FOR SPECIAL POWERS ACT

IAN YEATS

'The Fabian Society exists to further socialist education and research. It is affiliated to the Labour Party, both nationally and locally, and embraces all shades of socialist opinion within its ranks—left, right and centre.

'Since 1884 the Fabian Society has enrolled thoughtful socialists who are prepared to discuss the essential questions of democratic socialism and relate them to practical plans for building socialism in a changing world.'

Some indication of the kind socialism the Fabian Society has in mind is given in the booklet on emergency powers which these phrases introduce.

Far from advocating the scrapping of emergency powers legislation, an informal Fabian study group based on Queen's University, Belfast, concludes that with suitable amendments they should be extended to cover the whole of the United Kingdom.

The explanation for this decision is given in a statement by Northern Ireland's former Lord Chief Justice, Lord MacDermott.

The authors quote him approvingly as saying, '... law and order have recently been assailed in many ways the world over and our malady may be yours tomorrow...It would be better and more effective to enact an emergency code for the United Kingdom which would be



applicable to the whole and any part thereof and be operative only in times of crisis'.

Working party chairman, law professor William L. Twinning, adds that the subject of public order and internal security is topical and urgent, but 'it is not just a problem in Ulster, it is also a British problem, an Irish problem and a world problem'.

The authors begin with the damning assumption that the legitimacy of the bourgeois state must not be questioned, but that the legislative tools it uses to function and survive should be as humane and fair as possible.

This touching concern for 'justice' alone prevents them from approving the use of common law and even martial law powers under which 'violent subversives' can in extremity be summarily executed.

What is needed, say the authors of a pamphlet which is claimed at the beginning to be worthy of consideration throughout the labour movement, is emergency powers with a human face and adequate safeguards.

They admit that their primary inspiration for producing suggestions for a new emergency and Special Powers Act was the situation in Ulster, but they add pointedly that industrial unrest in Britain was also taken into consideration.

The daily paper that leads the

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fight against

Their only real complaint against the vicious special powers legislation in Ulster is that it is applied unequally in the community and that its

use is virtually unsupervised by parliament.

What is required to eliminate injustice, they say, is permanent legislation bearing equally on all citizens and administered by an authority generally regarded as 'impartial and independent'.

Civil disobedience organizations which advocate change through constitutional means should not be subject to the new laws-only those groups which 'engage in or incite violent subversive activity to accomplish political ends'.

The group says that legislation should be enacted covering the broad range of subversive activity to ensure that all loopholes are closed to



Fablans call for powers to deal with 'subversives' and any 'violent acts' by the working class. They omit that the source of violence is the picketing builders at Ellesmere Port and, above, on dockers at Neap House Wharf.

those seeking to overthrow the state.

'Subversive organizations' should first be proscribed. Membership could be made an offence and their publications banned.

Among the violent acts to be made subject to new legislation appears the 'forcible occupation of any premises' which could, of course, be used against factory workers fighting for higher wages or against closure.

With adequate legal safeguards against injustice the new legislation would include all the worst features of the Ulster Special Powers Act, including forcible questioning and detention.

The important thing, say the authors, is the rule of law on which citizens have traditionally placed great emphasis as embodying sure safeguards against the arbitrary use of government power.

Many workers will reflect that in the hands of employers and their political representatives emphasis on the rule of law has a very different purpose from protecting their

The work being done by the Tories through the Industrial Relations Act to curb and, if they could, smash the trade unions, and the thought being put into a new law on picketing is all in the name of the rule of law.

Bargains galore at biggest YS bazaar

More at Leeds fortnight

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

BARGAINS from cut-price fish to kiddies shoes for 10p attracted record crowds to the Young Socialists' Xmas bazaar on Saturday.

Workers from the East End of London packed the Poplar baths for the five hours of hectic trading which began at 12 noon.

The bazaar is an annual event in the East End attracting thousands of people. Saturday was no exception with a steady flow of families throughout the afternoon.

Stalls ranged from one selling home-made cakes and pies to a women's boutique. But a favourite, as always, was the bottle stall where a 20p ticket can win anything from a bottle of vinegar to a bottle of best

Special attractions included Father Christmas, an artist selling on-the-spot portraits and a fish shop supplied by Billingsgate workers.

- Northerners will get their bargain day in a fortnight's time, on December 9, when the Young Socialists hold their second Xmas bazaar at Leeds in the Corn Exchange. Watch out for details in Workers Press every day.
- TOMORROW: See our centre pages for more pictures of the London bazaar.



