

**LPYS
CAMPAIGN
AGAINST
RACIALISM**
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Militant

THE MARXIST PAPER FOR LABOUR AND YOUTH ISSUE 205
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- * FRENCH ELECTIONS
- * COWLEY
- * NALGO YOUTH

5p

A U E W THREATENED BY TORY COURTS INFLATION EATS INTO WORKERS' STANDARDS LABOUR MUST

ACT AGAINST BIG BUSINESS

The Tories plan to paralyse the Labour Government before they launch any serious attempt to bring it down. In the last week they have screamed loudly about the proposed repayment of £10 million tax taken from those unions which refused to register under the Tory Industrial Relations Act.

They have howled with anger at this "ransom" paid out of the "tax payers' pockets" while keeping very quiet about the

thousands of millions of pounds handed over by the last Tory Government, and the Labour Government before them, to the Tory businessmen to "persuade" them to invest.

By **RAY APPS**
(Brighton Kemptown CLP)

They have waged a campaign to discredit the whole movement with the activities of those involved in recent corruption cases. But would the same campaign have been waged against

Tory politicians in those circumstances? Anyway, the line between "legal" and "illegal" business is very fine because capitalism is legalised robbery.

On the other hand, the Tories are obviously scared, as yet, of forcing out the Government. They know that in the immediate future, Labour would be certain to win an election.

So what are the Labour leaders waiting for? Why don't they call the Tories' bluff? Why not take full advantage to press

ahead with their full programme instead of running for cover at every turn?

Tony Benn has told the employers that there will be no question of nationalising the shipbuilding industry until they have a "working majority". Every step in the watering down of the original programme has been justified by such references to the minority position of the Government.

This is not good enough. The working class did not fight for the Tories to be removed so that a Labour Government would carry on with the same policies. A bold programme would arouse enormous support and really turn the tables on the Tories. They would then be faced with fighting against measures which were really in the workers' interests.

But the main line of the Labour Government on nearly all important questions has been hardly different from the Tories, in many cases actually taking over lock, stock and barrel Tory policies. Apart from some welcome measures such as the promised increases for pensioners and claimants and the attempt to hold down some food prices, it has been a long line of retreats.

Michael Foot has been in the vanguard of the defence of Phase Three - a Tory policy which amounts to holding back wages while prices rocket, so that as the living standard of the workers is eroded, the profits of Big Business soar upwards.

With inflation at a rate of 20% a year now, the standards of every family are under severe pressure. Yet Foot has stood firmly against every

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SUPPORT CLAY CROSS CONFERENCE

Clay Cross Labour Party is mounting its campaign for support for its national conference, on Saturday June 8th, in Central Hall, Westminster, London from 11 am - 5 pm.

We urge every Constituency Labour Party to send delegates, along with unions, shop stewards, trades councils, LPYS branches etc. It is vital that we get a big and representative turn-out from the movement, as we want the conference to really press for the Labour Government to take action on the Party's decisions - particularly to re-imburse all councillors who fought the Tory Housing Finance Act, many of whom are now faced with fines and surcharges.

In Clay Cross the 11 original councillors have been surcharged £7000, with a threat of up to £100,000. Some 400 councillors nationally, who defied the Act are threatened with surcharges up to £1 million in total!

For details contact:-

**CHARLIE BUNTING,
7, LYNAM CLOSE,
CLAY CROSS
DERBYSHIRE**

BY JOHN DUNN
(Sec. Clay Cross Labour Party)

REVOLUTION IN PORTUGAL

All the faces of world reaction are watching with horror the revolutionary storm which is sweeping Portugal. They understand from their class point of view that the events there threaten the regime in Spain, and the stability of Europe, Africa and Latin America.

The removal of the old, hated regime of Caetano and Tomaz by a military coup provoked an upsurge on the streets of the main towns. Demonstrations of hundreds of thousands surged through Lisbon over the weekend with hastily made banners proclaiming "Power to the Workers!", "End Colonialist Wars", "End Capitalist Exploitation", "Bread, Peace and Freedom", and also "Bread, Peace and Socialism".

For nearly fifty years the workers had laboured under the heavy boot of a savage dictatorship which fell last week giving way to an explosion of pent-up hatred against its especially vicious secret police. These "animals officered by intellectuals" as described by one who had spent some months under their "care", were hunted in the streets by angry workers.

At one point workers seized the Headquarters of the old fascist controlled trade unions, and were reported to be discussing the question of taking over the factories. Communist youth took over the offices of the former fascist youth movement and only relinquished it after impassioned appeals from their leaders.

Within hours of the news of the coup the revolutionary mood developed. Hundreds of thousands came onto the streets to celebrate. The prevailing mood was of jubilation



Angry workers surge round armoured car taking hated secret police to jail.

well as the workers.

The fraternisation between the army and the population is of enormous significance for the future. And even more so is the active participation of the sailors in uniform on the streets of Lisbon. It is this which has already given cause for concern to the new junta and Big Business in Portugal - that the revolutionary monster which they have allowed to escape cannot be so easily contained.

The coup which has pushed the new junta headed by General Spínola into power has opened a Pandora's box of trouble for the

across the border. In Southern Africa, especially Mozambique, and in Brazil, the regimes are horrified at the implications of the movement.

Behind the coup is the increasing crisis for Portuguese capitalism, caught between the deteriorating situation of its armies in Africa, the rising militancy of the workers at home, and the impasse facing industrial development on a capitalist basis.

With the economy drained by an unwinnable colonial war in Africa to the extent of nearly half the national budget - more than 8% of national production - spent on

South West London,
MILITANT MEETING
- "Revolution in Portugal" -

Hear **JOHN SIMMONS**
(Secretary of the Spanish Young Socialists Defence Campaign) and a member of the Portuguese Workers' Co-ordinating Committee.
Sunday 12th May 1974 7.30 pm
Wimbledon Labour Party Rooms,
William Morris House,
267, The Broad Way, Wimbledon.
(near Wimbledon BR Station,
South Wimbledon tube)
Plenty of time for full discussion

DEMONSTRATION!
TRAFALGAR SQUARE 3.30 pm
SATURDAY 4 MAY

- * Independence for Guinea-Bissau.
- * Withdrawal of all troops.
- * Solidarity with liberation movements!

Portuguese Socialist Party
Portuguese Cultural and Educational League.
PWCC
Committees of Unity.
"Portuguese in England"

way out. Despite the development of industry over the last decade Portugal remains the most backward nation in Western Europe with the lowest income per head of population (£400 pa).

For capitalism to develop and create market outlets with the rest of Europe, an end to the colonial wars was necessary.

The coup was organised by the captains and lower officer ranks. They reflected the confused feelings of the mass of the population for change - many of these officers have been looking to the left as a way out of the terrible conditions and

the earth below their feet trembling, wanted to make changes, particularly in colonial policy, but not to fundamentally change anything in Portugal. But from the very beginning they were playing with fire. The moves made over the last week have uncorked the bottle and a movement totally outside their control has begun.

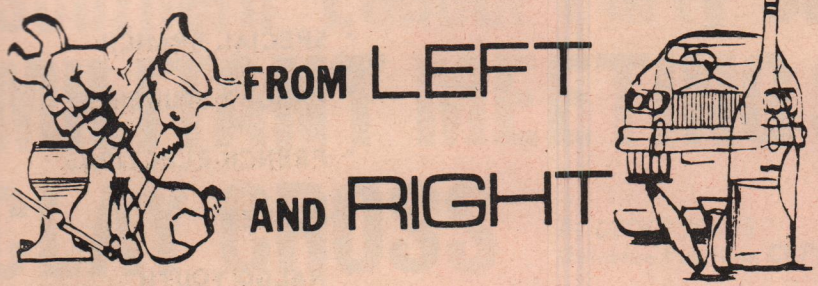
Big Business supported the coup but at the same time feared the consequences. It took place without the participation of Spínola, who was presented by the younger officers with a "fait accompli" including a programme which he regarded as too radical.

In recent weeks over 20,000 workers have been on strike. Inflation this year is likely to be 25% to 30%. In his book "Portugal and the future" Spínola recognised the powder keg "We are no longer in a position to withstand new pressures on the standard of living of the Portuguese people". Sections of the ruling class were especially concerned lest the workers' simmering revolt linked up with the discontent in the conscript army. But far from the coup heading off the aspirations of the workers, it has opened the floodgates. The revolution has begun.

The enormous pressure from below found its reflection in splits at the top. Just as in 1931 in Spain, a movement of revolt among the lower ranks of the officers in the army led to the downfall of the old regime and opened the road to a movement on the part of the working class. The parallels are almost uncanny. The removal of King Alfonso in Spain was taken as the sign for action by the workers.

It was followed by great victories for the socialists in the municipal elections which then opened the way for the Republic and a process of revolution and counterrevolution

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LABOUR PARTY YOUNG SOCIALISTS CAMPAIGN AGAINST RACIALISM

INDUSTRY LOSES ITS SPARK

As an economic system, capitalism is disordered and anarchic, wasteful and chaotic, as well as vicious in its effects. Recent developments in British industry underline this total incapacity of Big Business to plan even its own needs.

The recent example of the production and supply of electric motors shows this. Such shortages of these motors have arisen that companies are having to wait up to 18 months for deliveries.

"Our order books are full and in the case of the smaller motors production is spoken for years ahead. The industry is well aware of these sudden spurts in demand. But this one has come faster and bigger than any of us expected" said a spokesman for Crompton Parkinson, a major manufacturer of electric motors.

Not only is the situation causing chaos throughout the engineering industry, but it threatens to lose orders. Hold-ups in supply mean that engineering firms cannot guarantee delivery of machines with electric motors which in turn means that the already miserable position of the capitalists, particularly in export markets, is further undermined.

