

Militant

**Fight
fascism
and
racialism**
—see page 3

THE MARXIST PAPER FOR LABOUR AND YOUTH

ISSUE 401
14 APRIL 1978

12p

Big business - THE REAL CRIMINALS

1,000 young people unemployed and with little hope of finding a decent job—that's Lambeth today.

The no-jobs catastrophe which has hit this London borough reflects the grey picture of life in cities throughout Britain.

As big business closes down works to greedily preserve profits, school leavers find themselves in a blind alley.

Between March, 1974, and now unemployment among school leavers here has increased 17 times over. Four years ago nearly everyone could find a job after leaving school, now one in seven has to stand in the dole queue every week with empty pockets.

Fascist Thugs

On top of this, many have to live in the worst slum housing imaginable as the housing waiting lists grow longer. Meanwhile unscrupulous private landlords cash in on people's need for shelter.

So what are the politicians doing about it? What solutions have they to offer the voters in the Lambeth Central By-election and the coming local elections? The Tories are ranting and raving about 'law and order' and the increase in crime.

In Brixton the National Front have spun a web of lies about West Indians being responsible for most of this crime. How ironical that the fascists have the cheek to pose as defenders of peace and law when so many of their members seen on demonstrations are petty criminals and convicted thugs!

Blame the young! cry the pompous, well-heeled Tories, who in Manchester are calling for the birch. All these blinkered reactionaries have to offer is the barbarism of this medieval punishment. Blame the blacks! cry the racials.

For these opportunists, raising a howl about crime is simply a cheap way of picking up votes from the politically backward, diverting attention away from the real issues affecting workers and hiding the bankruptcy of their own policies.

It is up to the Labour leadership to explain that muggings and theft are created by the horrifying



Brixton market place. Young or old, black or white, if you're working class every penny counts

Photo: Mark Rusher (IFL)

social problems which working class people suffer under capitalism. It is the desperation and hopelessness of unemployment, poverty, slum conditions and a lack of social amenities which force young people to crime.

Con-men

In Tyneside, 38% of crime is committed by those without jobs—is it hardly surprising when unemployed school leavers are expected to live on just over £8 a week? Sunderland, a traditional area of high unemployment, has a crime rate higher than London's—and there is hardly a black face to be seen. How do the racials square that with

the myth of "black muggers"?

Labour must point to the real criminals—the landlords who condemn people to live in overcrowded slum blocks like prison cells; the supermarkets and food chains that commit daylight robbery against housewives and the profiteering monopolies whose whole business activity consists of corruption, swindling and tax-dodging on a mammoth scale. Capitalism itself is one big fraud.

If the Labour government came out fighting with socialist policies to tackle unemployment, poverty and the lack of decent housing it would win a tremendous response from the voters.

Take over land, the building industry and property companies to build decent homes for all at rents they can afford. Take over the banks to provide interest-free loans to local authorities to build more houses, schools, hospitals and social centres, providing more jobs at the same time.

Workers' Unity

Run sporting, recreational and entertainment facilities for public need, at prices young people can afford, not for profit. Nationalise the big industrial monopolies under workers' control so that production can be planned and work provided for the

unemployed.

It is up to every working class voter to answer the lies of the Tories and fascists against the unemployed and blacks by fighting for workers' unity and by voting Labour to keep the bosses' parties out. But that alone isn't enough.

To make sure the Labour government reverses its present disastrous course and carries out policies benefiting the working class **join the Labour Party and the Young Socialists and fight for a socialist programme.**

Brent Kennedy

THIS WEEK

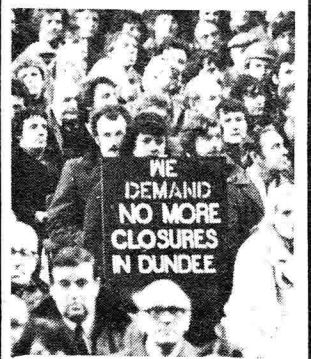


The Budget
—see page 2

'The Great Game'
by Leopold
Trepper
Part Two
—centre pages

NEXT WEEK

**Dundee: a
blighted city**
Special feature



**LPYS/PNP
MASS
CANVASS**

Last Sunday over 80 Labour Party Young Socialists held a mass canvass in Brixton for the Labour Candidate in the Lambeth Central By-election. This Saturday [15th] the LPYS are holding a mass Day of Action jointly with the PNP Youth against racialism and for a Labour victory. 200-300 are expected to take part.

Assemble 10.30 am sharp at the top of Coldharbour Lane [opposite Lambeth Town Hall]. Nearest tube: Brixton—turn left and walk 2 minutes.

Smash the Nazi NF!
Support Labour in Lambeth Central!

LPYS and the schools

Once again the capitalist press virtually ignored the Labour Party Young Socialists' conference held in Llandudno at Easter [fully reported in 'Militant' nos. 399 and 400]. True, they gave it more coverage than in previous years. But only to try to distort the debates that took place, and to denounce its policy decisions.

However, while they broke their conspiracy of silence only with a few reactionary fulminations, the Fleet Street editors and their big-business backers certainly took serious note of the magnificent conference of over 2,000 young workers, students and school students. This is undoubtedly one reason why the Tory press is now renewing its attempt to whip up a scare campaign against the LPYS and the Marxists in the labour movement.

Seizing the opportunity given them by the manoeuvres of Labour right-wingers and party officials living in the past, the press has launched an hysterical campaign against the LPYS's recent schools leaflet.

Last Tuesday, the 'Daily Mail' publicised yet another report from one "tireless" Labour Party official, aimed at initiating moves against the Young Socialists. Perhaps "this is the first move by Big Jim in enforcing some discipline on the party organisation..." they pleaded.

The 'Sunday Express' was even more

"forthright": "EVIL...Is it any wonder that, after reading this kind of evil nonsense, the children took part in the school riots that flared across the country?"

The movement in the schools was caused just by a LPYS leaflet! Is this not a classic case of the "police mentality"? Can Fleet Street not believe that school students are reacting against the effects of spending cuts in education? Can't they understand that young people are increasingly haunted by the threat of the unemployment that awaits many thousands on leaving school? Do they think that the youth don't care about the attempts of the National Front to whip up vile racist prejudices in the schools?

One thing the press never does, of course, is to report accurately the policies of the LPYS. What is so "nonsensical" or "evil" about the Young Socialists' demands for schools?

- [1] Recognition of school students' right to representation through a union, and elected school councils in every school.
- [2] Abolition of school uniform and petty rules.
- [3] Abolition of religious indoctrination and corporal punishment.
- [4] A decent grant for all students over school-leaving age.
- [5] A decent job for all school-leavers.
- [6] An end to racial discrimination and discrimination against women in jobs

MILITANT: Marxist Paper for Labour and Youth

Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office
 EDITOR: Peter Taaffe BUSINESS MANAGER: Dave Galashan
 Published by MILITANT, 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN,
 Tel: 01-986 3828

Printed by Cambridge Heath Press [TU] Ltd, Mentmore Works,
 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN

and opportunities.

- [7] Education to be run by the organisations of ordinary working people.
- [8] An end now to education cuts and a massive expansion in education spending, a reduction in class sizes, etc.
- [9] Abolition of all fee-paying schools. For fully comprehensive education."

The "evil nonsense" attitude of the press is reminiscent of the nineteenth-century capitalists who opposed working class education altogether.

"Giving education to the labouring classes of the poor," thundered the president of the Royal Society in the 1830s, "would teach them to despise their lot in life, instead of making them good servants in [the] laborious employments to which their rank in society has destined them...it would enable them to read seditious pamphlets...it would render them insolent to their superiors."

The growth of modern production forced big business to allow the development of education, to prepare workers to operate complex machinery [and to fill in forms at the dole office!]. But while they now tolerate basic education, the bosses evidently have exactly the same attitude to working class youngsters reading "seditious" leaflets and the "insolence" of students

who demand elementary democratic rights!

Unfortunately, right-wing Labour leaders have allowed themselves to be pressurised by the press campaign. Shirley Williams, for example, is reported as saying she was "embarrassed" by the LPYS leaflet, "particularly when efforts were being made to keep the National Front out of the schools."

Even if all the head-teachers, all the teachers, all the text-books, and so on, were politically neutral—which is far from being true!—could we rely on a "non-political" policy of "neutrality" to keep the fascists out of the schools? No! As in the factories and on the estates, it is only the youth in the schools who can defeat the threat of racialism and fascism. And it is up to the LPYS to give a lead with policies that will offer a real alternative!

The rank and file of the labour movement will warmly applaud the success the Young Socialists have already had among school students. The LPYS must now be allowed to continue the vital task of combatting the Tories and the fascists in the schools—with the full support of the Labour Party.

Budget hand-outs no substitute for socialist policies

The labour movement will welcome the positive points in Denis Healey's budget, which have already brought a torrent of criticism and denunciation from the Tories and big business.

Most workers will be slightly better off as a result of the tax cuts. Low-income families with children, in particular, have been helped by the cuts in the basic tax rate, the increase in child allowance (though mainly taken out of personal tax allowances), and the restoration of free school milk for the under-11s.

On the negative side, however, the budget does practically nothing to restore spending cuts, little to reduce unemployment, and overall holds out the promise of only a very modest general rise in workers' living standards.

Overall, the budget has put back about £2,500 million into the economy, half a million less than the CBI were demanding and just over half of the £4,000 million reflation demanded by the TUC.

Above all, it does nothing to reverse the economic strategy of the government, which still aims at breathing life into a diseased British capitalism fighting for its life in an adverse—and now worsening—world economic climate.

Tax cuts

The labour movement will certainly welcome Healey's decision—strongly criticised by the Tories—to raise personal allowances (favouring lower incomes) rather than simply cutting the basic and higher rates (which would

favour high incomes more). Taking the budget changes together with last October's tax cuts, a married couple with two children under 11, on £70 a week will be £3.37 a week better off this year. The 360,000 low-paid workers who will not now have to pay tax, however, have been little more than rescued from dire poverty.

But it is inevitably the rich who, in personal terms, get the lion's portion. Whereas a single man on £1,000 a year will save £14.95, anyone on £25,000 or over will save an unbelievable £720.70.

Nor do the chancellor's tax cuts appear so generous when it is seen that they have been almost entirely financed from so-called "fiscal drag"—the tendency of tax revenue (up 13% this year) to rise faster than the national income because of inflation.

While the Tories are screaming about Healey's failure to cut tax rates for rich surtax payers, moreover, the City financiers are drawing quiet satisfaction from the budget's confirmation that company corporation tax deferred from 1973/4 and 1974/5 will be written off for good. **Big business is estimated to have saved a colossal £4,500 million through deferred tax between 1974 and 1978!**

Apart from this, the main beneficiaries of the latest tax cut measures will be small businessmen, farmers, and middle managers.

Pensions

Retirement and other pensions are increased 11½%, the single retirement pension going up from £17.50 to £19.50 and the married couple's from £28 to £31.20.

These, however, are still virtually starvation rates, and pensioners feel the effects of price rises of basic goods more than anyone else. Electricity bills, for instance, will be going up 18% on April 1st, and the clothing and footwear retail index jumped 2.1% in February alone.

Public spending

Any restoration of public spending cuts is to be welcomed. But the budget has done very, very little in this direction. Employment subsidies will continue. An unspecified extra amount will be spent on "law and order".

But the two significant increases, £50m for health and £40m for education, are derisory compared to the need that exists. Most of the £50m for the NHS, for example, will be used to open already-built hospitals now lacking staff and equipment.

The restoration of free school milk for juniors will be paid for by the EEC, and the postponement of a further 10p increase in school dinners will probably just halt the decline in numbers able to afford them.

The total increase in spending will probably be less than £550 million. This will be financed out of the "contingency fund" that already exists. **In any case, it is nothing compared to the "underspending" of up to**

£4,000m imposed by the Treasury in 1977/8—quite apart from the £3,000m or £4,000m cuts already planned by the government in white papers.

Quite apart from the enormous job losses involved, the effects of social spending cuts, especially for lower-paid workers and their families, is far greater than will ever be compensated for by small tax cuts.

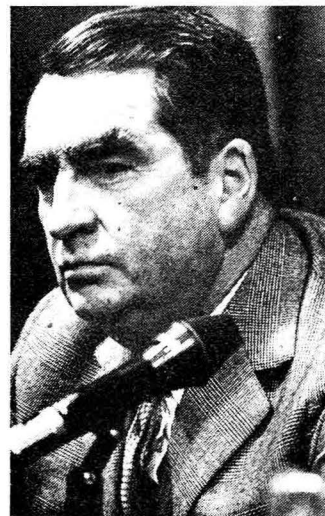
The labour movement must therefore continue to demand a programme of useful public works, both to create employment and to provide the essential health, welfare and educational services still urgently required by workers.

Unemployment

In his speech, Healey said that a major aim of the budget was to get unemployment heading in a downward direction. In spite of this, however, his measures will, at best, do no more than prevent unemployment going up. The 3% growth of gross national product (at 1970 prices) which Healey now predicts would still leave us with 1½ million on the dole. But there is no guarantee that 3% growth will be achieved, and in any case many firms, like Spillers and Thorn's this week, will be "rationalising", thus putting more on the dole.

Living standards

Healey's package—if his predictions work out—will mean a slight easing of the heavy economic burdens of the last few years. "Taking the man on £75 a week, if his earnings rise by 10 per cent in



Denis Healey

accordance with the government's guideline, his standard of living will rise by nearly 6 per cent in real terms between August 1977 and August 1978 as a result of last October's measures and those I have just described."

But it is far from certain that the budget projections will be borne out. Healey assumes an inflation rate below 9%, but international factors could easily send it up before next August. On the other hand, wage settlements are currently running at about 14%, whereas Healey assumes 10%—and several times mentions that he hopes pay rises will be substantially lower in 1978/9 than at present.

"I do not in this budget make any call for sacrifice," reassured Healey. But in spite of the rise in living standards he predicts, of course, the working class as a whole cannot forget the 1½ million unemployed and the previous savage cut in living standards under the Labour government—which will not be restored by these measures.

Dubious prospects

Denis Healey himself struck a strong cautionary note when he referred to the vanishing "mirage" of a world economic recovery, and alluded several times to the underlying weakness of British capitalism.

"...unless British industry can produce and sell the goods required to meet the demand created by any

budget stimulus, that increase in demand will be met by imports and set inflation going again."

The chancellor exhorted British capitalists to invest, modernise and improve their management. But, if the comments in the serious financial press are anything to go by, there will be no big rush by the capitalists to oblige.

The economic editor of 'The Times' put it bluntly: "The truth exposed by the latest forecasts is that whatever else may have been achieved by the sacrifices of the past four years, we still do not have a platform for steady growth free from worries about inflation and the balance of payments."

He feared that Healey's growth target would not be achieved, that imports would increase (probably producing a trade deficit), and that inflation will again accelerate.

Alternative

Whatever the limited benefits for workers, these budget measures can be no substitute for socialist economic policies. In the short term, Labour may hold votes with tax handouts. But in the longer run, workers will draw up a balance sheet based on their own experiences.

The immediate rejection by trade union leaders of Healey's hint at further pay restraint reflects the strong pressure within the ranks for improved pay now that things are getting better, as Healey claims.

Healey himself admitted, several times in his long and detailed speech, that his plans could be completely undermined by world recession and the failure of the bosses in Britain to respond to his strategy.

For the active workers, this will reinforce the conclusion, endorsed time and again by Labour Party and trade union conferences, that only public ownership and socialist planning can guarantee the development of productive resources to eliminate unemployment, provide social services and assure every worker of a reasonable and secure standard of life.



ON THE STREETS

Armed with the facts and enthusiasm gained by attending the best National Conference of the LPYS ever, members from Harlow, Loughton and the newly formed Wanstead and Woodford LPYS, a couple of visitors from Leicester and Liverpool and other Militant supporters took Harlow town centre by storm in our joint LPYS day of action on racialism.

The proof that the day of action was having a good effect was when a young West Indian bloke came across us and although interested, had no money to buy a copy of the LPYS Broadsheet. A matter of seconds later he returned with borrowed money to purchase a copy.

Later during the afternoon I noticed this bloke again, this time he also had a copy of the Militant. Evidently he had been so impressed he had borrowed money to buy it! His final words were that he would definitely be coming to our public meeting on Wednesday.

The proof of the pudding is in the eating, so the saying goes. The fact that we sold more than 20 copies of the Racialism Broadsheet and about 10 copies of Left and about the same of Militant proves to me that taking the ideas of Socialism out on to the streets is the correct way to work.

Christina Huxtable
(Harlow LPYS)

FIGHT AGAINST RACIALISM

The anger building up among young people was reflected in the turnout of over 30 at the public meeting organised by Reading LPYS with Kevin Fernandes [Hackney LPYS] speaking on the PNP youth movement and its role in fighting racialism and the struggle for socialism.

Kevin outlined the growth of the fascist National Front, and the move to the right of the Tories, with Thatcher trying to steal the NF's racist propaganda.

"The roots of racialism," he said, "lay in Britain's imperialist history. The British army was sent out to Africa, Asia, and Central America and exploited the people of these areas, robbing them of natural resources—that is why these countries are so poor today.

The old policy of "divide and rule" was now being used in an attempt to split black and white workers. The press, in particular, was being manipulated by these people.

In conclusion, Kevin said that because racialism bred in the slums and grime of the inner city areas, the fight against it must be a socialist fight—so that the material base could be taken away from the fascists and the Tories by the elimination of poverty.

In the excellent discussion

which followed, Paul Whitehouse pointed out that in desperation with the conditions they found themselves in, and disillusioned with the Labour government, workers in the more depressed inner city areas sometimes saw the NF as a way out of their squalor.

