

Let Conference give a lead :

# A FIGHTING PROGRAMME FOR LABOUR

by PAT CRAVEN (Norwood C.L.P. delegate)



As the Labour Party Conference meets, Tory ministers, returning from their holidays in Greece, Cowes and the grouse moors, are finalising their plans. Cuts in expenditure on housing, schools, health and social security will top the list. A taste of what Tory policies mean in practice has been given to the people of Waltham Forest. There, the Tory council, in two years, have made no less than 22 savage cuts in spending. In every case, the victims are the young, the old, the sick. The measures include "closure of two swimming pools", "increase in day nursery charges from 11/6 to £1/8/-", "closure of two Youth Clubs", "reduction of school dental service by a third", "holidays for the old and disabled cut by a third," and so on. No wonder that frustrated youngsters have caused £2000 worth of damage to one of their former swimming pools. The Medical Officer of Health, his budget cut by £150,000, has stated that what he has left to spend was "so low that officers cannot be expected to take the responsibility of deciding which class of the population shall suffer the consequences." (Sunday Times 6/9/70).

## TORIES ATTACK UNIONS

The Tories have no worries about that—the working class shall suffer the consequences of their policies. And it's much easier to go for those sections least able to fight back: easier, as they have already found than to try to take on the organised Labour Movement. In an attempt to salvage the economy from its present stagnation, the Government is certain to try and cut back the living standards of working people. Industrial output in May-July this year was 2.1% lower than in February-April, with unemployment rising above 600,000. Hence the baying from industrialists for "reflation" in the form of tax cuts (at the top), easier loans and lower interest rates, so that they can invest and make a big profit. But Heath knows that the workers are not going to see their wages stand still while profits go up. So if profits are not to be eaten away by higher labour costs, something has to be done to keep down workers' living standards. This he hopes to do by both indirect attacks through spending cuts and a direct clash over pay with such sections as the miners and teachers. Impelled by the pressure of its members, the TUC has

declared war on any attempt to "make an example" of workers in the public sector. They have threatened action to smash any attempt to legislate against the unions.

## FOR SOCIALIST POLICIES!

The Labour Party Conference must take up the same struggle against the Tories. As Sheffield Hillsborough CLP demands, the NEC should "initiate a vigorous campaign to prevent the Tory Government from introducing any anti-Trade Union legislation and to make a public statement that any future Labour Government will pledge itself to support the trade unions in their struggle against the employers."

The main task facing Conference, however, is to formulate a political programme with which to defeat the

Tories. First, as Swansea East insists, it must "learn and apply the lessons of the defeat in the 1970 general election"; the main one being "the folly of trying to manage a decaying capitalist economy". "It is evident" say Liverpool Walton CLP, "that the continued existence, and indeed growth, of such problems as housing, unemployment, education, health... rising prices and the plight of the pensioners, all played a significant role and had the effect of causing many Labour supporters to abstain from voting in the election." Look too, at the immense inequality that remains after six years of Labour Government—the Times, noting the increase in strikes this year, asks "Why are we so bloody-minded?" It is brilliantly answered by a worker—"I saw in your paper that the Chairman of Bowrings Insurance Insurance gets £57,000 a year... He gets in a year as much as I will get all my working life. The differential is a bit wrong somewhere." To say, as does Birmingham Yardley, that the Labour Government "was instrumental in bringing economic and industrial health back to this country" will sound hollow to the unemployed and the pensioner. As Brighton Kemp Town CLP rightly say, "the return of the Tories is brought about through the failure of the Labour Government to introduce policies which could seem to be in the interests of the majority of the people."

Instead, they continue, "the policies carried out by the Labour Government were dictated by the monopolies and big financial interests to the detriment of the living standards of the working class." Resolution after resolution returns to the crucial question of "the gross power of big business, which lies at the root of the chronic economic crisis" (Swansea East) and demands the implementation of Clause 4, Section 4 as the "only practical alternative to the Tories", as Wandsworth Putney explain. "Only by taking into public ownership," say Kemp Town, "the monopolies, private banks and finance houses and insurance companies now dominating the economy and by producing a socialist plan of production, democratically administered by the Trade Unions... and the whole spectrum of the working people will we be able to guarantee an annual growth of resources far beyond the present meagre growth." Such a policy, add Bristol West CLP, "by freeing industry from the dead weight of minority control on a profit making basis, will enable industry to be controlled and planned for the benefit of the majority. On this basis lies the only solution to the capitalist problems of crisis, unemployment, low wages, regional depression and lack of opportunities." The resolution demands that the NEC "lead a campaign, linking these everyday

CONTINUED ON PAGE 3

## Middle East:

# For a Socialist Federation

by JULIAN SILVERMAN (North St. Pancras C.L.P. delegate)

As we go to press, the fate of the Jordan revolution hangs in the balance. A large part of Amman has passed into the control of the commandoes, and the two second largest cities likewise. The whole population in the big cities is ready to take the power. In Irbid, for example, "not one Jordanian soldier or policeman remained in the town." (Times 15/9/70). "...At the Hassana Palestinian refugee camp, six miles south of Irbid, camp police turned over their arms to the guerrillas".

