

Militant

Who controls Fleet Street?

Feature pages 6 & 7

THE MARXIST PAPER FOR LABOUR AND YOUTH

ISSUE 408
2 JUNE 1978

12p

TORIES PLAN WAR ON UNIONS

We have been given a frightening glimpse of what is in store for us if the Tories win the next election.

A Conservative Party policy-document, leaked to the weekly, 'The Economist', last week, reveals Tory proposals which would mean the axing of tens of thousands of jobs and further drastic cuts in living standards.

photo: Chris Davies

The main part of the policy-document, drafted by right-wing Tory MP, Nicholas Ridley, concerns the nationalised industries. A Tory government, it is proposed, would make the publicly-owned utilities 'pay' by introducing strict profit yardsticks. All the potentially profitable sectors within the nationalised industries, however, would be "hived off" to private industry at knock-down prices.

Let there be no mistake. These proposals, if carried through, would mean higher coal, gas, electricity and transport prices—and thousands of public-sector workers would lose their jobs.

By Patrick Craven

(Dundee Labour Party)

But even more ominous than the Tories' proposals for the nationalised industries are their plans to take on the trade unions—which amount to plans for civil war against the labour movement.

The document shows that the Tories have learned a bitter lesson from the Heath government. They admit that it was a mistake for Heath to try to take on the whole organised, might of the trade union movement. Heath's government was brought down by the miners, with the support and sympathy of millions of workers.

The Tories' policy document therefore proposes a five-part plan to counter the inevitable trade union resistance to their anti-



The real face of Toryism?

working class policies.

1 When resisting pay demands etc., a Tory government would carefully choose its ground, taking on the unions in particular fields where the government thought it could win: e.g. the railways, British Leyland, the civil service, or steel, depending on the circumstances at the time.

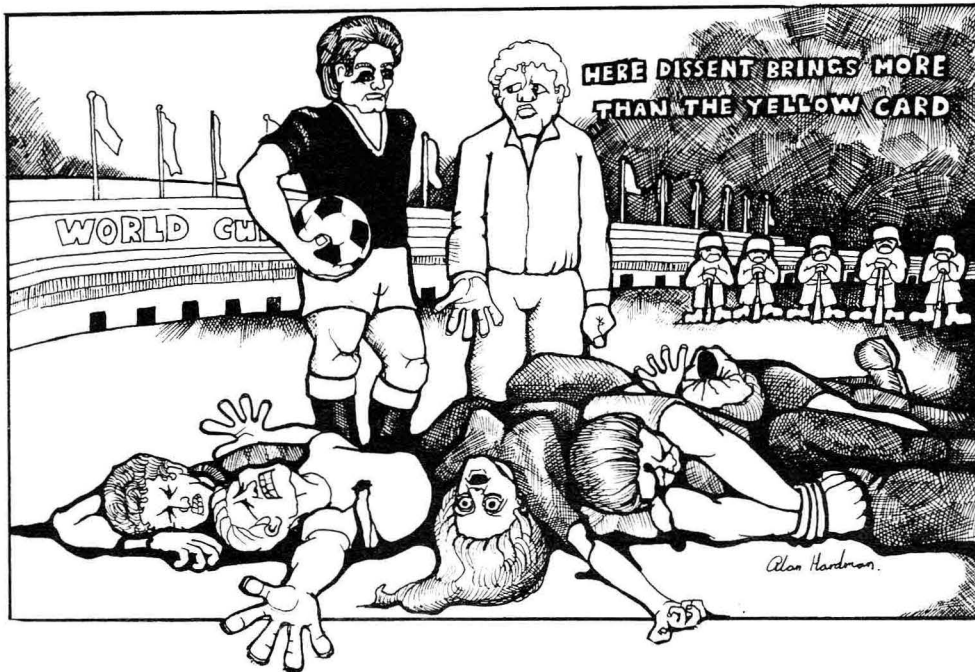
2 While enforcing profit yardsticks in the nationalised industries, in "vulnerable" sectors where the unions are strong, the

figures would be rigged to avoid confrontation for the time being.

3 In order to undermine the power of the miners, special contingency plans would be drawn up for coal, including stock piling at power stations, planning the importation of coal, and introducing dual coal/oil firing in all power stations as soon as possible.