Glen Hubbard said that the Nazis in Germany were told to drop their anti-monopoly policies—and when they had done this they were given full backing by the German capitalists.

"It is time all socialists got off their backsides," said Kenny Roddy, who described how he had seen members of the National Front in Leicester with pick-axe handles being protected by the police. Chris Hickey suggested that activities should be organised to integrate white, West Indian and Asian youth. The LPYS and PNP could play an invaluable role here.

The enthusiasm of the meeting, the number of West Indian people who came along, and the number who showed interest in joining the PNP were signs that the fight against racialism and for socialism is now really being taken up.

Neil Boom, John Canon, Tim Harris
(Reading LPYS)

IN THE SCHOOLS

Following a big press attack on the LPYS leafletting schools with recruitment leaflets before the Easter holidays, we felt that we could not disappoint the Tory press and the image that they have built us as "subversives". So on Monday 3rd April, the first day of term, we began a mass leafletting assault on several schools in Bristol, with Youth Unemployment and School Student leaflets.

The response was the normal one from kids going back after the Easter holidays; most of them took the leaflets and more were dropped on the floor.

After nearly all the kids had gone, we walked down the road, only to meet a party of late comers. When hearing that the leaflets were about unemployment they snapped them up and began to read them. We got on a bus near the school to go into town, only to meet another party of young kids who had obviously decided to extend their holiday.

They were keen to take our leaflets, and were pretty cheerful. One said that his old man used to be Labour, but was now going to vote for the National Front, and he was agreeing with him. When I asked why, he said, that the Front were going to send all

By Rob Cadwgan
(Bristol NE LPYS)

the blacks home. He thought they were taking all the jobs.

The rest of the journey I spent arguing with him and tried to explain that it was big business that put us on the dole not the black workers. Come the end of the journey, they asked for some more leaflets and offered to give them out, at which point they proceeded to leaflet everyone on the bus.

They got off, and went into town leafletting. We ran into them later on and they had given out all the leaflets.

What this incident proves is that youth are looking for ideas that offer an escape from the nightmare the bosses have to offer. We can win them to our banner. If we don't then the fascists will gain at our expense.

READERS MEETINGS

Ramsgate

At a Militant Public Meeting in Ramsgate Labour Hall, twenty five people listened to Ray Apps (Brighton, Kemptown Labour Party) lead off on 'A bold socialist alternative to the Tories and right-wing Labour leaders.'

He explained the hopeless position that British industry faces under capitalism. Without a socialist transformation of society, attacks would be made on the living standards of working people that will be far more severe than the nightmare of the '30s.

The Ilford election results, he said, reflected the disillusionment of workers with the Labour leadership, who far from improving standards, were carrying out Tory policies, and propping up this parasitic system where profit comes before any considerations regarding housing, health, education and other essential public services.

But, in contrast to this, where an active campaign was

being waged against such cut-backs, linked to the need for socialist policies, new members, especially young people, were joining the Labour Party.

Immediately after the meeting a local student asked to take 20 papers to try and sell at his college and there were numerous inquiries about the setting up of a Labour Party Young Socialists branch in the area. All in all a gratifying evening with the knowledge that the 'Militant' paper and its policies are now firmly on the Thanet map!

P Harris

(Thanet East CLP)

Poole

A Militant Readers' Meeting was held in Poole to mark the arrival of the 16-page paper. Supporters from a wide area, including Bournemouth, Poole and Christchurch, heard Nick Brookes [Southampton LP] talk on the history and development of 'Militant', from the early four pages a month to its present 16 pages weekly.

The importance of 'Militant' in informing working people of the whole truth of the state of capitalism today as opposed to the half-truths meted out by the mass media make it the workers' paper. The paper to be read and contributed to by working people.

Pauline Wardleworth
(Poole CLP)

Sellers Conference

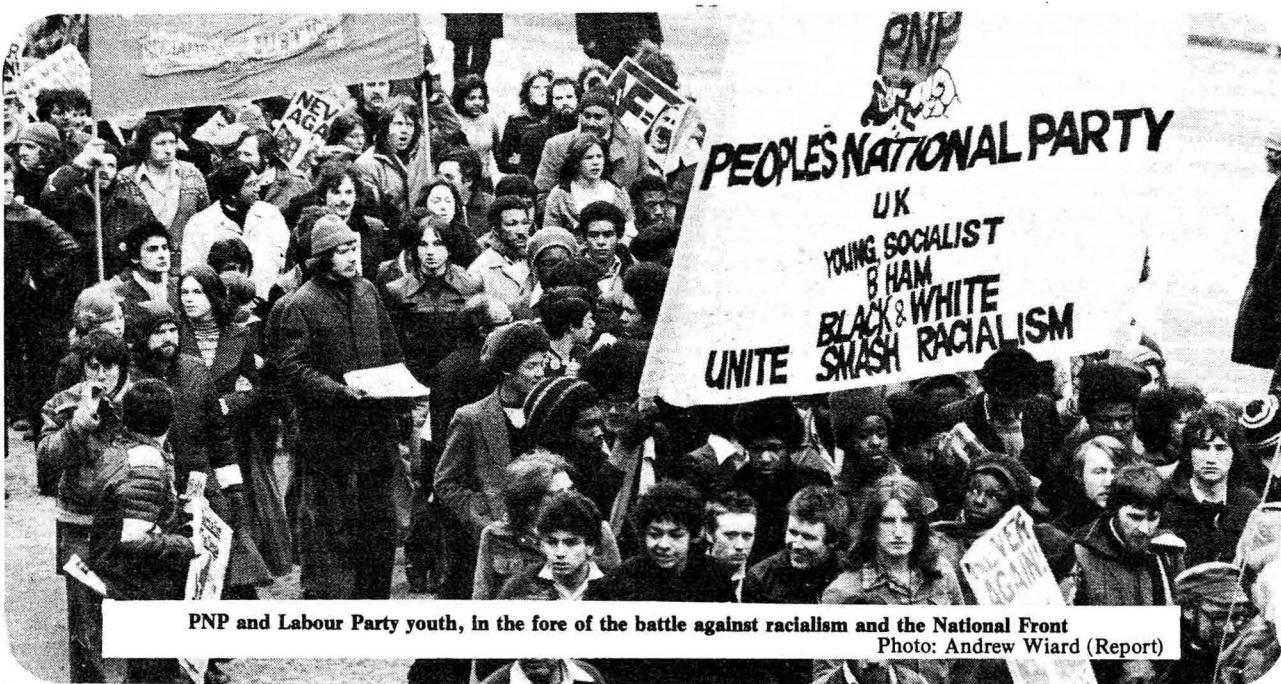
The 'Militant' Sellers' Conference taking place this weekend is almost fully booked up. However, if there are any sellers who previously thought they could not make it but now find they can, then they should phone us as there may be one or two places left.

The Editorial Board have invited sellers to discuss the political ideas that are put

forward in the 'Militant' and the way that these ideas are received in the labour and trade union movement. Also under discussion will be plans for improving many aspects of the 'Militant' and expanding the sales.

Judging by the bookings it looks like being a very constructive weekend.

LEEDS ANTI-NF MARCH



PNP and Labour Party youth, in the fore of the battle against racialism and the National Front
Photo: Andrew Wiard (Report)

For several months now rumours have been intensifying that the NF is going to mount a national demonstration in Leeds to mark St Georges Day [23rd April]. It has now been confirmed that the fascists intend to march on or near that date. NE Leeds Labour Party, whose constituency includes the main immigrant area of Chapeltown, called a public meeting to rally opposition to such a march and to discuss tactics for opposing it.

The leaflets advertising the public meeting arrived from the printer's only four days before the meeting was due to take place. We couldn't therefore circulate trade union and immigrant organisations as intended. Nevertheless, the whole of Chapeltown was leafletted house-to-house (using also the Labour

By David Sellers

(NE Leeds Labour Party)

Party broadsheet 'Unite Against Nazis').

The LPYS leafletted the Sikh Temple. An article about the coming meeting was due to be published in the 'Yorkshire Evening Post', but this was censored, on the specific directions of the editor—so much for an impartial, free press!

About 150 people turned up at the public meeting. The audience included large numbers of English, West Indian and Asian workers and housewives. The Jewish community too was represented. Officers of Leeds Trades Council, the Indian Workers' Association, the Labour Party, and various West Indian organisations and all the anti-racist groups were there and pledged the support of their organisations to any action committee arising out of the

meeting.

The main platform speakers were Ron Sedler (Labour Parliamentary Candidate) and myself as LP Youth Officer. We both outlined the threat posed by a march of the National Front.

I explained that appeals to the police and judges could not be relied upon to stop the NF. The only thing that would persuade the police to act against the NF would be if they saw that a powerful counter-demonstration was being organised. I suggested that we go ahead and make contingency preparations for such a counter-demo, with the object of blocking the streets to the NF, and this was overwhelmingly agreed to by the meeting.

A clergyman spoke up also and indicated that although he did not fully agree with

everything that had been said, he and his church would be prepared to follow the bold lead that was being given by this meeting. The authority of the meeting and its determination is what swayed the more 'moderate' people like this. And the authority of the meeting stemmed precisely from its representative composition.

It was agreed that a committee be set up to arrange plans and publicity for a march. The committee would have representation from every organisation prepared to mobilise its members. Also, at the suggestion of a housewife who was present, people will be allowed to represent streets in Chapeltown.

A mass meeting, aiming at 300-400 attendance, is to be held on 19th April at Chapeltown Community Centre, where the committee will report back.

LEFT & RIGHT

Who Swindles Whom?

A report by Strathclyde social work department, based on a special survey by regional council experts, has slammed the government over red tape which deters sick and disabled people claiming benefits. It also accuses Tory MP Ian Sproat of making the problem worse with his wild claims of "widespread abuse" and "scrounging".

After investigating a local centre for the physically disabled, they discovered that the vast majority of people were not getting their entitlements. Test claims on behalf of 26 of the 72 people at the centre resulted in an immediate payment of £800.

This confirms that it is not a case of scroungers swindling Social Security—but of Social Security swindling the sick, the poor and the unemployed.

Not as close as that!

Celebrated anti-porn campaigner Mrs Mary Whitehouse has just discovered that some of her support comes from very unsavoury sources. Mr Adrian Cooper, secretary of her Cornish branch, doubles up apparently as chairman of Cornwall's National Front.

Mrs Whitehouse has very genteelly commented: "I don't want to make a meal of it, but in the present climate of controversy around the National Front, it is only right that I should report Mr Cooper's position to our national executive."

But even this delicate suggestion has caused Mr Cooper indignation. "I find this sudden interest in my political views somewhat distasteful...In any case, aren't the Viewers' Association and the National Front really in the same struggle over many of our aims?"

Now that was going too far, Mrs Whitehouse protested. "I cannot accept that the two organisations are as close in their views as that."

Malibu housing programme

Now for some news from Malibu, a retreat for the rich of the USA. Nobody can say the rich are sheltered from inflation. Why, people have to pay £300,000 for a tiny cubbyhole in Malibu Colony with a few feet of ocean front.

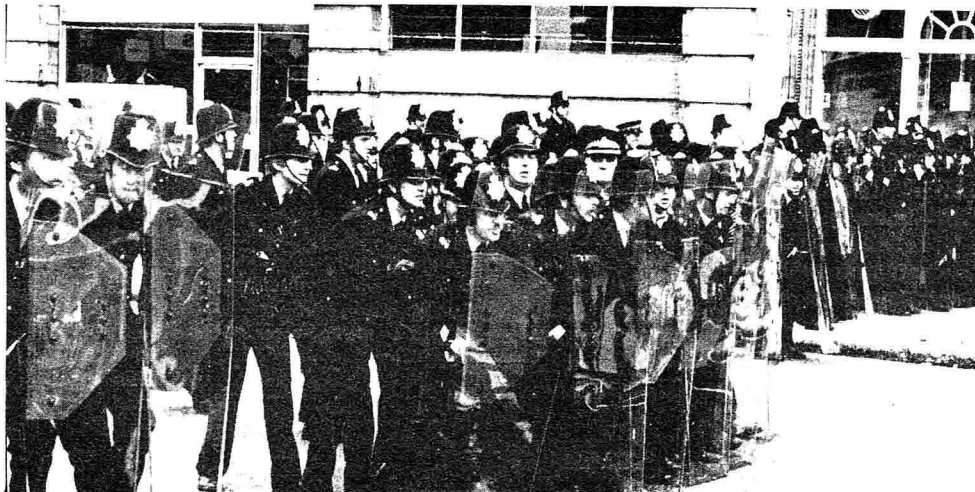
But poor old Lou Adler, the rock impresario who has made £12 million on Carole King albums alone, had an even bigger bill, according to the magazine 'Cosmopolitan'. He bought a nice beach house on the Pacific coast at Malibu, but then decided it wasn't quite private enough, so he bought the house on one side and the lot on the other. By that time he felt his first house needed some improvement. So he got it torn down to its foundations and spent more than half a million pounds building a stone castle in its place. While the work was in progress, the poor fellow was homeless. So he was forced to lay out yet another £80,000 to buy a house on the cliff overlooking the three properties so that he could live there and watch his new home taking shape.

Our Parent, which art...

The Anglican Church of New Zealand has joined the campaign against sexism. The Very Reverend Dean of Wakato has said that "the assumption throughout the liturgy that God is masculine might adversely affect women's attitudes to their lives and personal relationships with God." He has even proposed that the Our Father be revised to "Our Parent."

As the prophet told the Dixiecrat bigot on being asked what God looks like... "First of all, she's black!"

The danger of 'harmless' weapons



Police with riot shields at Lewisham

The use of weapons in increasing numbers by the police for the control of strikes and demonstrations should come as no surprise to activists in the labour movement. To the Council for Science and Society, however, as their recent report entitled 'Harmless Weapons' ('New Scientist' 30th March) shows, this is a fairly recent and disturbing discovery.

The last 20 years has marked an upsurge of dissent and protest amongst first students and more recently the working class. Add to this, unrest in the remnants of the colonial world, and you have fertile ground for the 'talents' of the armament manufacturers in producing sophisticated 'crowd-control' weapons (and massive profits!)

Riot-control weaponry has an obviously political role in maintaining "order". "Harmless" weapons have a special appeal in democratic countries where the use of brute force and naked terror to defend the existing system

would undermine the "democratic" reserves of the capitalist state. While making this point, the CSS report ignores the most important developments in crowd control methods, notably the use of 'riot squads', like the SPG, at Grunwicks and Lewisham.

The increasing use of weaponry cannot be explained simply by "technological developments" or "government indifference", as the report suggests.

Why is Britain facing increased deployment of crowd-control weapons in the 1970s? Obviously because of changed social and political conditions, with economic recession, mass unemployment, falling living standards, and dissatisfaction among youth with education and society in general. This, together with the experience of the British Army in counter-insurgency techniques gained over the last eight years in N Ireland, places the whole question of weapon-use by the police in its historical context.

Without an understanding of social and political trends the only question the CSS report is able to ask is "What is the best way to control a riot?" not "Why and for whose benefit?"

The use of the phrase "Harmless weapon", moreover, is absurd. Even the US Army Land Warfare Laboratory has said: "No matter how discreet the use of chemical agents is, there is always an element of risk of developing a lethal concentration."

Joseph Coates (responsible for the US National Science Foundation report on riot weapons) stated that: "Attempts to achieve a stunning or concussive effect are not likely to be successful because of the small margin of safety between a high velocity, small cross-section impact, which would knock off balance or stun, and the infliction of permanent or deadly injury."

The evidence of death and serious injury from rubber

bullets in N Ireland illustrates the truth of this statement.

Rosenhead and Shallice, of the British Society for Social Responsibility in Science, point in their criticisms (in 'New Scientist') to the failure of the CSS report to consider the situation in N Ireland, and the use of weapons to control the civilian population. It is in just such conditions of 'civil disorder' that riot-control and counter-insurgency tactics will in the future be used in Britain.

Softly, softly

We have repeatedly pointed to the stockpiling of riot-control weapons by the police, and the use of N Ireland as a training-ground for methods that will later be turned against the labour movement. Events at Grunwicks illustrate how correct we were.

The CSS report views such stockpiling of weapons as sheer accident, yet it is the obvious tactic of introducing riot-control weapons gradually in order to accustom the public to them. But, the use of riot shields, the methods of the Special Patrol Group, and the protection of the National Front by the police, have raised serious doubts in many workers' minds about the 'neutrality' of the law.

The state has a coherent policy of preparing for future 'civil disorder', anticipating the use of mass pickets and even confrontation in the form of a General Strike.

Teresa Cairns

Canterbury LPYS

Grilled alive

Reports in 'Militant' of the Garners' Steak House dispute bring back memories of working for a large West End restaurant in the basement of a large hotel. I was employed as a "grill cook", which involved cooking steaks on an open grill. At times, it was like standing in front of three huge furnaces.

Officially, we worked 40 hours a week. However, this involved what are known as "split shifts"; eg 11am-2.30pm and 5.30pm-10.30pm. We worked four such 8½-hour days a week, and one 6-hour day, 10 am-4 pm.

What can you do between 2.30 pm and 5.30 pm at Marble Arch which doesn't become monotonous after a few days? Sunbathe in Hyde Park? Or sit in the segregated rest rooms? You can't go shopping, well, I couldn't on the wages of £23 per week. The pubs were all shut, it got a bit boring after a few weeks. The only entertainment we got was a very quick pint after work. We had to get changed pretty quickly and run all the way to the pub to make it before closing time.

Occasionally, I did a bit of overtime. When your rest days are Tuesday and Thursday, there is nothing to do at home

during the day, your friends are at work, so it is quite natural to volunteer to do a lunchtime shift on such a day. On the wages you get, the money is a bit handy, anyway. But there is one problem—no multiple rates. One of my supervisors was OK—if I did four hours he'd put down that I'd done ten.