Hussein, veering between conciliation and repression, like all doomed dictators, has now sacked his "moderate" cabinet and replaced them with a military "junta". How long this new regime will last—terrified of a bloodbath, and terrified of provoking similar movements across the whole of the Middle East—this will depend on how soon the Liberation Movement finds its way to a clear class solution to the problems of the starving Arab peoples.

After generations of Imperialist subjection the Arabs have been left in a state of unimaginable poverty. In most countries less than 10% of the land has been cultivated. In Egypt, to give but one example, over 12 million peasants remain permanently without land and "without

any possible means of productive employment." For over 20 years the Palestinian refugees have been kept in camps, mostly without an occupation of any kind. None of the governments pays one penny towards their upkeep. The United Nation pays them enough to keep them barely alive and no more. (It is a bitter irony that, nevertheless, their living standards are often somewhat higher than those of the landless peasants around them!) Since the Establishment of Israel, a new generation has grown up in these camps with little hope of seeing beyond the barbed wire. The Israeli ruling class, thriving in the territory once lived in by the refugees, has allied itself with the great Imperialist Powers, and on more than one occasion, has been involved in counter-revolutionary forays into Arab territory, dashing any last hopes of the camp-inmates.

Every socialist, every worker, must welcome the rising pride and self-respect of the Palestinians as part of the world-wide struggle against the international cartels and their governments. It is the monstrous international oil companies which stand to gain from the massacre of the Arab Revolution, and it is Imperialism which has created the bloody divisions.

The map of that part of the world is a graph of a century of squabbles and secret deals between rival Imperialisms for the carving up of the area for the sake of trade and oil. Upward of 1/3rd of the capitalist world's oil comes from these parts and brings in some \$4,000 million

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

**BLACKPOOL 1970  
Labour Party Conference  
MILITANT MEETING  
A SOCIALIST OFFENSIVE  
AGAINST THE TORIES!  
BRING DOWN  
THE TORY GOVERNMENT!  
LABOUR TO POWER  
ON A SOCIALIST PROGRAMME!**

Hear:  
TED GRANT  
(Militant Editorial Board)  
TONY MULHEARN  
(N.G.A. Delegate. In his personal capacity)

Chairman: PAT CRAVEN  
(Norwood C.L.P. Delegate)  
6 p.m. Tuesday 29th September  
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All Welcome. Plenty of time for  
questions and discussion. Put this in  
your Diary Now.

# Chile: For a real Workers' Government

by SHEILA COXHEAD (Finchley C.L.P.)

"The victory of Salvador Allende in the polling for last Friday's presidential elections has great significance for Chile. It has greater significance for Latin America as a whole and it is a milestone in the history of the underdeveloped world" (Financial Times 8/9/70.)

In voting for Allende, Chileans were voting for the radical change promised in the programme of the Popular Unity Party—a coalition of the Communist Party, Socialist Party, Radicals, Social Democrats and smaller left groups. The Popular Unity Party promised immediate land reform under state-owned collective farms and nationalisation of banking, insurance and all major industry—measures which would free Chile from its history of domination by foreign capital.

## POVERTY IN CHILE

The alternatives offered to the Popular Unity were the "right-wing, do-nothing, law and order" candidate, Jorge Alessandri, who manifestly had no solution to the unemployment, low wages, homelessness and squalor that is the lot of the majority of Chileans. To people, 45% of whom, as an example, live in totally inadequate housing, lacking basic amenities, and many of whom squat in shacks of tin, cardboard and wood, and whose wages, if they have a job, are eaten up by inflation, (The Times, August 29th quotes 21% as the rate of inflation in the first five months of this year alone), Alessandri's conservative nationalism meant little.

## CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS FAILURE

Radomiro Tomic, candidate for the Christian Democrats, who have been in power in Chile for the past six years, came a poor third in the vote. The Christian Democrats came to power in a landslide victory in 1964, under the slogan "Revolution in Liberty", but have since failed dismally to carry out their election pledges. During their six years of office their promised land reforms have succeeded in benefiting only about one fifth of the peasantry, their promised nationalisation of major industry has produced a compromise creeping nationalisation or "Chileanisation", a system of joint

ownership between the state and private companies, leaving management chiefly in private hands. The economy has failed to produce a growth rate of more than 2-3% a year, inflation has continued, taxation increased, (the cost of living rose by 29.3% last year), and the domination of foreign capital remains. Chile's most important industry, copper, for instance, is supplying three quarters of the country's foreign exchange through commitment to mainly United States' capital. Chileanisation was actually tacitly approved by private industry, both in the country and abroad, as its compromise prevented the full-scale nationalisation advocated by the increasingly popular Socialist and Communist opposition.