Add to this the increase in imports of more expensive motors to fill in the gaps, thus widening the balance of payments deficit, and you have a graphic example of the decline and bankruptcy of the system in Britain!

TWO GUINEA EGGS

The price of eggs may have fallen (although they are still half as much again as they were six months ago) but for gourmets things go from bad to worse.

Fresh sea gulls eggs are now on sale in London's top restaurants at two guineas (£2.10) each. An enterprising Scot, James Glendinning sells them at 30p each - he is hoping to gather 40,000 eggs for sale to the restaurants.

Not only are they reported to be nutritious, but, if you believe it, to have aphrodisiac qualities!

DEMOCRATIC VEIL SWEEP ASIDE

In the past three or four years the working class of Northern Ireland have suffered the crushing of one bitterly fought democratic right after another. Special Powers in the North give the police and the army what appear to be almost unlimited powers of arrest, search and detention, without trial and without even evidence if it comes to that.

But 26-year old Lord Richard Cecil who retired from the Grenadier Guards to be free to comment on Ulster policy, considers that all this is much too soft. Speaking at a Unionist dinner in Belfast last week he said:-

"Standing against walls, lack of sleep, lack of food, wet and cold treatment" would bring amazing results ... This would not be brutality, only illegal treatment, as the Crompton Report defined it" (*Daily Telegraph*) 24/4/74) was another of his recommendations for extending the right to torture prisoners already granted in effect to the army..

Not satisfied with this, the honourable Lord suggested a form of pass laws like in South Africa: "Identity cards containing a photograph, serial number and list of distinguishing marks should be issued. The penalty for not carrying them should be withdrawal of welfare benefits".

Militant has warned that the methods employed in Northern Ireland are a preparation for use against the Labour Movement in the rest of Britain at a later stage. The democratic veil adopted by the ruling class can be swept aside to reveal their terrifyingly brutal face.

The likes of Lord Cecil would have no scruples about adopting the self-same measures that he recommends here against the workers in Britain if faced with a fight to the finish. The movement must take heed of the fact that his class would stop at nothing to maintain their power, privileges and wealth.

Labour Party Young Socialist branches all over the country are working flat out to make this, the first ever national campaign against racialism, a massive success, and to make the demonstration in Bradford on May 18th a giant example of working class unity.

We are fighting the lies, slanders and filth poured out by racialists against the black immigrant community. We are campaigning against the likes of Powell, the National Front, the British Campaign to Stop Immigration, the Tory Party and all those who attempt to use racialism as a means of driving a wedge between working class people and thereby to wreck working class unity, destroy the organisations of the working class and our ability to defend ourselves against non-stop attacks and exploitation.

We are not just against the harassment of black youth; we are campaigning against the injustices and all the daily abuse black workers have to endure because of a prejudice for which there is only one logic, the logic of the capitalist class using black immigrants as a scapegoat for the desperate housing conditions, bad job opportunities, rocketing prices and so on - the list is endless.

We are unashamedly campaigning against all the laws which restrict immigration and, while supporting the amnesty of Roy Jenkins for all "British Citizens" - so-called "illegal immigrants", threatened under the retrospective clauses of the 1971 Immigration Act, we would point out that that Act still exists, and can still

**DEMONSTRATE
IN
BRADFORD
18th MAY**
ASSEMBLE 1.30 pm
MARCH from recreation ground,
Lumb Lane/Westgate
Hear: Leading Labour Party,
Trade Union, Immigrant and
Young Socialist speakers.

be used as a pretext for searches and intimidation of whole immigrant areas.

This is not scare-talk - it happened last year in London - it will happen again.

Alan Brack

(LPYS National Committee)

And above all, this Act is a "Scabs Charter". Every immigrant has to register with the police on arrival and re-register every year for 5 years, bringing with him a reference from his employer.

How many good trade union militants would get a favourable reference? That Act must be scrapped immediately!

It is not immigration that is the problem, but an economy needing ever less labour and someone to blame as the Jews and the Irish were blamed during previous crises.

It was the beckoning finger of the capitalist class which called the immigrants in the

1950s and early 1960s, to help stoke up the post-war boom. And now their finger wags accusingly in the face of those same immigrants.

We accuse the capitalist class of the problems faced by working people. We accuse the 5% who own 75% of the nation's wealth.

We are for the expulsion of all known members of racist and fascist groups from our organisations and for all other racialists to be removed from office within our movement.

The capitalist class has made a special issue of racialism. The Labour Movement must do likewise. Our campaign has already succeeded in bringing the issue of racialism onto the agendas of Labour Party and Trade Union meetings and in drawing many immigrants and their associations closer to the Labour and Trade Union Movement. But we have only just begun.

Every LPYS branch and region must make sure they are getting organised, going round to see all the TU branches and shop stewards and Labour Parties that have supported them before to enlist their support for Bradford.

It is vital in the next few weeks that immigrant workers' groups be approached to send delegations to Bradford.

Our campaign carries on until the Labour Movement itself vigorously acts against racialism, driving this cancer from our movement and bringing all workers together within our ranks.

- * Black and white workers unite!
- * For 100% TU membership!
- * Build the Labour Movement!
- * Bring down the capitalist class!
- * Forward to Socialism!
- * On to Bradford!

LONDON RALLIES SUPPORT MAY 9th

Following on from the tremendous success of the Conference and Rally at Easter, the London Regional Committee of the LPYS is moving straight ahead with plans for campaigns, meetings and activity throughout London.

A "Youth for Labour" rally is taking place on Thursday 9th May at 7.30 pm in the Conway Hall, Red Lion Square (near Holborn tube). This is aimed at taking up the fight for socialist policies adopted at the conference. That is why we really urge the membership of the LPYS in London to turn out in force and bring along friends and sympathisers especially from the Labour Party.

Remember that at the recent London Labour Party Conference the resolution which the Regional Committee presented was carried. Let's make this rally a continuation of that successful fight for socialist policies!

But as important, if not more, this meeting should be a springboard for the demonstration against racialism in Bradford, just over a week later. We have really got to mobilise forces to make this a mighty blow against the racialists, and the support from London is vital - the largest concentrations of immigrant workers are in the London area.

One of the important questions discussed at this rally, will be the national campaign against racialism. For example what the LPYS can do in the fight to defend the "Brockwell Three" - the young

blacks from Brixton who have been given three year sentences arising out of a fight with the police at a fairground last summer.

This rally will call for Labour to take immediate action in the interests of the workers: repeal of the various Tory acts in full, support for, and repayment of fines to, Clay Cross councillors; repayment of any fines imposed on the AUEW.

We hope that this rally will give a boost to those in the movement fighting for the Labour Government to stand firm against the pressure of the Tories and carry through its programme by taking over the commanding heights of the economy with compensation on the basis of need.

By KATHY GELB
(Regional Committee LPYS)

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PAT CRAVEN
(Militant Editorial Board)
Wednesday 8 May 7.30
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FRENCH ELECTIONS PROGRAMME OF LEFT NO ANSWER TO CRISIS



Mass meeting of French Bankworkers recently on strike

France is entering a new period of storm and stress. The burgeoning growth of the economy since 1968 has not produced social harmony. Rather it has brought wide economic inequalities and class differences nearer to the surface. Working class militancy has been steadily growing (see last week's *Militant*). Faced with a crucial Presidential election, the capitalist parties of the right are deeply split.

On the other side, because of the agreement of the Communist Party and the Socialist Party to support Francois Mitterand as their joint candidate the left is stronger than for many years. Mitterand will certainly come top in the first ballot and, despite the opinion polls, still stands some chance in the second.

This has undoubtedly aroused enormous hopes in the Labour Movement, tired of Gaullism and its hand-me-down replacements. It has also provoked the fear of Big Business and the Right.

Francois Mitterand, because he has the support of the Communist Party (PCF), is pictured by the

right wing press as a man who has signed a pact with the devil! However hard he tries to assure them that he is a moderate, responsible man of the Left, all the well tried red-baiting tactics are used against him. Yet Mitterand is an unlikely person to play the role of gravedigger of capitalist society.

Since 1970 he has been leader of the reconstituted Socialist Party. This was formed out of the old Socialist Party (SFIO), the much smaller Convention of Republican Institutions (of which Mitterand was leader), and a number of other small socialist groupings. Mitterand emerged as the leader of the leftward moving majority, impatient with the old SFIO leaders, strongly favouring an orientation towards the PCF.

Mitterand, however, had been a member of many governments based on coalitions of capitalist parties. Between 1947 and 1957 Mitterand was a Minister in 11 different governments, from "Centre-Left" to "Left-Centre" to use the parliamentary jargon.

Like most other of the "Socialist" leaders, Mitterand opposed the independence struggle in Algeria, adopting the thoroughly reactionary

nationalist position that "War is only negotiation, for Algeria is France".

Although condemning De Gaulle's rule as "permanent coup d'etat", Mitterand was not noticeable in trying to organise working class opposition to the General's take-over.

As the tide again flowed to the left, the Socialist leaders were pushed towards alliance with the PCF, which commanded 4 to 5 million votes, a powerful force even from a purely electoral point of view. In the 1962 general elections, between the first and second ballot, the PCF and the Socialist Parties improvised Popular Front alliances.

For the 1964 Presidential elections Mitterand was able to obtain the support of the PCF as candidate of the United Left without any prior agreement on a common programme. For the general elections of 1967 the PCF signed an electoral pact with Mitterand's recently formed Federation of the Democratic and Socialist Left (FGDS). This pact, however, was simply a list of "points of agreement" and in no way a socialist programme. These

electoral agreements did not at all represent the real coming together of the Communist and Socialist ranks, but the parliamentary leaders' desire to huddle together for warmth. Both the PCF and the FGSD leaders took care not to involve the ranks in joint action and democratic discussion of a joint programme.

