

# KEEP LEFT

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OF THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS

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INSIDE  
Special  
student  
supplement

## LIVING WAGE OUTLAWED



THE GOVERNMENT'S new Bill limits wage increases to £1 a week plus 4 per cent of the wages bill. There will be unlimited fines for those who do not obey the law.

A Price Board will be set up to operate the plan.

There will be no settlement for workers who were expecting pay rises before the so-called freeze was introduced. Wage control through the board, with the inevitable help of the Industrial Relations Act is to be a

permanent feature of the economy.

No one will be allowed to get pay rises of more than £250 a year.

'OFFENDERS' against Phase Two will face fines ranging up to £400 on summary conviction. Unlimited fines will be imposed in higher courts.

It will be illegal for anybody to demand higher wages, by calling, organizing, procuring or financing a strike, or threaten-

ing to do so. This will also include irregular industrial action short of a strike.

A glimpse at the white paper makes it clear that the government will not—and indeed is unable to—impose price controls.

Among the exemptions from price control are all imported goods, all goods produced in Britain but dependent on import costs. (These include manufactured food, meat, grain, wool and metals.)

The government will also

allow those price increases due to Common Market entry and to the introduction of Value Added Tax on April 1.

All fresh foods and other products 'subject to fluctuation from external or seasonal causes' are completely exempted from the controls.

Rents will continue to rise. Under the so-called 'Fair Rents Policy' council rents have already gone up and the phased increases will continue.

## BY TORY PHASE TWO

THE TORY GOVERNMENT last week published its Phase Two Bill which places state control over wages for the next three years.

The Bill will be rushed through Parliament and become what Edward Heath called a permanent feature of the economy.

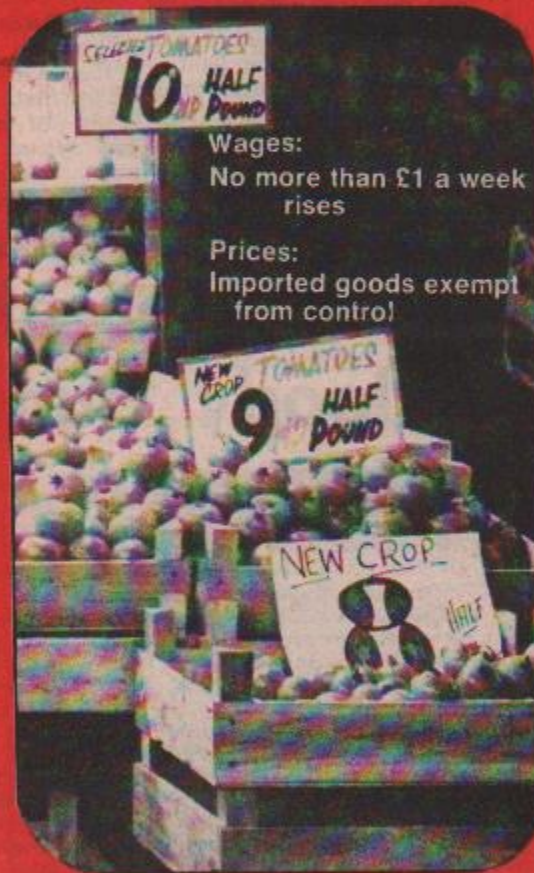
It places full, dictatorial powers in the hands of the Tories, demolishes basic working-class rights such as the right to organize, to strike and improve standards of living.

The Bill is aimed at preparing the legal basis for a fully-fledged Tory dictatorship in Britain.

The new Pay Board established under the law will have complete control over wages. No wage rises above £1 a week will be allowed for the next three years. At the same time the Bill leaves open hundreds of loopholes for prices to go up. There is in fact hardly anything which the Bill proposes to stop the wild, upward spiral of price increases.

The Bill is part of a policy designed to make the poor suffer more, to slash living standards of the working class in tough, anti-union conditions, while employers and manufacturers are allowed the legal power to cash in on the prices hike.

It would be a dangerous mistake to describe Phase Two as simply an extended freeze. Heath and his government have deliberately created a false notion of fighting against inflation. Behind the mask they have taken a big



Wages:

No more than £1 a week rises

Prices:

Imported goods exempt from control!

step towards bonapartist dictatorship.

The government—the cabinet and top financial advisers—have now assumed the legal power to assert their will over what kind of a living the working class is to have.

Legally the Tories have stripped the working class of all democratic rights won in past years of struggle. But in actual practice they still have to achieve it by destroying trade unions and suppressing the leadership of the working class.

That is why the cowardly and treacherous attitude of Labour Party and top trade union leaders must be denounced in the strongest way possible.

These so-called leaders of the working class collaborated with the Tories in secret talks during the preparatory stages of the new laws.

The fight cannot be left in their hands. The only real fight for basic rights now can be in the struggle to end Tory rule in Britain and force a Labour government to implement socialist policies against capitalist inflation.

A Labour government must replace the Tories, in order that the working class can later settle accounts with the reformist leaders at the top.

Keep Left calls on all its readers to mobilize mass support for the campaign in defence of democratic rights organized by the Socialist Labour League and the Young Socialists.

All out for the rally at Empire Pool, Wembley on Sunday March 11, 2 p.m.

- Defend basic democratic rights!
- Demand a decent standard of living!
- Build Councils of Action!
- No collaboration with Tory dictatorship!
- Force the Tories out!

## A PEACE WHICH CANNOT LAST

THE 'peace' in Vietnam is not likely to last long. Civil war will continue as world imperialism—expressing itself through President Thieu in the south—tries to establish itself in South East Asia.

For over 25 years millions of workers and peasants in Vietnam have fought bravely against imperialist attempts to dominate their country with the exploitation and corruption of 'free enterprise'. We salute their heroic struggle.

Now, however, US imperialism appears to have stopped its callous genocide and taken to the peaceful road. The American ruling class is doing this because it is now better for it to establish diplomatic and economic ties with the Stalinist dominated countries of China and USSR.

It is hardly an accident that some of the first messages of support for the cease-fire agreement came from Peking and Moscow. They welcomed the agreement which firmly divides Vietnam into two, establishes a strong international 'peace-keeping' force and places Thieu's puppet regime in power in South Vietnam.

Thieu himself said after the agreement was announced last Wednesday: 'We should be on the lookout for communist treason. Peace does not mean a long-lasting peace.' Although full details of the agreement were not available as we went to press, the end of one war must surely mean the beginning of another.

The socialist aspirations of the Vietnamese people cannot be compromised with the imperialist-controlled government of President Thieu. That is why the peace agreement should be treated with suspicion by the working class in America and Europe.

The Geneva agreement of 1954 divided Vietnam and laid the basis for the present conflict with the United States. But now the new agreement appears to have ratified the 1954 position and left the reasons for war intact.

Civil war is likely to continue as workers and peasants in the south join in the fight for jobs, houses and food. None of these can be provided by the capitalist set up under Thieu.

That is why the 'peace' which US imperialism claims to have reached is one which will not last.

It has been brought about through the pressure and persuasion of the Stalinist bureaucracies of Peking and Moscow who have refused to supply the North Vietnamese with the necessary arms and weapons to fight against the US army.

The fact that the peace agreement has been signed while US troops remain in the country is itself a huge sign of treachery on the part of the Stalinist countries.

There can be no half-way solutions to the Vietnamese struggle. The only possible peace for the oppressed people can be a complete victory over imperialism—both US and against Thieu.

## Panagoulis brothers



Stathis Panagoulis



Alexandros Panagoulis

## imprisoned by Greek colonels' regime

A special report on the current trial of 13 young people

THIRTEEN young people pleaded not guilty in Athens to charges of carrying out 'subversive activity' against the Greek military junta.

At the opening of their trial last week the 13 were accused of plotting to release political prisoners in the country.

They were also charged with kidnapping the American ambassador in Greece and hijacking an Olympic Airways plane.

Among the defendants was an Italian woman Signor Lorna Cavilgia, 30, a Rome magazine publisher and Stathis Panagoulis, 26, a student in Italy.

Stathis Panagoulis is the brother of Alexander Panagoulis, 30, who was sentenced to death for an alleged attempt to kill Greek Prime Minister George Papadopoulos in November 1967.

The defendants were arrested in Athens last August.

Their trial which continued this week was being held before a court martial under the country's military laws.

Stathis Panagoulis, one of the chief defendants was accused of plotting to free his

brother Alexandros. He was sentenced to four and a half years' imprisonment.

In a statement, smuggled out of Greece, Alexandros reveals that he is being held in a cement room about nine feet by five feet which has one small window near the ceiling.

Tortures have included beating on the soles of his feet, his chest and burning his genitals with cigarettes.

'Whipping with wire and wire rope all over my body. Beating with clubs on the soles of my feet with the result that my right heel was fractured. Beating with iron bars on the chest and on the ribs with the result that two or three ribs were broken. Burns with cigarettes on my hands and genitals.

'They put a long metal needle (wire) inside my urethra and heated the extended part of the needle or wire with a cigarette lighter.

'With their hands they closed my mouth and nostrils (ways of breathing) almost to the point of asphyxiation. Kickings. Punching with the fist. Pulling the hair. Beating of my head against the wall and floor. Preventing me from sleeping.'

For eight months his hands

were continuously handcuffed behind his back, and he has been in strict isolation for two years.

Alexandros' statement names some of his main torturers, among them Major Teofyoyannakos and police officers Mailios and Babalis.