## VOTE FOR REVOLUTIONARY CHANGE

Faced with these alternatives, Chileans voted for revolutionary change rather than conservatism or compromise; putting into power, this time through the ballot box, the second Latin American president to openly adopt socialist policies.

The first impact of the victory was to shatter the confidence of capitalist investment in Chile itself, (United States' investment is estimated by the State Dept. at £208m). Secondly, it is seen inevitably as a pointer to the future of not only Latin America, but the rest of the underdeveloped world. In the words of the western press: "Allende's victory signals the passing of Christian Democracy... Latin American economic and social problems have proved too intractable for it. The continuing underdevelopment of the area made a mockery of the Alliance for Progress is producing political radicalisation and demands for ever firmer and more left-wing government. ...Further, what Latin America thinks today, Africa or Asia may think tomorrow" (Financial Times 8/9/70). The possible enormous implications and repercussions if Allende's policies are carried out have already produced panic attempts by the right-wing to declare the result unconstitutional in Chile itself, and elsewhere have sent a shudder through world capitalism's weak spine.

## ALLENDE TEMPORISES

Yet, since his election, Allende has

## MIDDLE EAST: CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

every year to the bosses. "States" were set up in the desert around the oil-wells and potentates set up, who take 50% of the revenue (and spend maybe 1/3rd of this on their own family luxuries, and most of the rest on defending that from the local population). Even the conception of a Jewish Homeland in that area was an idea developed by the noble lords Shaftesbury and Palmerston, those master-strategists of British Imperialism, with a view to creating dependent allies against Turkish domination. At that period, this idea met with little support from the Jews who were more interested in their own emancipation where they were. Most of the states owe their separate existence to the Anglo-French sharing out of the booty from the First World War—indeed Palestine was offered to the Arabs and the Jews simultaneously!

And yet, what a wealth of natural resources would be available to a Federation of Workers' States—Jewish and Arab! Apart from the revenue from the oil, there is enough to provide power for the full-scale industrialisation of the whole area, phosphates, iron ores, copper, lead, gold, etc. In the Dead Sea alone there are 40,000 tons of mineral salts, "inexhaustible reserves of potash" etc. etc.

Instead, all the leaders can offer is a spurious "unity" based on the idle threat of running the Israelis into the sea, or a "unity" which seeks to submerge the militant guerrilla organisations behind the "El Fatah" banner; the "unity" of slavery, poverty and backwardness—and even this

"unity" failed miserably even to produce a last-minute Arab "summit". Each ruler defends the privileges of his caste, lords it over the territory bequeathed to him by Imperialism, and eyes his officers with terror, awaiting some new coup. Similarly, the Israeli capitalists and the military clique converge to play on popular fears, for the sake of holding down wage-increases in the "national interest". 60% of the budget goes on defence.

Not one of these countries is a viable economic unit. Even industrialised Israel would cease to exist but for foreign investment, the tourist industry, etc. The Israeli workers may be "privileged" in comparison with their Arab brothers, but get precious little from the country being turned into a picturesque tourist spot for wealthy sentimentalists.

## FOR AN INTERNATIONALIST LEAD

The whole of the Middle East is crying out for an internationalist socialist lead. Even the most left-wing governments can offer no solution without this. The Syrian military clique was forced, around 1965, on several occasions, to mobilise the mass of workers and poor peasants and expropriate the major capitalist concerns, but it remains "a big fish in a little pool"—its privileges depend on Syria remaining a separate national state; and this breeds a most poisonous chauvinism.

"El Fatah"—financed largely by the oil-sheiks, but enjoying massive popularity—does not know which way to turn. They have disclaimed any socialist intent, threatened the

hastened to issue assurances to private enterprise that it will "not only have the opportunity but also official help to play a most important productive role within the framework of planning guidance", and that any alarm in economic circles over his election is completely unjustified. Already the pressures of foreign capital are causing the same backsliding as under the Christian Democrats. After being brought to power by the enormous will of the mass of the people for change, the new government is still thinking in terms of "solving" the country's problems under the same old shabby compromises.

However, the Popular Unity will find it much more difficult to shelve reforms than did the Christian Democrats. During the last six years militant peasant unions have been formed, a guerrilla movement form-

ed and the Socialist and Communist parties have won more and more support. Both rural and urban workers are far better organised than under any previous regime, and will resist any attempts to backslide. The splits in the left and attempted intervention by the right which will result through backsliding can only be prevented by Allende recognising the enormous power of the organised workers and peasants and handing over to them the real economic and social power which is theirs by right of their labour. Only by carrying through a programme of full-scale land reform giving the land to the peasants and of full-scale nationalisation giving control of industry to the workers themselves can the new government begin to solve the problems of poverty, underdevelopment and domination by foreign capital in Chile itself and point a way forward to a socialist solution of the problems of the rest of Latin America and the underdeveloped world.