4 A Tory government would cut off the

[Continued on back page]



ARGENTINA - What the cameras won't show

If you're queuing for Cup Final tickets you might expect to get a kick in the shins or even a punch on the nose. In Argentina you might get shot.

In fact, only a few days ago, impatient fans waiting for World Cup tickets in Buenos Aires were involved in a fracas—and were wounded by trigger-happy security police.

Whatever the excitement of the football, however many millions they spend on World Cup publicity, Argentina's military rulers will not be able to conceal the harsh realities of their dictatorship.

The Junta seized on the opportunity of the World Cup, fixed before the military coup in 1976, to improve their blackened image. But so horrifying are the reports coming out, that some of the attention focussed on Argentina inevitably fixes on the bloody repression and torture.

The disappeared

The facts about repression were brought home to the French team last week when their manager narrowly escaped kidnapping. Afterwards, the French captain promised that he would be taking up the cases of the twenty French citizens who have "disappeared" under the Junta. Commenting on the re-



General Videla, Argentinian dictator

game's cover-up operation, the prominent Buenos Aires newspaper, 'La Prensa', printed a list of 2,500 names of people who have not been seen after being "taken prisoner at their work, in their homes, or in public thoroughfares by armed groups claiming to be members of the armed services or security forces."

It is common knowledge that soldiers and police have formed unofficial armed bands, which loot "suspects" houses and abduct "subversives",

taking them to their headquarters, where bestial torture and executions are carried out.

Another Buenos Aires newspaper recently stated: "It is quite impossible to pretend that human rights are respected in this country...In many cases, after two years without a single clue as to the whereabouts of a son, a daughter, a husband or a wife, relatives have given up hope. They are simply asking whether the person they seek is dead or alive. It is not too much to ask."

While in Argentina the World Cup teams are housed in luxury training camps, sealed off from the outside world by armed guards—to protect them from possible kidnap. They are like a sick parody of the 60 or more concentration camps that now exist in Argentina.

Nobody knows how many there are in these camps—or have already died in them. But well-documented reports testify to the barbaric conditions, worthy of the Inquisition or the Nazis.

Starving prisoners, reduced to rags and without water or sanitation, are kept blindfolded and

[Continued on page 2]

"The deal that the Labour cabinet has made with the Liberal Party is an agreement that can only sacrifice the interests of its working class voters. For it is a pact with the smaller party of big business and must inevitably act as a brake on any steps made by the government towards socialist change or even minor reforms."

So said 'Militant' on 1st April, 1977 [issue 349] when the Lib-Lab pact was born. And have we been proved wrong? Now that Steel has announced its end, Labour voters have nothing to show for it. Big business, on the other hand, has done very well indeed out of it.

Even before the Labour government made its agreement with the Liberals, the Labour govern-

ment had accepted all the terms dictated by the Confederation of British Industry and the International Monetary Fund. But for the bosses, the pact was an extra, formalised guarantee that the government would bend to its wishes.

In the words of Steel, the Liberal leader: "The agreement has achieved the main objective of economic recovery. It has provided political stability, enabling the government to pursue a counter-inflation policy involving a tight control over increases in prices and incomes."

Only the need to salvage some credibility among their own supporters and to have a free hand in a general election has prompted the Liberals to announce the end of the agreement. Steel

NO MORE PACTS!

has warned, however, that "next time our ambitions will be set higher than bailing out the economy and stopping doctrinaire socialism, necessary as these tasks have been."

That statement should be enough to show any Labour supporter the price that is being made for agreements like this. As a party representing big business, no less than the Tory Party does, the Liberals will always act as a brake on any moves by a Labour government to transfer power and wealth into the hands of the working people.

Labour now has the chance to make sure that

the Liberals never again get a chance to do this. If, between now and the general election—now most likely to be in October—a campaign were waged to popularise a fighting socialist programme, with mass rallies and factory meetings up and down the country, then a Labour victory would be assured.

A 35-hour week with no loss of pay, a £60 basic wage for all, a crash programme of public works to provide work for the unemployed and provide houses, schools and hospitals so desperately needed—these are the policies to bring Labour victory.

But to implement them, Labour will have to spell out the need to take over the 200 monopolies which dominate the country's manufacturing output, assets and employment, under workers' control and management, with compensation only on the basis of need.