'To protect myself from similar acts of the fascist junta, who have not for a moment left their murdering intent, I make this accusation publicly,' writes Alexandros. 'With the hope that this letter of mine will be a testimony with the power and the ability to protect also the life of other prisoners who are in strict isolation.'

For over 160 days Alexandros has not been allowed to see anyone outside the military centre. His lawyer and his mother have been refused permission to visit him.

The trial of the 13 before the Athens court martial included Helen Tsoukaladaki, 24, Panaghiotis Chionides, 23, Maria Nastou, 25, Dora Tsanou, 34, Panaghiotis Kritikos, 35, Theodoros Kyriakopoulos, 44, Aristides Fatouros, 30, Sophia Georgiou, 35, Eftathios Melas, 37, and Andreas Stavroulakis, 44.

## Build Keep Left!

Can we top our weekly £30 fund?

THANK YOU for last week's fund total of £30.50. Let's go all out to make it £35 next week.

Post your donation to Keep Left, 186a Clapham High Street, London SW4 7JG

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Write off to 186a, Clapham High Street, London SW4 7UG

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No. of copies..... Money enclosed.....

## One year after 'Bloody Sunday'

THIS WEEKEND thousands of people in Northern Ireland will commemorate 'Bloody Sunday'—the indiscriminate murder of 13 civilians on January 30, 1972.

Demonstrations and marches through the streets of Derry will serve as reminders of the brutal military regime which has been imposed on Ireland by the Tory government.

'Bloody Sunday' was one of the most outstanding episodes in this armed suppression of the working class.

Now, a year later, with more victims dead and hundreds more being tortured in prisons, this regime still exists. It is controlled and directed by the Heath government from Westminster, which is preparing openly for similar moves here in Britain.

'Bloody Sunday' should therefore be a day for common unity in struggle against the Tory government.

New legal moves, in line with those in Britain, are already being prepared to make Ulster a colony ruled with all the military and legislative powers the ruling class has.

The Diplock Commission recently recommended the total abolition of normal judicial procedures in Northern Ireland and the introduction of martial law.

It recommended the scrapping of trial by jury, and more power to the army in arresting and detaining suspects.

It cited the example of young people fighting against British soldiers as justification for this policy.

'We think that matters here now reached a stage in Northern Ireland at which it would not be safe to rely upon methods hitherto used for securing impartial trial by a jury of terrorist crimes...'

In addition to this fresh



evidence has revealed the torture of youngsters who are picked up from the streets under any minor pretext. The youth, as young as 12 and 13, are forced to give information about whereabouts of IRA members.

'This is your last chance to tell us where the guns and the bomb factories are,' one 14-year-old was told before being made to dip his face in water for a few minutes at a time.

# NATIONWIDE CAMPAIGN

# A PAGEANT OF HISTORY

## Off to a great start!

THREE cabarets held in south Wales, the north west and north east have given a fantastic start to preparations for the Pageant of History to be presented at Empire Pool, Wembley on Sunday March 11.

The cabarets were held to kick off the national campaign in defence of basic democratic rights, which will culminate at Wembley in a giant rally.

The Tory government has legally taken away the basic right to strike, organize and bargain in the factories. Its Housing Finance Act deprives families of the right to decent housing.

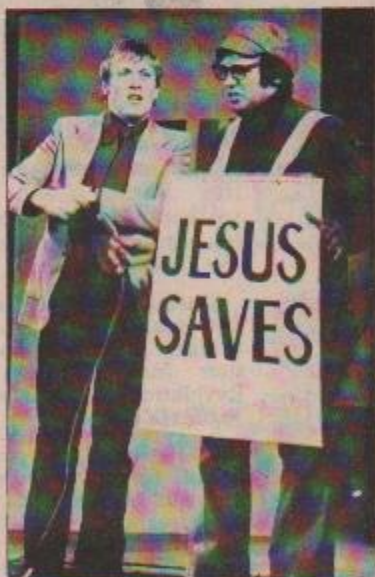
In 1973 the Tories will try to put their legislation into active use. The Young Socialists are confident that the campaign in defence of these rights will receive huge support and will fill the 10,000-seat Wembley hall to capacity.

The pageant of history will deal with four outstanding periods in working-class history. They will dramatize the events when major rights were established.

The history of the struggle for the miners' union will be recreated from episodes which took place in the north east—on Tyneside and Wearside.

The first miners' union was formed in Jarrow in 1831. One of its leaders Will Jobling was hanged and gibbeted after being framed for murder. His body was hung in chains for three weeks on the Jarrow Slate as a threat to trade unionism.

On Friday January 19 about 250 trade unionists, housewives and youth packed a local South Shields hall to watch the



● James the Tory evangelist brings the word of God to master of ceremonies Peter Armitage. 'Jesus saves... with the NIRC—£65,000!'



● Two Manchester cleaning ladies (Malcolm Tierney and David Hargreaves) bring a touch of humour to the cabaret.

cabaret performed by actors and actresses.

Delegations came from Westoe, Monkwearmouth and Dawdon collieries, Swan Hunter boilermakers, Barbours Rainwear and other industries.

The cabaret was sponsored by the Young Socialists and South Shields Trades Union Council. Rehearsals for the actual pageant have already started and local working-class families from the north east will take part in the presentation on March 11.

The second main feature of the pageant is to be the struggle of the Chartist movement in Lancashire. The Labour Party in Middleton has provided accommodation for rehearsals. On Thursday January 18, the cabaret was enthusiastically cheered by 200 local trade unionists.

The cabarets have featured David Hargreaves, Corin Redgrave, Maggie Noham, Liza Martin, Malcolm Tierney and Kika Markham.

Middleton is just eight miles from the site of the Peterloo Massacre of 1919. The Chartist struggles for rights were born in the area.

Stan Thorogood, secretary of the Middleton Labour Party commented: 'Of course any show which starts from getting the Tories out is bound to be a success. We want them out—and quickly.'

In south Wales, where the cabaret was presented last Tuesday, the pageant will examine ten years of legal attacks on the unions from 1890 to 1900 which culminated in the Taff Vale judgement on the rail unions.

The Labour Party was formed when trade unions found they could no longer defend themselves through purely industrial means.

In London the pageant will reassert the work of Karl Marx. Marx founded the First



● Above: The audience at South Shields. Below: At Middleton Labour Club premises.



International and led the fight for the legal eight-hour day. His daughter Eleanor played a prominent role in the building of the gasworkers' union.

All these four episodes will come together at Wembley in the giant auditorium.

The success of the cabarets in the three areas have already shown that thousands of workers and their families will respond to the recreation of their own history.

Working class families will play the leading roles in the pageant. Professional actors will be taking part not as 'professionals' but as members of a revolutionary movement.

All workers interested in taking part are being invited to the rehearsals, which are open and public.

Young Socialist members all over the country have also moved into action in an all-out campaign to sell tickets and win support for the rally.

● The cabaret team is cheered in a rousing finale.



YOUNG SOCIALISTS AND SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

# PAGEANT OF HISTORY

SUNDAY MARCH 11, STARTS 3 P.M.

## THE ROAD TO WORKERS POWER

EMPIRE POOL, WEMBLEY

DEFEND ALL DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS DEFEND TRADE UNIONISM AND BASIC LIVING STANDARDS UNITY IN ACTION TO MAKE THIS Tory GOVERNMENT RESIGN THE ROAD TO POWER IS THROUGH THE BUILDING OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

TICKET £1

THE vagaries of Polish Socialism involved Dzerzhinsky with the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party (RSDRP) throughout the period of the formation of its Bolshevik wing. After its walk-out of the 1903 (Brussels) conference of the RSDRP the Polish SPDKIL only returned to the fold at the 1906 (Stockholm) conference of the RSDRP, where Dzerzhinsky was elected onto its CC. The Poles supported the 'Conciliatious' trend amongst the Rus-

sians but soon split themselves into the emigrant (Berlin) and the home-based Opposition. The Opposition was led by Hanecki, Unschnitt Malecki, Ettinger and the Steins. Lenin, then in Cracow, reciprocated the Opposition's solidarity with him in the RSDRP's affairs by siding with them. In this struggle, Dzerzhinsky fought against the Opposition and defended the Berlin 'centre'. Warski strove to reunify the