## From left & right:

### RUSSIAN BUREAUCRATS LIVE WELL!

The strictures of the Soviet elite, about the need for "discipline" and "efficiency" clearly was not meant to apply to themselves. At the same time that the Russian economy is facing increasing difficulties, admitted by Brezhnev and the Soviet dignitaries, the lush living of the bureaucracy continues unabated. Further evidence to demonstrate this was given in the Russian journal "Selskaya Zhizn" quoted in the "Times" (9th. September) they give a pretty description of the "life style" of Jozas Shimalius, deputy director of the distribution centre of the Lithuanian Consumers Union. His "dacha" (country house) was a "two-storey structure perched on concrete pillars besides a picturesque waterfall. From the second floor balcony it was possible to dive directly into the pool beneath, or to sit and fish and watch television consecutively". No common or garden "comrade" was invited to share the flesh pots... "Mr Shimalius liked to entertain and always invited the 'right' people!"

The parasitic self-indulgence of the Russian bureaucracy is reminiscent of the worst idling of the Western Capitalist millionaires. It is this very factor which is holding the planned economy back. The Russian workers and poor peasants will use evidence like this to wipe away the system of privilege and corruption once and for all.

### 'ECONOMIST' SAYS

#### TAX CUTS ONLY FOR THE BOSSES!

Cuts for the bosses, taxes for the workers.

The attitude of Big Business and its apologists to the division of the national income is glaringly illustrated in an article by the chief Financial Times writer on economic affairs, Samuel Brittan, in an article in its issue of September 17th, 1970. The demand for a bigger share of the wealth they produce by trade unionists is declared to be 'sheer bloody-mindedness.'

Yet in the same article he advocates that the Tory Government introduce tax cuts for the rich. The directors of industry need "incentives". "Two kinds of tax cutting would be justified in the foreseeable future. First of all, very high marginal rates of tax on incomes are not only a disincentive but counter-productive. **More income would be earned and declared if the maximum effective rates that anyone could pay were reduced to 40 or 50% compared with 91 1/2% at present.**" (our emphasis)

"Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine" with repression, accepted them back, and turned all ways to avoid the class question. None of the official left parties offers a clear lead. It is for the self-styled "Marxists", the "Popular Front" guerrillas, to offer a way out to the working class. Their heroism has won them the sympathy of millions throughout the Arab world, but it must be said, their methods at present offer no solution whatsoever. It has been estimated (though we cannot tell with what accuracy) that 90% of the Palestinians under Israeli occupation, and 70% of the refugees would welcome a peace which recognised the state of Israel. Hijackings and the taking of hostages, the shooting of innocent civilians, simply invite reprisals. Israel has rounded up hundreds of 'prominent' Arabs; new deals are being negotiated to supply Israel with yet more U.S. arms—and, most important of all, these kinds of tactics simply retrench the Israeli workers behind their "patriotic" rulers.

Now there is the threat of Israeli intervention, and possibly even of U.S. intervention too, to Hussein in his massacre of 10,000 Jordanians. Such

Thus the top strata need "incentives". And even if these fail "if the hope proves unfounded, the loss to the revenue would at worst be trivial. The 50% concession on earned income mentioned above would cost £45 million; and the complete abolition of surtax on all earned income would cost only £75 million. (This is before allowing for any increase in income declarations)." Elegant language to say that the top strata would stop swindling their tax returns!

**In contrast look at the attitude to the workers' earnings: "It would be fatal, however, to have large general tax cuts for the mass of the population to boost spending power."** (our emphasis)

You see, the "country", that is the Big Business owners of industry and wealth, cannot "afford" this. The working class that produces the wealth are mere instruments of production to the ruling class and its publicists.

help as may have come from Syria has been limited to such as would help the Syrian ruling-caste in their historic rivalry with the Iraqis for domination of the area. No clear class lead was given to either population. Indeed it is only today that they have even demanded an end to the Hussein regime!

In the monthly "New Middle East" for September, there is an interview with Ghassan Kanafani, one of the leaders of the PFLP, and its spokesman in the Lebanon. Amid much that all socialists would agree with, he states the following:

"Q. Don't you think that (the Israeli) mass of workers, could be mobilised for revolutionary objectives? A: What working class?... I believe it can be compared to the white minority in South Africa. Q: Why do you not assume power in Jordan? A: We do not know what we shall do in Jordan... But we consider that it would be occupying a country that is not ours. Q: The Israelis will also fight. A: Do you think that the Israelis are ready to fight to the last drop of their blood? Q: Don't you? A: That would be very sad." (!) Of

CONTINUED ON PAGE 3

# Militant

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## BUILD THE MILITANT!