There were some really petty rules. I often wondered why the other (mainly immigrant) workers put up with it all. I hadn't realised the implications of the Immigration Acts then; I hadn't yet joined the LPYS. I now realise what the employers could have done had they 'misbehaved'.

Charades

But, being under no such threat myself, I stuck up for myself a bit. If I felt like talking to one of the girls, I'd simply go into the wrong rest room. If I wanted to change a rest day, I'd tell, not ask, the supervisor. After a few weeks, I'd picked up the job pretty well, and could afford to be a bit cheeky; I'd refuse to do what I considered to be more than a fair amount of work. When some of the others started to copy me, I was picked out and threatened with physical violence by the security staff.

A few of us began to discuss the possibility of joining the T&GWU. The waiting staff, who lived mainly on tips, didn't want to know, because they thought that the outcome would be having to pay tax on their tips. But a determined mood was beginning to build up among the cooks, which filtered back to the management, who promptly signed an agreement with another union with a less-than-militant reputation inside the catering industry. This tactic proved successful.

We were given one-hour breaks to attend the recruitment meetings. We sat in a hall with the union full-timer on the top table with a senior member of the management! After a talk, which hardly inspired anyone, we were asked for questions. Up went a hand. "Yes?" beckoned the senior manager, who was chairing the meeting. "If we join, does that mean we all have to go on strike?" asked a man dressed as a cook, but I knew to be a security man, who had threatened me on more than one occasion. The full-timer ummed and aahed for a moment, then stressed how, of course, one tries to avoid industrial action...

Up went another hand. "Yes?" "If we have a union, does that mean we can't help each other out? I've heard

about these demarcation disputes, but we aren't like that here, we're friendly people." The woman who asked that was in fact the manageress of one of the restaurants in the complex, dressed up as a waitress. "Obviously," came the reply, "this would be up to you. The union would not seek to change existing practices..." Needless to say, nobody joined.

Best?

The above took place a few summers ago. I only worked there 11 weeks. But I'll always remember the searchings, the intimidation, the split shifts, and the pittance we had to live on. I've left out much more than I've written, but I hope that this description of what I was reliably told was one of the best employers in the catering industry, gives some idea of what catering workers have to go through.

It is refreshing to learn through the pages of 'Militant' that one of the most oppressed and downtrodden sections of the working class in this country is finally moving into action in pursuit of what most of us consider to be automatic rights.

Dave Spagnol

Tower Hamlets
LPYS

CHURCH HILL HOUSE: UNIONS DEMAND FULL INQUIRY

A public, independent, inquiry into Church Hill House hospital! Lift the suspensions on Tony Onyewu and Sharon Warwick!

This is what hospital workers, trade unionists and Labour Party members, in Bracknell are demanding. These are the slogans of the mass demonstration and public meeting to be held in Bracknell on Saturday 15th April. The Wokingham and Bracknell Trades Council and the local Labour Party are fully backing the campaign.

National Union of Public Employees (NUPE) members have been at the forefront of the fight for better standards of care and working conditions in the hospital, protecting the interests of both union members and patients.

Over the past two years, NUPE members, particularly branch officers and shop stewards, have been harassed and victimised unmercifully by the hospital management.

The more vigilant and effective the shop stewards, the more trumped-up charges, disciplinary action, interference with pay and holidays they were subject to.

After a shop steward, Sharon Warwick, NUPE Branch Secretary, had been dragged before a 'kangaroo court', which she was not even allowed to participate in fully, union members demanded an urgent public inquiry.

The 'Wokingham Times' revealed other malpractices at the hospital, and joined the call for a full inquiry. After police investigations, which NUPE officials co-operated with, a nursing officer was arrested and charged. He promptly resigned his job.

Management attempted to imply that it was the hospital staff who were under suspicion. This was untrue. But they followed the police action by suspending Tony Onyewu, the NUPE Branch Chairman, and Sharon Warwick. They gave no reasons, stating in the 'Bracknell News' that it was "not for disciplinary reasons."

By Terry Pearce
(Bracknell Trades Council)

This left a monstrous slur over the names of two trade union activists who had not in any way been implicated in the police investigations. They themselves had been subject to completely arbitrary and irregular treatment; the suspensions, without any explanation, might seem almost calculated to blacken and discredit their names.

The suspensions also banned them from Area Health Authority premises. This affected not only union activity, but even medical treatment. Sharon Warwick had to obtain permission to take her son to the doctor's.

The Minister of Health, Roland Moyle, has already intervened, and Roderick MacFarquhar MP (Parliamentary Private Secretary to David Ennals) has stated that he is "highly disturbed" by the actions of the Authority, and has joined in the demand for a public inquiry.

CHURCH HILL HOUSE HOSPITAL DEMONSTRATION SATURDAY 15th APRIL

- *Assemble 10am at Church Hill House.
- *March sets off 10.30am.
- *Public Meeting—Bandstand—Charles Square 11.30am

Speakers include:—Alan Furley, Tony Onyewu, Sharon Warwick, Terry Pearce and other trades council and trade union speakers.

Organised by Wokingham and Bracknell Trades Council.

Meanwhile, the ban on trade union activities continues. Union members throughout the area are outraged.

The complete flouting of all accepted disciplinary procedures is only the thin end of the wedge. Management's aim seems to be to crush all union activity.

All trade unionists and Labour Party members must back these workers. It is a fight for basic trade union rights and for the democratic accountability of hospital management to the workers they are supposed to serve.

Allegations and evidence of abuses in mental hospitals are becoming more widespread and frequent. Hospital workers, through their trade unions, and the whole of the labour movement should themselves pool their experiences and information, and hammer out a programme to defend patients and staff, and for the democratic running of all our hospitals under the control of the labour movement.

Support the suspended NUPE members! Join the demonstration! Send resolutions from your union branch and Labour Party to Labour Ministers David Ennals and Roland Moyle, demanding a full, independent inquiry into what is happening at Church Hill House, and why.



Students face increasing hardship and unemployment

Photo: Andrew Wiard (Report)

NUS Conference Report

The NUS conference at Blackpool marked a major set back for the big business-backed Federation of Conservative Students. Their presidential candidate received only 74 votes, half that of 12 months ago.

Mike Levene
(Delegate, Lanchester Polytechnic)

an anti-racism campaign by the NUS on this basis.

The debate on Further Education should have been the opportunity for NUS to launch a mass campaign for a better deal for the mainly working class students in FE colleges. The main motion instructed the Executive: "To organise campaigns for a socialist solution to the problems of FE in conjunction with the Labour Parties and trade unions."

It also proposed abolition of discretionary grants, and speakers in favour of the resolution pointed out that unions in these colleges could only be built if they fought for students' interests. However, an amendment from the Executive, which solely concentrated on union development, without really taking up the problems of FE students, was passed.

The new Executive elected at this Conference marks a major set-back for the Tories, 11 members of the 'Broad Left' were elected, three 'Socialist Students' Alliance', one SWP, one Liberal and only one Tory. On the Presidential election, 550 out of 700 delegates voted for delegates claiming to be socialist. In fact the Tories would have got no executive members, had not supporters of the 'Broad Left'—including members of the Labour and Communist Parties—

However, with one or two exceptions, the policies passed at this Conference reflect the views of the "Broad Left" leadership of the union, which do not offer any concrete way forward for NUS.

The major debate on racialism saw a restoration of the 'No platform for fascists' policy, against the wishes of the Executive. The amendment introducing this was backed by the National Organisation for Labour Students, showing the potential for NOLS to fight independently in NUS. However, the debate was noticeable for its lack of any class analysis of racialism.

While the return of 'No platform' has obviously annoyed the Tory press, the NUS Executive still puts its faith in 'broad based' campaigns against racialism, without spelling out what programme such campaigns are to be based on, and sees racialism as a moral issue, although the amendment that was passed recognised that "Their (the NF's) main intention is to smash the organisations of the working class, trade unions..." However, no socialist policies were advocated to undermine the racist propaganda, and this will be a crucial weakness in

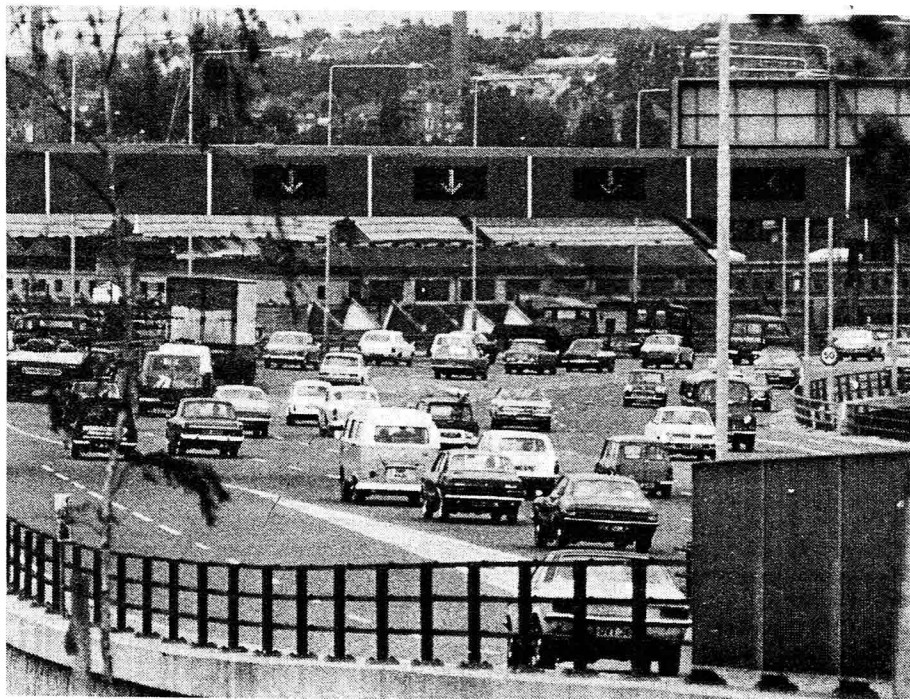
voted for them because of a scare campaign run by the FCS that they would urge unions to leave NUS unless there was a Tory on the Executive!

This surrendering to blackmail threats from a small Tory minority does not augur well for the new Executive to launch fighting campaigns on the problems students face. Indeed 'The Times' commented on Trevor Phillips, the new President: "Mr Phillips is likely to prove even more 'moderate' as a president of NUS than Miss Slipman, who, although a Communist, often found herself in alliance with Conservative students...He is not worried about the possibility that he will find himself in alliance with the Tories and Liberals against the left."

Socialist students in the colleges must ensure that NUS does take up the problems of students, and link with the labour movement as the only realistic solution to their problems. As Carl Bagley (Bradford University) and Andy Dixon (Newcastle University) explained during the education debate, cuts in education and living standards can only be combatted through a successful socialist transformation of society.

The reforms demanded by the Executive are otherwise thoroughly utopian. Now more than ever there is the need for a socialist leadership in the NUS based on a Marxist programme capable of solving the problems of students and workers today.

Sheffield By-pass



Birmingham ring-road—what control do local residents have over planning decisions?

Photo: John Sturrock (Report)

Heeley, Sharrow, Meersbrook and Abbeydale are inner city areas, lying in the Valley of the River Sheath, between southern suburbia and central Sheffield.

For twenty years, Heeley and the surrounding areas—100 year old terraced houses, corner shops open late, cosy pubs, a 'grannie living up the road' community, Labour voting—have been blighted by the misnamed Heeley by-pass. Conceived in post-war euphoria to relieve congestion at a shopping centre, it has become a commuter road, with the threat of house and shop demolition and the dispersion of the community.

The area has a traffic problem—the twice-a-day commuter drag. Why should the occupants of one area have to pay for the convenience of others? Small scale traffic management schemes—bus lanes, tidal flow, park-and-ride systems, parking restrictions—can cope with the traffic, and improved public transport services can reduce the overall demand. Parallel to the proposed line of the road is an empty space, the spare tracks of the Chesterfield-Sheffield railway line, but the County Council will not consider a commuter rail service.

In January, the Labour County Council produced five options, all entailing major road building and community disruption, for a 'public participation' scheme. For several years a coalition of community groups, ward Labour party, railway unions and environmental groups have opposed the road. This initiative was the signal for a massive campaign. Large angry meetings, leafletting,

petitioning, picketing, lobbying—'no new roads—small scale improvements are enough.'

Too many people turned up for the county council-organised meeting. Fire regulations were invoked and over 100 people were locked out of the cancelled meeting. The replay in the city centre attracted 500. Speaker after speaker from the floor opposed all options and proposed small improvements and improved bus and rail services. The final motion opposing the council's plans was carried unanimously. The meeting's chairperson, Labour councillor and planner-lecturer dismissed the meetings as unrepresentative.

We have learned that public participation is just another ploy of bureaucrats and planners to impose their will. The county council is totally out of touch with the electorate and often at odds with the Labour city council. Despite their stand on cheap, subsidised bus fares, the county is still very influenced by pro-private transport planners and engineers.

Officers and county councillors are greeted with unanimously hostile feelings in a series of packed local meetings. Motions opposing all options and challenging the county are passed unanimously through Heeley and Hallam constituency parties. John Tyme is waiting in the wings. The railway unions present a motion to the Trades Council.

The Heeley by-pass will never be built! Perhaps the tide is turning...

John Le Corney (Secretary, Heeley Residents' Association, Heeley CLP)



HELLO

I. The picture shows the end of the anti-racist march in Wolverhampton on 11 March. Who would the casually-dressed 'demonstrator with a moustache and long sideburns be?



HELLO

II. Here he is again, standing with policemen, talking earnestly to the occupants of a car.



HELLO

III. And this is why: he was assisting uniformed police to arrest a black youth picked out from the demonstrators. In the photograph above he was making sure the arrested youth was "safely" in the back of a car, an unmarked Allegro. In the top photograph, taken last, this zealous citizen [??] was "joining in" the demonstration. Draw your own conclusions.

Photos: Andrew Wiard (Report)

Our Life in their hands

Ian Burge, Secretary, Joint Shop Stewards' Committee, London Hospital, Whitechapel, exposes the Area Health Authorities.

It is well worth any health worker making a visit to a meeting of their Area Health Authority—just to see for themselves how these institutions work.

Members of the District Joint Shop Stewards' Committee and of the 'Save Bethnal Green Campaign' committee thought that by lobbying the Authority members it might be possible to influence the voting. At stake was the future of the 300 bed Bethnal Green Hospital.

The City and East London Area Health Authority meets once a month in a plush chamber within Addison House, a fairly new and air-conditioned office block for health administrators, situated comfortably away from any of the ugly and decrepit ex-workhouses that pass for hospitals in the area. These monthly gatherings are for the purpose of making decisions on behalf of hundreds of thousands of health service users, and thousands of health service workers.

Big business, strangely enough, seems to be well represented on the Authority, with F M Cumberlege Esq., CBE, of Messrs Thomas Cumberlege and Inskipp, a firm of tea brokers, as the chairman of the Authority. Other prominent members include a J M Blyth Currie Esq., of Blyth Greene Jourdain & Co Ltd., S M Gray Esq., of Messrs Dixon Wilson & Co., K McAlpine Esq., DL, of the famous building firm.

Titled persons, too, are represented, with Sir Robin Brook, KBE, CMG, OBE, the Viscount Knutsford, Lady Riches, and Lady Sherman (Hackney Council). Thirteen members are appointed by the Regional Health Authority, nine by the Local Authorities, three by the University of London, and the chairman is appointed by the Secretary of State. The University appointees include the Deans of St Bart's and the London Hospital Medical colleges.

Public

The meetings are supposed to be open to the public, and since a request from shop stewards to meet the members had been rejected, we decided to go along as 'members of the public'. On arrival we were informed that there was only room for ten, other public gallery seats having already been taken up by District Management Team 'advisors' and the press.

Bethnal Green Hospital was the first main item on the agenda. The chairman gave an outline of management's plan and the reasons for the changes, which briefly amounted to there being less

money to go round, and a reduction in bed allocation from 1,000 to 665 acute beds. DHSS priorities required a shift of resources from acute care to geriatrics and community services.

The chairman referred to comments received during the 'consultation' period. His interpretation of these was that there appeared to be widespread support for management's scheme. He made no attempt to explain any other point of view, although he was fully aware that a local campaign against the plans was receiving considerable support. He knew that a public meeting of 700 had rejected the plans, the health workers and their unions were completely against the plans, and that the Tower Hamlets Council were not at all happy with the plans. The large amount of opposition included in the written comments was completely glossed over.

Glossed

Only three Authority members were willing to speak against the plans, a Labour Councillor, a Trades Council nominee, and the chairman of the City and Hackney Community Health Council. They made a number of good points of principle, and also pointed out some anomalies and deceptions in Management's arguments.

It appeared that in all the consultation 'evidence' presented in management's report, only one reply gave any support to the plan; even that had conditions. The majority of replies expressed opposition. Non-committal replies had been counted by management as giving support. Included in the evidence was a petition signed by 70 community health staff objecting to the plan. Over 100 local GPs who had also signed a letter of opposition had been ignored, as had 20,000 local residents who signed a petition of protest.

Now, before proceeding, it is necessary to explain the position of two important bodies which have quite a large amount of power to oppose the plans. These are the local council and the local Community Health Council (CHC). Following a successful resolution submitted by the LPYS, Tower Hamlets Labour Party is committed to oppose the cuts. The Tower Hamlets Labour-controlled council was the only body to attempt to get all interested parties together in order to hear the various arguments for and against. The Council then adopted the view that there were sufficient differences of medical and other opinion to justify holding back the plan until a proper inquiry had been held.

The Tower Hamlets CHC appeared to have acted hand

in glove with management, to the great annoyance and disgust of many local labour movement activists and hospital workers.