Gib's workers fear deal with

GIBRALTAR workers fear the Tory government will renege on its promises and hand the Rock and its inhabitants over to the Spanish fascists.

Sir Alec Douglas-Home is meeting Spanish Foreign Minister Gregorio Lopez Bravo in Madrid this week for a fresh round of talks on Gibraltar.

Franco

This follows the militant Transport and General Workers' Union strike which was broken by the army this summer.

Strikers demanded a £3 increase in the £10.05 basic labourers' rate. They gained massive support from the island's workers and mobilized a huge demonstration outside the gov-ernor's residence.

The Gibraltarians now that the Tories will hand them over to Franco in order to smash the militant workers' movement and destroy the trade unions.
On the eve of Common Market

entry, with more and more British firms exporting capital to Spain, the Tories may well abandon their previous promises to 'Keep the rock British'.

Georgian failures blamed on leaders

GEORGIA, the Soviet Republic, is facing economic failure and general laxity. The Communist Party Central Committee reports poor crops and factories operating at only 70 or 80 per cent

of capacity. Industrial growth was well below that called for in the plans.

Factories were turning out substandard products and officials had falsified statistics in order to conceal weaknesses.

In Soviet Armenia, Badal Muradyan, prime minister since 1966, has been replaced by a former KGB (security police) boss.

BBC 1

9.38 Schools. 12.00 Profit by control. 12.25 Cywain. 12.56 News. 1.00 Pebble Mill at one. 1.30 Along the trail. 1.45 Look, stranger. 2.05 Schools. 4.00 Pixie and Dixie. 4.10 Play school. 4.35 Magic roundabout. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Blue Peter. 5.20 The long chase. 5.45 News. Weather.

6.00 NATIONWIDE.

6.45 QUIZ BALL. Home International.

7.10 Z CARS. The Legacy.

8.00 PANORAMA.

9.00 NINE O'CLOCK NEWS. Weather.

9.25 PLAY FOR TODAY: 'THE BANKRUPT'. By David Mercer. With Joss Ackland, Sheila Allen, David Waller.

11.10 LATE NIGHT NEWS.

11.15 IRELAND. When the bough

All Trades

Unions Alliance

MEETINGS

Fight Rising Prices

Force the Tories to Resign

Minster Street.

ACTON: Monday November 27,

8 p.m. Co-op Hall, High Road.

LEICESTER: Tuesday November

28, 8 p.m. Southfields Library.

COVENTRY: Tuesday November

28, 7.30 p.m. Elastic Inn, Cox

Street (opposite Theatre One).

WEST LONDON: Tuesday November 28, 8 p.m. 'Prince Albert',

Wharfedale Road, King's Cross.

11.40 Weather.

Minster Street.

9.30 Schools. 10.30 Yoga. 12.05 Rainbow. 12.25 Larry the lamb. 12.40 First report. 1.00 Mr and Mrs. 1.30 Emmerdale farm. 2.00 All our yesterdays. 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 Film: 'Women's Prison'. Ida Lupino. 4.25 Freewheelers. 4.55 Clapperboard. 5.20 And mother makes three, 5.50 News

6.00 TODAY.

6.40 OPPORTUNITY KNOCKS!

7.30 CORONATION STREET.

8.00 WORLD IN ACTION.

8.30 LES SEZ. Les Dawson.

9.00 KATE. Back to Square

10.00 NEWS AT TEN.

10.30 LONGSTREET. Elegy in Brass, James Franciscus.

11.30 DRIVE-IN.

12.00 EDUCATION FOR WHAT?

LUTON: Wednesday November 29, 8 p.m. The Recreation Centre, Old Bedford Road. The Tory Pay Law'.

PRESTON: (Please note date change), Thursday November 30, 7.30 p.m. Waterloo Hotel, Friar-READING: Monday November 27, 8 p.m. Trades and Labour Club,

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: Sunday December 3, 7.30 p.m. 'The Hop Leaf', Church Street.

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

BBC 2

11.00-11.25 Play school. 7.05 CHILDREN GROWING UP. 5 Plus. Here Comes the

Judge.
NEWSROOM. Weather. ALIAS SMITH AND JONES. The Girl in Boxcar 3. 8.50 CALL MY BLUFF.

REGIONAL TV

CHANNEL: 9.30-12.00 London. Schools. 2.20 Yoga. 2.50 Film:

'Petticoat Pirates'. 4.15 Puffin.
4.25 London. 6.00 News, weather.
6.15 Knockout quiz. 6.45 London.
10.30 Name of the game. 11.50 News. weather.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 12.05 London. 12.57 News. 1.00 London. 4.15 Gus Honeybun. 6.00 Diary. 6.35 Date with Danton. 11.55 Faith for life.