The year since the last Labour Party Conference has seen big steps forward by MILITANT and its supporters. Apart from the increase in circulation, we have produced leaflets on all the major industrial and political issues. Supporters in a number of areas now produce regular local editions and supplements. In the Trade Unions it has been necessary to produce special pamphlets going more fully into specific problems facing these industries.

We have seen established under the impetus of the growing militancy of the white-collar workers and our teacher supporters the regular publication of Militant Teacher, which of course covers the whole spectrum of education.

To provide a deeper theoretical analysis of the problems and perspectives for the Labour Movement nationally and internationally, than is possible within the limited pages of Militant, the Militant International Review is now produced every three months.

In addition to all these extra publications, as much material again is written on other issues but is never published owing to our chronic shortage of space.

To publish all that needs to appear, it is essential that we have a Militant with more pages and, as a first priority, on a more frequent basis. All of this is linked to the acquisition of our own press, and the move to our new premises. As readers are aware, the new premises have been bought and should be ready for us to move into by the end of this month. The Editorial Board have set the target of a fortnightly Militant by the end of the year.

All these achievements have meant tremendous sacrifices in time and money for many of our supporters. Building workers and other trade unionists from London and the provinces are donating their labour. To help us in the major renovation tasks, comrades have given up their holidays, or regular evenings and week-

ends. Workers old and young, students, apprentices, and housewives have joined in the work, and donated lump sums of £300, £75, £50, £20, £10, £7, £5, and £1. Others have been sending in weekly and monthly donations in postal orders or bankers' orders. Trade Union branches, L.P. Young Socialist branches, Labour Parties and Clubs have made donations and taken out bulk orders of Militant.

This is the sort of sacrifice the Labour and Trade Union Movement has been built upon during centuries of struggle. It is not through any philanthropic generosity of the bosses and their Tory stooges that the working class has achieved even the limited standards we have today.

Far from Marxist ideas being out of date, and not reflecting the needs of the working class, as has been said and will no doubt be said again by most of the leaders at the 1970 Labour Party Conference, more and more we see sections of the Labour Movement taking up the ideas and the programme of Marxism as the only solution to the problems facing the workers as a whole. This itself is reflected in the LP Conference agenda.

Comrades, friends, please help us! If you agree or even sympathise with the aims and policies of Militant, help us to build the Marxist Left Wing in the Labour Movement. Send as much money as you can spare. Shillings are welcome, pounds and tens of pounds are really necessary.

The Business Manager,  
MILITANT

## Support Teachers' Struggle!

by ROGER SILVERMAN (N.U.T.)

Within days of its election victory, the Tory Government proclaimed a halt to the movement towards comprehensive education, raised the price of school meals, reduced the subsidy on school transport, threatened to charge fees for nursery education and for library services, and cut the grants for school building. Thus the Tories have already begun to drive a wedge into Britain's flimsy social service structure.

The biggest economies will as usual be on teachers' salaries, if they have their way. They have proudly promised to resist the wage claims of public employees and make an "example" of them for the rest of the working class. If they are prepared to invoke emergency powers against the local council employees' claim for a £16.10s minimum wage, they must regard the teachers as easy prey.

But they will find that the teachers today are very different from the docile servants that they were in the early '60s, when the Tories last stamped on the white-collar workers. The face of the N.U.T.—the teachers' mass organisation—has changed beyond recognition under the pressure of its membership. It is only 18 months since the N.U.T. leadership tamely signed a negotiated cut in real wages and convinced an Emergency Conference to ratify their betrayal. Since then we have seen the reversal of this decision at Annual Conference, the interim pay

claim, unprecedented strike action involving about 150,000 teachers in one-day strikes and about 25,000 in strikes of longer duration, and most dramatically of all, affiliation to the T.U.C. Now the N.U.T. has submitted a claim for a rise of 38%.

In winning an interim award of £120 p.a. across the board, after outright refusals from the employers at first to concede a penny, teachers achieved a victory which has inspired them with a sense of their new-found power and solidarity. Nevertheless, it was a limited victory, which did not altogether restore teachers' pay to its previous level, in real terms. The teachers' enthusiasm was dampened by their leaders' timidity in restricting action to selective strikes and refusing at national level to link their campaign to the struggles of other workers. Remnants of bygone delusions of "professionalism" die hard, especially within the upper levels among teachers.

The most glaring expression of these prejudices comes from the N.A.S., which

bases itself on the so-called "career teachers". This organisation is trying to repeat its divisive tactics of the past, by fighting for bigger rises at the top at the expense of the mass of young teachers, and thus striking an attitude of phoney militancy. Some militancy, to offer the employers an alternative pay claim that is £73 million short of the original claim! Now Casey, Secretary of the N.A.S., has justified this stab in the back with a witch-hunting "Red"-baiting attack on the N.U.T., prompted by the incidental detail that the N.U.T. Executive includes Morris (who like other leading Communist Party members in the N.U.T. gives little hint of political radicalism).