Every agreement was hedged with qualifications. The workers have a powerful instinct for unity, but it certainly cannot be achieved by such methods.

Everything was changed by the May events of 1968. The magnificent mass movement of the workers, drawing in other sections as well, shook the very foundations of society. The Communist Party leaders let slip an unprecedented chance to transform society, peacefully, at a stroke. We cannot go into the reasons for this failure now. But one of the consequences was that, in spite of the defeat of the general strike, there was a profound move to the left in the mass workers' organisations.

The PCF was shaken up. The CFDT, the previously Catholic TU Federation, began to grow more rapidly than the CP-orientated CGT trade union organisation. It showed itself more ready to respond to the growing militancy of the workers, particularly the youth and women and immigrant workers.

COMMON PROGRAMME

This was paralleled by an amazing growth of support for the Socialist Party, which actually took more votes than the PCF in the 1973 elections, for the first time since 1945. Clearly the movement was in no mood to accept electoral pacts between the leaders only. There were loud demands for real socialist policies.

It was these developments that were responsible for the adoption of the Common Programme by the PCF, the Socialist Party and a split-away section of the Radical Party in 1972. On paper the Common Programme represents a great advance over any electoral programme adopted by the mass parties in the post-war period.

This in spite of the fact that the PCF made a number of major concessions in order to get the agreement of the other parties.

The Programme proposes a series of social reforms which have been taken up by the workers in recent

struggles: guaranteed minimum wage linked to the cost of living, a 40 hour week, retirement at 60 (55 for women), increased legal rights for workers and trade union organisation, measures to tackle unemployment, particularly of youth, democratisation of education and the introduction of free health service.

Most important, it proposes large scale nationalisation measures. Although dropping the PCF's list of 25 top companies, the programme still calls for the partial or total nationalisation of the banking and finance sectors and 13 key firms in electronics, pharmaceuticals, chemicals, and other socially vital industries. It calls for workers' control and management in these industries, but does not spell out a policy on the crucial issue of compensation.

The programme is undoubtedly seen by many workers as a great step forward. But it suffers from the same fundamental limitations as, for example, Labour's Programme (1973) and, more to the point, Allende's programme in Chile. It envisages the gradual, progressive nationalisation of the big monopolies that dominate the economy and society generally. But as the fatal example of Chile has demonstrated in iron and blood, the ruling class will not calmly stand aside while even one or two profitable enterprises are nationalised.

They understand that even one nationalisation carried out against their interests will be seen by the workers as a springboard for taking over the whole economy. In situations such as Chile, the workers instinctively realise what the leaders still do not seem to understand: that limited nationalisation unfailingly provokes a reaction from the ruling class while failing to give a Socialist Government sufficient basis on which to plan and direct production.

The Times' Paris correspondent warned right at the beginning of the campaign that the election of a left President committed to the implementation of the Common Programme would "provoke a flight of capital and drastic repressive measures". (8 April 1974)

Unfortunately for the workers, fortunately for the ruling class, the Common Programme means one thing to the rank and file and another thing to their present leaders. The

CONTINUED ON PAGE 6

COWLEY DISPUTE: BOSSES TRY TO UNDERMINE UNIONS

The British Leyland employers are challenging the fundamental rights of trade unionists to elect their own shop stewards. Because of the militant tradition the workers in the car factory in Oxford have secured relatively high wages for the area - in Oxford you either work at the car factory which employs 12,000 men or you work for service industry at the colleges at half the wages!

The Tory press have seized upon the present dispute with all their usual lies and distortions in an attempt to undermine the solidarity of the workers at Cowley. They have had a field day by exploiting and deliberately provoking the outburst of a section of the Cowley workers' wives who have protested about the closure of the plant by the management and the small wage packets their husbands have been bringing home over recent months.

Unfortunately the women have singled out Alan Thornett rather

as their main enemy and this has been developed by the press stories. The press and the TV have used the real problems which these women face in an entirely cynical and deliberate way to discredit the whole trade union movement. They pick and choose what they want to hear. They have selected a small group of women and built them up as the "spokeswomen" for the wives of the 12,000 men!

Who do they represent but the power of a press campaign when set in motion against the workers organisations? At the same time any right of reply on the part of the workers has been denied, any comments being distorted and suitably edited to reflect badly on their case.

Few of the Cowley wives are against trade unions as such and indeed most of the wives want their husbands to play a fuller part in the unions. This, the press conveniently ignores. Most of the wives readily agree that it is the unions that

but what they are sick of are the large number of strikes and lay-offs on issues which they regard as unimportant.

The press are not above giving away money for "inside" information in an attempt to sensationalise the present dispute and the local free advertising journal has carried vicious stories about Thornett's private life.

SHOP STEWARDS

The management at British Leyland have been waiting for a long time for an opportunity to attack the shop stewards at the factory and more specifically to separate the shop stewards from the membership. Lord Stokes has talked of "weeding out the extremists".

In the present dispute the men had just returned from another strike when the transport drivers struck because management had broken an agreement which had prevented lay-offs. This is the first dispute the transport drivers have been involved in for a number of years - so much for talk of "mindless militancy". Management withdrew recognition

to use his "good offices" to get the men back to work. The whole factory closed and has now been opened by management in an attempt to isolate the drivers and persuade them to return to work, but the drivers are adamant that they will not return to work until Alan Thornett is re-instated as their shop steward.

Unfortunately the whole plant is not in full support of Alan Thornett and this is due to the large number of strikes at the factory which have worn down the workers - something like 200 disputes over a year.

British Leyland only employs 14% of its entire workforce at Cowley but it accounts for 76% of all man-hours lost in British Leyland factories because of internal strikes in 1972. The confidence of some of the men has been sapped "every time we go out we lose" said one British Leyland worker we interviewed.

He thought that Alan Thornett and the "Workers' Revolutionary Party" handled every dispute in which they were involved as though it were the last, the imminent collapse of capitalism being expected almost every day. To continually bring the workers out on one issue after another, without a real perspective, can, as has happened at Cowley, sap the energy of the workers and lead to this dangerous split which has developed.

But the plan of the management can be broken if the rank and file give wholehearted support to the shop

involved in the decisions at every stage.

The workers in the car factory have enormous power and strength - as the worker we interviewed put it "nothing moves in the factory unless the stewards are consulted". The workers run production on the shop floor. It is their know-how and techniques that keep British Leyland going, not the likes of Lord Stokes and others who have no interest in the company except profit.

The stewards at the factory look favourably at nationalisation of British Leyland for as one wit put it "no one could run the factory worse than the present management". There is a deep distrust of management and a hatred of the employers which the Labour Government could solve by nationalising the industry and putting it in the hands of the workers, with compensation only on the basis of need.

The present dispute involves a vital principle. The workers must maintain their right to elect their own shop stewards. As one letter to the Oxford Mail by a car worker put it "your stewards are elected solely by you. Do not let the company carry out this witch hunt and emasculate the union. We have no say in who the company chose to manage and mismanage our livelihoods and God preserve us from the day that the company help us to chose our union representatives".

Littlejohn and Lennon affairs.....Strachan's sit-in.....

SPECIAL BRANCH THREAT TO ALL WORKERS

The enquiry by the Metropolitan Police Commissioner into the role of the Special Branch in the activities and the death of Kenneth Lennon will undoubtedly be another whitewash job. Then after a few mediocre statements the capitalist press will brush the whole affair under the carpet. But for the Labour Movement, these revelations and their implications cannot be ignored.

The "Lennon Affair" is only the latest in a long line of exposures about the activities of the Special Branch in Britain and Ireland. The Littlejohn brothers claim that they were acting as agents for the Special Branch when they were involved in a Dublin bank raid, having been sent into the IRA to assassinate the leader, Sean MacStiofain.

The Tory Government went only so far as to admit official contact between Kenneth Littlejohn and Geoffrey Johnson-Smith, a Junior Minister, although, as would only be expected, they denied the rest. In another instance, Lord Carrington did admit that the Army in Belfast had blackmailed a hotel porter to work for them inside the IRA and this only came to light when he was discovered and shot by the IRA.

In this latest case, Kenneth Lennon made statements before he was killed to the National Council for Civil Liberties that he had been forced by the Special Branch to join the IRA and work for them. According to a detective talking to *The Times* (18/4/74)

"... the basic technique is to bribe or suborn a person who is already a member of the group (under investigation). Kenneth Lennon alleged in his statement that he was threatened that he would be charged over a demonstration, a well worn technique used to recruit informers, according to the detective".

This being so, why should we dispute the other statements by Lennon, that he was a Special Branch agent at the time he was involved in a bank raid, that he escaped prosecution by "string-pulling" and that he feared for his life both from the Provisional IRA and Special Branch who could "make it look like an Irish job"?

The Provos have denied responsibility for the killing and, naturally, so have the Special Branch.

The amazing thing about the press coverage has been - not a denial of the general activities and the techniques of the Special Branch - but the very opposite.

The Tory press, those great pillars of "democracy" and "justice" have condoned all the sinister and illegal activities of Britain's KGB. Without a word of criticism, the *Daily Mail* describes how they "tap telephones, open letters" and "take short cuts". The Special Branch



After demonstration against Chilean Junta in September 1973 in London. Plain clothes men wait - for what?

what it really was and still is" (18/4/74). Papers such as this talk quite blandly about "keeping a watch on potentially seditious or violent groups" and "infiltrating organisations" and the "search of houses without a warrant" etc.