Having carried through such measures it would then be possible, on the basis of a socialist plan of production, to wipe out all the unemployment, poverty and

miserable that afflict so many millions today. That—what they call "doctrinaire socialism"—is what the Liberals want to prevent Labour from doing. That is why there must be no more pacts with them, no more disguised coalitions, but an independent, battling class programme to sweep Labour to power, to keep out the Tories and the Liberals for ever, and to build a decent society for the future.

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 Ltd [TU], Mentmore Works, 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN

WHITE PAPER ON INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

Boardroom Relief

Big business and the Tories have greeted the government's plans for industrial democracy with relief, jubilant that the proposals of the Bullock Commission have been well and truly emasculated.

The White Paper published last week represents a complete victory for the Tory Party and the CBI, which have mounted a sustained campaign of pressure on the government.

According to the BBC's parliamentary correspondent, the Tories found it impossible to disguise their feeling of triumph: gloating smiles of satisfaction passed across the faces of Tory MPs.

Even 'The Times' was approving: "a future Conservative government," commented its editorial, "would be wise to build on this foundation."

The central idea of Bullock remains: attempting to unite together the conflicting interests of labour and capital through the agency of "worker directors".

Snare

The labour movement should make its position on this clear. They are nothing more than an attempt to push representatives of the trade union into the embrace of the capitalist system in order to undermine the independence of the trade unions and divert struggles—particularly major struggles on jobs and wages—into safe channels.

Yet the bosses feared the Bullock proposals like the plague and subjected them to a frenzied barrage of insults. They look in horror at the power of the unions and dread the thought of that power being represented, in however a limited form, in their own boardrooms, privy to all their ways of working, their intrigues, and their cynical manoeuvres behind the backs of the workers.

The creation of worker directors is a vain attempt to encourage the growth of a new loyalty to their company



Meeting of Lucas Aero-space shop stewards [Wolverhampton, 10th April 1978] threatened by redundancies: management completely ignored detailed plans for alternative use of technology.

amongst workers. It will fail. For the mass of workers, monopolisation of industry and union organisation has long since killed off the deferential attitudes which held them in subservient loyalty to their supposed "betters" who ran industry.

Clearly the White Paper bears the stamp of the right-wing of the movement, who are themselves fearful of the independent movement and initiative of the organised workers, with all the industrial strength and self confidence they have build up in the post-war period.

Gone is the idea of the Bullock Committee for boards of Directors to be made up of "equal" numbers of worker directors and shareholders, together with a third, smaller group of "independents."

The government proposes that two-tier boards, as in Germany, should be established with workers confined to the "top", supervisory boards. The "lower" management board would be left free to run the company day-day-day, unfettered by the watchful eyes of the worker directors.

Only a third

On the supervisory board, as a "reasonable first step", the government proposes that employees will be given the

right to appoint only one third of directors.

Workers would be in a minority. Nevertheless they would still be "responsible" for the decisions of the board! This is the idea of "industrial democracy" advanced by the government. By law it will not be possible to mandate the worker directors and they will be bound to support majority decisions. If this were implemented, it would only hamper the unions in vital struggles. Their own representatives would be tied to managerial initiatives and decisions.

Secrets

The government has tried to reassure the bosses they have everything to gain, and nothing to lose, from using the proposed confidentiality rules. In the case of especially sensitive information, they can plead "national interest" and keep it away even from fellow directors. So much for "industrial democracy"! On less sensitive information, the union representatives would simply be told to keep quiet or face court action.

Those workers who feel that it is worth travelling down this road in order to obtain useful information should therefore think again.

Some workers will welcome the idea in the White Paper for the establishment of Joint

Representation Committees encompassing all the workers in a holding company, or a subsidiary company employing over 2,000 workers. These would be a form of joint shop stewards committees which would then elect the worker directors.

But we do not need acts of parliament to tell us how to organise. Shop Stewards committees across combines are essential. But the initiative must come from the workers: they must regularly decide who will be present in those bodies. Company unions, moreover, will be recognised under the set-up proposed by the white paper, and any "union" that is agrieved at the share-out of the seats for worker directors can appeal to an outside, non-trade union body, the supposedly "independent" Industrial Democracy Commission.

Scepticism

The trade union movement is becoming increasingly sceptical about these notions. The experience of British Leyland, where the "participation" committees have been used in an effort to blunt the fight back against the all-out attack on jobs and living standards, has been a salutary lesson for many workers.