The N.U.T. has rightly reported the N.A.S. to the T.U.C. for "non-trade union practices". But the N.A.S. rank-and-file can be won only by a clear programme and decisive action. The N.U.T. leadership itself is far too ready to bow the head to the pressures of the best-paid sections. It was at their instigation that a Conference motion calling for emphasis to be concentrated on the basic scale was rejected. All the teachers could be mobilised in a united struggle for a real increase in living standards and an end to the antiquated structure of privilege and differentials.

The teachers deserve the support of all workers in the impending strikes. Their fight is one with that of the entire trade-union movement against the Tories' attacks on living standards and on the social services. The threatened N.U.T. action in protest at overcrowded classrooms—a scandalous burden on the children of the working class—has already forced some local authorities to revise their employment quotas (e.g. Gateshead, where an extra 30 teachers are to be taken on). In several local areas, N.U.T. members have pledged themselves to black any work in connection with 11-plus selection exams (in the teeth of sabotage by some reactionary N.A.S. branches). If the teachers are assisted at every level by the rest of the Labour Movement, then the Tories will unquestionably suffer another setback in their crusade against trade-unionism, and a powerful blow will be struck in defence of the children's right to a decent education.

Last year the teachers up and down the country found an inexhaustible fund of sympathy and support in the trade unions at local level. It was almost entirely due to the tremendous lessons that they learned through this experience that the N.U.T. affiliated to the T.U.C. Joint action now will further reinforce the bonds linking teachers and other white-collar workers to the rest of the Labour Movement, and draw them into the ranks of the Labour Party and the workers' historic movement towards socialism.

## Labour Party Conference

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

problems experienced by working people with the socialist policies necessary to solve them."

This alternative economic policy has to be linked to all the other issues under discussion. Paddington North CLP draws attention to the scandalous housing situation, including "the huge amount of empty and under-occupied housing and office accommodation, while thousands remain homeless," and "huge increases in rents by local authorities and private landlords." The Child Poverty Action Group has exposed the uselessness of the Tories' favourite "solution"—rebates. They show that whereas in prosperous towns like Morecambe and Clacton, up to 16% of householders get a rebate, in the London Borough of Tower Hamlets, less than 2% receive one. The Labour leaders must be committed to campaign against the inevitable Tory moves to push up Council rents, remove what is left of rent control in the private sector and cut new building even further. The public ownership of all multi-occupied property, land and building companies, and, as Camberwell Dulwich CLP demands "the nationalisation of the banks, insurance companies and other sources of housing finance and loans" is the Socialist alternative.

The same class approach has to be adopted in discussing international affairs, which are closely linked to the problems of Britain. Several resolutions oppose British entry to the Common Market, yet propose no alternative. Wolverhampton NE and Ebbw Vale CLP even sink to jingoistic flag-waving, demanding "opposition to the submerging of Britain as a province in any federal state." Only Birmingham Perry Bar CLP sees that the issue at stake is not Britain's "independence", but the class nature of the EEC. In opposition to this body which exists for the benefit of the industrial monopolies of Europe, they insist "that the only united Europe which offers any hope for the people of Europe or the rest of the world is a Socialist United States of Europe." The fact that the British economy has grown at a slower rate than that of any EEC country shows the folly of imagining that a capitalist Britain can solve its problems in isolation. Big business is already organising on a super-national basis; Labour can give a lead in organising a campaign to fight for a Socialist Europe.

As in Europe, so in Southern Africa, the real enemy of the workers and peasants is the same as here in Britain; the economy of South Africa is propped up by £1300 million of British investment. Pious resolutions condemning apartheid and the sale of arms are not enough. As Lambeth Norwood CLP demands "the British Labour Movement should offer full moral and material support to the liberation movements involved." Such an internationalist, class approach is needed too in relation to the Middle East and Northern Ireland, where, as with South Africa, it is the British imperialist policy of "divide and rule" which has led directly to the current crises. Only on the basis of working class unity and socialist policies will a solution be reached.

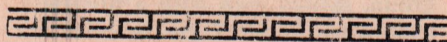
If Conference really learns the lessons of the election defeat and adopts clear socialist policies, then, as Kemp Town declares, "armed with such a programme, the Labour Party will be able to rally the people behind its banner and defeat Tory capitalism for ever." "We then stand out", concludes Walton, "as a democratic socialist beacon to Europe and the World!"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

course, these quotations are out of context, but they do indicate that a truly internationalist, socialist lead is still to be found among the leaders of that organisation.

It is events themselves which will force these movements out of their inheritance of backwardness. Today, the workers of Jordan are ready to take power. Very shortly the ferment will spread throughout the oil-sheikhdoms and throughout the Arab world.