The Authority chairman said Tower Hamlets Council had not put forward any scheme that would save money. This was obviously his main concern. He did, however, allow a motion based on the Council's policy, basically calling for a suspension of the plans pending an inquiry (defeated: 9 against, 5 for, 7 abstentions).

Realising that a straight decision to immediately proceed with the plan for Bethnal Green would be met by widespread opposition, the chairman then 'invited' a further motion which would allow until 30th June for the Secretary of State, or Regional Health Authority, to produce more funds: if not, the plan would go ahead. This was agreed 16 for, none against, five abstentions. District Management could still proceed with changing the use of Bethnal Green, and take economy measures—so long as they were not 'irreversible'.

Luxury

This is the way that decisions are taken affecting thousands of people, thousands who will need immediate treatment in the casualty department which will be closed; decisions affecting hundreds of hospital workers, some of whom will no longer be able to work at Bethnal Green, others, already working under tremendous pressure, who will have to carry the extra burden from the closed units, and many in the community services who will be pushed to breakdown point as the closure of acute beds places more work on staff only at half strength anyway.

These decisions are being taken by a small number of people who probably only bother briefly to think about the NHS just once a month. These eminent people who have no commitment to the principles embodied in the NHS and certainly no commitment to the labour and trade union movement. They think the NHS is a "luxury" we cannot really afford. They are not interested in the views either of those who have to run the services, or those who need them.

Many of us knew what to expect when these bodies were set up under the health service re-organisation in 1974. It certainly wasn't the intention to have a democratically run NHS, more like something run on business lines.

From our point of view, the bodies which are to manage the health services should at least:

Be dedicated to defending the principles of the NHS, to expansion of the services to meet the full needs of the sick, and seek the necessary resources to achieve this;

Seek to end the influence of élitism, self interest, mystique, and so on as epitomised in the medical, nursing, and other 'professions';

Be composed of people subject to the control of the labour movement;

Have a built-in majority, democratically elected, representing the health workers themselves and the local population who use the services;

Not have to compete with other similar bodies for resources, but through elected delegates be able to work together in formulating the real health care needs of the population.

A WORLD OF DEPRIVATION

Glasgow has for many years been notorious for the extent of poverty and human misery in the decaying slums and vandalised housing schemes in which its citizens live. Yet at least these citizens have some kind of roof over their heads. For those at the very bottom of the poverty league, the homeless unemployed, even a secure home is denied them.

Now these people are faced with losing even the chance of a bed in a lodging house. Two centres which have been providing accommodation for them are threatened with closure. If nothing is done, the situation will be "critical", I was told by Joe Branningham of the Simon Community whose Glasgow centre has been given notice to close on April 10th.

The Simon Community provide accommodation for 33 men each night. The Talbot Centre in the Gorbals provides 150 men with a bed each night, and they too face the expiry of planning permission on May 31st. If these two centres close, only the Church of Scotland centre which takes in 31 men will remain.

The effect will be horrifying. "Definitely the number of deaths will increase," I was informed by Vincent Buchanan, Chairman of the Talbot Association. He explained that even with their centre open and the medical services that they can provide, there is a death at least every fortnight. He had just returned from a funeral when I spoke to him.

The main cause of these deaths is the consumption of Belaire hair lacquer, used as a drug by men who have lost all hope. Glasgow now faces the appalling prospect of men being forced to live and die on the streets, something which used to be thought only happened in places like Calcutta. What an indictment of capitalist Britain!

Iceberg

Yet this is only the tip of the iceberg of deprivation; it is only the final stage of a process which begins for many Glaswegians from the day when they are born. A report published recently by Strathclyde Regional Council Social Work Committee exposed the scandal of deprivation among children.

"About one in ten children in Strathclyde will probably experience a world of deprivation and restricted life

experiences. Things some children take for granted—privacy, new clothes, adventure, interested adults—are unknown possibilities for others."

Doomed

The report concludes: "There are no children who fail, rather there are children who are born to fail. The responsibility for failure lies with the adults and society who shape and fashion the world and horizons of the child."

From their birth in slums and poverty, to their death poisoned by hair lacquer in a Glasgow street, this poorest section of society is doomed. The 750,000 Scots, 14% of the population, who are officially "poor" according to government standards, face a constant struggle to avoid this abyss into which these people whom we conveniently dismiss as "down-and-outs" have fallen, victims of capitalist society.

That this situation should arise when a Labour government is in power is a double scandal. It proves in a shocking way how urgent it is that the Labour leaders should change course. Instead of considering tax concessions for the rich, there must be immediately imple-

Garscadden, Glasgow:

Even for those with homes, a restricted world of deprivation on grim estates as more join the dole queues.

mented a basic minimum wage of £60 for all, an immediate reversal of the cuts in social spending and a crash programme of investment in new housing, more health centres and hospitals and an immediate programme to provide relief for those who have fallen into the depths of vagrancy and despair.

Charities like the Talbot and Simon Associations are desperately trying to stem the problem, but they cannot possibly do more than alleviate a few of the worst personal cases. All the resources of the state should be mobilised in a crash programme to provide a decent life for every member of society.

Patric Craven

(Dundee East Labour Party)



Top: Drumchapel housing development in the middle of Garscadden, Glasgow
Below: Closed biscuit factory in Garscadden, now to be used as a warehouse

Photos: Andrew Wiard (Report)

Workers' Notebook

As British capitalism sinks gracefully down the drain we all have to tighten our belts. This is a time for sacrifices and we must all expect our share. So it comes as something of a jolt to learn that, whereas public spending on environmental services [refuse collection, public health, town planning etc] will in 1978-9 be only 84% of the 1975-6 level, not all aspects of environmental services will suffer equally. No-one will begrudge the doubling of expenditure on community ownership of development land: but is it really necessary to spend 17% more on Royal palaces and Royal parks?

And for those who would deny that there are really two nations in Britain, an examination of sickness statistics is the best medicine. A 'professional' man will on average have restricted activities through acute sickness nine days a year, an employer for 11 days. The 'unskilled manual' man suffers 21 days. And for every thousand professional men, 66 a year reporting chronic sickness, as do 74 a year for every thousand employers and managers. The unskilled manual man reports chronic sickness at the rate of 112 per thousand. And yet it is precisely the unskilled man who is surrounded daily by the chance of contracting industrial disease, who has either no sick pay scheme, or a very poor one. Those at the top of the scale very often have every facility including private patient schemes provided as a 'perk' by the firm.

'Social Trends' 1977, tables 8.7 and 8.8

Crime and violence - bred by Capitalism

I am writing in an attempt to reply to an allegation put forward in the 'Daily Mail' [28th March]. Through the pages of this infamous Tory journal, the ruling class are blatantly trying to tell us that the high degree of vandalism and violence present in capitalist society is not the fault of the system at all but is, they say, the fault of the individuals concerned.

Subversive

The title of the offending article is: "How You Pay for Revolutionaries You Don't Want." In the course of the article, June Lait [and it seems hardly surprising that she is a lecturer in a university, those well-known centres of class struggle] attacks the left-wing views of many of

the Social Services students whom she teaches. Of them, she says: "They are, consciously or not, subverting society. And we, the glib public, are paying them handsomely to do it."

As socialists we must ask June Lait whether or not it had occurred to her that perhaps Social Sciences students, many of whom have worked for several years before attending university and who intend to become Social and Welfare workers, are in a very much better position than her to judge the value of a socialist viewpoint. I would personally like to bet that June Lait has never worked on the shop floor and has probably never done anything in her life except learn or teach purely academic subjects. How

dare she be so arrogant as to blame these workers for the problems of a society she knows very little about?

Inadequate

Even as I write, the 'Man Alive' report on TV, about a borstal for girls [which is incidentally understaffed, overcrowded and in which the food is served in small quantities] has just mentioned the girls who are given nothing better to do than assemble lampshades: "Most of the girls won't even do this job outside because most of them won't even get a job." This directly reflects the anger and seething fury expressed by the writer of the recent articles on life in Glenochil Detention Centre in 'Militant'.

The point to be made is that the conditions causing delinquency, violence and vandalism stem directly from the capitalist system; that borstals and prisons are totally inadequate as a means of solving any problem, and that the escalation of violence, vandalism and other problems is inevitable under capitalism, as former inmates are returned to a world with little or no hope of a job. If you can't get what you need to live decently and in dignity on the dole, what can you do apart from steal it, or express your frustration and anger through violence?

Steve Chinn

(Coventry SE LPYS)

MEMOIRS OF STALIN'S MASTER SPY



Leopold Trepper was organiser of the "Red Orchestra", the Russian spy network in Nazi Germany. In his astounding memoirs, he reveals the inner mechanics of Stalin's regime—and provides a magnificent vindication of Leon Trotsky's struggle against Stalinism.

In the second part of his review of 'The Great Game', Peter Taaffe covers Trepper's recollections of the great purge of "Old Bolsheviks" and Stalin's disastrous military policies at the beginning of the second world war.

In 'The Great Game', Leopold Trepper provides a graphic picture of how Stalin undermined the conquests of the October Revolution through his murder of the flower of the Red Army on the eve of the second world war. He produces sensational material on the frame-up and murder of the commander of the Red Army, the brilliant Tukachevsky. Trotsky pointed out at the time that the mass discontent with Stalin's regime was bound to be reflected within the army.

Stalin was afraid that the bureaucracy, or a section of the bureaucracy, in this case the army, would take fright at the impasse which the country was in and move to replace him as the God-head. The hero of the Civil War, Tukachevsky, could easily have become a pole of attraction for this opposition to Stalin. The danger had to be removed, even if this meant enormously weakening the military defence of Russia. Thus Tukachevsky and 30,000 Red Army officers were murdered in Stalin's dungeons.

In the place of Tukachevsky, who developed the theory of blitzkrieg before the German High Command, were put mediocre nonentities who were creatures of Stalin, like Vorshilov. What "evidence" was used by Stalin to convict Tukachevsky? Trepper shows that in organising the frame-up, Stalin called on the services of the Gestapo. Giering, later Trepper's Gestapo jailer, explained to him how the frame-up was concocted:

The scene was Berlin, 1936. Heydrich, chief of Intelligence, received a visit from a former officer in the czarist army, General Skoblin. It was not difficult to show that Tukachevsky had had contact with the chiefs of staff of the Wehrmacht, since before the Nazi rise to power regular encounters were organised between the two armies, and the Soviet government had even established military schools for the training of German officers. A dossier was prepared that revealed, with the aid of altered documents, that Tukachevsky was preparing a military coup in liaison with the German military leaders. The preparation of these revealing

documents was not the work of a day. After the "proof" was assembled by Hitler's entourage, it was a spy's mission to get it into the hands of the leaders of the USSR. If we are to believe the memoirs of Schellenberg, then head of German counterespionage, the house the documents were in was burned and a Czech agent who had been alerted supposedly found the papers among the ashes. Another version has it that the Germans sold the documents to the Russians, using the Czechs as intermediaries.

By the end of May, 1937, the Tukachevsky file had found its way to Stalin's desk. The moustachioed Georgian had every reason to be satisfied. At his request, the Germans had provided him with all the material necessary for eliminating the man he had sworn to kill.

The present-day attorneys for Stalin, now admittedly only a few, take refuge in the fact that Stalin was at least a "great war leader". This is a myth. This



Tukachevsky

was shown clearly in the disastrous and shameful Hitler-Stalin pact in 1939. From 1933 onwards, Trotsky had predicted that the axis of Stalin's foreign policy was an attempt to avoid war—not by spreading the revolution but by attempting to arrive at an agreement with the capitalist states, and particularly with the Nazi régime. If this meant trampling in the mud all the principles of socialism and elementary class solidarity, so be it.

To the indignation of the Stalinists, Trotsky had characterised Stalin as "Hitler's Quartermaster". In their attack on Ethiopia, for instance, the Italian fascists had used Russian oil! Under the German-Soviet Pact the Nazi regime gained Russian neutrality and the

bonus of Russian raw materials for the plunder of Europe. Trepper records the cynical comments of SS officers in the middle of the invasion of Belgium: "If we have succeeded in our offensive beyond all hope, it is thanks to the help of the Soviet Union, which has provided us with gas for our tanks, leather for our shoes, and wheat for our granaries."

The amity between Stalin and Hitler had reached such dizzy heights that "A directive was sent to Russia's concentration camps forbidding the guards to call the political prisoners 'fascists'!" One of Trepper's Gestapo interrogators, Berg (who had been Nazi foreign minister Von Ribbentrop's body guard in 1939), described the "jubilant atmosphere" in the Kremlin on August 24th, 1939:

Everyone was guzzling champagne in celebration, and Stalin had raised his glass and made an unforgettable toast: "I know how much the German people love their Führer, and that is why I have the pleasure of drinking to his health"—a pleasure that was certainly not shared by the thousands of German communists crouching in concentration camps by the grace of their beloved Führer.

Stalin's blindness to the Nazis' plans for the invasion of Russia resulted in a military catastrophe. Leopold Trepper and his "Red Orchestra" had gathered conclusive proof of Hitler's "Operation Barbarossa". The famous and heroic Richard Sorge, who had penetrated into the very heart of the Nazi machine from Tokyo, on May 12th, 1941, gave the exact date—June 21st—of the invasion. But as Trepper comments: "The generalissimo preferred to trust his political instinct rather than the secret reports piled up on his desk." The reports of Richard Sorge and Leopold Trepper were only acquired at colossal risks and sacrifices. Sorge paid with his life.

But Trepper maintains that he could have been saved by Stalin. He was captured by the Japanese in 1941 but only executed in November, 1944—because Stalin refused to arrange an exchange! Sorge's radio operator, like Trepper himself, was rewarded with imprisonment for his heroism when he returned to Russia from a Japanese prison following the end of the war!

Stalin's refusal to heed the warnings of the invasion cost Russia dearly at the beginning of the war. At the outset of the war, the firepower of the Russian army was actually greater than that of the German armies. But within the first day of the invasion, 95% of the Russian planes were destroyed while still on the ground! Stalin, moreover, was paralysed with fear and

The myth great war exploded

refused to order the Russian counter-attack for 24 hours! Millions of Russian workers were murdered and enslaved by the Nazi beasts because of Stalin's blunders. Unlike Lenin and Trotsky during the Civil War, who fought a revolutionary war with propaganda aimed at winning over the troops in the invading imperialist armies, Stalin fought a war just of men and material. The colossal advantages of the planned economy resulted in the defeat of the Nazis, but at enormous cost.

Hammer and Anvil

Leopold Trepper was conscious of the crimes of Stalinism throughout his period as leader of the Red Orchestra. Indeed, his book makes it clear that with many others he perhaps unconsciously agreed with the criticisms of Stalinism made by Trotsky and the Left Opposition. Why then did he not openly break from Stalinism? Ignace Reis, another GPU agent openly and courageously broke from the seemingly mighty Stalinist machine to join the tiny minority who supported Trotsky in order "to begin all over again, in order to save socialism." He returned his "Order of Lenin" with a letter to the Ukrainian Communist Party which said: "It is below my dignity to wear it together with the executioners of the best representatives of the working class." He was subsequently kidnapped and murdered by the GPU in Switzerland in 1937. Unfortunately, Leopold Trepper had not at this time been able to draw all the

necessary conclusions from the events he witnessed in Russia during the 1930s. Moreover, as a Jew, his first concern was to bring down the monstrous regime of the Nazis while at the same time defending the main conquests of the Revolution, the planned economy:

We were ready to sacrifice our youth so that some day the world might have the face of youth again. The revolution was our life; the party was our family, in which brotherhood transcended every private action.

We wanted to belong to a new race of men. In order that the proletariat could be freed of its chains, we were prepared to wear chains ourselves. What did we care about our little share of personal happiness? We had offered our lives to history so that it might at last cease to be one long tale of oppression. The road to heaven is not strewn with roses—who could know that better than we, who had come to communism from childhoods in a world dominated by imperialist barbarism?

But if the road was strewn with the bodies of workers, it did not, it could not, lead to socialism. Our comrades were disappearing. The best of us were dying in the cellars of the NKVD; Stalin's régime was distorting socialism to the point where it was unrecognisable. Stalin, the great gravedigger, was liquidating ten times, a hundred times, more communists than Hitler.

Between the hammer of



Molotov, Stalin's foreign minister, discussing with Hitler in Berlin, Hitler-Stalin pact did not prevent Hitler's war-preparations: on 22 June, 1941, people the grim news of the Nazi invasion, code-names 'Barbarossa'.

h of the ar leader oded

Hitler and the anvil of Stalin, the path was a narrow one for those of us who still believed in the revolution. Over and above our confusion and our anguish was the necessity of defending the Soviet Union, even though it had ceased to be the homeland of the socialism we had hoped for. This obvious fact forced my decision, and General Berzin's proposition allowed me to save my conscience. As a Polish citizen, as a Jew who had lived in Palestine, as an expatriate and as a journalist on a Jewish daily paper, I was ten times suspect in the eyes of the NKVD.

My path was decided. It might end in a prison cell, a concentration camp, or against a wall. Yet by fighting far from Moscow, in the forefront of the anti-Nazi struggle, I could continue to be what I had always been: a militant revolutionary.

Trepper and his comrades did indeed fight. His account of the ingenious organisation of the "Red Orchestra" and the underground struggle against the Nazis is enthralling. The contemporary, fictional "spy novels" are tame by comparison! These "spies" fought not for narrow egotistical reasons but for the noblest cause of all: to free mankind from the yoke of capitalism through the establishment of a socialist world. Trepper, however, is not given to boasting about the worth of his intelligence network. He clearly explains that it was merely an adjunct and subordinate to the



November 1940. But the
1. Molotov gave the Russian

military struggle. Nevertheless, the information which his agents, and others like Richard Sorge, were able to gather enormously assisted the deployment of Russian troops during the war. Thus Sorge's information from Tokyo that Japan would not attack Russia in the East allowed Red Army divisions to be switched to the Western Front to repel the Nazi invaders. The value of the "Red Orchestra" and its "pianists" (agents) was recognised by the Nazis. They organised a massive man-hunt for Trepper and his comrades, eventually succeeding in capturing them.