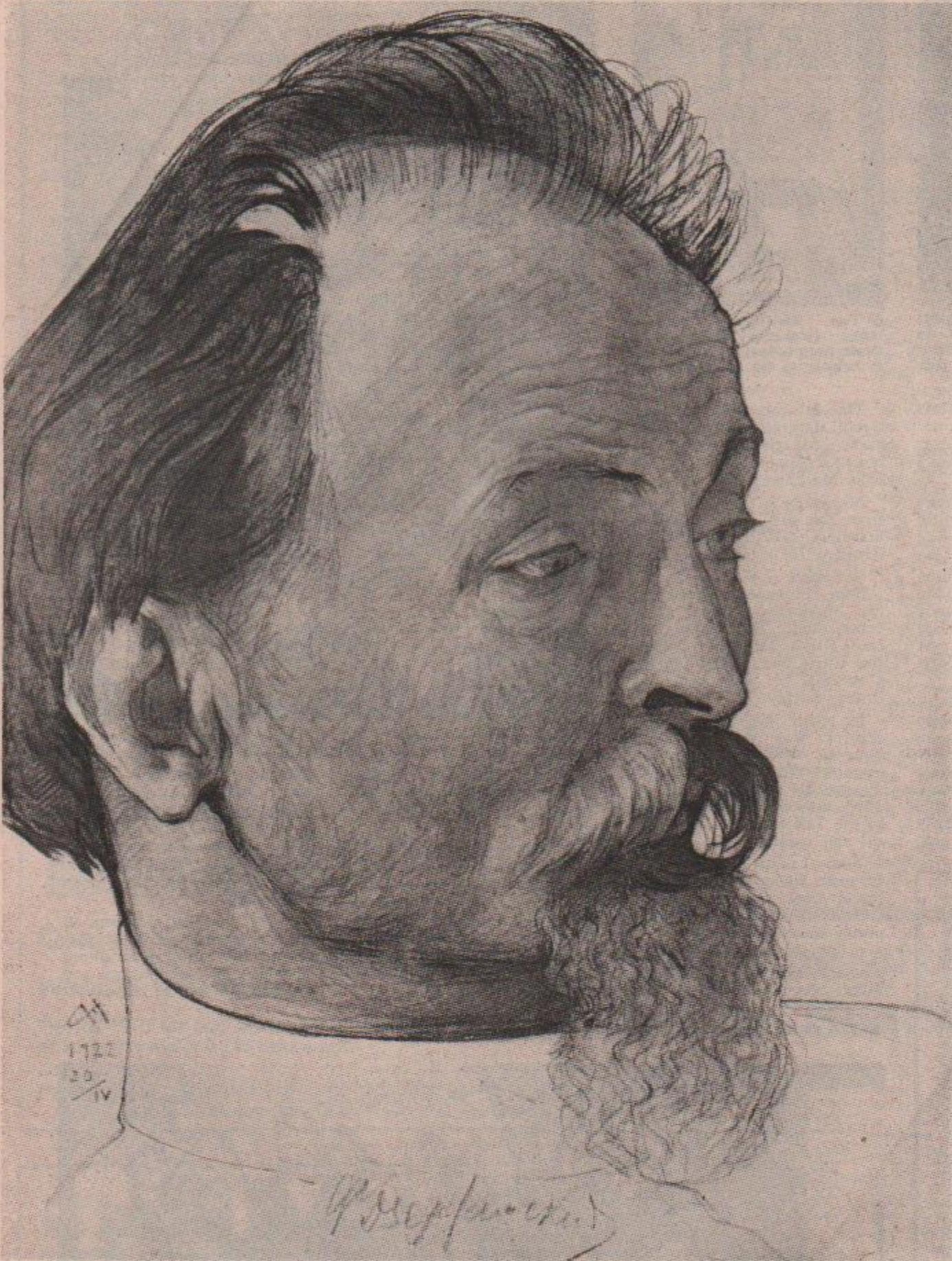
Polish party, his efforts being rewarded much later and in a different context in the founding of the Polish CP in 1918. All of Poland was overrun by the German forces in World War I, the Berlin Poles engrossed in the German Social Democracy or in prison and members of the Polish Opposition either in Russian prisons or working with the Bolsheviks. Dzerzhinsky's fate was decided for him when he was sprung from prison by the February Revolution

thereafter identifying with the Bolsheviks. Elected to the CC at the 6th Congress of the Party, August 1917. Member of the Military Revolutionary Committee. Organizer and Chairman of the Cheka, December 1917. Commissar for Internal Affairs, April 1921. Initially opposed to Lenin on terms of Brest-Litovsk treaty, erroneously opposing himself to the self-determination of small nations. In the Civil War, was active on many fronts and assignments as

the 'flaming sword of the Revolution'. Was drawn into the web of Stalin's intrigues and involved in the plot to violate the Soviet-Georgian Treaty of May 7, 1920, which recognized Georgian independence. Stalin's military coup of February 1921, kept secret from Lenin, but soon to come to his ears, resulted in the breach between Lenin and Stalin-Dzerzhinsky. But illness cuts short Lenin's plan to denounce them before the forth-

# Felix Edmundovich DZERZHINSKY

## PART TWO



February, 1917, found him again in the militant ranks of the Bolshevik organization, working untiringly, full of faith, thirsting for the main struggle. October found him a member of the Revolutionary Military Committee in Petrograd, organizing workers for the working-class dictatorship.

After the great factory towns of Poland, from Lodz, Warsaw and the coal basin of Dobrowa, after exile and penal servitude, he came to the Putilov and Obukhov workers, and as their leader he entered the government of the Union of Soviet Republics.

During the days of struggle for Petrograd and Moscow, Dzerzhinsky organized the 'Commission for combating Counter-Revolution, Speculation and Sabotage.'

A sword of revolutionary rigour forged and tempered in 15 years of battle was now raised by Dzerzhinsky in defence of the proletarian revolution. This sword was wielded with crushing force against the class enemy whenever they raised their heads.

Untiringly he kept watch, day and night, a faithful guardian of the revolution, day and night looking for the enemy, dogging him, taking him by surprise. Dzerzhinsky formed an organization of revolutionary vigilance with the same verve as he once formed the workers' organizations.

Our enemies have developed legends about the all-seeing eyes of the Cheka, about its all-hearing ears, about the omnipresent Dzerzhinsky. They have pictured the Cheka as a sort of vast army, spread over the whole country, holding it in a firm grasp, and even reaching out its tentacles right into their own camp. They have not understood wherein Dzerzhinsky's strength consisted.

In the first place, Dzerzhinsky's strength was of the same nature as the strength of the Bolshevik Party itself—it consisted in having the full confidence of the working masses and poorest peasants, in their confidence that Dzerzhinsky was their own flaming sword, their own watchful eye.

Every worker, every poor peasant, considered it his duty to help the Cheka in its great struggle to defend the revolution. The Cheka did not consist only of the brave Chekists. The Cheka was a multi-millioned working-class body watching, reporting every movement of the enemy.

Who does not remember that during the struggle against Yudenich, there was unearthed a conspiracy between the Chief of Staff of the Petrograd Defence and Yudenich. This Chief of Staff was actually negotiating with Yudenich and acting under his orders!

The go-between used by this betrayer was an old man, a naturalized Frenchman. This old man's daughter lost a packet of papers in the street. A Red Army private picked the packet up, opened it and noticed some sketches, suspected that there was something wrong and arrested the woman who had dropped the papers.

## CHEKA

That brought the main nucleus of Yudenich's espionage into the hands of the Cheka. Dzerzhinsky told me that at the investigation the Frenchman said: 'If not

for an accident you would have caught me!' I asked Dzerzhinsky how he had swerved him. Dzerzhinsky said told him that if it had not been for the vigilance of an old Red Army ranker the accident losing the papers would not have done him any harm, that vigilance of the Red Army was not accident at all, that watchfulness of ordinary Army men was the very strength of the Cheka.

The leading Chekists selected by Dzerzhinsky among old worker members of the party, men or women were indubitably devoted to tasks of the proletarian revolution.

The second source of Dzerzhinsky's strength, as well as of Cheka, was the determination of their actions, which was of their iron conviction in moral rightness of the proletarian revolution.

In the summer of 1921 Dzerzhinsky gave an interview to the representatives of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois newspapers which were still in existence. They asked if he was not prepared to admit that the Cheka might sometimes make mistakes and commit acts of injustice in individual cases.

Dzerzhinsky answered: 'Cheka is not a court. The Cheka is the defence of the revolution as the Red Army is. And just as the Red Army cannot stop to ask whether it might harm individuals, the Cheka is obliged to act with the thought of securing the victory of the revolution over the bourgeoisie, the Cheka is obliged to defend the revolution and to conquer the enemy, even if by sword by chance does sometimes fall upon the heads of innocent.'

## RIGOUR

For Dzerzhinsky the success of the revolution was the supreme law, and so he could find in his heart that unshakeable resolution without which a victory in the struggle against counter-revolution would have been impossible.

Enemies have tried to bring him out to be blood-thirsty. His name has become a bogey to the bourgeoisie of the world. Those who know Dzerzhinsky know that his mercilessness was not come easy to him. Dzerzhinsky was a man straining to the roots of himself towards socialism, to a harmonious social order which was to make possible the full development of all human forces.

Dzerzhinsky, this man of merciless warfare, was wrapped in dreams—dreams of a new social order which would not cease to produce inequality, also cease to produce crime. He was full of the profoundest love of people, love of their thought. While behind prison bars in 1908, in his diary, he recorded his extremely deep-seated conviction to force.

Even gendarmes and agitators understood the product of social conditions. It was only the deep conviction he had, that any soft-heartedness would only bring distress to the masses, allowed him to use revolutionary sword with wavering.

He did not like to speak of what went on within him during sleepless nights, but from time to time words escaped which showed he did not find the easy. When in 1920 during the struggle against White Po-

### HEROES OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION 3

In this new series of articles Keep Left will publish profiles of the leading members of the Bolshevik Party who carried out the revolution in Russia in October, 1917. Some of them are well known, others less so. Many of them were framed by Stalin in the purges of the 1930s and liquidated on his orders. Some of the articles are translations from the writings of Leon Trotsky who, as the most prominent figure in the Bolshevik Party next to Lenin, worked with them politically and knew them personally. Others will be newly written for the series. The Bolsheviks built a party of a new type, the only kind which could lead a successful revolution, so their stories contain many lessons for today. As the articles show, they carried on their work under enormous difficulties, under the shadow of a relentless police oppression of the Tsarist autocracy. They knew the inside of the Tsar's prisons, spent years in deportation in desolate parts of Russia or were driven into exile. All the time they deepened their knowledge of Marxism and perfected their methods, ready for the decisive struggles of 1917.