In Israel, where the 10% unemployment just before the six day war brought talk of a general strike, and where even since, there have been quite big strike movements, the workers are no different to other workers. In the '29-'31 world slump the Jewish Agency cut off funds to the Jews in Palestine. They will soon learn, in the course of the worldwide struggles of the workers, that they have more to gain from MIDDLE EAST FEDERATION OF WORKERS STATES than in relying on their very dubious friends, the bosses of Israel and the U.S.A.



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# DEFEND NATIONALIZED INDUSTRIES AGAINST TORY ATTACKS

by TED GRANT

Nationalisation becomes a key issue with the aim of the Tories to de-nationalise key sectors, or rather very profitable sectors under state ownership. Thus Big Business in the electronics industry is eagerly eyeing the telecommunications section of the Post Office. This is making big profits and is regarded as a growth industry of the future. Consequently they would like to have it off for the benefit of the monopolies. Of course the postal services which make a loss they will generously leave to the State! Now the Government is suggesting the de-nationalisation of Cooks, the travel agents, which is a subsidiary of the railways and makes a profit of over £1 million a year.

The Government is trying to hand over lucrative routes of BOAC and BEA airways now that they have become profitable. Routes making £6 million a year are to be handed over to the former bankrupt Caledonian Airways and the concern which under these conditions would be willing graciously to take it over. £6 million and not a penny in compensation to the State! That is the attitude of the Tory Government whose members are always screaming about "fair compensation" to vested interests.

The reason for this looting of the State was explained by the "Committee on Civil Aviation" under Professor Sir Ronald Edwards which found "that the Air Corporations had a fairly creditable record, though this did not prevent it from going on to advocate that part of their operations should be handed over to private operators without compensation, so important was it to foster private enterprise" (British Air Transport in the Seventies).

Thus under a previous Tory Government road transport which was profitable was hived off, leaving the unprofitable railways in the hands of the State. Steel too when making a profit was de-nationalised. The Labour Government's re-nationalisation put further profits in their pockets by over-compensation.

These examples show how the tycoons are always on the lookout for further profits at the expense of the State. Thus 3rds of Research and Development in industry is paid for by the State. Private industry reaps the benefit without shelling out a single penny!

## NATIONALISED INDUSTRY MORE EFFICIENT

At the same time the capitalist press and the mass media generally carry on an insidious campaign against nationalised industry picturing them as inefficient and an immense burden on the economy and on the people. Thus price rises of coal, electricity, gas or transport are headlined, though private industry has increased its prices much more in proportion since the war. This gets no mention in the "popular" press. A campaign which has lasted more than a quarter of a century has had some effects, especially on the more uncritical and unthinking sections of the population, particularly middle class people and the more politically backward section of the workers who vote for their class enemy, the Conservatives.

The facts show, however, that in spite of inefficiency, red tape, and bureaucratism inevitable in the large scale industries which have been nationalised where there is no participation and control by the workers in the industry, or general workers management by the trade unions as a whole, which would be a really Socialist form of nationalisation; nevertheless state ownership is more efficient than private industry. "Private"—in reality monopoly—Big Business has all the faults, sometimes in

worse measure of state industry, without its virtues. There is no public accountability for the monopolies and their inefficiencies and even gross mismanagement are concealed by the press. Their anti-social aspects and their lust for profits at the expense of the economy and of the workers are not publicised.

Unfortunately, the myth of the inefficiency of state ownership in comparison with private enterprise has crept even into the ranks of active trade unionists and Labour Party members in the Constituency organisations. The responsibility for this must rest with the Labour leadership which has not conducted a regular and systematic campaign giving the facts to the membership and to the working class as a whole.

Now Professor R. W. S. Pryke has given some of the facts in the Moor-gate and Wall Street journal of Spring 1970. A journal hardly read by the mass of the population!

"Between 1958 and 1968 output

per man-hour rose by nearly 2½ times in the Air Corporation... Electricity 114%... gas output per man hour rose by 71%... In British Road Services by 62%, in coal by 57% and Railways by 52%..." The overall rise of the nationalised industries was 3rds.

"Productivity of all the public sector heavyweights has increased much faster since 1948, and especially since 1958, than it did between the wars. In gas, output per man year was no higher in 1935 than it had been in 1924(!) On the railways, productivity increased by 1.2% per annum between 1924 and 1935 compared with a rise of 2.3% between 1948 and 1958, and of 4.3% between 1958 and 1968. Coal increased 1.9% per man shift between 1934 and 1938. Between 1948 and 1968 3.1%: a 5% average between 1958 and 1968. Electricity between 1924 and 1935 output per man rose 5.5% per annum. Between 1948 and 1958 6.2%: Between 1958 and 1968 7.9%.

"During the second decade of nationalisation, however, output per man-hour increased considerably faster within the public enterprise sector than in manufacturing. Between 1958 and 1968 the nationalised industries productivity rose by 5.3% each year compared with 3.7% in manufacturing, which means that the public enterprise rate was about 40% faster."