As if they don't themselves rave, week in and week out, about the "lawlessness" of the Trade Unions! For workers to man a picket line in defence of their living standards - that's a heinous crime, but for our very own secret police to play burglars - that's OK!!

Over the last few years the operations of the Special Branch and allied organisations have been considerably increased. The SAS (Special Air Service or "Special Assassination Squads") are now fully operative in Northern Ireland and there is evidence linking them to some of the unexplained, apparently "sectarian" murders.

According to a recent report in *The Times*, the CIA have greatly increased their numbers of agents in Britain, and they are concentrating more on the Labour and Trade Union Movement in response to the increased social and industrial conflict.

The *Sunday Telegraph* talks about an increase in the Special Branch force from 200 to 1000 in recent years. None of these are new phenomena - they are an extension and broadening of police activities which have always been carried out - and we are still only seeing the tip of the iceberg.

In addition the latest Drugs Act, the Conspiracy Act and other ancient laws are being used increasingly against trade unions. The Drugs Squad have powers to search without a warrant and are already being used as an adjunct to the Special Branch itself.

The London bombings provided a very convenient excuse for the

on the flimsiest of pretexts. Where no excuses are found, they can easily be made by police infiltrators acting as provocateurs.

Some months ago at a meeting of the Anti-Internment League in Newcastle, one of those present who was calling for real "action" such as kidnapping some royalty or other, was recognised after the meeting as ... a member of the local drugs squad. The Littlejohn and Lennon affairs both involved agents acting as provocateurs.

The question the Labour Movement must ask is: Who controls the various branches of the British secret police? Does the Labour Government control them? Clearly not, when they infiltrate and investigate Trade Union branches and affiliate bodies of the Labour Party itself!

ARMED BODIES OF MEN

Behind the facade of the impartiality of "law and order" lurks the naked class nature of the state!

The state was described by Engels as "armed bodies of men" - "an instrument for the repression of one class by another". The British ruling class - the tiny fraction of the population who own the wealth - have at their disposal a powerful state machine, including the police and armed forces (in particular the officer caste), the enormous facilities of the press and media the upper echelons of the civil service, the Tory party etc, right down to and including ... Special Branch.

This machine is not accountable to Parliament whether led by Labour "rights" or Labour "lefts"! It is accountable only to the propertied class and exists for the preservation of the status quo, ie capitalism.

The Special Branch is not there to investigate underhand business donations to right wing

Tories and National Front lunatics ... their prey are the so-called "extremists" only of the left.

A movement towards Socialism must take full account of this power and as the Movement for social change gathers momentum so the "legal" and "illegal" activities of the state will increase. Marxists have always pointed out that laws do not stand above classes but are themselves a manifestation and a tool of class domination.

The whole of history shows that "legality" means nothing when there is a threat (however peaceful or democratic) to the power and privileges of the ruling class. What else can we learn from the bloody events in Chile?

According to *The Times*:

"40% of the adult and juvenile population of Northern Ireland now have their names and family details on an intricate system of card indexes built up by the army".

Estimates put the number of names on the files of the British Special Branch at up to 5 millions! That means that 99 out of 100 shop stewards and Trade Union activists are "in the book" already. The bosses in industry will be quite prepared to use the Special Branch and assist them in turn.

A report in the *Sunday Times* relates how the Special Branch kept watch on union militants in Strachan's factory in Eastleigh, Hampshire where there was a sit-in strike.

The chief accountant actually admitted in his own words that he was a "contact man" for the Branch.

These activities are a very serious challenge to the Trade Union and Labour Movement. One case has come to light. How many cases are going on now without the knowledge of the Trade Unions?

The spying and harassment of the secret police will be a threat

of the Labour Movement. As an alternative to the whitewash being planned by the Special Branch (and backed by the press) the Labour Movement must immediately demand of the Labour Government that an open enquiry be set up, under the control and auspices of the Trade Unions into the activities and role of the Special Branch and similar secret forces. The Special Branch must immediately be disbanded.

The Labour Movement must be alerted to the dangers both for now and the future. The police are an arm of the capitalist state. Their role, fundamentally is to protect private property and the present system of ownership. We have already had a taste of how far they are prepared to go in defending so-called "law and order" if threatened by the working class. They are, root and branch, part of capitalist society.

While pressing that the Labour Government must introduce full TU rights for the ordinary police ranks and that the TUC vigorously take up the question of an independent trade union for the police, linked to the Labour Movement as a whole, we also have to recognise that in future struggles, workers' defence forces based on the unions and workers' organisations generally, would have to be set up.

This would be in order to defend the movement in the fight for Socialism and to defend the Socialist gains of a workers' state.

Under Socialism, what need would there be of special, separate, secret bodies of men, whose task is to defend, not society, but the rich from the great mass of society?

By JOHN PICKARD
(Gateshead LPYS)

L.P.Y.S. C WORKERS ATTACKS!

The following resolution was passed at the Labour Party Young Socialists Conference at Easter:-

"This Conference notes with alarm and disgust the growing support for fascist organisation in this country. Successes of the National Front, the British Campaign to Stop Immigration, and other ultra-right candidates using the issue of immigration to whip up support, is a very serious warning to the Labour Movement. Fascists are at present a pathetic force but they represent a potential danger to the Labour Movement.

"If, during the deepening crisis

NATIONAL ORGANISATION OF LABOUR STUDENTS

TAKES UP FIGHT FOR SOCIALIST EDUCATION POLICY

By GORDON McKEOWAN
(vice-chairman NOLS)

crisis, and the only way this can be solved is by campaigning for the implementation of a socialist programme".

At its last Conference NOLS voted to have no political or organisational links with the "Broad Left". In the future we shall campaign independently on our ideas and consequently will run a NOLS election slate at the next NUS Conference. At this recent conference we had no alternative but to support, but critically, the Broad Left candidates.

As we said in our election leaflet ...

"Abstention is an indefensible position. On the other hand we have no confidence that the other slates would take the NUS forward if elected. Apart from the fact that we have as many differences with the ultra-left sects, they are not a viable alternative at the elections.

"While we support the stand made by John Randall on a number of issues - such as calling for students to vote Labour in the general election - we believe that given the existing alignments he will be depending upon Liberal and Tory support, and if elected would increasingly come under pressure from them. The Broad Left is therefore the best of a bad bunch".

Unfortunately the successful development of NOLS since January is marred by the activities of a small minority of "Broad Left" supporters, the former leadership of NOLS in fact. These comrades, with the full time chairman Ian Davidson who was removed from chairmanship of the National Committee at its last meeting along with a vote of no confidence in him, produced misleading posters and leaflets at the conference and campaigned for the Broad Left policies as opposed to NOLS.

Much worse, an official caucus meeting of NOLS was flooded out with Broad Left supporters whose behaviour made it impossible for the meeting to continue. Totally unconstitutionally, the chairman of NOLS (Brent Kennedy) was moved out of the chair by the majority at the meeting, many of whom were not active NOLS members despite their Labour Party cards.

We would appeal for the future that those in NOLS who disagree with the majority position fight for their ideas inside the organisation but do not obstruct the official NOLS intervention in NUS which is based upon the democratic decisions of the National Conference.

The terrific response of many students at the General Election who were prepared to work for a Labour victory is another indication that tens of thousands of students could be won to a fighting Labour Student Organisation. We must be prepared to seize the opportunities available. For further information contact:

NOLS JOINT SECRETARY

John Harrison
22, Dagmar Grove,
Alexandra Park
Nottingham.

leadership within NUS. The re-election of John Randall as the President, although calling himself a Socialist, with Tory and Liberal support, indicates a certain element of disillusion and resentment against the present Executive who opposed his re-election.

The NUS executive is dominated by the strangely named "Broad Left". This is an alliance of Communist and Labour Party students and "unaligned left wingers, not necessarily Socialist(!)"

(Broad Left Journal)

It is an election bloc whose participants only really agree on the need to get themselves elected. In the main the policies advanced are those of the Communist Party. Its record as a voting bloc consists of: voting on the Executive of the NUS against a call to vote Labour in the last election; opposing affiliation of the NUS to the Party; cynical deprioritisation of the demand for the ending of discretionary grants; miseducating the membership as to why education is under attack and grants are low by refusing to consider the broad political questions posed.

In an election leaflet put out at the NUS Conference we said ...