# Special four-page supplement for students



**YSSS Supplementary Grants campaign—Statement from Brian Prangle, National Secretary of the Young Socialists Student Society.**

## STUDENTS MUST DEFEND THEIR RIGHTS

# Supplementary grants for all students now!



STUDENTS face a future of vanishing educational prospects, indescribable housing and near starvation. This is the only conclusion which can be drawn from the Tory government's 'new' plans for higher education—and indeed education as a whole.

And the Tory plans to demolish higher education are part and parcel of their onslaught against every basic democratic right of the working class.

Parliamentary democracy and the era of class compromise and negotiation are over. The era of 'liberal' educational establishments has likewise come to an end.

Phase two of Heath's state pay legislation introduces even more draconian measures against wages and working-class living standards. Wages are now to be decided by a conspiracy of the Tory government and the country's most reactionary employers.

### Declaration

Entry into the European Common Market heralds the declaration of civil war. The Tory government must take on and defeat the working class if it is to achieve any gains from EEC entry.

But the ruling class has yet to win this battle. Over the past year we have seen section after section of workers come forward to take up the battle against the Tories' attacks on wages, on their unions and, on the most basic right of all—the right to work.

In spite of this magnificent fighting spirit, however, the dangers today are very great. Section after section of workers have been betrayed by the cowardly and treacherous leadership of the TUC and Labour Party.

At every stage of the battle the Tories have been given the breathing space to regroup and prepare new attacks because the leadership has retreated at the crucial moment.

1972 was a year in which the full implications of the Industrial Relations Act were clearly established in the jailing of five dockers, the subsequent decision of the Law Lords to hold unions

responsible for their members' actions, and the fining of the engineers' union in the Goad case.

The so-called Fair Rent Act was brought on the statute books and we saw the 'resistance' of the majority of Labour Party councillors up and down the country crumble daily.

The trial and ten-year sentences on four members of the so-called Angry Brigade established a major precedent in British legal history. In the universities too this trend was apparent. Cases like those at Stirling and Lancaster where students were sent down and punished for taking part in protests and demonstrations, are on the increase.

It was the year in which Common Market entry was legislated. The growing threat to the basic democratic rights of workers, students and youth is now very apparent. Amongst all sections throughout the country a warning must be rung out against these developments.

The recent reports of Tory MPs giving lectures and handing out questionnaires to sixth-form pupils must alert us to the danger that the ruling class are once again making preparations to try to recruit a scab force of students in the event of a general strike.

Students today must recognize and understand that the problems they face—in common with the working class—are part and parcel of the Tory attack. They must be fought as such. The Tory government must not be allowed to recruit from the universities and colleges to defeat the working class as they did in 1926.

And today the ever-increasing spiral of rising prices is forcing political questions to the fore. For students, who depend on stationary grants, even further existence at college is now in question. Many students are faced with the choice of buying a textbook or eating for a week.

As rents soar, overcrowding is becoming the rule and not the exception.

Common Market entry has exacerbated these problems enormously. Rising prices will now put university and college life beyond the reach of many middle-class and working-class students—and let them revert to their previous state of play-



grounds of the offspring of the rich.

There are growing colonies around the universities of ex-students who cannot find work and of those who have become disillusioned with gaining qualifications only to see their talents relegated to the scrapheap of unemployment.

Graduate unemployment is now so severe that a Manchester University report suggests that graduates will have to seek jobs which need even lower qualifications than teaching.

This traditional preserve of disappointed graduates is now so overflowing that many cannot even find jobs here.

And the very continuation of higher education is now at stake. Latest Tory plans show that no more money is to be forthcoming to extend university facilities. Research is to be handed over almost entirely to big business—to be taken up or shut down according to the whims of the money barons.

Teacher training is to be rationalized out of existence, by making the qualifications from teacher-training so second-rate to university degrees as to be worthless to their owners. The whole of higher education is to be pared down and rationalized to meet the demands of the big monopolies in Britain and in Europe.

The Young Socialists Student Societies say that all students must now take up the challenge

to defend their rights and living standards from the Tory attacks.

We are confident that students will not stand by and see this Heath government 'at a stroke' wipe out two hundreds years of struggle for higher education for all classes.

Already students in 35 universities are staging rent strikes and many more are threatening to join them.

To defend these rights, however, students will have to learn to fight in a new way. Reformist and revisionist protests—as we have seen over the past year—cannot defend gains in the face of the Tory onslaught.

These protests can only serve to give the Tory government and its lackeys the time to prepare new attacks and to confuse and disorientate students.

The biggest illusion perpetrated in the student movement today—as in the trade unions—is the illusion that the Tories can be 'pressurized' into granting reforms or withdrawing their reactionary legislation. The Heath government must be forced to resign.

Only a revolutionary leadership can today defend the democratic rights won by the working class in the past. The YSSS will be in the forefront of every struggle of students against the Tory government.

This term we are launching a campaign for Supplementary Grants for all students. Cash

supplements—in addition to the present fixed grants—are an urgent necessity for many students even to remain at college.

We are not asking for these supplements cap-in-hand. The campaign will be part of the struggle to make this Tory government resign and re-elect a Labour government pledged to carry out socialist policies.

Only by removing this government can workers and students defend their rights to a decent standard of living.

All students must now demand that the National Union of Students Executive take action on these decisive questions.

### Illusory

We welcome the action of the NUS executive in announcing a campaign on grants. But, unlike Digby Jacks and his fellow Stalinists in the NUS executive, we will fight to direct students' energies against the Tory government. We will not be party to the illusory concept of 'peaceful co-existence' with the British ruling class and Heath and company.

Jacks' record over the past two years has been one of complete subservience to Heath and his Education Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

This will require Young Socialist Student Societies to be set up in colleges and universities throughout the country.

Lively programmes must be drawn up to attract the large numbers of students now coming into conflict with the Tory government. We must fight to expand existing YSSS branches.

Keep Left, the official paper of the Young Socialists, is a very important weapon in winning students to this fight.

In this campaign, winning students to the fight to launch the revolutionary party in 1973 is central.

- Build a mass YSSS!
  - Forward to the revolutionary party!
  - Supplementary Grants for all students!
  - Make the Tory government resign!
- Brian Prangle**  
January 1973.

## Grant value fallen by 11 per cent

STUDENTS are financially worse off now than they were a few years ago, even though their parents are paying more towards their grants.

Ernest Rudd, a reader in Sociology at Essex University came up with this conclusion after new research which indicated for the first time that there had been a shift to parents—away from local authorities—for the cost of higher education.

His research highlights the effect on a parents contributions as a result of falling money values and its effect on students.

Although their grants have risen between 39 and 48 per cent since 1962, the retail price index shows a rise of 66 per cent.

This means that the real value of the grant has fallen by between 11 per cent and 16 per cent over the decade. If items students spend most on are taken into account the real fall in value of the grant is likely to have been between 20 and 25 per cent, says Mr Rudd.

The trend towards parental contributions affected the average wage earner most. This helped to explain why the numbers of young people entering higher education was no longer rising so fast.



All over the country in every

# Students can't live on

**BRADFORD** Art College missed the boat when Diploma in Art and Design courses were created. This means that all students at the college are on vocational courses and consequently do not qualify for mandatory awards on grants.

Their grants are decided on the 'discretion' of the local education authorities. This gives the authorities a chance to economize which they do not miss with the result that most vocational students are on or below the 'breadline'.

Students frequently have to give up college because they find it impossible to survive on the small grants.

This fact can be seen most graphically at Bradford by the steady decline in the number of foundation students as the years go by.

Some of these students struggle on hoping to complete their courses. A typical example is one 16-year-old student still on the course with a tiny £8 a term grant.

He says it is just about enough to cover the cost of essential equipment and materials. His father is a labourer and his mother cannot go out to work as they have a large family.

He works at weekends and the money he earns from that work is all he brings in to the

house. He cannot afford new clothes.

John Nicholson was given a rise this year on his grant but he ended up with £10 less in his pocket. The local education authority increased its estimate for his total grant but transferred £10 from the LEA award on to the parental contribution which they also increased.

His parents do not give him any money. So he is £10 worse off than he was previously. In his first and second years at college he was permitted £25 and £38 per year respectively. Over the past year of borrowing he has built up a gigantic overdraft which swallows up his grant as soon as he gets it.

He now has to work in the evening from 6 p.m. to 11.30 p.m. and at weekends in order to earn enough money for food and rent.

Jim Beaman is 23 and used to be the manager of a boutique on £25 a week. Then he decided to go to college. Now he works in the evenings for 80p a night just to survive for the first year.

He says he nearly gave up last term and was only able to stay because of the generosity of other students, who lent him money and through the helpful tutor who provides him with some meals and cheap accommodation.

Ray Buck is president of the student union at the college. He is married and is on a mature students course.

Last year he had to depend on his wife's grant of £9 a week as it is LEA policy to refuse grants to first-year mature students at college. This left their joint account in the red by £300 at the end of the year.

The Bradford education department then served him with a £36 bill for tuition. He is now paying it off at £1 a month.

The art college is now in its last year of existence as an independent establishment. Next September it will become part of another technical college. The staff and the students are certain that this move means the type and method of work at the college will become restricted and will not produce any creative results.

This merger is directly in line with Tory government policy of rationalization of further education. The need for highly skilled technicians and designers is rapidly declining as industry begins to shut down and move into Europe.

So who needs training facilities at a cost of hundreds of thousands of pounds with no chance of making a profit from the people who emerge from it.