Joss Ackland (left) and David Waller are in David Mercer's 'The Bankrupt'—BBC1's Play for To-day—about the breakdown of a middle-aged bankrupt.

SOUTHERN: 9.30 London. 12.00 News. 12.05 London. 2.30 Houseparty. 3.00 Film: 'Harem Holiday'. 4.25 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.45 London. 10.30 Southern scene. 11.00 News. 11.05 Theatre of stars. 12.00 Farm progress. 12.25 Weather.

HARLECH: 9.30 London. 1.00 Helen McArthur show. 1.30 London. 2.00 Farmhouse kitchen. 2.30 Women only. 3.00 Film: 'Three Musketeers'. 4.25 London. 5.20 Shirley's world. 5.50 London. 6.01 Report West. 6.22 Report

9.25 SHOW OF THE WEEK: SCOTT ON SUCCESS. Terry Scott.

10.10 AMÉRICA. Home Home. Alistair Cooke looks at colonists from England. 11.00 NEWS ON 2. Weather. 11.05 LATE NIGHT LINE-UP.

Wales. 6.45 London. 10.30 Film: 'Love With the Proper Stranger'. 12.25 Weather.

HTV Cymru/Wales 7 and 41 as above except: 6.01-6.22 Y dydd. 8.00-8.30 Yr wythnos. HTV West as above except: 6.22-

6.45 This is the West this week. ANGLIA: 9.30 London.

Houseparty. 3.00 Saint. 3.55 Romper room. 4.20 News. 4.25 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.45 London. 10.30 Unknown. 11.30 London

ATV MIDLANDS: 9.30 London. 12.00 Today. 12.05 London. 3.00 Film: 'Mr and Mrs Bo Jo Jones'. 4.25 London. 6.00 Today. 6.45 London. 10.30 Name of the game. **ULSTER:** 11.00 London. 1.33

News. 1.40 Schools. 2.40 Romper room. 3.00 Film: 'Jet Over the Atlantic'. 4.22 News. 4.25 London. 6.00 Reports. 6.15 Smith family. 6.45 London. 10.30 Monday night. 10.40 Film: 'Danger Tomorrow'.

YORKSHIRE: 9.30 London. 3.00 Film: 'The Man in the White Suit'. 4.25 London. 4.55 Skippy. 5.20 London. 6.00 Calendar, weather. 6.25 Today. 6.45 London. 10.30 Name of the game. 11.55 Yoga. 12.25 Weather.

GRANADA: 9.30 London. 2.30 Film: 'Half Angel'. 4.00 Cross. roads. 4.20 London. 6.00 News. 6.25 This is your right. 6.40 London. 10.30 Appointment with fear. SCOTTISH: 9.30 London. 2.30 Dateline. 3.00 Film: 'Mr and Mrs Bo Jo Jones'. 4.25 London. 6.00 News. 6.00 Today. 6.30 Cartoon. 6.45 London. 10.30 Late call. 10.35 Name of the game.

GRAMPIAN: 10.58 London. 1.38 Schools. 2.45 Enchanted house. 3.00 News. 3.05 Film: 'The Sword of Sherwood Forest'. 4.25 London. 6.00 News. 6.05 Julia. 6.35 Cartoon. 6.45 London. 10.30 Name of the game. 11.55 Mediation

SLL **LECTURES**

OXFORD

Thursday November 30 Marxism—the science of perspective **SOUTH OXFORD**

COMMUNITY CENTRE Lake Street, 8 p.m.

Lectures given by SLL national secretary

LONDON

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 29 Stalinism 1932-1938 Wednesday December 6 Trotskylsm 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

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.

BARNSLEY

Sunday December 3 Capitalism and the crisis Sunday December 10 The struggle for power Sunday December 17 Revolutionary theory and the **Marxist Party**

RED LION HOTEL (Worsborough) 8 p.m.

Lectures given by Cliff Slaughter (SLL Central Committee)

SHEFFIELD

Monday November 27 Capitalist crisis Monday December 11 Stalinism and Trotskyism Monday January 8 Marxism and the revolutionary party FORRESTERS HALL Trippett Lane, 7.30 p.m.

TODMORDEN

Monday November 27 'Materialism versus idealism' Monday December 11 'Dialectical materialism' Monday January 8 'The economic crisis' Monday January 22 'Staliniśm' Monday February 5 'Trotskyism'

THE WEAVERS' INSTITUTE, Burnley Road, 7.30 p.m.