The schemes are emerging because of the impasse of

British capitalism and the need of the bosses in Britain to off-load their crisis on to the backs of the workers. They are confronted by the mighty army of labour. The authors of these notions believe worker directors are a magic formula for dissipating the strength of the organised working class. They will be proved wrong.

In all probability the overwhelming mass of workers will ignore these proposals and they will remain a dead-letter. If they are taken up, they will undoubtedly be undermined and swept aside by events.

Workers are moving from below to take managerial prerogatives out of the hands of management. This movement will not be sidetracked by fanciful ideas of class collaboration.

Demands

The proposals advanced for the nationalised industries by 'Militant' are receiving more and more support. We have called for the management of all nationalised industries to be firmly in the hands of the workers through their trade unions, with one third of the workers being elected by the workers in the enterprise concerned, through the unions, one third through the TUC to represent the working class as a whole, and one third to be appointed by the government.

That is the kind of bold steps the Labour government should take. That is the kind of measure which workers in struggle will increasingly demand.

In private and nationalised industries, while steering clear of the collaboration, we should work to strengthen our own organisations. We should work further for a break with capitalism in its entirety and for the opening up of a new chapter of society based on socialist planning and workers' democracy. Only on the basis of socialism will it be possible for the working class to develop a meaningful say in the running of industry.

Brian Ingham

(Industrial Correspondent)

What the cameras won't show

Continued from page 1

chained—in between being subjected to sadistic tortures which defy description.

All this goes on under a regime which took power in the name of "law and order". In reality, it is the bloody vengeance of the ruling class for the enormous movement of the working class and revolutionary youth which welled up under the new Peronist regime.

Systematic, brutal repression is the counterpart of the smashing of the trade unions, together with all democratic rights and the grinding down of living standards to an almost unbelievably low level.

No wonder that on May 25th, Argentina's national independence day, it was reported from Buenos Aires: "Never have the people of the capital looked so exhausted, silent and morose... It will need more than a [world cup] win for Argentina to improve the mood for long."

The world cup cameras will stay inside the football stadia. The few fans from Britain who can afford the air fare will not be allowed to stray very far outside. But the unprecedented security measures being enforced by the Junta are testimony enough to its fear of the people over which they rule with the gun and the jackboot.

They know that, underground, trade unionists are rebuilding their organisations to fight back. They see that in neighbouring Brazil (see page 11) the military dictatorship has just been shaken by a massive strike wave.

For Argentina's Junta, the world cup competition may divert eyes and energies for a while. But their day will come.

By

Lynn Walsh

SOUTH WALES CAMP NOT BY POLITICS ALONE

The marvellous bank holiday weekend weather was matched only by the excellence of the political and social events at this year's 'Militant' camp. Over 160 people came together in glorious sunshine to hear and discuss various aspects of Marxist theory. Every one of the five main political discussions was superb, with fully and lively participation by the audience.

Games

But the weekend was not all politics. The camp mini-bus made regular trips to and from the local beaches throughout the afternoons—left free for soaking up the sun and paddling in the (icy) sea. On Saturday evening the sun-tanned campers queued up in the canteen marquee for a delicious curry prepared by Clive the chef.

At lunchtimes rounds of freshly-made sandwiches were handed out by the hard-working kitchen staff.

In spite of being sun-tanned, sunburnt and satiated, there were always plenty of athletic campers ready to engage in numerous games of football. In a stirring challenge to the World Cup matches, the West Midlands beat off 'The Rest of the World' on Sunday afternoon. For those not too exhausted



Ted Grant leads a discussion

by the sporting activities, the late-night discos were another attraction. Following Sunday evening's political session, campers' children amazed their elders by their resourceful, if not exotic, fancy dress get-ups (picture p 13).

Brains

The fancy-dress competitors having departed with their prizes, the stage was set for the 'Mastermind' final, when 'Callaghan's Commies' from Cardiff took on the 'London Fool-timers'. It was a close-run thing, but the London team scraped through to victory aided by their unique rendition of the Red Flag.

camp photos: Julian McKittrick

This was not the last contest of the evening, however. West Midlands showed their true gifts by beating the Welsh comrades in the beer-drinking match. Team-leader Bill Mullins returned again for the jiving competition in the early hours of Monday morning, but though victorious at beer-supping he was not to be seen for the jiving encore.

On Monday afternoon the multitude of tanned and tired campers made their way homeward-bound. It was the end of an unrivalled political and social success—that is, until next year's camp.