**THE MAIN QUESTION** facing thousands of students as they return to colleges and universities is this: **How much longer can you afford to stay on?**

The maximum increase in grants last October was 30p a week. Next October it will be another 35p.

But the vast majority of students got nothing like this. And well over half of all students, those on discretionary awards to further education and technical colleges, got next to no grant. Over the past few months soaring costs have washed away even the maximum increase.

With entry into the Common Market many students will be forced to leave their courses in mid-term. Those left will face increasing hardship.

### Importance

A campaign to meet this crisis is therefore of utmost importance.

The executive of the National Union of Students has now sent out its first bulletin on the kind of grants campaign they want.

Their whole approach was outlined by Digby Jacks, Communist Party president of the NUS, in his opening address

to the annual conference last November.

Jacks said then that the only outcome of the grants campaign that he could envisage would be a possible effect on the level of the 1974 award!

Thus their campaign is no more than a fig leaf for this unguarded statement of intent.

In Phase One of the campaign—due to start on January 29—the NUS calls for rent strikes by students living in halls of residence.

This miserable protest can at best involve about 25 per cent of university students and some of those at Polytechnics.

Those in the greatest need—people paying enormous rents on the free market—are supposed to cool their heads until February 21 when there will be regional demonstrations.

Only in late March is there any mention of action to meet rising prices. But the situation is much more urgent. An immediate increase in grants must be won.

At the first national conference of Young Socialist Students Societies last November students unanimously passed a resolution calling for supplementary grants to beat inflation. Now the West Hampshire area NUS (WHASF) has taken up this call.



at university it's the same story

# poverty-level grants

WHASF is campaigning for all students, irrespective of their source of finance, to get cash payments.

These payments are to be regulated in size and frequency by the rate of inflation and all students must get the full supplement based on the full mandatory award of £445.

However students are confronted by a Tory government, determined to take away all basic rights.

If they are prepared to ban wage increases by law, then students can expect no special treatment from them.

## Campaign

That is why, a WHASF policy states, this campaign must be part of the wages battle of the working class. It should be a campaign to force the Tories out of office.

The Stalinist-dominated executive of the NUS has deliberately organized a low-key protest campaign to avoid a confrontation with the Tories.

But such a show down is unavoidable. Throughout the country workers are moving into action against the government and its hated pay laws. Students can only defend their rights as part of this movement.

**YOUNG Socialists Student Societies in London are now organizing a widespread campaign on the issue of supplementary grants in line with cost-of-living increases.**

In North London Polytechnic, YSSS members last week collected over 400 signatures in support of their call for an emergency general meeting of students on the grants issue.

Keep Left interviewed some of the students supporting the Campaign and others who had organized it.

Geoff Birch is a third year sociology student at the Polytechnic. 'Over the past few years', he said, 'the value of grants has diminished considerably due to the inflationary policies of the government.'

'Food prices are the main thing now—they've increased so much. You can spend about £3 on food in just one week-end alone,' he told us.

'People have to spend as much as 40p a day on fares, yet by the time you've paid your rent you have about 75p a day to live on.

'That includes paying for clothes, fares, food, heating, cooking, books and stationery.

'Grants,' says Geoff, 'should be based on a sliding scale in line with the cost of living. This is the only viable policy

today because prices are rising so rapidly.'

Chris Meade is in his first year at North London Polytechnic. Before going there he had worked for a few years in London and when he first heard what his grant would be he thought he could manage. But when it came down to it he found things very different.

'I get a grant of £497 a year. That works out at about £166 a term. Normally at least one-third of that goes on rent; books and writing materials cost between £10 and £20 a term and fares are almost £1 a week.'

## No money

'That leaves me with about £3 a week to spend. This is just not enough—it usually entails spending far more than that and then overdrawing by the end of the term. Over Christmas I spent seven weeks with literally no money of my own at all. All the money I had was borrowed and then had to be paid back out of the next term's grant.'

Chris thinks that the way grants are distributed is wrong. 'Firstly they are too low and secondly you have to go

through a real means test before you get to the position of applying for a grant.

'In London in particular, what you get in grants is about 60 per cent of what you need. I think there should be automatic subsidies at some time during the term.'

At Imperial College, London, third year civil engineering student John Wellstead told us that students, like old age pensioners, are especially vulnerable to inflation because they are on a fixed income and therefore price rises have a very real effect on them.

'Students,' he said, 'have special problems in fighting to win grant increases because they have not the economic power that workers do.'

'The fact that most students are middle class is used by the Tories to separate them from workers and this makes it difficult to win working class support for action on grant increases.'

'The unity of students and workers will be achieved by showing that they are both fighting the same enemy which is capitalism, represented today by the Tory government.'

'The YSSS campaign for supplementary grants is the only sure way of seeing that students do not suffer from

inflation. A yearly increase though better than nothing, would be swallowed up in a few months.'

Mike Covey, a first year maths student at Imperial College said that entry into the Common Market meant higher prices which in turn meant a devaluation of grants which was bringing students to poverty levels.

## Refused

'The fact that the Tories have refused calls for higher grants for the next two years—if we get them at all—immediately raises the issue of students fighting to bring down this Tory government.'

'The National Union of Students are trying to get a grant increase from the Tory government which the Tories won't give us because they are attacking the basic rights of students, trying to drive them out of the universities.'

'The supplementary grants campaign demands immediate cash increases to combat the rise in the cost of living. This can only be achieved by bringing down the Tories and the return of a Labour government pledged to socialist policies.'

## WHERE YOUR YSSS MEETS

<p><b>OXFORD</b> Monday January 29 'Build a university NUS branch' Monday February 5 'Why a Labour government' Monday February 12 'Trotskyism'</p>	<p><b>PORTSMOUTH POLYTECHNIC YSSS</b> meets every Wednesday Student Union Building 1.00 p.m.</p>
<p><b>OXFORD UNIVERSITY YSSS</b> meets every Monday Jesus College Seminar Room 'A' (New building) 8.00 p.m.</p>	<p><b>SHEFFIELD UNIVERSITY</b> meeting every Tuesday 1.00 p.m. TV room Bookstall every lunchtime 1.00 p.m. In foyer Classes on Marxism every Tuesday, 8.00 p.m. Committee Room 2</p>
<p><b>EXETER UNIVERSITY YSSS</b> meetings every Thursday 1.15 p.m. Room C &amp; D Devonshire House</p>	<p><b>BRADFORD YSSS</b> Meeting every Friday Bradford Art College Room 11 2.30 p.m.</p>
<p><b>NORTH LONDON POLYTECHNIC YSSS</b> meets every Wednesday Ladbroke House Room 215, 2.00 p.m.</p>	<p><b>IMPERIAL COLLEGE YSSS</b> Mechanical Engineering Dept Room 320, 1 p.m. Every Friday.</p>
<p><b>LEEDS UNIVERSITY YSSS</b> Marxist classes every Wednesday, 8.00 p.m. February 7 Materialism and Idealism February 21 History of British working class March 7 History of British working class</p>	<p><b>LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS</b> YSSS branch meetings every Monday 1 p.m. Room S 400</p>
<p><b>UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON</b> Meetings every Friday Digby Room</p>	<p><b>LEICESTER UNIVERSITY YSSS</b> Branch meetings every Thursday 1.00 pm Union Lecture Room, Percy Gee Bookstall every Friday lunchtime, Concourse in Percy Gee House</p>
<p><b>TRENT POLYTECHNIC</b> YSSS meets every Tuesday Sports and Societies room Byron Building, 7.30 p.m.</p>	<p><b>BRADFORD UNIVERSITY YSSS</b> Spring Term Programme Branch meetings every Thursday at 1.00 p.m. In Room E22. Wednesday January 30-31 'Two-day film festival' 'Right-to-Work' film</p>
<p><b>POULTON-LE-FYLDE COLLEGE</b> YSSS meets every Tuesday Room 16, 7.30 p.m.</p>	<p><b>NOTTINGHAM YSSS</b> meets every Monday Room C21 Portland Building 8.00 p.m.</p>

## JOIN THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS STUDENT SOCIETY

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coming Party Congress.

Out of favour with Lenin, Dzerzhinsky's further progress was fostered by the Stalin faction. Commissar for Transport 1921, President of the Supreme Economic Council 1923, candidate member of Politburo 1924.

Fierce opponent of the Russian Opposition. But in October 1925 made an official admission of his error on the National question. Died July 20, 1926 of a heart attack.

we were preparing to leave for the front, hoping for victory, hoping to help the Polish workers to quickly establish their power, to free themselves from the bourgeoisie, Dzerzhinsky said: 'When we win I shall take on the job of Commissar for Education!'

Comrades present at this conversation laughed. Dzerzhinsky seemed to shrink up. But his words laid bare what was clear to everybody who knew him. Destruction, force, were for him only a means to an end. His whole nature yearned for construction of the new life.

Because of the strength of this desire, at the end of the civil war he joined the ranks of the builders of socialism. Not only the international bourgeoisie but even many of our own comrades were surprised when they heard of Dzerzhinsky's appointment to the post of Director of Transport.

But this appointment corresponded not only to Dzerzhinsky's dreams, it corresponded to his whole nature. Without letting out of his hands the leadership of the GPU, because danger still threatened the republic internally and external counter-revolutionary activity still persisted, Dzerzhinsky threw himself eagerly into the economic task.

For his work in the new administrative post Dzerzhinsky had neither professional nor social-economic preparation.