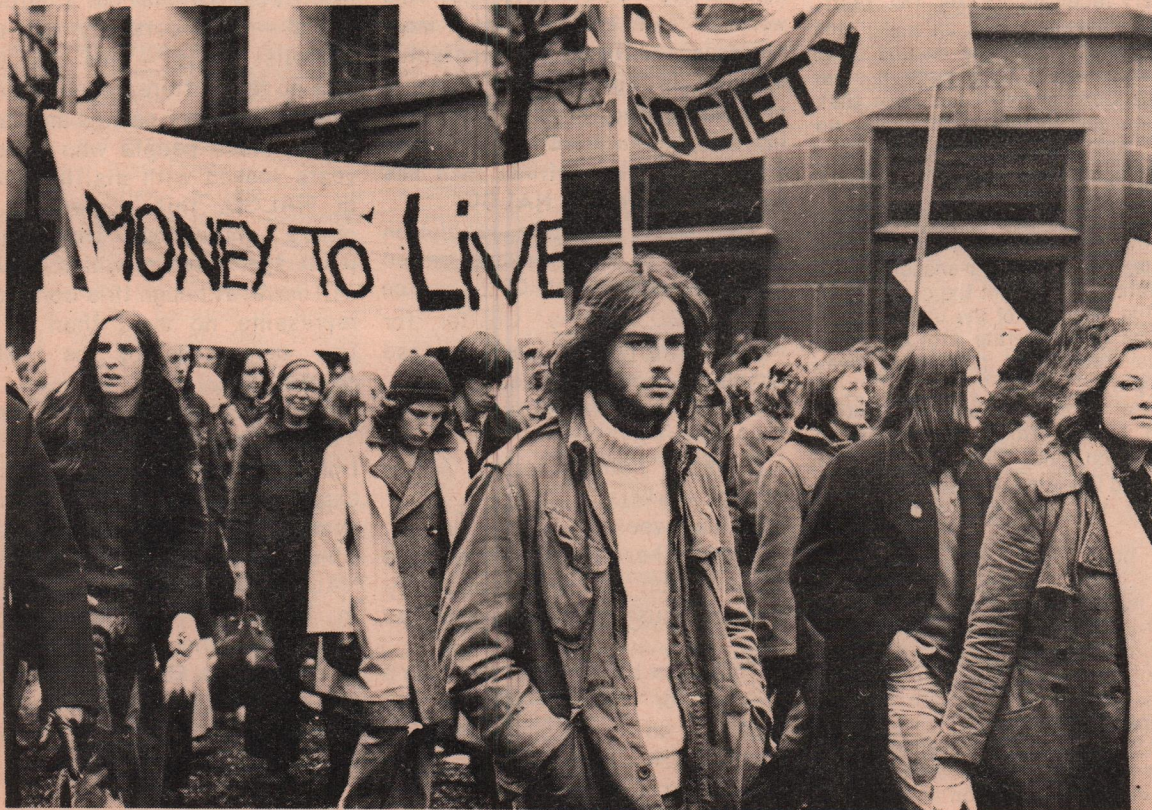
"The Broad Left tell us that they aim to mobilise the maximum number of students and to do this we must not alienate the 'moderates' by making the campaign political. But by giving no clear perspective to the members they are just marching them to the top of the hill and down again".

"Unfortunately they will then become disillusioned and then drop out of activity. We believe that the issue of grants must be linked to the attacks on education generally and the attacks on the living standards of the working class. These attacks are made necessary by the economic

tions.

Conference therefore urges all sections of the Labour Movement to fight for:

- 1 The Labour Party to take up the LPYS campaign against racialism and to immediately repeal the racist immigration laws of both Labour and Tory Governments.
- 2 100 percent trade unionism to unify black and white workers.
- 3 The expulsion of all known members of racist organisations from every level of the Labour Movement.
- 4 Unity of all sections of the working class against fascism by mobilising the Labour Movement and trade unions on socialist policies, by taking over the commanding heights of the economy for a planned Socialist society. If the Labour Movement fails to do that, the monster of fascism will inevitably re-emerge in a more terrifying form than ever before.



National Union of Students march for decent grants - inflation has cut the value of a student grant enormously

The situation where a Labour Minister of Education has just been forced to implement a savage cutback in the higher education budget because of the ailing capitalist economy has demonstrated to many students the validity of socialism.

At their annual conference the National Organisation of Labour Students adopted a fully worked out Marxist programme along the lines of that of their sister organisation the Labour Party Young Socialists. As important, for the first time, the officers elected stood on the basis of the ideas adopted by the conference.

A serious intervention within the National Union of Students and among students in general in order to win them to socialism and the side of the Labour Movement can now be posed.

The first serious intervention in the NUS to establish NOLS as an independent voice of Labour

students was made at the NUS Conference in Liverpool at the beginning of April.

Leaflets were produced dealing with important topics such as housing, grants campaign, NUS elections, further education colleges, racialism and Chile. Throughout we stressed the need to implement socialist policies if serious long term improvements in education were to be achieved. As I mentioned at the beginning, under capitalism educational standards are destined to get worse. Big Business is not prepared to see the resources spent on education which are needed just to prevent it declining let alone advance to a position of genuine equality for all. That is why we put forward the nationalisation of the economy and a socialist plan of production as the pre-requisite for socialist educational policies.

At the Conference we demanded

a living wage for students - £35 a week linked to the cost of living. We also demanded a fully comprehensive system at all levels open to all who want to study and, overall, controlled by the Labour Movement as an alternative to the present domination by Big Business.

The events at Essex University have demonstrated the need for students to ally themselves with the Labour Movement. Through the intervention of Trade Unions and the Labour Party, bail was granted to those arrested student pickets.

A joint struggle with the Labour Movement for a socialist educational system along with the affiliation of the NUS to the TUC and Labour Party provides the only realistic perspective for students in the years ahead.

It has been apparent for some time and was confirmed at Liverpool, that there is a crisis of

immigrants by the media in an attempt to split the working class of this country. Having seen when struggles have taken place, that black and white workers have been united in taking the movement forward. One prime example is that of the Hospital workers' strike.

The LPYS have made a firm stand on the issue and are carrying out a campaign to explain the real reasons for bad housing poor education and the rest of the social ills. Having made tremendous gains in the trade unions and immigrant organisations in bringing over these points.

Conference calls on the Labour Party leaders to really show the way forward and in doing so unify black and white workers to sweep out racials and their organisa-

Conference Resolution on Racialism UNITY AGAINST RACIALIST



National Front demonstration - Labour must answer Fascist lies!

of capitalism, Labour fails to offer the socialist alternative to the problems of the middle class and the workers, then the Fascists will take their ample opportunity to win support; they will use black immigrants as a scapegoat, like Hitler used the Jews.

"Conference calls upon the Labour leaders to stand up and answer all the lies and innuendos of the Tory press, Powell, National Front, and other racist organisations on the question of racialism.

"Since the 1960s, having seen disgusting attacks on the

WORKERS FIGHT CLOSURE

Reckitt and Colman is a multinational giant with subsidiaries in all parts of the world. Its products include wines, food, toiletries, pharmaceuticals and household products. OK Sauce and Colman's Mustard are but two of its well-known products.

The Company has achieved its present position over the past twenty years by a policy of "product stripping". This is a process of buying up small firms with products better than its own, moving manufacture to one of its bigger sites and closing down the original firm.

This has saved them admitting they cannot develop good products. It has also put a lot of people out of work, particularly in the London area.

Chiswick Products, polish manufacturers for over 50 years, was acquired by Reckitt and Colman in stages during the 1960s and in probably the longest surviving of the smaller sites.

However, in a new wave of rationalisation the last five years have seen three sets of redundancies gradually reducing the

JOINT UNION COMMITTEE CALLS FOR SUPPORT

workforce and engendering a fatalistic acceptance of ultimate closure. On January 19th this final stage was announced at a mass meeting of all employees.

The proposal is for a gradual transfer of production and services to Hull, the home of Reckitt and Sons, taking 2 years to complete. As a result 500 full-time and 200 part-time employees are to be made redundant. The redundancy terms offered, roughly twice the Government's minimum requirements, form a strait-jacket for people seeking another job and the cost to the company is derisory compared with the amount that the sale of the site will realise.

The closure is planned despite record profits for the group of £29 million for 1973, a rise of 22%, and the fact that Chiswick is a viable efficient site. Unfortunately we occupy something the property speculators are only too willing to buy - land. That the company is eager to sell is in line with its ruthless search for ever greater profits at the expense of its employees.

It must be emphasised that the unions were not consulted about the closure or the redundancy terms either before or after the announcement. It was only at the insistence of the

unions that the meetings referred to above took place, and this in a company which has always boasted of its excellent relations with its employees.

Since the last set of redundancies, circumstances have changed. The AUEW has organised the shop floor, and, very recently, ASTMS the staff. Meetings between the unions and various directors in the months since the announcement have made it clear that the Company will not have their mind changed by argument alone. So AUEW and ASTMS have formed a Joint Action Committee to fight the closure.

This Joint Union Committee, involving the EPTU also has sent a statement to the management of its intentions to fight the closures. It is asking members of the unions to:

- * Refuse to co-operate with any move towards transfer of production away from the site.
- * Refuse to divulge any information related to operations on the site to any person not an employee of Household Division, Chiswick Site.
- * Refuse to work with any agency labour.

We hope that we have your support in our fight to save the jobs of our members, because it is a fight of significance to all workers in the West London area. If we do not stand up and say we have a right to work in this area it will become a hotel developers' paradise.

With White City due to be developed as the Channel Tunnel terminal and the continuing expansion of Heathrow Airport, West London from Kensington to Cranbrook will be given over to passing travellers.

NALGO Youth Call for Labour Party Affiliation

This year's South Eastern District NALGO Youth Conference showed clearly the changing mood of young Town Hall workers. The weekend conference discussed, and carried, motions against all forms of Incomes Policy; supporting the Clay Cross Councillors; supporting the jailed Shrewsbury building workers and calling for a more vigorous militant campaigning attitude in our Union's paper - plus many other resolutions which in tone and in wording pointed to a more militant attitude than has been seen before in NALGO.

The most important resolution discussed at the weekend called for a National Youth Organisation in NALGO and a Charter for local government youth based around such demands as:

- * £1,500 a year at 18.
- * £2,000 at 21.
- * 5 weeks holiday for all public service workers.
- * 30 hour week.

...and other aspects of work and leisure such as job training, day release, housing, leisure activities etc.

This was based upon the LPYS Charter for Young Workers. The section on a Young NALGO organisation and Charter were passed for the 3rd year running. A further section of the resolution which linked the demands of the Youth Charter to the need for a

Socialist Society and of affiliation to the Labour Party in order to carry out such a programme was carried by a very slim majority against the opposition of the "NALGO Action Group" who argued that trade unionism on its own could change society without mobilising people on a political basis - and certainly not on a Socialist basis - and that there was no real difference between the Labour and Tory parties anyway!

For those people who have for years looked with disillusionment at NALGO, this conference and others throughout the country point the way in which NALGO will move, although this conference represents no more than a very tiny percentage of the NALGO membership.