Faith in Socialism

Trepper gives a vivid and chilling account of the vengeance which was wreaked on the organisers of the Red Orchestra by the Gestapo. The chapter on the Gestapo torturers at the Belgian Breendonk concentration camp is enough to make the blood run cold. Prisoners were greeted by an SS sadist with the words: "This is hell and I am the devil"—and he was not exaggerating! Indescribable tortures were inflicted on Trepper's collaborators and the organisers and perpetrators of these crimes escaped with virtual impunity after the war.

Trepper provides an appendix on the subsequent fate of his persecutors: many of whom have ended up as mayors and dignitaries of German towns today. The book provides invaluable additional evidence to reinforce the recent excellent 'Panorama' programme which showed that less than one per cent of the Nazi war criminals were prosecuted by the "Allies" in the post-war period, because they were the most reliable tools in the crusade against "Communism". Trepper fortunately managed to escape from the clutches of the Gestapo, and participated in the battle which liberated Paris from the Nazis in 1944.

He subsequently returned to Russia. But he went straight from the airport to an NKVD cell in the notorious Lubyanka prison! The same fate befell thousands of prisoners-of-war and others whose heroic behaviour was thus rewarded by Stalin and his NKVD minions. Those who had "allowed themselves" to be captured at the beginning of the war were suspect; but so, too, were those "not courageous" enough to be captured!

He cites the example of two Jewish doctors who were working in Belorussia and wondered what attitude to adopt in the face of the German advance:

In the end one of the two, who was the head doctor, could not bring himself to abandon his patients, and decided to stay and take care of them under the enemy occupation. In this way he saved many lives. The other brother, who wanted to avoid falling into the hands of the Nazis at any price, fled—along with all the hospital's doctors except for his brother—and joined the partisans. The head doctor was accused of collaborating with the enemy, the other one of having fled and abandoned his patients.

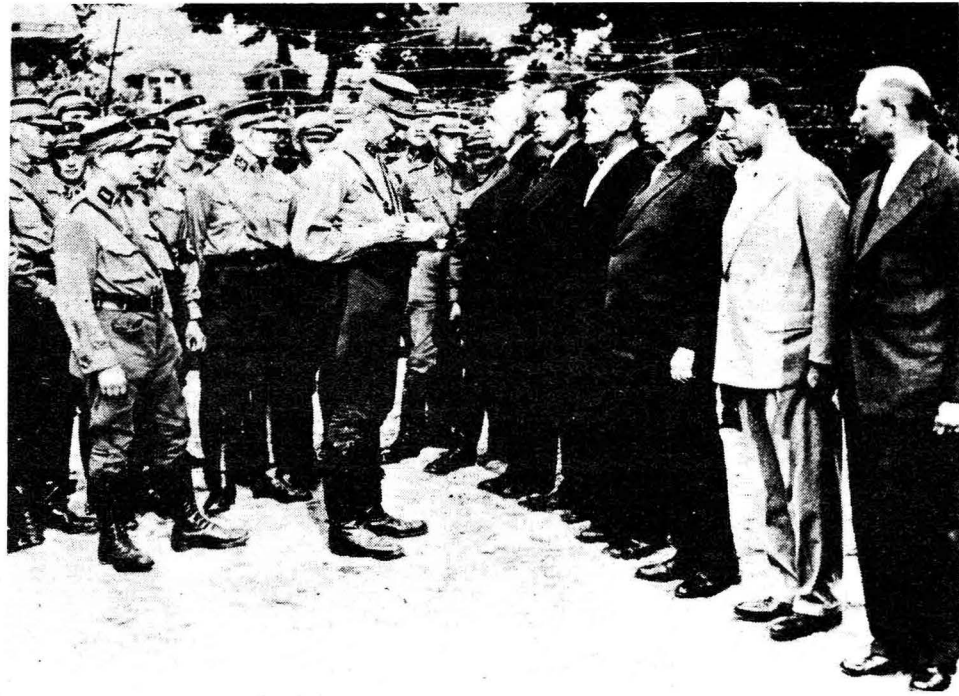
This insane policy, ordained by Stalin himself, was not at all accidental. Stalin and his régime feared all those talented and independent elements who had developed during the war, or who, as in the case of Trepper, may have picked up a revolutionary virus during the underground struggle against the Nazis and during the liberation of Paris. But his courageous refusal to "confess" even affected one of the NKVD officers interrogating him. This individual applauded his conduct and subsequently resigned from the ranks of the secret police!



Stalin

Following Stalin's death in 1952, Trepper was "rehabilitated" and returned in 1959 to his native Poland which he had left 43 years before. He worked among the small Jewish community which had survived the Nazi holocaust. But in the aftermath of the 1968 student demonstrations and strikes, the Stalinist régime of Gomulka, with the gangster General Moczvar and his so-called "Partisans" leading the pack, fanned the flames of anti-semitism. Trepper raised his voice against this vile campaign and was once again rewarded with police harassment and imprisonment, this time in the hands of the "socialist" police of Poland.

Only a world-wide campaign secured his release and permission to emigrate to the West.



August, 1933: anti-fascist leaders being admitted to Sachsenhausen concentration camp by Nazi soldiers. Social-democrat and Communist activists were the first in the camps, and thousands perished. Yet until June, 1941, Stalin kept his pact with Hitler.

He thus joined the growing list of those opponents of Stalinism who have been evicted from Russia and Eastern Europe. But unlike many of those—like Solzhenitsyn and company—his revulsion from Stalinism has not led him to become intoxicated by capitalism in the West.

And yet, because of his suffering, he would be more justified than most if he had been poisoned by Stalinism against socialism. But his experiences seem only to have convinced him that a world purged of capitalism and the horrible excrement of Stalinism can solve the problems of mankind. His message is one of optimism and hope that the youth will learn from the painful experiences of his generation.

A final word: I belong to a generation that has been sacrificed by history. The men and women who came to communism in the glow of the October Revolution carried along by the great momentum of the rising revolution, certainly did not imagine that fifty years later nothing would be left of Lenin but the body embalmed in Red Square. The revolution has degenerated and we have gone down with it.

What? Half a century after the storming of the Winter Palace, with "deviations" being treated by electric shock, the Jews persecuted, Eastern Europe "normalised"—with a system of coercion of this kind, people dare to talk about socialism!

Is this what we wanted, was it for this perversion that we fought, sacrificing our lives in the search for a new world?

We wanted to change man, and we have failed. This century has brought forth two monsters, fascism and Stalinism, and our ideal has been engulfed in his apocalypse. The absolute idea that gave meaning to our lives has acquired a face whose features we no longer recognise. Our failure forbids us to give advice, but because history has too much imagination to repeat itself, it remains possible to hope.

I do not regret the commitment of my youth, I do not regret the paths I have taken. In Denmark, in the fall of 1973, a young man asked me in a public meeting, "Haven't you sacrificed your life for nothing?" I replied, "No."

No, on one condition: that people understand the lesson of my life as a communist and a revolutionary, and do not turn themselves over to a deified party. I know that youth will

succeed where we have failed, that socialism will triumph and that it will not have the colour of the Russian tanks that crushed Prague.

Trepper looks towards the youth to redeem the hopes of his generation. That faith is not misplaced. Stalinism, like capitalism in the West, has completely outlived itself. In the first period, it was a relative fetter. At the cost of enormous overheads, it was capable of developing the productive forces, science, technique and the organisation of production. The advantages of a planned economy have, despite the errors and crimes of the bureaucracy, resulted in the development of Russia and Eastern Europe as major industrial powers.

At the same time, a powerful and highly cultured working class now exists in the Stalinist states. They are rising against the regime of bureaucratic absolutism. Stalinism is now an absolute fetter on the further development of these societies. The working class, with the youth in the vanguard, is in revolt.

Revolution

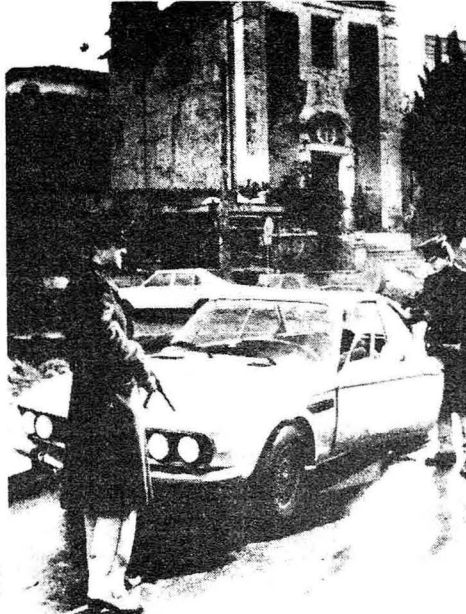
Conditions have been prepared for earth-shattering upheavals, for political revolutions along the lines of the Hungarian Revolution, and the establishment of workers' democracy. And as fate would have it, Trepper's native Poland is in the forefront. Who knows, perhaps the honour of a new uprising and elimination of Stalinism will fall on the shoulders of the mighty Polish working class?

A successful political revolution in any of the countries of Eastern Europe and particularly in Russia itself would detonate revolutions throughout Eastern Europe and Russia. It would also lead to the downfall of capitalism. When that day arrives, the Polish working class will accord Leopold Trepper and his kind their full due as steadfast opponents of capitalism and Stalinist barbarism.

'The Great Game' by Leopold Trepper is published by Michael Joseph [£6.95]. Order from World Books.

ITALY / SOUTH AFRICA

Red Brigades play into



The results of the kidnapping: troops man checkpoints, police mount roadblocks, Romans lay flowers for the murdered bodyguards

A General Strike in support of the leader of the Christian Democrats! A near-unanimous vote of confidence for the same right-wing government brought down only three months previously by mass trade union action! All-party support for stringent police powers, including widespread telephone-tapping and blanket powers of search and arrest!

What fairy godmother has brought the Italian ruling class such unexpected gifts so soon after 150,000 Italian trade unionists took to the streets last December to bring down the government, leading to a 54-day governmental crisis?

They were delivered at a stroke by the so-called "Red Brigades" in kidnapping Aldo Moro, five

times Italy's Prime Minister. They have "declared war on the state" and threaten to bring this "Godfather" before a "people's court".

Military Coups

This exploit shocked Italy, even after the 300 kidnappings since 1970, and 2,000 "terrorist acts" last year. So sophisticated was the operation, that

Italy is buzzing with rumours that "foreign agitators" are responsible: the German Red Army Faction, some French gang, or even (according to the Vatican) the Soviet KGB dealing a blow against Eurocommunism!

A more serious question that is posed is: was it a provocation carried out in collaboration with a section of the security forces? Italy has a long history

of Fascist gangs, stooge "anarchist" or "Maoist" adventurists, or demented ultra-left sects infiltrated by police provocateurs. It is now common knowledge that the Milan bombing of 1969, for instance, for which one "anarchist" was pushed to his death from a police-station window, and another chained in dungeons for years, was the work of sections of the security forces.

Democratic) politician overtures from the PCI (Communist Party), and the architect of the present elaborate system whereby the PCI are pledged to support the DC government without formally taking any ministerial portfolios. He is a prime target of the MSI and the DC right wing.

"Nasty Mood"

Whether or not the "Red Brigades" are dominated by provocateurs, one thing is clear: it is the ruling class which has gained from this act. It has given it a new, though brief, breathing-space before the shock wears off, to check the workers' growing militancy and ease the constraints on the police.

Time and again in the last two decades, Generals and chiefs of the military counter-intelligence force, the SID, have plotted military coups, only to be checked at the last minute by the failing nerve of the ruling class. Half the army officers and most of the SID are known sympathisers of the fascist MSI. Many Christian Democratic politicians, including the present Prime Minister Andreotti, have been implicated in collusion in MSI outrages.

The 'Financial Times' (4 April) commented on the danger of "undermining some existing safeguards for individual liberty. There is already a nasty mood in the political air, and a developing consensus between the main political forces including the powerful Communists that 'we must now go to

Of all the ultra-left lunatic fringe, the "Red Brigades", like the GRAPO in Spain, are the most suspect. Moro is the most amenable DC (Christian

Looking Forward



A review by Chris James

Everyone is now speaking of the need for change in Southern Africa. Even Ian Smith declares that he believes in majority rule; the South African government pledges an end to "racial discrimination" (but not to apartheid!); and Western governments make a show of denouncing apartheid and producing "Codes of Conduct" for businessmen.

When these people come out for "change" it is vital for the South African and international labour movement to analyse what is happening. What changes, exactly, are proposed? Why has this call for change emerged? What is

the future for the South African workers? How will the revolutionary struggle for socialism in the sub-continent be brought to a successful conclusion?

All this is excellently brought out by a recent pamphlet 'Looking Forward', published by the South African Congress of Trade Unions. Written in January of this year, 'Looking Forward' is not just another denunciation of apartheid. It is a careful analysis of the economic and political crisis facing the South African ruling class.

Beginning from the standpoint that SACTU is a workers' organisation of the whole working class, it ana-

lyses in a dynamic socialist manner how the crisis is affecting the different classes and strata within classes in South Africa.

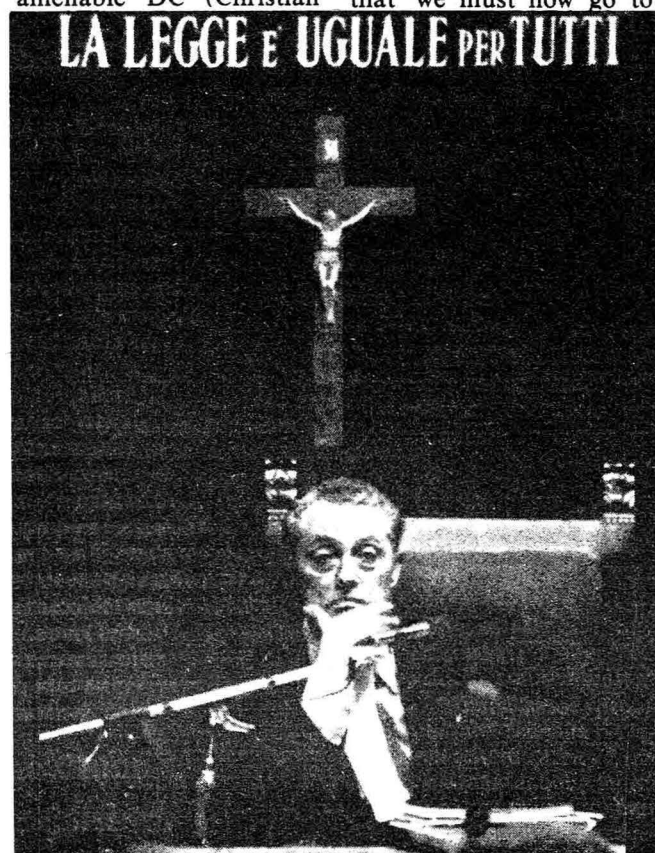
Perspective

It shows how within the last two to three years, South Africa has really entered a new period. Old alliances and relationships are breaking up or coming under increasing strain. The perspective for the black population, especially the black working class, is one of intensified repression and, in the inevitable drive by big business to protect profits, there will be attacks on white workers as well.

The black youth and black

workers have fought back against this repression and it is these early stages of a really revolutionary period which this pamphlet draws on. For 'Looking Forward' is not just a descriptive outline of events or projections into the future; it also gives an outline on what revolutionaries must do in South Africa. Incorporating all this, the pamphlet is vital reading for all socialists interested and involved in the struggle for national and social liberation in Southern Africa.

'Looking Forward': available from World Books or SACTU 49 Rathbone Street, London W.1., price 40p.



The Judge at the Red Brigades' Turin trials

SRI LANKA / JAMAICA

hands of reaction



By Roger Silverman

the limit of the constitution to defend the state."

The PCI was eager to rush to the support of the capitalist state. But on the day of the 'Financial Times' report, the PCI protested at the arrest of several of its own members under the decree for which it voted! "This is an indiscriminate police intervention," it complained. The PCI soon got a bitter taste of its own medicine. Ugo La Malfa, the "liberal" Republican leader, has called outright for martial law, a curfew, and the death penalty.

However, the hysteria over this kidnapping cannot disguise the terrible crisis under which Italy is staggering from one desperate manoeuvre to the next. One and a half million Italians are unemployed—7.1% of the labour force, a higher rate even than in Britain. Three-quarters of these are under 29, and 41% of these are graduates. Half a million young people are looking for their first job. Hence the explosive mood of Italian youth, including hundreds of thousands of educated youth, reflected partially in the antics of the ultra-left groups, but above all in the swelling

support for the mass workers' party, the PCI, in spite of its current conservative line.

As in Britain, the 1976 "boom" fizzled out as soon as it began, and in the course of 1977 industrial production slumped by 13.3%. The capitalists continue to pour their wealth abroad.

Diversions

The workers' organisations have not accepted this passively. Since the labour explosion of 1968-9, the trade unions have forced through real rises in the previously miserable wage rates. The great awakening of the labour movement, inspired partially by the great general strike of ten million French workers, marked the new balance of forces in Italy since the dark days of Mussolini. In the early 1950s, 42% of the population worked in agriculture compared to 32% in industry.

Today, 44% are industrial workers compared to 15% working on the land. The trade unions emerged as the "seventh party", the most powerful force in Italy. Up to twenty million workers came out on

repeated one-day general strikes. The growth of the working class and of its level of organisation was reflected also in the growth of the PCI, which has 1,700,000 activists and received 12 million votes (34%) at the 1976 general elections.