His education had been like that of many of our older outstanding party members. Prison had been the university in which he, like the others, read Marxist literature. He had no special leaning towards studying economics. How then was it that he, a man of really innate modesty, a man to whose nature boasting was quite alien, came to take up this extremely difficult technical task of economic reconstruction?

When the Central Committee placed him at the head of the People's Commissariat for Transport, many thought that it was done because he was an udarnik, a 'shock-brigader', that with his unflagging energy he would overcome the immediate difficulties that stood in the way of the army of railway workers.

But soon it became evident that Dzerzhinsky understood his task in a very different way, that he was studying not only the organization of the railways but all the economic problems tied up with the development of transport, that he was concerned with the question of coal and iron, without a solution of which it was impossible to lift transport to its proper height.

For Dzerzhinsky his work on transport was merely an organic part of the whole work on the economic front. He was, in fact, profoundly interested in and profoundly stirred by the problems of the construction of socialism.

He went into these problems fully, regarding them as vital tasks for every communist. It was not a speciality to him, it was the task of tasks. Dzerzhinsky was profoundly convinced of our ability not merely to strengthen the country's economy but to build socialism in spite of the slowness of the international revolution.

# STUDY

He had to study day and night in order to get a clear picture for himself of the country's economic organism as it was before the war, merely in order to be clear about the changes which

had taken place during the war and revolution—all that in order to be able to choose the most important link to deal with at the moment. And he studied and worked with zeal and tension such as only a man of his faith and energy could have had, for it was a task which provided an outlet for all Dzerzhinsky's fundamental yearnings as a revolutionist.

Not long ago at a small comradesly meeting of a group of administrators I had an opportunity to speak with Dzerzhinsky about our current economic problems. Others discussed, others proved this, that, or the other—but only Dzerzhinsky burned, burned with enthusiasm, with faith and iron conviction.

One of the comrades there who had known Dzerzhinsky as I had for over 20 years, said to me on the way home: 'In all his life he has not wasted one grain of his socialist convictions or his socialist faith.'

Working furiously, kindling with his faith all around him, Dzerzhinsky understood very well that his work would be successful, that the work of the Party would be crowned with victory, if in addition to all else, it was never forgotten that for victory we need a full utilization of the bourgeois science that we are heirs to.

And Dzerzhinsky who knew how to suppress without quarter any attempt at sabotage on the part of the middle-class specialists, also found it possible to fight for better working conditions for those same middle-class specialists, to protect them against mere prejudice and even against the natural distrust of the working masses. The best among these men learned to esteem and to love Dzerzhinsky and followed his great work with interest.

# BUILD

At the same time Dzerzhinsky understood that the most perfect science would not help us to build communism if it did not draw in the working masses, if the working masses were not aflame striving to build socialism, if they were not drawn into working out all problems of our construction.

In the last official document he signed—a circular of the Supreme Economic Council and the All-Union Council of Trade Unions about the necessity of strengthening the work of industrial conferences — Dzerzhinsky wrote: 'Administrators must understand that not one measure, not one item of policy, however vital, can be put into practice, and give the necessary results, if it is done over the heads of the working masses, if it is not understood by them.'

These words of Dzerzhinsky constitute his testament, the testament of a builder of socialism, who, having bound up his life with that of the working



masses, having lived in their ranks and headed them, having driven away the enemy, took up pick and shovel, so to speak, in one hand, while he kept a ready sword in the other.

Dzerzhinsky is no more. For the millions of the masses his name is that of a fearless fighter, a symbol of their firm will to victory. They see in him the champion of workers and poor peasants. His name will go down in the history of socialism as the name of one of the best fighters of the proletariat.

If we say that the masses will always think of Lenin as the brain of the revolution, we can say that Dzerzhinsky will be remembered as its heart. There was a combination of qualities in him such as history is not likely soon to repeat.

This communist deeply devoted to the working masses, who saw in them and their struggles the assurance of final victory, this communist who succeeded in conquering bourgeois individualism in himself, was also a great personality; and the whole party down to its very latest recruit knows that just such a fighter as Dzerzhinsky, with that wonderful alloy of will and faith, we shall never have again.

At Dzerzhinsky's grave, bowing their heads with those of the workers of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics for whom he toiled the last ten years, there will stand not only the workers of Poland in whose ranks he fought all the days of his youth, and for whom his very name is a clarion call, but also the enslaved and imprisoned workers of all countries, as for



them a name like Dzerzhinsky's shines with a bright ray of hope.

But the world bourgeoisie will rejoice at Dzerzhinsky's death. The founder and the head of the Cheka is dead. This news will flash round the world and inspire our enemies with hope. But they will be very mistaken. Just as Lenin's death stirred the working masses to close their ranks more firmly than ever, Dzerzhinsky's death will remind vast numbers of them of the great October days, of the heroic years of struggle against foreign capitalist intervention, and strengthen their determination to summon all their energy for the accomplishment of the task to which Dzerzhinsky devoted the task of his last years—the task of socialist construction.

Karl Radek, 1926.

TOP: The Petrograd Military Revolutionary Committee. MIDDLE: The presidium of the Central Executive Committee of Soviets, 1919. Dzerzhinsky fourth from left. ABOVE: Peterson (Commissar of the Latvian Rifle Division) and Dzerzhinsky.

Reviewed by  
Sarah  
Hannigan

BOOKS

'Teamster Rebellion'  
by Farrell Dobbs.  
Monad Press, New York,  
1972.  
95p (postage 10p per  
book)

Available from:  
Paperbacks Centre,  
28 Charlotte Street, W1.

# A chapter in US labour history

THIS book tells the history of the great Minneapolis Teamster strikes of 1934.

At a time when the American working class had suffered years of unemployment, poverty and near starvation in the wake of the 1929 crash, the fight of the Teamsters' (truck drivers) local 574 in the Midwest town of Minneapolis, Minnesota, was an inspiration to hundreds of thousands of American workers.

Two other significant strikes took place in the same year. In Toledo, Ohio, auto workers at the Electric Auto-Lite Company fought a determined battle for union rights and in San Francisco longshoremen won union recognition after a bitter struggle.

These three victorious confrontations with the employers—in each case led by left-wing militants of a character very different from the previous socialist and syndicalist leaders in the American labour movement—were to lay the basis for the later development of the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

The CIO represented a huge step forward in American labour organization—the first time millions of non-craft workers

had been organized in American trade unions.

They also prepared the ground for the wave of mass sit-in strikes three years later.

The Minneapolis strikes were led by the young Trotskyist Communist League of America—fore-runner of the present revisionist Socialist Workers Party.

Farrell Dobbs himself was one of the leaders of the local 574 fight along with older Trotskyists, Raymond Dunne, his brothers Grant and Miles and Carl Skeglund.

For the Communist League the Minneapolis strike was their first participation in major class battles and it established the importance of Trotskyism as a contender for leadership of the American working class.

The movement's determined leadership in the fights laid the basis for the expansion and development of the party itself.

The three teamster strikes between February and August 1934 were on the issue of union recognition.

Before 1934, Minneapolis had been known as an 'open town'. The employers were organized in a body called the Citizens Alliance which took its inspiration from the crushing of a 1918 streetcar strike through the use

of wartime home guards.

It was this highly organized force of employers, police and later national guardsmen that the drivers, loaders, warehousemen and other workers represented by local 574 took on in 1934.

Before the fight was over two strikers had been killed by the Minneapolis police and many others were badly injured. At the same time the union battle won mass support from every section of workers in the town, from the unemployed and even from local farmers.

The funeral of Henry Ness, the first picket to die from wounds received on Bloody Friday, July 20, 1934—when the police opened fire on unarmed pickets, wounding 160 people—involved 40,000 workers and unemployed.

Right from the start of the initial two-day strike on February 7, 1934, fierce clashes between teamster pickets and the police were almost inevitable.

But it was the third strike, which started on July 17, that showed just how determined the employers were to smash the drivers' fight for union rights.

The Bloody Friday shootings were the culmination of a long campaign of red scare attacks and

massive propaganda advertisements in the capitalist Press against the strike leadership.

Yet in spite of this repression, the Minneapolis strikers went on to win their right to represent not just 'outside' workers like the truck drivers and loaders but 'inside' workers as well.

Wage increases, too, were won. Changes also took place in the official leadership of local 574 itself.

The former right-wing leadership was thrown out and three Trotskyists elected to the official leadership, along with others who had been prominent in the strikes.

Dobbs himself was elected secretary-treasurer of local 574. In 1939 he left the Teamsters to become national labour secretary of the Socialist Workers Party from 1940-1943; later the same year he became editor of the SWP's weekly, 'The Militant'; in 1949 he was elected SWP national chairman, a post he held until the split in the international committee of the Fourth International in 1953.

Afterwards he became the SWP's national secretary.

However, the early promise of the leadership shown in the Teamsters' strikes was not borne out in later class battles. In 1940, Trotsky criticized the SWP leadership, particularly Cannon and Dobbs for their failure to make any turn towards sections of Stalinist-led workers.

During the six years after 1934 the US Communist Party had taken the leadership of important sections of workers—particularly in the auto union. Trotsky pointed out that the SWP's lack of a policy in the presidential election campaign of 1940 was dominated by adaptation to the more backward sections of workers who voted for the pro-war candidate, Roosevelt.

He told Dobbs: '... We are in a bloc with so-called progressives—not only fakers but honest rank and file. Yes, they are honest and progressive but from time to time they vote for Roosevelt—once in four years. This is decisive. You propose a trade union policy, not a Bolshevik policy. Bolshevik policies begin outside the trade unions. . . .