Imagine if the figures were reversed the big headlines there would be in the Beaverbrook, Rothermere and other kept organs of the millionaire press. It is up to the advanced workers in the Labour Movement to conduct a campaign of mass education explaining the real facts to the working class and to the people generally. To support the resistance of the airport workers to any extension of de-nationalisation. To fight for the extension of nationalisation to the profitable industries and not only to the industries ruined by Big Business.

## STEELWORKERS SPEAK OUT!

*The following report from the Steel Company of Wales, Port Talbot, was written in co-operation with Bros. Jack Carpenter and Ted Clark, Chairman and Secretary of No. 1 Abbey Branch, B.I.S.A.K.T.A.*

"The present state of affairs is undermining the men's morale. Why the hell do they allow it? They don't seem to consider the men at all. It makes you sick, but there's nothing you can do about it." Comments like this sum up the mood of bitterness and frustration that has descended on large numbers of workers at the Port Talbot Steel Works, who live from day to day under the threat of redundancy.

Not long ago, the Steel Company of Wales was luring workers at Port Talbot with rosy promises of high wages and stable employment. Many small firms were driven to the wall by this ruthless competition. Many workers moved to Port Talbot to enjoy a secure job until they retired.

Having sucked up all the available labour, the management coolly announced that there were 5000 workers "surplus to requirements". The men were stunned and angry. Their reaction evidently led management to the conclusion that some things were better left unsaid!

While dropping talk of 5000 redundancies, they proceeded to close down the melting shops, employing 1500 men, in favour of the new B.O.S. plant, employing 300. The steam-roller of redundancy was under way.

That would have been bad enough. But management, in its wisdom, decided to keep the melting shops open until the new plant was working. The men were due to be laid off last November. This was put off till January, then June, then September. Still the final date remains "provisional".

The mood of insecurity bred by these constant delays is worsened by deteriorating conditions. Teams of three men do the work of four, completely contrary to good work-practice. Leaks in the roof add mud to numerous other work-hazards.

And steel production is still a hazardous and physically exacting business.

Without the cooperation of the men, this slow, wasteful and demoralising run-down would be impossible. Trying to rescue at least something from a bad situation, and to safeguard the men's future interests, the union had demanded, and got, double redundancy pay. But this is no more than what the men have earned by working under conditions twice as difficult as before.

### "TOO MANY CHIEFS"

The redundancy payment will ease the blow as far as some men are concerned. Those over 60 will retire, while younger men may find alternative employment. But, for a large number of men in their late forties and fifties, the prospect is grim indeed.

Some 300 workers in this age-group, skilled men with a lifetime's experience in steel are branded as "surplus to requirements" and thrown on the scrap-heap. At the same time, the former steel-barons continue to make hundreds of thousands on the boards of the nationalised industry.

Every steel worker knows the nepotism, corruption and mismanagement that goes on in the industry. There is no doubt in their minds that the men could make a better job of running it themselves. The industry is top-heavy with managers—"too many chiefs and not enough Indians", as they say.

The Tory press waxes indignant about "greedy, over-paid workers". But how many of the Moguls would be prepared to work even for an hour under the sort of conditions the steelworkers have to put up with?

The newspapers never tell the people how the money is earned, or how many hours are put in to earn it. They do not tell us that productivity in steel has risen much faster than wages. In 1948, 500 men turned out 5,000 tons of steel. In 1967, 900 men turned out 38,000 tons: an increase per worker of over 300%!

### WORKERS' MANAGEMENT

Who is really responsible for the waste and mismanagement in the steel industry? Any steelworker will tell you: "If I ruin a charge, I get the sack. If inefficient managers ruin production, they are protected, shunted into lucrative jobs—another 2d. on a ton of steel!"

No one doubts that the steel industry should have been nationalised. The question is: in whose interests? Was it for the benefit of the working people in general, and the steel worker in particular? Or was it to provide the steel barons with lavish over-compensation plus lush jobs—for the purpose of providing the privately-owned 80% of the economy with higher profits from cheap steel?

The entire labour movement must be made aware of the scandalous state of affairs in the nationalised industries, which are being deliberately run down by the Tories. What is happening in Port Talbot is the thin end of the wedge. By these means, unemployment is being steadily pushed higher and higher. Every job lost means one more school-leaver out of work. Although the results are not immediately clear, the trend is plain enough to see.

Older workers remember only too well what mass unemployment meant to South Wales. As Bro. Jack Carpenter pointed out: "Once you have men on the dole, you'll see a different set of faces across the negotiating table. Under the Tories, the possibility is there. With a million unemployed, as before the war, we would not be in control of the situation. They won't ask us, they'll tell us."

To avert this threatening catastrophe, the whole organised Labour Movement should be mobilised on a socialist programme to defeat the Tories. The power is there. It only needs a bold lead on Labour's part to use that power, to put an end to economic chaos and the misery of unemployment once and for all.