The 3½ years experience of Tory Government, and belt tightening under the crisis of capitalism have left a mark in the minds of all NALGO members which will in the future result in NALGO - the fourth largest union in Britain - taking its place alongside other unions affiliated to the Labour Party and campaign for a socialist programme as the only solution for the problems of its membership.

IAN JENKINSON
(Portsmouth South LPYS)



FRANCE

FROM PAGE 3

party militants regard it as a programme on which they can fight for a socialist society. The leaders clearly regard it as a paper formula which, with the radicalisation of workers, will secure the widest possible electoral support for the latest and most successful of a series of parliamentary alliances.

The price the movement pays for this is that the leaders reinforce the

by piecemeal nationalisation over a long period. The mass of the workers are being lulled to sleep instead of prepared for the enormous conflicts ahead.

Instead of mobilising the movement behind a programme for the taking over of all big monopolies, the leaders assure them that the transformation of society can be left to the parliamentarians to carry out

The real attitude of Mitterand, which has not been criticised by the leaders of the PCF, is already clear. "For the moment", one commentator writes, "he is wisely (from whose point of view) concentrating on lightening the load that unity of the left has hung around his neck".

The Financial Times (25 April) summed up the position all too well:

"To be sure, M Mitterand has not abandoned the programme of the Union of the Left ... He could hardly do so without losing the support of the Communists. But he has gone out of his way to reassure businessmen as a whole that, apart from the sectors specifically mentioned, private enterprise will remain untouched.

NEEDS OF BUSINESS

"France is part of a free market economic system which cannot be altered by the present generation, he has emphasised. This presupposes that private business should be allowed to operate as effectively and dynamically as possible."

In other words, the economy will still be dominated by the needs of Big Business and in particular the need for the capitalists to make a profit.

At a time of growing inflation, with a slowing down of growth at home and a shaky international environment, healthy profits for Big Business are incompatible with the workers' economic health. This conflict has already been reflected in Mitterand's speeches. "My economic policy will be based on what is possible" he assured the press.

At his press conference on 18 April he spelled out what this meant: social reforms would be applied with due regard to the rate of economic growth - now down to 4½% compared to a previous 6% and the even higher rate envisaged by the Common Programme. He also said that, if elected, he would open up negotiations with the trade unions aimed at a "new harmonisation" of incomes which would take account of more limited growth prospects.

What is this if not an incomes policy in different language?

Mitterand is already admitting that social reforms and wage increases will depend on what capitalism can afford to give, not what the workers need. But people are looking to the left precisely because they are not satisfied with what capitalism can

being offered the same policies as now dressed up in socialist clothes.

It is therefore little wonder that Mitterand has reduced the number of companies to be taken over from 13 to 9, and in any case lays no stress on this part of the programme.

Also, on the vital issue of nuclear arms, which the programme stated would no longer be manufactured, Mitterand has now said that they will continue to be made until agreement on stopping arms production can be reached with the other powers.

Similarly, he has reassured Big Business that there will be no fundamental change of policy on the EEC. So far there has not been a word of criticism of Mitterand's step by step retreat from the Common Programme from the leaders of the PCF.

For the sake of "not alienating the middle classes", they hide their colours behind Mitterand and a more and more diluted programme. They are supporting a sure recipe for defeat - compromise policies do not win the support of the middle class. If the Labour leaders do not proclaim their confidence in the working class and clear socialist solutions to the problems of society, they will not inspire the confidence of the middle layers. On the other hand, the most moderate policies do not prevent the right from employing the red scare methods.

Above all, if elected on this programme, it would allow the ruling class to use the Labour leaders to restrain the movement of the workers, at the same time providing them with the opportunity of discrediting the ideas of "socialism", especially among backward sections of the workers and the middle class.

At the present time there is no

alternative but to support Mitterand as the joint candidate of the left. But the Communist Party and the Left within the Socialist Party must at the same time implacably criticise his compromise policies. At the very least he should campaign on the policies agreed in the Common Programme.

It should also be demanded that he spell out how he will form a government. Mitterand has said he will form a government of Socialist, Communist and Radical Ministers.

SOCIALIST PROGRAMME

But such a government would be unworkable on the basis of the present right-wing majority. It would be vital to dissolve the assembly and fight an election campaign on the basis of mobilising the Labour Movement behind a rounded-out Socialist Programme.

The campaign should be for a Socialist/Communist Government excluding all representatives of capitalist parties, such as the Radical Party, who would act as a deliberate brake on such a government.

This Government should mobilise the support of the working class to carry through an immediate Socialist Programme of nationalisation of the monopolies, banks and finance, with compensation on the basis of need. In this way they would win the firm support of the mass of the French people in the face of any attempted reaction from Big Business.

LYNN WALSH
(Ardwick Labour Party)

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NAME _____

FIGHT FOR CONFERENCE DECISIONS

Dear Comrade,
With regard to the cartoon and the accompanying statement in Militant no 202. Whilst it goes without saying that Eric Heffer's condemnation of supplying warships to Chile deserves our support; nonetheless the issue raises a number of important questions about the role of the Tribune group in Parliament.

First of all, among the hundred or so members of the Government - all of whom accepted that restrictions would be placed upon them forbidding them to speak publicly on matters outside their own department - are at least three members of the Tribune group ie Eric Heffer, Michael Foot and Stan Orme.

Eric Heffer, writing in the Walton Times, a local newspaper circulating in his constituency, actually stated that in future his voice would not be heard so often in Parliament because of this. In short members of the Tribune Group took positions in the Government knowing that they would be gagged on many important issues; in other words they took positions on Harold Wilson's programme.

This is to say the least rather odd. Since when has Harold Wilson - leastways in recent years - been in accord with the programme of Tribune? Not for one minute am I suggesting that the Labour Left should reject Government positions, but I am suggesting that when they take a position it should be on their own conditions and political programme and not that of Wilson.

Incidentally I am reliably informed that Wilson not only demanded silence in public, but went further and attempted to gag them inside the Parliamentary Labour Party caucuses. He went further and attempted to stop at least some members from writing for local newspapers under any conditions.

To his credit, Eric Heffer has spoken out and put forward a principled position in relation to arms for Chile. But what about the many other important issues that have not been raised by the Tribune Ministers? What about the payment of the fines on the Clay Cross Councillors? What about the imprisoned building workers and the fines on the AUEW?

Not a word from any of them on these matters and these are issues on which, if the lead were given by the Tribune MPs, the whole of the working class could be mobilised. You see it is relatively easy to be radical on matters that are a long way from home but on matters which are on the doorstep it is a bit more difficult.

We must therefore demand that Foot, Heffer, Orme and the rest of the Tribune group start a campaign in the movement on the basis of the Labour Party Conference decisions. For instance on the nationalisation programme, the payment of the Clay Cross fines - not by the Labour Movement, but by the Government, and on the re-imbursment of the AUEW.
Yours fraternally
TED MOONEY
(Walton CLP)



RED TAPE

Dear Comrades,
When I applied for the Social Security benefits during the Easter vacation, and had to go through the red tape formalities of this system, I realised how the bureaucrats try to deprive us of the rights which should be ours without having to fill in so many forms.

Having been to the local Education Authority, I made an appointment with the Social Security office. I went there the next day but unfortunately I was three minutes late so I was told to come back the following day.

Later on, when I went to sign on at the dole office, I had to wait for well over an hour for them to make out a cheque for me.

This just shows how degrading the so-called "social security" system is for the working class people. If these bureaucrats faced the same economic problems would they be prepared to put up with the system as it exists today? I very much doubt it!
Yours fraternally
SARDUE SINGH
(Edgbaston LPYS)

WHY NOT WRITE TO MILITANT?

The letters page of Militant is one of the most important. It is a forum for workers in the movement, for youth, for students, for housewives, for pensioners.

If you like the paper and agree with us or if you don't, we would like to hear from you. Write about your experiences, your criticisms and your views. If you have suggestions for improving the paper don't hold back in sending them to us. - EDITOR

MIDDLE EAST - "UNITE AND FIGHT"

Dear Comrades,
Once again the uneasy peace of the Middle East has boiled over into bloody conflict. In the first air battles since the October war, claim and counter-claim has been made by both Syria and Israel. However as Marxists we are not interested in who started the conflict or who has shot down what. We are only interested in the class nature of the forces involved and the motives and aims of these classes. It is for this reason that the present struggle holds special interest.

Since the October war in which, after some initial success, she lost much ground, Syria has been massing an army on the slopes of the Golan heights for a possible counter-attack to recover these strategically vital hills. The Israelis on the other hand, are preparing for a fight to the finish to hold these hills.

Neither the fragile economies of Israel or Syria could sustain a war for any period of time if it were not for massive aid from the Russian bureaucracy to Syria and from American Imperialism to Israel. 25% of Israel's GNP is spent on arms (compared with 5% of Britains). Added to this, the terrible loss of life in the four wars since 1948.

But Israel is not, as the ruling class would have us believe, just a home for the suffering Jewry of the world. The Zionist state is, in reality, a tool of reaction. It was a "plant" of Imperialism, to be used to counter any revolutionary movements in the Middle East. In turn the 'struggle to free Palestine' has been used by the semi-feudal autocracies of the Arab states as a focus for the discontent of their workers and peasants.

It is in the present conflict that the true use of the Israeli state has become clear.

Syria, although riddled with a bureaucratic military clique, has abolished landlordism and capitalism. She is, therefore, the subject for the special hatred of the Imperialists and they would not find it unwelcome to have it crushed by the Israelis.

This is the main reason for continuing the fighting in the Golan Heights. It was relatively simple for the Egyptians and Israelis to reach a compromise in the West. The military defeat inflicted on the Egyptians enabled the Israelis to give ground.