The PCI has staked everything on the so-called "historic compromise"—on accepting any terms the capitalists are prepared to offer in return for places in the cabinet. Desperately anxious to reassure the capitalists of its respectability, the PCI has far outflanked on the right even the socialists during their collaboration with the DC in 1964-74. It calls insistently for denationalisation, for "austerity", and for tough security measures.

After the record PCI poll, workers were bitterly disappointed at seeing yet another minority DC government installed. The PCI was prepared to abstain on votes of confidence in order to prop up shamefacedly the discredited DC government. But when it proclaimed harsh new "austerity measures", putting the burden of the crisis on the backs of the workers, all the loyalty of

the trade unionists to the PCI still could not hold back a spontaneous eruption of strikes. Last December, the trade unions led 150,000 workers on to the streets in massive demonstrations which rocked all Italy and brought the government crashing down to defeat, under the threat of a full-scale General Strike.



Red Brigade prisoners

The PCI was forced to start shadow-boxing for ministerial portfolios. After 54 days of deadlock, the PCI agreed at Moro's invitation to vote openly in favour of substantially the same government, without portfolios but with rights of full consultation on policy.

Given the blatantly pro-capitalist policies of the PCI leadership, why is it that the path to a new

Popular Front has been so tortuous? Why have such formidable obstacles been put in its way by the capitalists of Italy, Europe and the USA? It is because they recognise the tremendous latent power of the working class behind its leaders.

After an unbroken succession of no less than forty DC governments in thirty years, the entry of the mass workers' party, the PCI, into the government would herald a new era. It would be an open admission of the impotence of the capitalist party to put the stamp of its own authority on society. It would give an immediate and irresistible boost to the confidence of the workers who would launch a movement of strikes and occupations to avenge all the sacrifices of the last years of crisis.

The capitalists will never forget the nightmare of Portugal, with a working class one-sixth the size of Italy. The workers' spontaneous action forced their leaders against their will to nationalise most of the economy!

Only as a last resort will the capitalists grudgingly agree to risk the same thing in Italy or France or Spain, with their rich

traditions of struggle. However, the relentless logic of events is edging them imperceptibly nearer to a Popular Front. By the recent timid steps towards it, they have only begun a process of polarisation and questioning within the workers' organisations even before their leaders have been brought into office. New tensions have already developed within the PSI, the PCI and especially the trade unions.

The drama of Moro's abduction has temporarily riveted public attention. But these "noises off" will not succeed in diverting the workers' attention from the real crimes of capitalism or the real fight that lies ahead.

JAMAICAN PNP YOUTH UNDER ATTACK

"Seaga calls for end to ties between the PNPYO, red groups." This headline in a recent issue of the Jamaican 'Weekly Gleaner' reflects the concern of imperialism, native Jamaican capitalism, and their spokesmen, at the enormous radicalisation in the Caribbean island.

The shift towards the left is particularly reflected within the youth wing of the governing party, the People's National Party Youth Organisation.

Last year, the PNPYO "advocated a turn to Marx and Lenin." Among other things it also called for the formation of a "people's militia" to defend the workers' organisations from reactionary thugs. It also pressed for the formation of Community Councils, modelled on the "Committees for the Defence of the Revolution" established in the early period of the Cuban revolution.

Edward Seaga, the leader of the "Jamaican Labour Party", has set his face against these demands and denounced them as "Communism". Seaga has become the standard-bearer for all those forces which are attempting to stop the shift towards the left within the PNP, and in Jamaica as a whole.

He has demanded that the Jamaican Prime Minister, Michael Manley, should denounce the youth wing of his own party, to date without success.

Jamaica is at the crossroads. It has a catastrophic, 35 per cent, level of unemployment, and hundreds of thousands live in the direst poverty. The only hope for the Jamaican masses lies in the establishment of a planned economy, together with workers' and small farmers' democracy. It is because the PNPYO is the main force which is striving to achieve this that it is constantly attacked and singled out for attention by reaction.

MARXIST ON MURDER CHARGE

By Our Sri Lanka Correspondent

Repression in Sri Lanka is intensifying under the new bonapartist Constitution which came into force two months ago.

The government is baiting the university students now, using both police and thugs. The Peradeniya campus (the main university campus) went on strike in protest at the "interdiction" (i.e. suspension on half-pay) of Vickremebahu Karunaratne, the newly-elected Marxist General Secretary of the mass workers' party, the LSSP. Twenty-one students were suspended as a result. In consequence, token strikes were held on all the campuses.

After that, late in March, there was an attack on one of the campuses just outside Colombo by UNP thugs armed with bombs, pistols, swords, etc. In the resulting clash, one of the thugs was killed.

Now one of the student leaders at that campus, a monk and a member of the LSSP, has been charged with murder. Although the authorities obviously have no real case, he is in jail on remand, and he and other student leaders, all members of the LSSP, are being threatened by UNP thugs.



A victim of the last police raid on Peradeniya campus, 12th November, 1976

There have been police raids on campuses too, on the pretext of searching for weapons. At the Colombo campus on 29th March about 500 police conducted a search at dawn and found nothing. That same afternoon, UNP thugs attacked the campus, threatened staff and students, and kidnapped two students and beat them up. Later, three more were kidnapped. All have been subsequently released.

The thugs are looking now for the most popular student leader on the campus, another LSSP member. The police and thugs are acting hand in glove to terrorise the students.

There is a lockout at the biggest textile mill in Colombo, involving 6,000 workers. Conflict arose over the government policy of introducing private sector management of the government textile corporations. As with the students, there too the govern-

ment is trying to get members of the stooge UNP union to work. In the textile mill about a thousand of them are turning up to work and getting paid, although no work is done.

The leaders of the opportunist minority wing of the LSSP, who were voted out at the Party Conference at the end of December, but who still bureaucratically control a number of trade unions, are not prepared for any kind of struggle. Earlier, under press-

ure from the newly-reconstituted Party, they had agreed to a token strike. Even that they now refuse to do.

The discredited old leadership recently held a Conference to try to rally their forces after their crushing defeat in December. Only 330 members turned up in spite of two postponements, as compared to 7-800 at the December conference which unanimously resolved to turn its back on the sterile policies of class collaborationism and mobilise the workers and oppressed masses around a revolutionary Marxist programme. It is the cadres of this Party which are bearing today the full brunt of repression by the reactionary UNP government.

CORRECTION

In the issue of 24 February, we published an interview with Vickremebahu Karunaratne, General Secretary of the LSSP. Inadvertently, the figures we gave for membership of the trade unions affiliated to that party were in some cases exaggerated. In fact, the Government Clerical Service Union has 16,000 members; the Office Workers' Union (mistakenly named Public Manual Workers' Union in the interview) has 5,000 members; and the Corporations, Co-operatives and Mercantile Union has 4,000 members.

L E T T E R S S H I F T W O R K

Dear Comrades

I am a night shift worker at a chemical plant and I was interested by the way a comrade recently in a letter called for 5-hour night shifts. In explaining this he said that one shift would start at 2 am and finish at 7 am.

I have since discussed this with the blokes in my plant and I honestly have not had one agree with it.

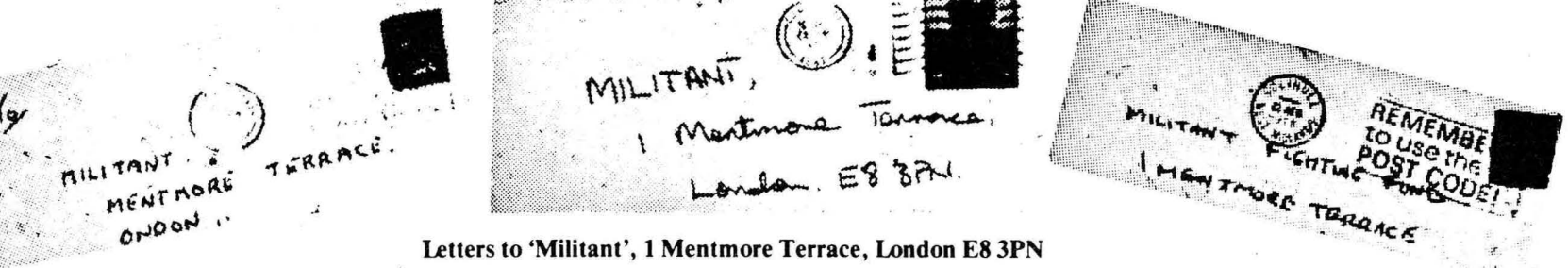
Firstly to get to work and back means you have to have a car which a large minority of shift workers haven't got. Secondly, the 7-2, 2-9, 9-2, 2-7 shift system that was put forward means that a shift worker has three times out of four no chance of any social life or two out of four no chance of attending meetings of Labour Parties or Trades Councils which are predominantly 7-9 pm.

When our shift system started it was considered a victory that although we work 8¼-hour night shifts during the week, 10-6.45, we work 12-hour shifts at weekends, 6.30-6.30, so we have an extra weekend off.

In fact there is a growing feeling to go onto a 12-hour, 4-shift system so we can have 14 days off every 28.

To finish, no shifts are good but until we can earn a living wage without them we shall always have them. I would like to hear from other comrades on this so we can have a demand that we can win support for and use in the fight for a system that will consider the workers rather than profit.

Yours fraternally
Alan McGuckin
Ashington LPYS
TGWU 8/479



Letters to 'Militant', 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN

Northfield Appeal

Dear Comrades

Please find the enclosed donation of £5 for the 'Militant' fighting fund, with congratulations on reaching the 16-page paper.

Northfield LPYS was closed down by the local Constituency Labour Party twelve months ago, mainly because of its political standpoint. However, we have continued to fight for socialism with a full programme of meetings this year including meetings on 'What is Socialism?', 'The Media', and 'Who are the real scroungers?'

We have appealed to the NEC concerning the decision to close Northfield LPYS and ask other LPYS branches to support us in our fight.

Forward to a twice-weekly 'Militant'!

Yours fraternally
Peter Mumford
Treasurer, Northfield
Young Socialists

NF in York

Dear Comrades

'Nazi', we know, is a derivation of 'National', and referred to pre-war Germany's National Socialist German Workers' Party. The British National Socialist movement is no different in its basic outlook, it is both racist and fascist.

Hence it is anti-socialist and anti-democratic. [Socialism is international and democratic, or it is worth nothing.]

History, even of a local kind, traces them creeping out of the woodwork. The 'Yorkshire Evening Press' [York, 24 January 1964] noted "British Nazis Choose York as Campaign HQ."

"This was revealed last night by the secretary of the National Socialist Movement, John Tyndal. He was speaking in a York public house before he addressed a secret meeting in the city." This he did wearing his swastika badge.

Much else, too, was secret except his parting shot, "We will go to any lengths to support our beliefs."

In the 1930s Moseley's blackshirts were on the streets of York; in the 1960s the National Socialist Movement and in the 1970s they are back again as the National Front, beating up trade unionist leafleters.

York's right wing Labour leaders look on indifferently. York's Labour MP thinks that being in league with a few Bishops and liberals will squash the NF, and Merlyn Rees grants them "free speech" for public use and doesn't see their private, back-street thuggery.

If we do not ensure in the Labour Party that we get socialist leaders and socialist policies, then we need not ask for whom the bell tolls.

Fraternally
D J Lawton
York CLP

POLITICAL LEVY—A WARNING

Dear Comrades

A recent report in the 'Daily Mail' claimed that last year the Labour Party lost the political levies of 100,000 workers, estimated at £50,000 loss to the Labour funds. This follows on the news that the party is having difficulties raising cash for the proposed new headquarters in South London and is having to appeal to the affiliated trade unions for backing.

The report in the 'Daily Mail' claims that the 100,000 defectors from the political

levy include 19,000 power workers [bringing the total in recent years to 54,000], and 5,000 firemen, a sixth of the membership.

Labour Party members and trade unionists must draw conclusions from this. The present policies of the government are repelling workers, as they have lost the equivalent of £10 per week in wages during the social contract.

Instead of going to the unions with a begging bowl, the Labour Party leadership would be better employed

carrying out socialist policies to attract workers. In that way the party's finances would be on a sounder foundation.

Nevertheless, as Trotsky pointed out in his book 'Where is Britain Going?', members who opt out of the political levy seriously weaken trade union organisation and form a foothold for such organisations as the 'Conservative trade unionists'.

Trade unionists must mount a campaign to educate the membership about the

need for political affiliation and also to recruit members to the party. The formation of factory branches of the Labour Party would greatly strengthen both the party and the trade union branches.

The message is clear for the Labour Party, only socialist policies can increase membership and party funds.

Fraternally
Dave Farrar
TGWU and Salford LPYS

More than 10%!

To the militant

On Saturday I went to the Sweet Shop and the little white chocolate Teddy Bears there have gone up 2p and they used to be 2p for 2 and the crisps have gone up too. They used to be 5p and now are 8p and I do think that it is very bad.

Kirsi-Jo Muxtable
aged 7

Dear Comrades

Percentages and statistics related to rising food prices are often difficult to understand. Perhaps this direct comparison of 1972 prices, the result of a college shopping survey, with the prices in my local supermarket today will be more useful.

	1972	1978
Cornflakes, 12oz, Kellogs	9½	30
Tea, ¼lb, PG Tips	7½	18
Butter, 1lb	13½	50
Eggs, 1 doz, standard	17	52
Sugar, 2lb, BSC	8	25
Coffee, 8oz, Nescafé	47½	2.28
Baked beans, 16oz, Heinz	6½	14½
Tomato Ketchup, large Heinz	12½	36
Orange Squash, Sun crush	12	33
Potato Smash, large Cadbury's	7	67

Did your pay rise as much? I doubt it.
Yours fraternally
Kath Coterill

PRESS BIAS

Dear Sir

I feel I must express my disgust at the attitude of the 'popular' press to the recent LPYS Conference in Llandudno. I was present as a visitor at the conference, and I think the coverage given to the Conference was despicable.

The *Daily Mirror*, "Britain's Biggest Daily Sale", carried no mention whatsoever of the results of the conference, apart from a small inside-page article entitled "Help lovers leap into bed, urges Ali." This deals with Composite 20 on Women's Rights, which was thrown out in the vote. Yet half of the article deals with the proposing of this particular motion by Ali Southern.

This cheapening of LPYS Conference in the readers' eyes is carried on, not only in the *Daily Mirror*.

In the words of Resolution 92: "It [the press] acts as a daily indoctrination over working class people, to reduce their level of consciousness to the lowest possible level and to influence them against socialism."

The kind of representations of Conference fed to the population by the so-called 'popular press' are blatantly slanted so as to invite ridicule

for the aims and ideals of the LPYS and the labour movement as a whole.

The *Mail* published two columns on the Young Liberals Conference, entitled "Young Libs in 'Race' Fury." This article stated that the Young Liberals condemned racism as proposed by the recent Select Committee, Enoch Powell and Margaret Thatcher.

Why then in the LPYS Conference article was there no mention of the standing ovations given by Conference to members of the PNP Youth Movement who spoke from both the platform and the floor? Is it not significant that the anti-racist views put forward by Conference contained stringent demands for the socialist transformation of society?

I congratulate the *Militant* on its growth to 16 pages, and hope that it will continue to grow. It is only through such newspapers that the ideas of socialism will ever be forwarded, leading eventually to the socialist transformation of society, which is the only way that true democracy and true freedom to express ideas will be achieved.

Fraternally yours
Keith N Allen
Newcastle North LPYS

RELIGION REFLECTS SOCIETY

Dear Comrades

I would like to take up some of the points in T Whitmarsh's letter last week, "Why Hate Christians?"

In the past, in the feudal economy, based on subsistence agriculture, the only way that any ruling aristocracy could achieve an increase in economic power was by territorial expansion. The truth of this could not be explained to the masses, rather, religious pretences like 'Holy Wars' and 'Crusades against the heathen' were often involved to justify and mobilise support for otherwise blatant acts of oppression.

To control the poor, the Church preached submission, the blessedness of poverty as a reward in heaven for earthly suffering, while warning against revolt against the established order of things "as ordained by God", with the penalty of hellfire for those who disobeyed.

Nor were the bishops and high placed churchmen unrewarded for their services—the church was the largest landowner in most Christian countries (sometimes owning up to one-third of all the land) and further, generally received one-tenth of national income in a tax known as tithes.

Alongside the revolutionary introduction of the capitalist economy, a similar revolution occurred within the Christian Church. Now great emphasis was placed—especially by the non-conformist churches—on the "virtues" of hard work, thrift and obedience, echoing the curse of Adam that "thou shalt earn the fruit of the earth by the sweat of thy brow."

What better ideology could the 19th Century factory masters invent for their wage-slaves, especially one backed up by the fire and brimstone of non-conformist theology? Now the workers would work hard (even when their master wasn't looking), live on less and carry out his orders quicker and with a ready will—all for the sake of their immortal soul!

And if ever the worker should complain about the inequalities of the capitalist system, he was told that his master became rich through the application of the above "Christian virtues", that poverty came through gluttony and sloth, and that all wrongs would be righted in the world to come.

The suppression of religion in the USSR stems from the very nature of that society. Because the Stalinist bureaucracy has been unable, after 50 years of rule, to establish socialism, it is embarrassed by an ideology that offers an alternative utopia, however illusory.

Further, since Stalinism has been unable to elevate the standard of life far above that of the capitalist West, it fears

Christianity as a powerful weapon utilised by the capitalist countries that might subvert the basis of the rule of the bureaucracy in deformed workers' states such as the USSR.