By Julian
McKittrick

ABOVE: the whole lot! [75p each, pay 'Militant']. RIGHT: one of the many football matches

"Although there were slightly fewer people than last year [the fine weather was not predicted!] the camp was better than ever before," Rob Sewell, camp organiser, told us afterwards. Most important, of course, were the political discussions, which enormously raised the level of understanding of everyone there. The key theme, which came out clearly in the summing up, was the enormous power of the working class internationally, and the ease which society the world over could be transformed—provided there is a Marxist programme and perspective.

"Everyone enjoyed themselves immensely, both in the discussions and the social activities. In particular, I think wives of 'Militant' supporters who are not usually so active, and their children, enjoyed the camp. The crèche worked well and there was plenty for the children to do.

"Several people told me that they regretted not bringing their family and



would definitely be getting a tent of their own so they could come next year. "Everyone worked together, joining in the work as well as the fun.

"The camp augured well for the future. The word will spread. And next year we will have a bigger and better camp!"

TORIES FACE DETERMINED OPPOSITION

Wandsworth, in common with other London Boroughs, has suffered decline and decay over the whole post war period. In 1951 the Borough had 42,260 manufacturing jobs; in 1975 it had only 17,765. There has been an annual job loss of 100 over and above the decline in population, during the years 1961 to 1975. [London Borough of Wandsworth—Employment Policy Review, 1977].

A new pattern for working people in all trades has been commuting to work; 68% of the working population of Wandsworth travel outside the Borough to their daily employment. This increases the effective working day and reduces real incomes.

Direct works

The Labour Council of 1971-78 stood firm in its refusal to implement government cutbacks—notably in

the Direct Works Programme. They even attempted to maintain expansion at 5% per year. The Council had plans to involve 1,000 jobs in co-operative enterprises.

Now the Tories threaten to cut back the gains of the past years. But the local labour movement is planning to defend all that has been achieved. Pickets of the Council have already taken place and more action is being organised.

Swearing in

The key-note for the political savages of the Tory party was struck by the new leader Mallam: "If it is not economic, it goes." Of course such things as nurseries and provisions for old people are notoriously uneconomic. While the Tories aim to save £2-3 million per year from services over the next year they lost no time in decking themselves out in the robes and other paraphernalia

rightly rejected by the Labour representatives.

Their 'swearing-in' ceremony resurrected the invocation of the divine blessing on the municipal year by which they were asking for the assistance of God! With the campaign mounted against their proposals by the local labour movement—they'll need all the help they can get!

The first target for the Tories was the Community Development Team—to be axed because it had been doing too well in making people aware of their rights, something the Tories clearly consider to be left-wing.

"Apartheid"

There will be an immediate reduction in council staff by 5% in the first year. The Direct Works Department—built up by Labour to employ 1,000—will be cut back over 4 years until it is virtually non-existent. Council building will be back in the hands of the private builders with their

lower standards and inferior safety record.

On housing, the Tories offer a social 'apartheid' system: "We must spare no effort to reduce the problem posed to so many tenants by anti-social families on some of our estates." Is segregation proposed?

Sweat-shops

The Labour Council would not lease council-built factories to employers refusing union recognition, an excellent way of keeping the like of George Ward out of the borough. "That scheme will be thrown out as soon as we are empowered to do so," said Mallam, the Tory leader. He and his fellow Tories are quite happy to open the door to sweat-shop owners and the exploiters of the Garners and Grunwick types. (Amidst the welter of pledges and threats it is worth pointing out that the Tory Council have not yet even met to ratify these proposals.)



Trade unionists picket inaugural meeting of Wandsworth's Tory council

The defeat for Labour in Wandsworth shows that no Labour Council—however sincere and dedicated—can build socialism in one Borough. Ultimately, government policies have the final say on jobs and housing. The council had a good record amongst Labour Councils, but not good enough to make working class voters forget four years

of wage restraint and cutbacks in health and schooling and other services.

Only socialist policies implemented on a national level can entirely resolve local problems.

Paul Copping

(Battersea North
Labour Party)

LABOUR'S YOUTH PLAN MASS ACTIVITY

Right across Britain the Labour Party Young Socialists are drawing up plans for a week of mass activity, due to begin on June 10th.

Demonstrations, street meetings, pickets and car cavalcades are being planned to show working class youth that there is an alternative to wasting away on the dole or in dead-end jobs.