In the East, Israel inflicted as great a defeat on the Syrian forces but there has been no compromise. No ground has been surrendered. From their position on the Golan heights the Israelis could sweep down and destroy the gains of

the nationalised economy in Syria.

Neither side, however, is capable of winning the war. The three million Jews can never hope to defeat the one hundred million Arabs although for the time being they have the military upper hand.

The present trouble shoots to pieces the so-called "peaceful co-existence" between capitalist and workers' states, however deformed they might be. Syria represents a threat to the power, prestige and income of the Imperialist powers. Thus their great hatred for her.

On the present social basis neither side can offer an alternative for the masses of the enemy. But the interests of the working class of the world lies in supporting Syria. Only on a socialist basis can there ever be peace. Jewish and Arab workers' unity against capital could only result in unredeemed-of benefit for all.

Already in Israel there have been rumblings of the struggle to come. Golda Meir has spoken of "an internal war more terrible than any war on the frontiers". The Syrian working class have shown that when given a clear lead they can, and will, abolish capitalism and all its suffering.

The slogan "unite and fight" must be the slogan of the Arab and Jewish workers.

Yours fraternally
WILLI KING
(Queens Park LPYS)

REMOVE ALL PENALTIES

Dear Comrades,
The following resolution was passed overwhelmingly at the Coventry North East Constituency Labour Party, and unanimously at the Coventry South East Constituency Labour Party, on 9/4/74:

"This Constituency Labour Party demands that the Party leadership implement Conference decisions and, in particular, that the Labour Government implements the resolution 191 passed overwhelmingly at Annual Conference which stated that, 'upon the election of a Labour Government all penalties, financial or otherwise, should be removed retrospectively from councillors who have courageously refused to implement the Housing Finance Act 1972'".

The resolution has been sent to the Labour Party NEC and the four Coventry Labour MPs.

Yours fraternally
DERMOT MILLS
(Coventry LPYS)

SUPPORT YOUTH

Dear Comrades,
Throughout the last few months, the Bristol South Labour Party Young Socialists have participated in various activities to raise money to help sponsor young workers and students wishing to attend our annual conference at Clacton.

The first of these activities was a sponsored walk from Knowle in Bristol, to the heart of Bath.

All the YS members in Bristol were concerned with the walk in one way or another. Much of the organisation for this walk was handled by Bristol South members (ie notification of the police, working out the format of the sponsor forms, and working out the route of the walk).

More recently, the Bristol South LPYS have held a local jumble sale to gain money for the above mentioned reason. In order to make this a success, much organisation was needed, in both collection of jumble, and in the eventual selling of it.

In one area for instance, despite competition from local "cubs" we managed successfully to canvas for, and collect, huge amounts of jumble, including a

bed settee and even a working television, which attracted much interest at the sale!

We leafleted much of the surrounding area beforehand and due to this, and an advert in the local paper there was a great response.

The profits totalled over twenty pounds (after all deductions for the hall etc).

We also wrote to the trade unions asking them to sponsor young workers in their unions, and asked MPs for donations towards the fund. To both these appeals we had a tremendous response.

We hope that other comrades enjoyed the same kind of response to their fund raising activities for Clacton.

However, we feel that all the time and energy used in these fund raising activities could have been directed to more important political work, such as pursuing contacts, discussion and educational work, and even explaining the benefits of the Conference itself.

We strongly believe that with more realistic financial support from the Labour Party on an autonomous basis we would be able to function much more effectively.

JOHN LLOYD
ROBERT REED
WAYNE JONES
(Bristol South LPYS)

TRANSPORT MEETING

Dear Comrades,
At a meeting of transport workers at the LPYS Conference at Clacton, it was decided to call a caucus on the first and second of June in London. At this meeting we hope to work out a pamphlet putting forward the aims of the LPYS on a fully integrated transport system under workers' control. It is hoped to have this pamphlet ready by the end of July so that it can be put to all transport union branches in time for next year's union AADs and the Labour Party Conference.

I would like to ask all YS branches to send at least one delegate to the caucus and if any transport worker would like to attend he or she is more than welcome. If any person from outside London wishes to come, could they please contact me if they need accommodation and if they do not have privilege or free transport tickets as we are arranging a pooled fare system.

Yours fraternally
IAN NUNNEY
92, Antrobus Road,
Chiswick,
London W 4

AREA	Received	PERCENTAGE OF TARGET RAISED	TARGET
LONDON	628.80	[Progress bar]	3000
SUSSEX	154.30	[Progress bar]	1000
LIVERPOOL	134.52	[Progress bar]	900
NORTH EAST	157.95	[Progress bar]	900
WEST YORKS	75.10	[Progress bar]	900
SCOTLAND	165.54	[Progress bar]	750
WEST WALES	247.30	[Progress bar]	650
MANCHESTER	58.73	[Progress bar]	600
HAMPSHIRE	54.74	[Progress bar]	550
BIRMINGHAM	63.49	[Progress bar]	550
WIRRAL	64.77	[Progress bar]	500
ESSEX	72.18	[Progress bar]	400
EAST YORKS	67.25	[Progress bar]	400
LEICESTER	198.00	[Progress bar]	400
COVENTRY	65.13	[Progress bar]	300
IRELAND	23.50	[Progress bar]	300
NOTTINGHAM	126.87	[Progress bar]	250
OXFORDSHIRE	40.69	[Progress bar]	250
EAST WALES	12.30	[Progress bar]	250
BRISTOL	35.58	[Progress bar]	250
KENT	1.13	[Progress bar]	200
GLOUCESTERSHIRE	7.00	[Progress bar]	200
SHEFFIELD	5.34	[Progress bar]	200
DEVON	18.70	[Progress bar]	100
HERTFORDSHIRE	4.00	[Progress bar]	100
LANCASHIRE	11.17	[Progress bar]	100
OTHERS & NATIONAL EVENTS	936.91	[Progress bar]	1250
TOTAL	3423.77	[Progress bar]	

BIG DRIVE NEEDED

We received some really fine donations this week in the form of a £50 anonymous donation from a supporter in London; £41.50 from supporters in Nottingham and £22.06 from Tyneside. Other areas sent us smaller but very welcome donations

But particularly in relation to the latter there were by no means enough of these. A few areas have been able to send us remarkable sums collected from the odd penny given here and there when selling the Militant.

Discussion Groups such as the 75p collected in central London and the £1.52 collected in Outer West London are all essential to the building of our fund.

But we cannot stress enough that only when every supporter conscientiously and consistently collects money at every opportunity is it possible to guarantee to reach our £15,000 target. With obvious exceptions, virtually none of the areas have yet reached a third of the way on the chart. This is a matter which must be corrected immediately.

us up to a grand total of £3,423.77. Given the big strains put on the finances of our supporters this is a big step forward. But the growing crisis of capitalism only makes more urgent the building of our fund. It is not too late to start organising in every area; remember that we must raise over £350 each week to keep on target.

Thanks to the following for their donations:

- Sheffield £1.10
- Liverpool £7.60
- London £7.48
- East Yorks £12
- Harlow Readers Meeting £5
- John Phillips (Croydon LPYS) £2
- Southend £6
- West Yorks £2
- Sutton and Cheam LPYS £1.50

IF YOU SUPPORT OUR IDEAS

Southern Labour Party Conference MILITANT MEETING SUPPORTS CLAY CROSS

By GEOFF JONES
(Brighton Pavillion CLP)

An enthusiastic audience of over fifty turned up for the first ever Militant Readers meeting at the Southern Region Labour Party Annual Conference in Brighton on Saturday April 27th. The attendance was extraordinary when it is considered that the meeting was on a Saturday night, at the same time as a Labour Party Social and that the Conference itself had lasted from 10 am until half an hour before the meeting.

In spite of these disadvantages the meeting, on "Clay Cross and the fight for Socialist Policies" was of vital importance. Our belief in this was strengthened by the fact that the Conference Arrangements Committee refused to allow an emergency motion on Clay Cross to be debated. Both the attendance and the enthusiasm of the meeting showed that we were right.

Ray Apps from Kempton Labour Party opened the discussion with an analysis of the crisis that faced the Labour Government and the fact that the present leadership were showing themselves incapable of dealing with it. It was necessary not only for us to fight for a socialist alternative to the present policies, but to fight via the democratic framework of the Labour Party to replace those members of the leadership who were unable or unwilling to carry out the policies decided by the Party.

David Skinner from Clay Cross described the way in which Clay Cross described the way in which Clay Cross Labour Party had carried out measures for the benefit of working class families and how they had fought and would continue to fight the Tory Rent Act, whether imposed by Tory Ministers or by Anthony Crosland.

The speeches were warmly greeted, especially in the way in which they

contrasted with those made at Conference by Ian Mikardo and Ron Hayward, who had indulged in great rhetorical flights on the plight of political prisoners in Portugal and South Africa — but made no mention of our comrades in Clay Cross, the Shrewsbury 6 or the prisoners in Ireland.

The discussion period was also so full that many comrades were unable to speak. Don McGregor, a veteran Tribune supporter, paid tribute to both speakers although he had some differences with them. He added that the crisis we saw before us was not just of British capitalism, but world wide.

Other delegates also expressed their enthusiasm for the ideas of Marxism as expressed by Militant and in the Labour Party by the Young Socialists. It is enough to say that after a gruelling day, and with the counter-attraction of a social (for which most delegates had already bought tickets) the discussion went on until quarter to ten, ending with an appeal which brought nearly £14 to the funds of Militant.

PORTUGAL

FROM
PAGE 1

which ended in the uprising of Franco in 1936, the answering seizure of power by the workers of Barcelona and other cities and then the final defeat of the workers in the civil war.