Marxists condemn the brutal suppression of individual liberty, as much as they condemn the other abuses occurring behind the Iron Curtain. Marxism is not anti-religious. It demands complete freedom of conscience for every individual and the widest possible toleration for every faith and opinion.

We condemn only the use of religion by the established church against the working class, just as much as we condemn the use of any other weapon of propaganda or intimidation from out of the ruling class's armoury of social control.

Yours fraternally
Hywel Thomas
Manchester Ardwick LPYS

MILITANT NOTICES

Militant Meetings

MILITANT PUBLIC MEETING 'May 1968'
Massive General Strike in France—over 10m on strike
Speaker: Calre Doyle (Militant Editorial Board)

'May 1978'
The French Elections and Perspectives for Europe
Speaker: Ted Grant (Militant Editorial Board)

Plus: Sud-Aviation—rare film of workers' occupation and May demonstrations
Admission: 25p
Friday May 19th, 7.15 pm
Place: University of London Union,
Malet Street, London W.C.1.
Near: Euston Station (Northern, Victoria, Metro, Circle)
Buses: 14, 24, 29, 30, 68, 73, 77C, 77A, 170, 188, 239

CHESTER-LE-STREET Militant Readers' Meeting
'What We Stand For'
Speaker: John Pickard
Wednesday 19th April, 7.30 pm
Venue: Birtley Community Centre, Ravensworth Road, opposite British Legion Club, Birtley

GATESHEAD Marxist Discussion Meetings
April 17th: Marxism and Terrorism (John Baker)
April 24th: Rise of Fascism 1923-33 (Peter Doyle)
May 8th: The Degeneration of the Russian Revolution (John Flynn)
May 22nd: The History of the Trade Unions
June 5th: Workers' Control and Management (Wilf Flynn)
Phone Gateshead 774499 or 881165 for details

STEVENAGE Marxist Discussion Class
No 2: 'Roots of the British Crisis'
Speaker: Paul Dyson (St Neots CLP)
Venue: Meeting Room 2, Leisure Centre, Lytton Way, Stevenage
Sunday 16th April, 2.30 pm
All interested socialists welcome

NEWCASTLE Marxist Discussion Group for students, unemployed, and shift workers
Fridays, 1.30 pm
Audio Room of Newcastle Poly Students' Union
14.4.78—British Imperialism, its rise and decline
21.4.78—N Ireland
28.4.78—Fascism
5.5.78—Stalinism—Could it happen here?
12.5.78—The Labour Party in Perspective
19.6.78—Role of Marxism in the Labour Movement

SUNDERLAND Militant Discussion Group.
Every other Friday at 8.00 pm.
April 14th—The Paris Commune.
April 28th—France 1968 and 1978.
May 12th—Italian Politics and Perspectives.
Phone Gateshead 774948 for further details.

Publications

TROTSKY



Against the Stream

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ASHINGTON Militant Readers' Meetings
Venue:
Ashington Labour Rooms
May 2: 'France—1968 and Now'
Speaker to be arranged
May 23: 'Where is Britain Going?'
Speaker: Dave Cotterill
Meetings start 7.30 pm

LONDON Militant Public Meeting
'France: Lessons of General Strike 1968 & Elections 1978'
Hear:
Bob Reeves (Norwood Labour Party)
Andy Herbert (Hammersmith North LP)
Sunday 16th April, 7.30 pm
North Kensington Labour Rooms
92 Ladbroke Grove, London W.11.
(Nr Ladbroke Grove Tube, Buses 52 & 15)

SOUTH WALES Militant Summer Camp
Friday 26th—Monday 29th May (Spring Bank Holiday)
Horton, Gower Coast, Near Swansea
Political Programme
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2. The Class Nature of the Soviet Union
3. What is Fascism?
4. World War—Future Prospects
5. Marxism and the Trade Unions
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RATES:
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Sixteenth of a page—£9; eighth of a page—£17
Closing date—Tuesday 18th April
Send copy with cash to 'Militant', 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN. Cheques and Postal Orders made payable to 'Militant'.

TRADE UNION DISCUSSION GROUPS
NEATH: Full Moon Pub, The Parade, Neath. Every second Tuesday, 8.00 pm, from 18th April.
PORT TALBOT: The Progressive Club, Station Road, Port Talbot. Every Thursday, 7.30 pm.
PONTARDULAIS: Kings Public Bar. Every Tuesday, 7.30 pm.
AMMANFORD: The Welfare Club. Every Monday, 8.00 pm.
GLYNNEATH: Dinas Rock Hotel. Every fortnight, from Tuesday 25th April, 8.00 pm.

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All advertisement copy should reach this office by SATURDAY.
PAYMENTS must be sent with advertisements. Cheques and Postal Orders should be made payable to 'Militant'.

LPYS PUBLIC MEETING
'School Students Against the National Front'
Hear:
Graham Kennedy (NUSS National Organiser) and
Ken Matthews (PNP Youth)
Monday 17th April, 7.30 pm
at Landsbury House, 41 Camberwell Grove, S.E.5.

Campaign For Labour Party Democracy Conference "It does look, without a doubt, as if compromise proposals are being projected in order to protect MPs who are not prepared to carry out Constituency or Party policies"—Emlyn Williams, President of South Wales Miners.
We must organise to stop the NEC reneging on its pledge on automatic reselection in 1978!
Working Conference: Saturday 20th May, 2-5 pm, Ruskin College, Oxford. Speakers: Bob Wright (AUEW Asst. Gen. Sec. and Presidential Candidate), John Miller (T&GWU National Officer) and Dennis Skinner (MP, Bolsover) and you.
Credentials 50p from Terry Hunt, Basingstoke CLP, 19 Richmond Road, Basingstoke, Hants.

BUILD YOUR FUTURE - build the Militant

What people do with any 'spare' wealth they have undoubtedly reflects their idea of what the future holds for them.

The daughter of Spain's late dictator, Franco, was stopped last week at Madrid Airport and asked to leave the £14,000 worth of jewellery she was carrying in her handbag and pick it up on her return... from Switzerland! Could she have been hedging her bets against the social revolution in Spain?

Fewer workers have any 'spare' cash at all these days, which is why more and more are looking towards the ideas of Marxism for a way out and why more readers of the 'Militant' are making big sacrifices to build our paper.

When, as this week, three Young Socialists donate 50p each that is a welcome contribution. When an unemployed worker in Boldon Colliery gives £1 to the 'Militant' that is also recognised as a real commitment to join the fight for socialism.

But when someone has been so impressed as to give us £500, even if it is 'spare', we are over the moon! "The money is part of a legacy which you need far more than I do; as was made very clear to me at the 'Militant' meeting at the Easter LPYS Conference. As I have not earned this money I do not feel that it warrants congratulations." On the contrary, think of what else you could do with £500 and is is a sacrifice.

What a tremendous vote of confidence in the ability of Marxist ideas to change the

whole future of society!

What a marvellous example to follow! Not every supporter will come into this kind of money, but anyone who gets anything extra should put it straight into the 'Militant'. We have had other 'windfalls' this week—£15 from a Nottingham reader, two Grand National Sweep-stake prizes, a Bingo win in Llandudno, £12 (in Dutch guilders) from a London supporter's 'business trip' and £10 'honorarium refused' by a reader in Chester.

'Profit' for the fighting fund has also come from various fund-raising activities: an additional £45 on the W Midlands '500 Club' (last week £132), £71.44 from W London supporters' activities at the LPYS Conference, song books sold by Woolwich Militant Supporters have raised £34.50 so far (arriving with £3.55 for 'auction of Tee Shirt'). Jumble sale in Chester £21, 'whisky raffle' on Tyne-side coach £7.60, Wakefield raffle £5.70, 'Spot the Ball' in Swansea (T Smith) £5, £2 'peaches and bacon' from A Darnton, Brixton, 'fare boxes' in Llanelli (£1) and Wandsworth (£1.10) and £4.22 from a 'pottery party' in Maidstone, with a suggestion that Militant holds selling parties of its own! Well, nearly everything else has been tried!

But there is no substitute for the straight appeal for readers to make straight donations like the £25.50 collected at the NUT Conference, £16.07 from NUS Conference, £18 from Islington Readers' Meeting and £5.94 from Teesside. Bradford University Labour Club

was persuaded of the value of donating £10 and so was D Walkden of S Tyne. Caerphilly LP Young Socialists sent "Sixteen pounds for sixteen pages" as suggested in this column. How many more can?

'Fivers' came from G Smith (AUEW, Bracknell), M Wedderburn (CPSA Tower Hamlets) and H Lerner, Stevenage LPYS. A £3 donation came from a Swedish reader, and another from C O'Callaghan of Paddington. R Bannister of Liverpool gave £3.80 and three German visitors to London a total of £6.40.

B Brum of Brent North LP gave £1.56 and £1 contributors included two Wakefield NALGO members, A Ahmed (ASLEF, Stratford), T Murphy (Chairman, Newbold LP), E French (S Tyne) and Y and K Phipp (Norwood LP).

Many thanks to these and every reader who gave that bit extra on the price of the 'Militant' itself, including Alan Fisher of NUPE, who must have paid 50p for his copy, Cllr J Walker (Liverpool City) who paid £1 for his, and Eric Varley MP who gave 90p as well as buying a Militant pamphlet on the steel industry, saying "It might give me some ideas!"

Let's hope it does and that this column gives you ideas about what you can do to get the fighting fund up to target! Without the star donation this week's total would have slumped to £478.65. We are aiming for the stars, but it will need a lot of effort to reach **£35,000 BY JULY 8th**. Cheques and POs to Militant, 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN

£35,000 NEEDED BY JULY 8th

Area	Target 26 wks	Target 52 wks	Proportion of target received	Received
Eastern	2,200	4,400	100%	633.26
Hants & IOW	1,050	2,100	100%	689.54
Humberside	1,100	2,200	100%	513.47
Lancashire	750	1,500	100%	223.31
London: North	3,850	7,700	100%	1,406.42
London: South	1,900	3,800	100%	708.60
Manchester & District	1,450	2,900	100%	276.19
Merseyside & District	2,250	4,500	100%	691.31
Midlands East	2,200	4,400	100%	874.30
Midlands West	3,700	7,400	100%	1,451.32
Northern	2,450	4,900	100%	780.80
Scotland East	1,250	2,500	100%	414.68
Scotland West	1,450	2,900	100%	329.86
South East	1,150	2,300	100%	472.01
South West	1,150	2,300	100%	468.04
Thames Valley	850	1,700	100%	351.48
Wales East	1,000	2,000	100%	392.20
Wales West	1,150	2,300	100%	338.39
Yorkshire	2,600	5,200	100%	732.31
Others	1,500	3,000	100%	2,277.66
Total	£ 35,000	70,000		14,025.15

Progress Towards year's target: [filled bar] Towards July 8th target: [dotted bar]

MILITANT IRISH MONTHLY

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Windsor Safari Park v Trade Union Rights



Pickets successfully persuade another potential customer not to go into the Safari Park

Photo: Laurence Sparham (IFL)

The dispute between the TGWU and the management of Windsor Safari Park continues. Conditions at the Park include pay of £25 for up to a 70-hour week. Management have even made cutbacks in food rations to some of the animals to save money!

Faced with this situation, in October last year 28 employees at the Park, the majority of the animal staff, joined the TGWU and the management responded by sacking four of the union members. Clearly, if this move is allowed to succeed it will put unacceptable pressure on the remaining members.

It is essential that as many trade unionists as possible assist in the struggle for re-instatement and union recognition by

joining the picket at the Park; this will continue every Sunday until these demands have been met. Over Easter up to 100 trade unionists were there, representing a broad spectrum of trade unions and socialist organisations.

This support must be maintained and expanded—if it isn't we can expect to see emboldened managements everywhere taking similar reactionary steps. After Grunwick, Safari Park, after Safari Park, who then? Help stop the rot—picket next Sunday!

Messages of support, information, etc. from The Safari Park Four, c/o TGWU, 36 Kings Road, Reading.

Gerry Smith (AUEW-TASS, Bracknell branch)

Self-financing productivity con

At our factory, of Britten-Norman Aircraft, on the Isle of Wight, recently the workforce has had to suffer a loss in jobs of about 25%, through natural wastage and a large redundancy.

Although it was realised that we would not normally negotiate at the cost of job losses, we argued that we could justifiably be paid a bonus on account of raised productivity. This rise in production levels is because the management intend to manufacture as much this year as they did last year but with the reduced workforce.

To achieve that level of finished items would require the remaining workforce to produce 33% extra. We argued that the extra money the management would save in wages could be passed on to the remaining labour force. The employer would still save on less National Insurance Contributions, toilet commodities, overalls and laundering, maintenance of tools, sick pay and holiday pay.

However the suggested payout as a self-financing productivity deal has to be approved by the DEP. The management, after consultation with the DEP, said that they could only offer 3 1/4%. The argument put forward by the DEP was that any saving by raising productivity has to be shared by workers, customers and employers.

So a valuable lesson must be learnt, that the impartial DEP has allowed in the case of self-financing productivity deals to reduce manning levels at the expense of workers, both to reduce the number of job vacancies and to encourage other workers to work harder. But worst of all, the reduction in labour costs and savings on over-heads has in the main gone to the very class of people that have caused the unemployment and reduction in living standards currently being suffered by the working class.

Tony Beere

(Shop Steward, Sheet Metal Workers' Union)

SCOTTISH GAS

1,500 NALGO MEMBERS STRIKE

At two mass meetings on successive nights, the 1,500 striking NALGO members employed by Scottish Gas in the Edinburgh area, reaffirmed overwhelmingly their determination to stand firm, until they have secured the unconditional reinstatement of their 14 colleagues who have been sacked.

The 14 pay clerks received letters on Saturday 11th March telling them that they were sacked as from Friday 10th! They were not given the opportunity to appeal or even the right to go and collect their personal belongings from the office.

What was the reason for this shabby treatment? The crime of going on strike, in support of a grading claim, and a refusal to take the dispute to arbitration, because that is not part of the established negotiating machinery.

For the whole union this is an issue of principle on which there is no room for any compromise. At the first mass meeting, both NALGO's National Officer for Gas Staffs and the Chairman of the union's National Gas Committee stressed that this was an attempt by both Scottish Gas and the British Gas Corporation to destroy the power of NALGO in the industry. They made it clear that if necessary they will spread the strike to the rest of the country.

Talks arranged by ACAS have broken down, despite a whole day of negotiation. The union stuck rigidly to their demand for unconditional re-instatement of the 14. Management tried to give the impression that they had never really meant to sack them permanently, and would re-instate them immediately if only the union would agree to take the dispute to arbitration, the very issue on which the strike had started in the first place!

What has infuriated the union is that immediately after the talks, the management issued a circular to all their manual employees, claiming that they had offered (a) "withdrawal of the dismissal notices to the 14 wages staff, the only condition being that any individual of the 14 who wished to return to work immediately would be free to do so," and (b) "agreement that the original dispute is referred to arbitration and that both parties agree to abide by the result in accordance with the NJC constitution.

Contradictory

Point (b) totally contradicts point (a)! The use of the word "only" in (a) is simply not true, since (b) is clearly a condition as well. The union is concerned that manual workers who so far have given full support to the strike, and refused to work under anyone other than their normal supervisors, may be conned into thinking that the union is rejecting a reasonable offer.

So now the strikers are looking at ways to spread the dispute. They are discussing with NALGO members in the plant at Leicester, which controls the pressure of gas throughout the national grid.

They have the power to cut supplies of gas to any consumer in Britain by reducing the pressure. If this were done, large sections of industry could be crippled.

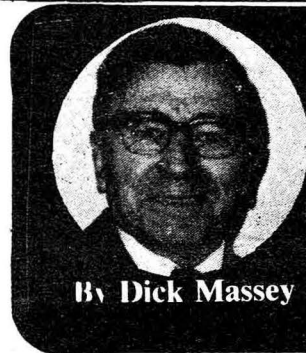
The local Branch Chairman, Bob Strother, explained that unfortunately that is why they will have to do if the management fail to agree to unconditional reinstatement, "because otherwise it will mean that we cannot go on strike again"—management will have established that they can sack workers who go on strike, and not reinstate them until they go back on management's terms.

Messages of support have been coming in from NALGO branches all over Scotland, from GMWU branches within the Gas Industry, from Edinburgh Trades Council and from the shop stewards' committee at Parsons' Peebles, who also sent a deputation to the picket lines.

But more support and more money are urgently needed. Please send them to the NALGO Strike Headquarters, Trade Union Centre, Picardy Place, Edinburgh.

By Graham Wilson

(NALGO Shop Steward, Lothian Regional Council Social Work Department)



By Dick Massey

working in the union

In December, 1941, I was directed to work at the Aldenham factory of the London Aircraft Production, a war time organisation composed of firms normally employed on the coach building industry. They were now engaged in building bomber aircraft. After a factory gate meeting we quickly got organised and with little trouble obtained recognition. I was elected convenor and a great deal of my time was spent ironing out the many problems that arose.

One day I arrived at work to find that a mobile office, the sort used by foremen on the factory floor, had been wheeled into position adjacent to my shop. During the course of the day I was informed that the office was for my exclusive use and a phone would be made available. Of course, I turned it down flat. A workers' representative is on the factory floor, at his own bench, while the workers without let or hindrance may approach him.

On several occasions the management, who were in fact London Transport officials, suggested that instead of holding little meetings to elect shop stewards, they would print ballot papers and conduct a secret ballot for the election of shop stewards or Works Committee representatives. They were told they had enough problems trying to build aircraft without trying to run the union; that we would run the union as we saw fit.

After the war I found myself on the employers' black list. Years went by and in 1964 I returned to the Aldenham factory, which is now the Aldenham bus repair works. As I had left the trade of electrician, the union covering my employment was the T&GWU.