Drivers won't break picket-1

THE JOSEPH LUCAS combine has failed in a bid to kill picketing of three Merseyside factories by workers from the CAV occupation at Fazakerley.

The plan's aim was to put Lucas combine transport workers in a position where they would open the way to breaking picket

lines on a large scale.

Its failure considerably strengthens the occupation. On Friday morning Lucas transport workers who operate from the Fazakerley site and who are not working because of the occupation, were told of management's

approach.
From the disused vacuum flask

now based, came an offer of alternative work.

The proposal was that the drivers should use Huyton as a base for driving wagons Lucas's could hire specially for the pur-

This would have spelled the end of the black imposed last week by Lucas transport workers

in the Midlands. Even if the Fazakerley drivers had refused to cross the CAV picket lines at Ford's, Standard Triumph and the Lucas Aerospace works at Broadgreen, it is unlikely that the Midland black could have been maintained for long had the offer been accepted.

In fact the Fazakerley transport drivers turned the offer down.

Drivers won't break picket-2

UNION REPRESENTATIVES and meat employers will meet in London today to try to negotiate a lifting of the six-month picket on Midland Cold Storage at Hackney, east London.

When the talks adjourned on Friday, there was no indication that an agreement was near. Eric Rechnitz, the lorry drivers leader who is officially represented on the meat joint negotiating committee, said yesterday the drivers had not given the employers any encouragement to think that the picket would be broken.

He was commenting on an article in the 'Observer' that the picket would be broken tomorBy OUR OWN REPORTERS

row when 300 tons of meat

would be picked up.

He said the lorry drivers had recently resolved not to cross the picket lines until further notice. This was still their posi-

Last week the Lord Vesteyowned Midland company took out an action against the Trans-port and General Workers' Union in the National Industrial Relations Court. It was a previous action by Midland at the court which led to the jailing of five London dockers.

Mr Rechnitz said he was dis-

appointed that the officials of the union had not organized a joint

meeting between lorry drivers and dockers.

He said there had been a 'deafening silence' from their Transport House headquarters about the proposed meeting. It seems, he said, the full time officiells the said, the full time officiells the said the full time officiells the said the cials 'are prepared to sit back and watch drivers and dockers tear each other to pieces to satisfy Lord Vestey'.

He firmly believed that the jobs crisis on the docks could only be resolved by united action by both sections of workers.

He said he was 'amazed' that

the T&GWU leadership had not done something towards achieving joint action.

Woman steward reinstated

SIX HUNDRED Sheffield engineers have won their four-week battle to get their shop stewards' chairman Sylvia Greenwood reinstated.

Mrs Greenwood was sacked after she led negotiations for the trade union rate for setters at the machine tool manufacturers, Easterbrook Allcard.

She will be recognized as chairman of the shop stewards but will moved from her present department.

No sanction will be taken against any party in the dispute. against any party in the disputer.
This effectively prevents any action by the two unions, the AUEW or the Transport and General Workers' Union, against employees who worked during

It also means that the setters will have to lift the sanctions they imposed in support of their pay claim while negotiations on the issue continue.

George Caborn, district secretary of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, and a leading Communist Party member, told workers to take it easy when they returned.

Socialist Labour League

CELEBRATE

REVOLUTIONARY

OF WORKERS

BUILD THE

DECEMBER 3

LIVERPOOL

(SLL Central Committee

(Wilmslow tenants' leader)

(CAV, Fazakerley, shop steward.)

Young Socialists' national committee)

(Union and tenant speakers in a personal capacity.)

Everyman Theatre

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PARTY

SUNDAY

7 p.m.

Speakers:

MIKE BANDA

DAVE KIRBY

ALAN PEERS

CONNIE FAHEY

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WE MUST do it. We need £482.66 by Friday and we're there. Let's do everything possible to make sure we raise our £1,750 target

More than ever, Workers Press will give a political lead in this situation. The Tories have only just begun their onslaught against the working class with their industrial Relations Act and their state pay plan. More is in store.

But everywhere thousands of But everywhere thousands of workers are taking up the fight to defend their standard of living. Our paper will build the revolutionary leadership to defeat this Tory government.

Back us up all the way. Make a very special effort and help us complete our monthly fund. It is all stops out from now and we

all stops out from now and we know you will do it! Rush your donations immediately to:

Workers Press November Appeal Fund 186a Clapham High Street London, SW4 7UG.