One million workers lost their lives in this bloody carnage. Spain was crushed beneath the iron heel of fascism. Opposition to the regime, workers' organisations and parties were smashed to pieces for a generation.

The main responsibility for the defeat lay with the leaders of the working class parties, who time and again derailed the revolutionary energy of the workers.

Not once, but ten times, the workers attempted to take the revolution to its conclusion — the creation of a workers' Spain — only to have the movement diverted into the hands of capitalist representatives. It was the class-collaborationist policies of the leaders of the Socialists and Communists which primarily enabled the ruling class to mobilise its forces and finally smash the workers.

But if the same fate is not to befall the young revolution in Portugal, the lessons have to be applied. Already Spínola has issued veiled warnings to the workers not to "go too far".

Despite the euphoria and the obvious popularity of the army and Spínola himself, what has changed for the workers? Caetano knew that in handing over to Spínola he was not doing so to even a "liberal democrat". Spínola fought for Franco in the civil war and served on the Eastern Front with the Nazi army.

When handing over, Caetano said: "General, I surrender to you the Government. You must take care because you must keep control. I am frightened by the idea of the power loose in the streets".

The former Director of Information said of the meeting: "It was a meeting of two gentlemen, of two friends who respect each other and who share a great sense of honour and responsibility".

Caetano handed over power to Spínola "so that the mob do not take over".

The differences between Spínola and the old regime are ones of tactics — for the same class interest. Without a doubt the new junta rests on the capitalists in Portugal, at the same time leaning for its mass support on the mood of elation of the workers and the middle class. They will seek to draw the leaders of the left closer to the regime in order to cover themselves and to confuse the workers.

In relation to the African situation Spínola has still not agreed to any form of independence at all, but will try to split the main liberation movements and set up rival "third force" groupings as have been built up in Mozambique recently, who represent sections of the white

and MPLA have said that they are ready to negotiate but only on the basis of complete economic and political independence.

If it were up to the junta then its promise to organise a civilian provisional government and then hold free elections would be abrogated. But it is not! The pressure of the workers will attempt to hold them to it. It would be extremely difficult for them to retreat from this, but even so why wait one year for elections? Such a delay can only serve reaction.

Soares and the CP leaders are both pushing to be included in the provisional government.

But one thing is abundantly clear in the days following the coup: the Communist Party has emerged as the strongest force among the workers and probably the most powerful political tendency in Portugal. With the Socialists, elections soon would lead to an overwhelming victory for the left. The tide has run overwhelmingly in their direction. Reaction has been isolated and thrown into disarray, temporarily ...

By OUR CORRESPONDENT

The courting of both the Socialist and Communist leaders by Spínola's junta (the most unlikely of courtships!) is a sign that the ruling class in Portugal could only stabilise the situation for at the most weeks without their support. It is the forces of Big Business who need the workers' leaders to hold the movement in check because it has gone too far for them to contain as yet.

The blunt truth is that if the Communist Party leaders were really revolutionaries they would be moving even now towards preparations for taking power. The mood for fundamental social change has penetrated the whole of the working class, the students, wide layers of the middle class and the ranks of the armed forces.

What is needed is to concretise and crystallise the chaotic and unformed demands of the mass of the population into a rounded out programme for taking power and reorganising Portuguese society along socialist lines. They should be calling for and organising workers' "juntas" in every factory, street and towns as the basis for a workers' Government.

But instead the CP and SP leaders are putting forward demands for unity between the workers and the so-called democrats and progressives on the basis of a purely liberal programme which in itself offers not one concrete reform to the workers.

According to the Morning Star (29/4/74) the CP called for "a provisional revolutionary government representing all democratic and liberal forces in the country".

But this is proposing a Government of unity between workers and capitalist representatives — the sort of unity that you have between the rider and his horse! At a time when the capitalist forces are unloading

feet?

Why not take advantage of this enormously favourable position to take power peacefully into the workers' hands by campaigning boldly on clear socialist demands which would win to the workers' side the rank and file of the armed forces, the bulk of the middle class and peasants and the agricultural labourers in the countryside?

The programme that is put forward for this new "Popular Front Government", according to the Morning Star (27/4/74) is centred around three items — amnesty for political prisoners; abolition of the secret police; negotiations with the liberation movements in Africa on independence. Not one whiff of socialism or even independent working class demands!

Soares of the SP has openly acknowledged in the past where he stands in relation to the programme needed. He said in a petition signed by 256 intellectuals to Caetano in 1968 that they:

"acknowledged the danger of extreme right wing reaction if reforms were made too rapidly — but they promised full support to Dr Caetano if he pressed ahead with a policy of amelioration ..."

The policies of the workers' leaders are entirely based on capitalism. They are in favour first of "democracy" and then, later, much, much later, of moving slowly and gradually towards socialism. But along that road is disaster. The roads to democracy and socialism are intertwined. On the basis of capitalism there can be no way forward for the workers — what the ruling class give today under the threat of revolution they will plot and prepare to take away tomorrow, if necessary by force.

The statement of Soares that the Portuguese army is not like the Chilean army is a danger sign. It is an attempt to lull the workers to sleep, believing that their fate will be safe in the hands of the "progressive" generals.

Only the working class movement can guarantee any lasting "freedom" and "democracy". If, in the old, advanced capitalist countries of Europe, like Britain and France, we can say that the democratic rights of the workers are threatened as the classes move into a period of intense conflict, what will be the case in the backward nations like Portugal?

If, as is almost certain, a Popular Front Government is formed in Portugal in the immediate future, although it will be enormously popular at first, the realities of class conflict will be manifested. The demands of the workers will not and cannot be met on the basis of capitalism.

Out of the stormy struggles which lie ahead, the workers will be forced to look for an alternative to bankrupt Portuguese capitalism. In this way it is hoped that the Marxists will build support for policies of overthrowing the rule of Big Business and creating a workers'

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LIVERPOOL: P.O. Engineers Need Assistance

The campaign against the cuts in capital spending in the Post Office mounted in Liverpool, goes on.

As reported in the previous two issues of Militant, the men at Netherton TEC have banned overtime as the first action.

They are demanding that the previous earnings levels be maintained and therefore a £10 a week, across the board, increase on the basic rate. Until that demand is met they are demanding a restoration of the overtime now cut.

Last week the Liverpool Internal branch passed a resolution calling on the NEC of their union, the POEU, to support the fight of the Netherton men.

To explain the issues, a pamphlet on the cuts and the fight against them has been prepared by Phil Holt for the Liverpool Internal Branch.

It is urgent that workers throughout the industry take this up immediately. Copies of the pamphlet and details of the struggle in Netherton can be obtained from:

Thomas MacNicholas (secretary)
Liverpool Internal Branch POEU
c/o Lancaster House
Liverpool 2

PS In case there was any confusion arising from last week's report: Owen Farley is the spokesman for the men at Netherton and not a leader of the Liverpool Internal branch as a whole.

By PHIL HOLT
(Liverpool Internal Branch POEU)

BIG BUSINESS

FROM
PAGE 1

demand for an increase: the local government workers and teachers in London have been told to wait for the report of the Tory Pay Board next month, with no guarantee that they will get anything like their modest demands.

The vital engineering national claim has been abandoned under the pressure of Foot at the AUEW National Committee, whose speech undoubtedly swayed the wavering votes. But also union leaders such as Jack Jones and Hugh Scanlon, formerly fighters for decent wages and against capitalist incomes policies, have in effect assisted Foot in trying to get any serious challenges to Phase Three deferred, if not called off.

What right have they to bargain their members' living standards in return for some nebulous "social contract"?

Labour has retreated, not only on wages but on vital trade union rights. Every worker will support the revoking of the Industrial Relations Act but the proposed extra safeguards for pickets have almost certainly been abandoned.

But even after that, the Labour Government has refused to stand up to the Tory law courts and take action to release the pickets jailed last year, to repay the fines levied on the AUEW, or to live up to the party pledges to Clay Cross. Even now moves are being made through the courts to seize the assets of the AUEW.

The Labour Government faces a choice: either break from the capitalist policies adopted so far, put forward a bold socialist programme and mobilise the whole movement to defend it against the inevitable Tory sabotage, or continue with Tory policies on the road to disaster. There is no middle road.

The apparent unwillingness of the Tories to strike should fool no one. They are merely choosing their own

time. At the moment they are content to exert pressure on the Labour leaders to toe the line of Big Business. In that way it will be Labour that gets the odium for doing the bosses' dirty work for them, and consequently lose support from millions who would rally if a fighting stand was made.

How easy it is for Big Business in the absence of a bold class answer from the Labour leaders, to manufacture a situation of crisis and use the tremendous power of the press and TV to discredit the movement is shown by the events at Cowley.

They are preparing at a certain time to push Labour aside, replacing it with some form of National Coalition, in reality a Tory Government, but including Liberal and some right wing Labour leaders.

Labour must cut the ground from under their feet by pushing forward a bold socialist programme, taking over the 250 major monopolies and banks which dominate the economy, with compensation on the basis of need only.

Challenge the Tories to fight against a programme of decent wages, houses, schools, hospitals and other needed services for all workers, for that is what a socialist policy would mean! Labour could then transform itself into a huge majority, and lay the basis for the end to everything that the Tories stand for.

CAMPAIGN AGAINST RACIALISM BRADFORD MAY 18th

Any comrades who need accommodation for the night of May 18th, should immediately contact their YS branch secretary and the information should then be passed on to: Kevin Ryan, Ilkley College, Wells Road, Ilkley Yorks.

As accommodation will be very limited it is essential that this information is received in good time. Comrades should also bring sleeping bags wherever possible.

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