I have never worked in any place so akin to a "company" union as what pertained in the Aldenham factory and I understand over the Transport Board generally. Trade union contributions may now be paid by deductions from your wage packet. This is done in the case of electricians.

Adjacent to the personnel office there is the "Joint Shop Stewards' Work Committee" Office. Not just a step-up off the floor, but well removed from the floor, among the bosses' offices. And a phone. And yes, you've guessed it, a secret ballot for the election of shop stewards—not, if you please, when you want it but by some agreement every two years.

Everything is really democratic, as the personnel officer is the "returning" officer

and his signature is required on the sheet giving the result of the ballot. Whoever became a party to the agreement have sold the democratic rights of the workers to the bosses in return for an office which in reality is a barrier between the shop stewards and the workers; for petty, piddling little privileges.

In the case of the T&GWU, they have a branch in Aldenham which, in my experience, only met when it suited the branch officials, mainly for their re-election. The chairman and the secretary of the branch had taken upon themselves powers far in excess of their constitutional powers by virtue of their office. I read the T&GWU rule book very carefully and by rallying around members was able to force a meeting of the branch.

It is the accepted practice of the branch chairman and secretary to negotiate on behalf of branch members in relation to their employment. This is the point I challenged. I asked them to point out to me the rule in the rule book that empowered them to negotiate with my employer, on my behalf.

They were not able to do so and this point became the subject of a mass of correspondence. They took care never to be involved in another branch meeting, by the simple expedient of calling a meeting, but not turning up!

I wrote to Frank Cousins, then General Secretary, drawing his attention to the undemocratic way the union was run at Aldenham. Eventually I was invited to a meeting at the Divisional office. In attendance were the branch officials and myself. The "Big Brother" came into the room and his first words were that he would listen to my complaint but the two things he would refuse to discuss were "Correspondence" and "the Rule Book".

In my opinion the trade union set up at Aldenham worked solely in the bosses' interest. Give some workers a little power and they will use it in their own interest, and become loyal slaves for the boss by smothering the democratic rights of the workers. Free the trade union movement from the ties imposed by the agreement with the LTE. The privileges won work mainly in the interests of those workers who seek to be "leaders"—the men aptly described by a colleague as 'PI' men: all piss and importance.

Series continued next week

Nationalise Western Shiprepairers!

save 625 jobs

Alan Runswick and Richard Knights spoke to Myles Noonan, Secretary of the Shop Stewards' Committee at Western Shiprepairers, Merseyside, about the threatened closure of the yard.

Question: What happened at the meeting last week?

Answer: All the trade union officials spoke in favour of no capitulation on behalf of the workforce, and within that not to accept any money or carrots from the company, that is the 12 week redundancy money. The stewards are getting together now to fight the closure. If the yard closes, 625 jobs will be lost.

Question: What has been the position of the company over the last year?

Answer: They claim that £800,000 has been lost over the last year, but that can be juggled, figures can lie and liars can figure. There's no way of opening the books to look at the figures. The Laird Group, of which Western Shiprepairers are a part, made a profit of over £10 million.

Question: The demand for nationalisation has been raised?

Answer: Yes it has, the Merseyside Group of Labour MPs are chasing this in London at the moment. Jim

Callaghan stated in the 'Liverpool Echo' that if Western made such a request to be nationalised they could be taken over within the hour—those were his words.

Ship repair was not nationalised due to the defeat in the Lords of a section of the Shipbuilding Nationalisation Bill. My branch of UCATT has also raised the question of workers' control: we are demanding nationalisation but with a board composed of one-third elected from the unions in Westerns, one-third from the TUC and one-third

from the Labour government.

Question: How is ship repair controlled?

Answer: There is a group of consultants called Solartex, this is nonsense, now we're told it's a holding company. They control all four ship repair companies and they can starve one off and make the others get all the work. One firm, CBS, got 467 ships. An attempt was made to divide Westerns from Cammel Lairds—they even went to the extent of trying to put up a riot fence.

Question: So no work has

come to the yard?

Answer: No, and when we do get work management are embarrassed by it. We went down to London and got a ship called the Engerdene to the yard.

The work that has been done here will be transferred to the River Liffey in Dublin. Wages are £10 a week lower there than here. Overtime is compulsory and can be given up to noon on the same day, there is one week less holiday, complete mobility of labour is expected among fitters, turners, plumbers,

joiners, shipwrights and electricians and lastly there is a probationary period of three months during which a worker can be sacked without reference to his trade union.

Question: What are the implications for Cammel Lairds if this closure goes through?

Answer: If we close it can only mean in the long run the closure of Cammel Lairds. A ship building yard must have a dry-dock like ours, if you haven't got one you have to build one.

Question: What is the mood in the yard?

Answer: The men are solidly behind us, they are prepared for a fight.

Bank Workers demand shorter hours

350 delegates came together representing bank employees from all over Britain for the 60th Annual Conference. During the first session Len Murray, giving greetings from the TUC, hit a chord with conference when he called for industrial unions.

He pointed out that 15 years ago 182 unions were affiliated to the TUC. Now there were 19 new affiliations but an overall reduction of 86 through amalgamations leaving the present 115 trade unions affiliated to the TUC organising 3 million more members.

Leif Mills, NUBE's general secretary, outlined the union's struggle to gain full negotiation rights throughout the banking industry and the resolutions showed the reasons why unionisation is needed at every level. The general pay resolution sought to restore differentials through productivity bargaining, accepting the pay restraints imposed. But composite motion C would have held a more positive appeal for potential new members, calling for "consolidation of phases 1 and 2

with a claim of 20% increase for all staffs."

Tony Maughan [President of NUBE] pointed to the need for NUBE to act fully like a trade union refusing to accept longer hours either through Saturday morning opening or extra evenings. He called for the union to fight against unemployment, pointing out that modernisation should be used for the benefit of workers in the industry to relieve pressures and taking the possibility of enriching workers' lives through longer holidays and shorter hours.

When asked by "Militant" what comments he had on the NUR stand against the National Front Tony Maughan said [in a personal capacity] "I oppose the NF, their views and their policies. Within our union there are different races and their interests have to be represented equally with all members—that is the only way to strengthen the union in the long term."

John Ingham

THORNS SACK 2,000

Thorns have announced 2,200 redundancies—increasing unemployment in Bradford by 20%. 2,200 families have been hit by the announcement of closures at Bradford and Windhill.

●●●

CPSA

London Militant Supporters Readers' Meeting 'A Programme for Action'

Speakers:

John Reid (NEC Candidate, personal capacity)

Pat Byrne (NEC Candidate, personal capacity)

Chairman:

Phil James (DTI Executive, personal capacity)

Wednesday 19th April, 6.30 pm

The Roebuck Pub,

Tottenham Court Road, W.1.

Nearest Tube: Warren Street

Eighteen months ago Thorns promised steady production at these plants, after 1,000 redundancies at that time. Now the workers face complete shut-down.

Appeals and action by the local Trades Council were called for by the Thorn workforce in order to gain positive action and sympathy. There is also the possibility of government intervention—which saved the jobs of workers (temporarily) at Lucas Aero-space in Bradford recently.

But in any case, the whole of the labour movement in Bradford and throughout the country must respond to this shutdown threat. More news plus interviews in next week's 'Militant'.



The picket line at Garners', Oxford Street [next to Bond Street Tube station]

Photo: Andrew Wiard (Report)

GARNERS Picket may lose an eye

By Simon Cole

(St Pancras South LPYS)

The strike to win union recognition at Garners' Steak Houses in London is now in its 11th week and the resolve of the strikers is as strong as ever. They are picketing the five main branches of the chain accounting for some 75% of the profits.

This picketing is really hitting the employers hard. Some branches which were bringing in £2,000 a day are now making only about £200. The response from the public has been magnificent, with most customers refusing to cross the picket line.

The T&GWU is attempting to black vital supplies such as milk and meat though this is

made difficult by use of non-union suppliers and middlemen.

The owner's wife, Mrs Rebecca Margolis, is facing a charge of assault after an incident following which one of the strikers is expected to lose most of the sight in one eye. We trust that the police will be as enthusiastic in carrying out this particular prosecution as they have been in harassing the pickets!

Help is needed urgently on the picket line, and so is financial aid. The branches being picketed are the two in Oxford Street and those in the Haymarket and Argyll Street. Mass pickets have been organised on Saturdays, assembling at 399 Oxford Street at 12 noon, and all trade unionists, Labour Party members and Young Socialists are asked to give every

help possible.

Messages of support to Garners' Steak Houses strike

Committee, Committee Room 84, 12-13 Henrietta Street, London W.C.2.

AJ Lees super-exploiters

Nine members of the NSMM are on strike at AJ Lees, Witton Road, Birmingham, for re-instatement of a shop steward. The dispute arose in a fight against Victorian wage rates—£31 for 41 hours gross. The lowest wage is £23.20 for 40 hours.

The firm's millionaire owner has holdings in Swiss and German firms.

The company has a turnover of £5,000 a week, but the wage bill averages under £500 for seventeen employees!

This could be another mini-Grunwicks. All trading with the firm, which makes cotter pins, should be blacked, and help is welcome on the picket line.

Brian Debus (Erdington Labour Party)

SELL MILITANT TO YOUR WORKMATES

For details contact: Circulation Department, Militant, 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN

Militant

SPILLERS-FRENCH

Fight Closures

“Nationalise the Bakeries!” That must be the reply to the bakery giants who have connived to drive well over 9,000 workers on to the dole.

Joe Marino, a member of the executive committee of the Bakers, Food and Allied Workers' Union told us, in his opinion a fighting answer to the bakery monopolies is vital.

Jobs Threat

If this deal is allowed to go through then no baking job will be safe! Behind the scenes, Rank Hovis McDougal and Associated British Foods have agreed to take the profitable bakeries off the hands of Spillers-French claiming that jobs at these plants will be guaranteed for at least a year. Very kind of them!

Joe warned that if Ranks and ABF are able to take these firms they will attempt to close down more than 13 plants in the near future, going for the least profitable and most militant! Every bakery worker therefore has a direct interest in helping to defeat this attack.

The attitude of big business to “their” workers is utterly cynical. The only concern of Spillers-French is their profit. They have busied themselves in secret machina-



tions with their supposed “competitors”. Bakery workers only knew what was in store at the very last minute.

But also the role so far of the Labour government has to be condemned. Even Jack Ashley, who is not normally noted for his left-wing comments has been quoted as saying in Parliament: “The arrogant and contemptuous attitude by Spillers...should not be tolerated by a Labour government.”

“We want a recognition that jobs will be preserved or alternatives found and a full debate to uncover the secret

negotiations by the company, certain ministers, the Monopolies Commission and the Bank of England. These discussions should have been held in public.”

Joe Marino told us that a delegate at the last Manchester District Board meeting of the BFAWU got unanimous approval when he demanded that the books of these companies be opened to inspection.

At that meeting the Manchester bakers threw all other business aside to discuss these redundancies. They issued the call for immediate recall of the union conference to prepare a campaign to fight the closures nationally; and for joint union committees in each district to co-ordinate the fight at local level.

Joe said that it was important to involve housewives in the fight, for if bakery workers lose this battle then bread prices will soar in the new intensified monopoly conditions.

Law

All workers have been taught by these events that we cannot rely on the law. The law on protection of jobs has been trampled over by Spillers in their rush to sack workers.

Our only defence is to rely on our independent strength. The bakery workers have

shown in recent years that they have the muscle. If the fight is led boldly from the top it can be won.

The bakers' executive should call for all the threatened plants to be occupied as the first shot in the campaign. Supporting industrial action should be arranged nationally. At Joe Marino's bakery an immediately black was put on the transfer of orders from Spillers' and on deliveries of Spillers' flour. That blacking should be repeated throughout the country.

Save

No false hopes should be placed in little “independent buyers” salvaging one or two bakeries, and the idea of workers' co-operatives which some have floated will prove to be no solution. Little co-ops would be squeezed by the giants, especially when it came to buying the flour that these same giants mill!

The union should demand loud and clear that the whole industry be taken into public hands, including the profitable milling side. **The monopolies are destroying the industry. It is up to the labour movement to help the bakery workers fight to save it.**

Brian Ingham

(Industrial Correspondent)

ROLLS ROYCE

“Even God is a gaffer's man,” declares one of the pickets as snow sweeps down at the beginning of this second week of the occupation. Morale is very high and there are very few absentees from the 24 hours a day, seven days a week picket.

Both Rolls Royce plants in Coventry, at Parkside and Ansty, are now occupied. This morning the white-collar workers at Ansty refused to cross the picket line.

These workers refuse to be cowed. Management laid off the whole factory, but this was met by a complete work-in. When power to the plant was cut off, the work-in was converted to a sit-in.

The company has been forced to increase their wage offer from a divisive 5% with differentials, to 9.7%. But the workers refuse to budge until the other 0.3% is handed over, with no strings attached!

Negotiations broke down last Friday, due to management intransigence. But meanwhile, with fuel for the picket line fires coming from felled trees in the cemetery across the road, even past generations of workers are contributing to this determined struggle.

Darell Cozens
(Coventry SE LP)

Scottish TUC

end

unemployment

Without exception, the resolutions to this year's Annual Congress of the Scottish TUC express the bitterness and anger of the Scottish labour movement at the high and rising level of unemployment and declining standard of life of the working people.

The desperate housing shortage, the urgent need for more hospitals and schools, make little impression on the employing class who are only prepared to invest where huge profits can be made. We must break their power through the nationalisation, under democratic workers' control and management of the 200 major monopolies, enabling the trade union and labour movement to plan the economy in the interests of the working class.

Falls Short

The resolutions on the economy from the General Council unfortunately falls short of putting forward such a demand. It calls for “strict controls on the export of capital from Britain, and import controls to protect vulnerable British industries.”

But how can the labour movement force these tycoon businessmen to invest in ‘unprofitable’ home industries? All the pleadings of the government, with massive ‘incentives’ amounting to £20 million a day, have proved fruitless.

Because they hold economic power, having the right to decide where to invest their millions, it has been the capitalists who have dictated policies to the government, not vice-versa. They have held the government to ransom by means of a strike of capital. But even if it were possible to force profiteers to invest in ‘high risk’ British industry, it would solve nothing as far as the working class is concerned.

Any investment which

takes place will only be to increase profitability. New machinery and modern techniques will mean further unemployment. It is vital to modernise British industry, but while this is left to the profiteers, it will only lead to ‘overmanning’, and more sackings. The bosses care little about the ‘overmanning’ of the dole queues!

Just as much as controls on investment, the demand for import controls is not realistic because of the certainty of reprisals from foreign capitalists. But again, even if import controls were imposed to “protect vulnerable British industries”, they would not improve the situation at all.

If the bosses who have wrecked British industry, leaving it in such a ‘vulnerable’ position, are ‘protected’ from foreign competition, it will lead to a decrease rather than an increase in investment. With the threat of foreign competition removed, we would be forced to buy their goods no matter how shoddy and expensive they are. Once their market is thus protected, why should the bosses invest?

Attack

All the issues to be discussed at the conference show the need for a struggle against poverty and oppression of all kinds. The bosses have established their determination to attack our living standards and our ‘very right to organise is threatened.

In order to meet this challenge successfully, Scottish Labour must raise itself to its full height, fighting every battle for decent wages, full employment, and the defence of the past gains of our mighty movement, on the basis of a programme to deal the death blow to this rotten system—the nationalisation of the 200 top firms.

By Greg Oxley

(Paisley LP)

LEYLAND BALLOT

By a 2 to 1 majority, Leyland workers, in the recent ballot, firmly rejected the company's attempt to introduce an incentive bonus scheme.

A ‘yes’ vote would have given the company the right to reduce the workforce to the “’77 business plan” figures.

It would have thrown overboard the right of a shop steward to mutually agree manning figures for his section.

But even with these reductions, any plant breakdown or component shortage (for whatever reason) at any time during the month would have cancelled the bonus. The company could have reduced manning, reduced overtime payments and had complete control over manning levels without having to pay one penny extra on the wage bill!

Carrot

They have been defeated this time. But they will try again. Even Glenville Hawley (T&GWU Automotive National Official and Chairman of the Leyland Cars Joint Negotiating Committee) has said: “Car workers in the Midlands have been weaned on piecework and the carrot

has to be very close to the nose of the donkey.”

The workforce of British Leyland are not donkeys, to be led to the slaughter by a bigger carrot!

We will fight any sackings, reduction in earnings or attacks on any of our hard-won gains.

Wage Claim

A Leyland Cars Combine Committee must be formed immediately, to give a lead in totally rejecting any incentive schemes. They must draw up a wage claim to unite all Leyland workers in a fight to

restore the wages lost over the period of the social contract.

This is what the Rover shop stewards are demanding: it has been our position since these schemes were first discussed. It was with this alternative in sight that Rover workers, at mass meetings rejected the proposals almost unanimously.

If a Leyland Combine Committee adopted this policy, Leyland workers would rally to the fight for a just wage for all, with no strings attached.

By Bob Ashworth
(Senior Steward, Rover, Solihull)

Summer Camp

Final arrangements have now been made for the ‘Militant’ summer camp to be held at Horton, Gower, Nr Swansea over the Spring Bank Holiday [26th-29th May].

Speakers have now been confirmed:
The Marxist Method—Ted Grant
The Class Nature of the Soviet Union—Peter Taaffe
What is Fascism?—Ted Grant
World War: Future Prospects—Bryan Beckingham

Marxism and the Trade Unions—Brian Ingham
Campers will need to provide their own tent and food, although snacks will be provided free. There will be a crèche for children. Costs—only £6.50. Children between 6 and 12 years—£1.50, under 5's—free.

Bookings should be sent now to Rob Sewell, 99 Penderry Road, Penlan, Swansea. [All cheques etc. payable to R Sewell]

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