CERTAIN CONTRACTOR AND AN ARCHITECTURE AND ARCHITECTURE A

RENT protesters drove through Liverpool in a placard-carrying motorcade on Saturday. Orga-nized by the Trades Council Rents Co-ordinating Committee, the motorcade comprised about 20 cars and was designed to appeal to weekend shoppers already angry at rising prices. Placards demanded the resignation of the government and its replacement by one which would repeal the Housing Finance Act.

Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office. Published by Workers Press, 186a Clapham High Street, London, SW4 7UG.

Printed by Plough Press Ltd. (TU), 180b Clapham High Street, London, SW4 7UG.

Students turn their backs on politics

FROM PHILIP WADE—Margate, Sunday

A SHARP rightward turn away from politics has been revealed at the National Union of Students annual conference. This weekend's debates have been dominated by diversionary procedural wrangling — with time spent on questions of women in society, finance and student representation.

Vital issues like housing were treated as no more than a case for government subsidies and help from local authorities.

The scene was set by NUS president Digby Jacks, a Communist Party member, who attacked Stirling students and pledged no action against the Tories

And when the revisionists of the International Socialism and International Marxist groups tried to bring in left-sounding formulations—saying nothing should be done until the overthrow of capitalism—they were utterly annihilated by the

The only motions linking the struggle on grants, housing and autonomy to a campaign to make the Tories resign and return a Labour government was sabotaged by the Stalinists and never reached the conference floor.

Two Stalinists on the Southampton delegation combined with Liberal and reformist dele-gates to have the motions dropped, despite the fact that they had been endorsed by big majorities at student union meetings.

Throughout the conference the revisionists have pandered to the Stalinists. In a plea for unity an IS speaker told a public meeting: 'The comrades in the Communist Party are bigger, better and more organized than us

So on Saturday the Stalinists were able to push through without difficulty a housing motion and 13-page policy document calling for subsidies, increased government grants and NUS-Tory negotiations for more shortgovernment term housing.

'This Tory government is going to be with us for some time to come. We need reforms now. We can then move on to further demands,' said John Freeman from Trent Polytechnic.

'We have no adequate policy on representation,' said Geoffrey Robinson from Bradford, moving a two-page motion calling for a 're-evaluation of the use of our representatives'.

The NUS needed to negotiate way' for representation and control of staff selection.

Turning their previous policy of 'student power' on its head, IS declared 'radical changes in the organization of society as a were a pre-requisite for whole' representation.



Students at the Margate conference

They simply called for complete withdrawal of all students from academic bodies.

They also demanded a 'trade union approach' to workers' control of the university.

This pompous nonsense roused no one and the amendement was

CONFERENCE yesterday decided to press for an immediate cost-of-living increase in grants.

An attempt to throw out the Communist Party's student wages policy was defeated. The executive was committed, among other things, to write to the Tories and all MPs explaining the effect of inflation on grants and 'demanding an immediate remedy'.

A national 'day of action' over grants may be held next Feb-

Moves to get an emergency conference on grants early in 1973 were defeated after NUS president Digby Jacks spoke

overwhelmingly defeated, with the four Stalinists on the platform leading the vote against.

The Stalinists have consistently fought against a political fight the Tories, yet received backing from the revisionists, who complement them with 'left'

Now the revisionists have received the pay-off. They have been reduced to a disorganized rump, while the Stalinists remain firmly in control of the executive.

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 Jarrow Trades Council. In personal

capacity.)

BIRMINGHAM

SUNDAY DECEMBER 17, 7 p.m. Assembly Hall Digbeth Civic Hall Speakers :

3RD ANNIVERSARY **THREE YEARS WORKERS PRESS** Showing the developments and gains since the first issue of Workers Press.

GLASGOW

SUNDAY DECEMBER 17, 2 p.m. Woodside Halls St George's Cross Speakers: MIKE BANDA (SLL Central committee)
JOHN BARRIE (YS national WILLIE DOCHERTY (chairman Paisley Tenants' Action Committee. In personal capacity.)

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

Make the Tory government resign! Build the revolutionary party!

SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE PUBLIC MEETING

SWINDON

Wednesday, December 13 8 pm

AEU HOUSE, FLEMING WAY, SWINDON

SPECIAL SHOWING OF THE 'RIGHT TO WORK' FILM.

A film made by ACTT showing the five Right-to-Work marches from Glasgow, Liverpool, Swansea, Deal and Southampton

to London, ending with a huge rally at Empire Pool, Wembley, on March 12, 1972.

Speaker: G. Healy, National Secretary of the Socialist Labour League.

Chairman: F. Willis, AEU steward at British Rail Engineering Workshop, Swindon (in a personal capacity).

We demand the right to work!