'You are afraid to become compromised in the eyes of the Rooseveltian trade unionists. They on the other hand are not worried in the slightest about being compromised by voting for Roosevelt against you. We are afraid of being compromised. If you are afraid, you lose your independence and become half Rooseveltian.' ('Writings of Trotsky, 1939-40'. Page 61.)

In spite of the SWP leadership's later degeneration into revisionism, a study of 'Teamster Rebellion' is important to gain an understanding of this chapter in American working class history.

# Decline in the film industry

By Cissie Lodge

ANYONE browsing through an evening paper to decide what film to see on an evening out these days tends to find it a choice of the lesser evil.

Unless they are crazy about mystery thrillers, or imitations of 'The Godfather', the choice is pretty thin.

Hollywood's latest box office hit, 'The Godfather' has yet to find a successor.

The film was itself the result of a feverish searching to find something that would boost profits.

The number of people who go to see films has dropped by a staggering amount. Official figures from the Department of Trade and Industry reveal this.

In 1971, 182 million people attended the cinema. The gross box office takings amounted to £62m and there were a total of 1,482 cinemas in Britain.

These figures may appear pretty impressive. But not so when compared with those of 1962, nine years earlier.

The total number of people attending cinemas then was 421 million. There were 2,421 theatres whose gross takings totalled £60m.

Cut-back in film production over recent years has had the usual devastating effect on the employees. Like all other industries film production is determined by the needs of capitalism.

The fact that investments are not as forthcoming as they were before is a general trend which can be seen in all industries.

Unemployment in the acting profession stands at one of its highest levels. Over 90 per cent of equity members are unemployed.

Meanwhile, film workers in feature productions had an average of three weeks' work per member in 1970.

Of Britain's two remaining studios, Borehamwood was partly converted into a cold storage depot, and the Shepperton Studios in Middlesex are at present being threatened by the millionaire John Bentley. Bentley hopes to use the site for property development.

If Bentley is able to carry out his plans, it will mean the destruction of film-making premises which are unparalleled in Britain, and indeed the only main studios.

Film workers at Shepperton have responded to this threat by voting to occupy the studios should Bentley try to close them. Their union, ACTT, has pledged to support them in their struggle to keep their jobs.

The British film industry has never recovered from the withdrawal of big American finance. Under the Labour government, the National Film Financing Corporation was set up, which provided a loan to encourage film making.

Under the Tories' 'lame duck' policy, this body was killed, and with its death have come enormous problems for the film industry.

The motive for film production now is the feverish search for something that will make a big profit. Any idea is considered from the standpoint of box office success.

This means of course that there is less freedom and rights for those who actually make the films—the directors, actors, and technicians.

● Scenes of heavy fighting between pickets and police reinforced by deputies in city marketplace during May strike.



# POST BAG

The lads leave school expecting a good income. They have no understanding of what difficulties arise in non-union factories.

The bosses are nearly all the same. They start a factory, employ the first lad that comes along and give him a machine and a job to do.

If that lad does not turn out the amount of goods they want, then he is sacked.

There may be one or two workers who are in the union but if something goes wrong and if the lad wants his union the boss turns around and says: 'This is my factory and I do the ruling.'

They can put the wages up or down when they like and how they like.

This kind of a system has one long, boring name—capitalism.

There may be many places like this. All we can say to workers is join a union and fight the bosses. But in the long run the only way forward is to join the revolutionary party.

Bpdworth YS



# No resistance from official leaders

At a time when the Tories have taken away every basic right from workers and housewives in Britain, Victor Feather and Wilson immediately show that they will lead no resistance.

That is why it is vital to have the political perspective given by the YS programme in the fight

to defend the rights of workers on a political basis.

The draft resolution for Blackpool explains that because of the economic crisis, it is not enough to fight only for one right, such as employment, wages, or health.

We can only defend any of these rights by uniting the working class to get the Tories out.

To do this involves an uncompromising struggle against the Stalinists and revisionists, who divide and divert the struggle.

It is only the building of a leadership in the struggle for working-class power which can defend our rights against the Tories and the employers.

South Paddington YS

# Low wages and no unions allowed

IN EXHALL near Coventry there is an industrial estate which has more than 100 factories. The majority of these factories are small, which means they have no union.

The workers are mostly school leavers, who are employed for cheap labour.

# Working 40 hours a week for a £7.35 wage



**Sixteen-year-old Rob Adams is a trainee knitter in a Leicester hosiery factory**

THE east Midlands is the centre of the hosiery industry, and in Leicester, the main hosiery town in the area, the factories produce a whole range of fabrics which are made up into dresses, jumpers, underwear and tights.

The fabric is knitted on large machines which can cost up to £100,000 each. A machine used for knitting fabric for women's dresses can make 40 yards of fabric, worth about £50, in four hours.

KEEP LEFT spoke to trainee knitter, 16-year-old Rob Adams about his work.

'My job is to help the knitter run his machines. For example he may tell me to write out the tickets for the rolls of fabric he is taking off the machines, and sometimes he asks me to cut the rolls off, bag them and send them to the store room.

'Each roll I have to carry weighs up to 50lbs. I don't know how the women who examine them manage to carry them.'

For a full week Rob earns £7.35 which works out at 18p an hour. Occasionally when there is extra work available he goes in

to work on Saturdays and is paid £1 for four hours' work.

'At my place, the knitters' wages depend on orders coming in. If the order book is full they work shifts and earn £50 a week and more. But if the orders aren't there they come off shift work and work days instead. They average £17 a week on that and if the machines have no work at all they get a basic wage of £12.

'The union is the National Union of Hosiery and Knitwear Workers, which I have recently joined. The number of hosiery workers in the union is still small.

'In Loughborough, there was a strike in a hosiery mill. The strikers were immigrants. The union leaders, instead of calling on the white workers to support the strikers' demands kept them split up.

'If workers and youth want the higher wages that the Tory government is stopping us from having, then we must replace the union leaders with new leaders who will lead the working class in its struggle against the Tories.'

If the union leaders haven't changed very much over the years, then the hosiery industry certainly has. Keep Left spoke to a knitter, Mr. Stringer, who has been in the industry for over 20 years. When he first became a knitter shortly after the war at the age of 18, he was earning £20 a week. The average wage at that time was about £5 a week.

## Mending

'I don't know why it was that knitters were always so much better paid,' he told us. 'Mind you, it was like a craft in those days. And we really had to work hard. We used to do all the pattern and size changes ourselves rather than leave it to the mechanics. Nowadays it is more like machine mending.'

From the end of the war to the mid 1960s was the boom period for 'fully fashioned' clothes like the pullovers our parents buy from Marks and Spencers. The knitters did not benefit very much from this boom.

Mr. Stringer worked on machines which knitted nylon stockings. When he started he worked one machine which produced one dozen pairs of stockings in 40 minutes.

Nowadays a knitter has to mind two machines which between them produce 30 pairs of stockings every 20 minutes. While this speed-up was introduced, with only token opposition from the union, knitters suffered three wage cuts in the boom years, the largest being over £4.

Bonus earnings were gradually incorporated into the basic rate. In the early 1960s, the era of the 'fully fashioned garment' ended and manufacturers began to cater for the new teenage fashion mar-

ket. For many knitters this meant unemployment as the old machines were scrapped and replaced by faster, more automatic ones.

Today, as Mr. Stringer pointed out, the knitter has dropped from being about the best paid worker in the country, to the average wage of a skilled worker.

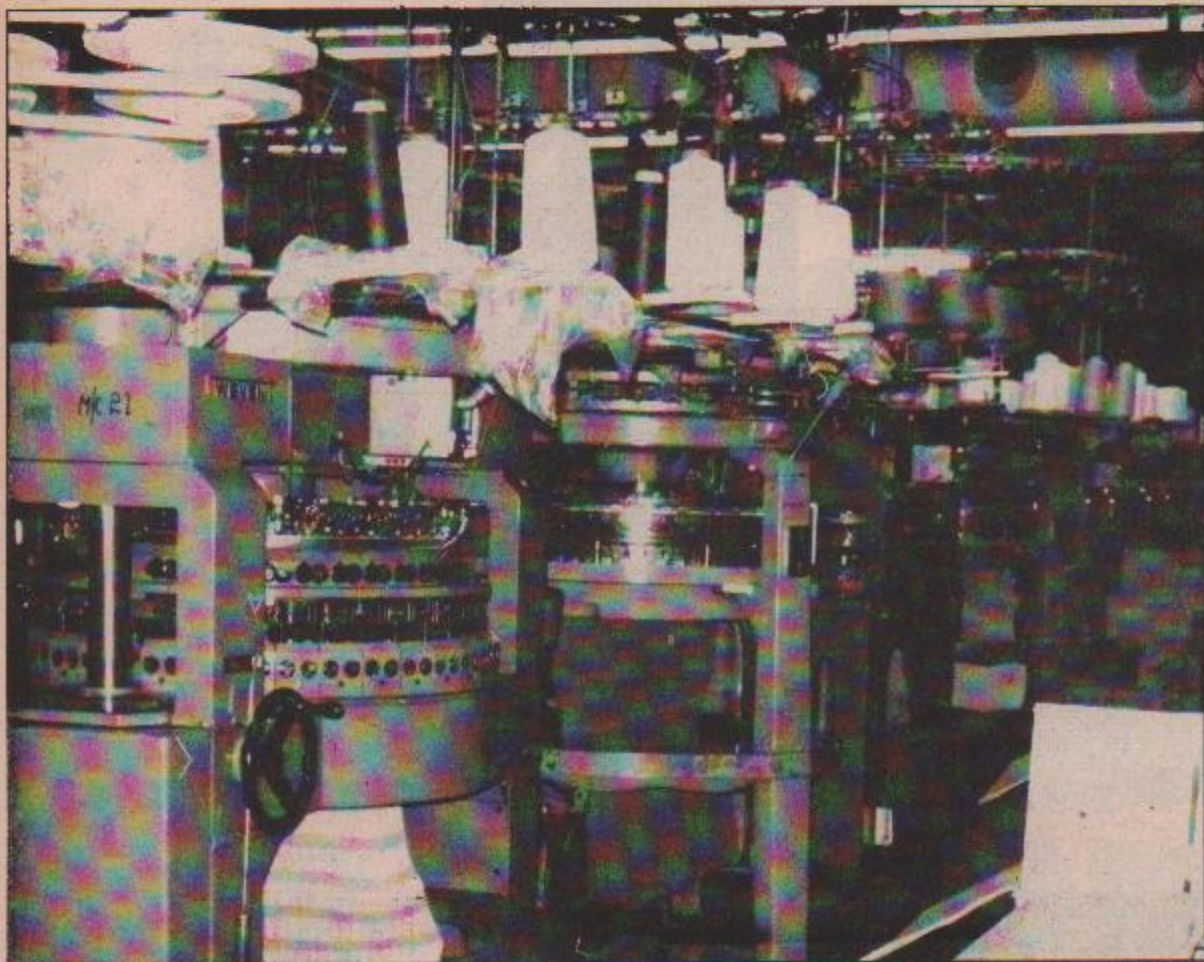
The reason for losses suffered by the knitters can very largely be found in the union. 'The men are very militant,' Mr. Stringer told us, 'but the union isn't. The men would like to see a bit of militant action but we'll never get it from the union. I've been in the hosiery trade for 23 years and I've never been on strike, official or unofficial.'

Asked about the government's state control of wages (the bosses have offered hosiery workers £3 but they stand to get only £1.70 under Phase II) Mr. Stringer said: 'As an individual I don't think I can do anything about it. As a union we could but the leaders haven't done anything

## Problems

If the knitters suffered wage cuts and redundancies during the boom then they are certainly going to face these same problems on a much greater scale in the weeks and months ahead, as the Tory government consciously drives down the standard of living of workers in an attempt to save its dying system.

It is vital that Young Socialists fight, as Rob Adams is doing, in their factories and unions for a leadership that will fight for a socialist solution to these problems. Today, no other solution is possible.



Inside a hosiery factory

## 'Time to get the Tories out' Say south Wales youth

1972 WAS the year of the crunch for many young people in south Wales. Unemployment has been used by the employers to reduce the living standards of youth at work. YS members from south Wales feel that the need to mobilize youth against the Tories is very urgent.

'It's about time the Tories were out. They have done enough wrong!', Peter Harris told Keep Left.

Peter, a 16-year-old National Coal Board trainee, has been working down the pits for 14 weeks. He didn't want to work in the mines, but he couldn't

get a job anywhere else. 'Working down the pit is terrible. Dust gets in your mouth and you have to keep on spitting it out. I get £13.90 take-home pay, working from 8.30 a.m. to 3.30 in the afternoon. But I have to get up at half six and don't get home before five because of the travelling time.'

Before working down the mines, Peter had been an apprentice. He was sacked when he should have received his birthday rise.

Gerald Keene, 20, was made redundant from his job as a pipe layer on a building site.

'It was a shock to me when they made us redundant. The firm had built 20 houses, and there were 475 buildings to go up.

'The union said they couldn't

do anything because the firm had gone bankrupt. But I think that some trouble over holiday pay may have been the reason. Our Christmas money was £10 short, and there was a one-day token strike to get more pay. My own money was over £14 short, because I had been sick.

'Cut-throat competition between the big countries is making unemployment worse,' said unemployed Gary Jenner. Gary had been working on road maintenance, building new bridges for the heavy lorries from the Common Market.

He was sacked because he couldn't get on with the foreman, and had his dole stopped for six weeks.

'Youth are better off on the dole, than taking jobs for £5 or £6 a week.

'In 1972 many youth have been feeling the crunch, and more are turning to the Young Socialists. We get a good response from youth, but it is a fight all the way.'

In Swansea and Maerdy, the YS branches are planning to attract more people by organizing weekly discotheques on the estates, and rallies in the valley, said Sharon Wiltshire.

'Youth in Wales are facing a life on the dole or a bum job. All the jobs where there are strong trade unions, such as the steel industry, are facing closures. The firms are being moved out of Wales into Europe. There is no future for youth outside the struggle of the YS to overthrow the ruling class,' said Haydon Jones.



Members of south Wales Young Socialists

Have you joined the Young Socialists yet?

## WRITE OFF TODAY!

Join the socialist movement which fights against Toryism, anti-union laws, unemployment and low wages. For details fill in form and send to YS National Secretary, 186A Clapham High St, London, SW4 7UG.

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

### Football Round Up by Paul Maloney



Blackheath 10, Roehampton 9  
IN THIS exciting match at Blackheath, Roehampton were leading until the last few minutes.

In the first half Roehampton scored five goals to Blackheath's one.

But a slow comeback later, ended with Blackheath only one goal behind.

A magnificent effort from Blackheath produced two goals within five minutes before the end, producing the final score of 10-9.



Clapham 6, Thornton H. 2  
THE match started well with both sides playing offensive football.

Thornton Heath took the lead in the 12th minute with Clapham equalizing soon after. The match then settled down with neither side able to gain the advantage, leaving the score 1-1 at half time.

The second half saw Clapham establish mid-field control with strikers John Foster and Nicky Gamblin repeatedly finding the gaps in the Thornton Heath defence, to score two goals each.

Indeed it was only excellent work in the goal by John Grey which prevented Clapham from reaching double figures.

In the closing minutes Clapham scored again and then Kevin Smith was finally rewarded for his persistent attacking play when he took the ball from inside his own half to the penalty area where John Broughton slotted it home for Thornton Heath to make the final score 6-2.

### YS FOOTBALL LEAGUE TABLES

SOUTH	P	W	D	L	PTS
Blackheath	6	4	0	2	8
Clapham	6	4	0	2	8
New Addington	5	4	0	1	8
Roehampton	4	2	0	2	4
Thornton Heath	5	2	0	3	4
Streatham	1	0	0	1	0
Peckham	2	0	0	2	0
Tooting	3	0	0	3	0

NORTH	P	W	D	L	PTS
West London	5	3	0	2	6
Dagenham	6	2	1	3	5
Poplar	4	1	1	2	3
Camden	3	1	0	2	2
Stepney	4	1	0	3	2
Holloway	3	1	0	2	2
Tottenham	4	0	0	4	0
Stoke Newington	2	0	0	2	0

OUTER	P	W	D	L	PTS
Hayes	4	4	0	0	8
Kingston	3	3	0	0	6
Fulham	4	2	0	2	4
Feltham	3	1	0	2	2
Willesden	2	1	0	1	2
Harrow	2	1	0	1	2
Southall	3	0	0	3	0
Acton	1	0	0	1	0



FELTHAM 10 . . . KILBURN 8: that was the score in this fast game last weekend. A part of the action is seen above in Bill Poulton's picture.

## WHAT'S ON WHERE

**PRESTON LARCHES YS**  
Youth Club  
Every Friday  
St Peter and Paul's  
Park Avenue  
7.30-10.00 p.m.  
Adm: 5p Records

**KINGSTON YS**  
meets every Tuesday  
The Castle  
13 Fairfield West, Kingston  
7.30 p.m.

**TOOTING YS**  
meets every Tuesday  
Tooting Baths Club Room  
Tooting Broadway  
S.W.17

**HIGHFIELDS YS**  
meets every Thursday  
Discotheque every  
Saturday  
Queen Victoria  
(Near 'Leicester Mercury'  
offices)  
7.30 pm to 10.30 pm  
Adm: 10p

**CAMBRIDGE YS**  
meets every Tuesday  
'The Rose and Crown'  
(Corner of Newmarket Rd/  
East Rd)  
8.00 p.m.

**BLACKPOOL YS**  
meets every Tuesday  
Boys' Club  
Laycock Gate  
off Devonshire Road  
Blackpool  
7.00 pm

**BALHAM YS**  
meets every Thursday  
Balham Baths Club Room  
Elmfield Road  
Balham  
S.W.12

**SOUTH SHIELDS YS**  
Discotheque  
every Wednesday  
TUC Hall  
Westhow  
7.30 p.m.

**CLAPHAM YS**  
Youth Club  
Every Thursday  
Coronation Hall  
Springfield Estate  
Union Road, SW8  
8 pm adm. 10p  
Sports, records, discussion  
groups

Societal Labour League  
Yorkshire Rally

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PAUL WHETSTONE (Young Secretary)

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GEORGE LUBY (LIPSW)  
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**BILLINGHAM YS**  
Education classes, discussion,  
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## 13TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS

**APRIL 14/15  
1973**

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186a Clapham High Street, London, SW4 7UG.

### ATTENTION ALL YS BRANCHES

Have you got a copy of the YS annual conference document for discussion? The document is the draft resolution to be presented at Blackpool on April 14 and 15. All amendments to the resolution should be sent straight away to YS, 186a Clapham High Street, London, SW4 7UG.