To the thousands of youth who we will speak to in our street meetings, we will say: If you are fed up with being out of work, or seeing your wage packet disappear or spending night after night watching the TV because you can't afford to go out, **get organised!**

The bosses have been conning you for years, hoping you will keep quiet and let them run the show. Now they are praying that you'll let their party, the Tories, back into the government and sit back while they take the rest of the money out of your pocket to boost their coffers.

The Labour government hasn't been able to change the situation because it has carried out policies designed to maintain the profit system rather than replacing it with socialism. That's why we fight to get Labour on the socialist

road and keep the Tories out! With your help we can do it.

The Wales and Yorkshire regions, with the support of Emlyn Williams (S Wales NUM President), will be putting this message on a special leaflet to young miners. Bristol have booked a college minibus to take LPYS flying squads out to the factories, schools, and techs, and Leicester have organised a mass demonstration for socialist policies against racism and fascism.

Should we get the Party Political Broadcast on TV the Young Socialists have been fighting for, this will be a tremendous boost for our activities. As a result, everyone will have heard of the LPYS, it will get us known in every household.

Explain Programme

But Labour's youth have many more answers to the problems facing young workers in this society than could be explained in ten minutes. That is why it is essential that every LPYS branch capitalises on this publicity to go out

and explain our socialist programme and win more people to our banner.

Branches will be distributing local and national leaflets explaining our policies, advertising our meetings and inviting the youth to come to our discos etc. If the broadcast goes ahead, Bristol North East LPYS plan to get all the members together on June 15th, leaflet nearby houses, watch the programme at a meeting place and discuss it. Every branch should be doing this.

Argentina

For those who will have their thoughts on far away Argentina, we have, in the LPYS paper 'Left', a special message—outside the glittering football stadia of Buenos Aires and Cordoba, the prisons and graveyards are filled with young people and trade unionists put there by Videla's military dictatorship and the class he protects. If you want to end the bloody rule of the bosses everywhere, join us in the fight for socialism!

Phil Frampton

LPYS National Chairman

Young Tories beaten

140 young people turned up to the AUEW hall in Liverpool on May 23rd to hear a debate between the national chairman of the Young Tories and the Young Socialists.

The Tory chairman opted out and sent his vice chairman to get a ducking! Unfortunately for the boys in blue, the Young Socialists comprised 80% of the audience!

The Tory spokesman claimed that they had been the ones to introduce all the worthwhile legislation in favour of the working class. Phil Frampton (National LPYS Chairman) and other young socialists pointed out that on the contrary, the bosses' party

has always ruled in the interests of big business at the workers' expense, and had only ever conceded any mild reforms when faced with the alternative of mass action by the workers.

When the Tory said his party were against racialism, he was quickly reminded of Thatcher's attempt to whip up racial fears. When he said that the way to bring down unemployment was to guarantee the bosses higher profits, we showed that they had been given higher profits but investment still went down.

The gilded youth who came along obviously expecting to give the 'reds' a good fight went away rubbing their sore behinds. They were well and truly caned as a stream of

LPYS members got up and showed that the Tory ideas were as bankrupt as the capitalist system they defended.

As Phil replied to the accusation that the LPYS were undemocratic, the meeting had shown that Marxist ideas had nothing to fear from democracy, in fact we let the Tories speak in debate with us whenever they wish. The more they say, the more young workers learn that Toryism is a cancer on Britain and the more they help the youth to sharpen their tools in preparation to perform the necessary surgery.

Pete Rubenstein

Toxteth LPYS



Labour's youth in action—marching against racialism at the Anti-Nazi Carnival.

“LPYS must lead” —Andy Bevan

To a packed room, Andy Bevan, the Labour Party's National Youth Officer, spoke to Southampton Labour Party Young Socialists on the future for the LPYS.

He began with the difficulties youth face, particularly in finding jobs, with 47% of the unemployed being under 25 years of age. But he went on to say that the problems of the young were not to be seen as divorced from the problems of the working class as a whole, we are all at the mercy of the bosses' system.

It is they who are letting British industry die, and at the same time reducing people's living standards and forcing thousands onto the

dole.

Andy gave the example of the television producing industry. For every British worker there is £4,000 investment in machinery, but for every Japanese worker there is £21,000 investment. Therefore British industry is less competitive, forcing factories to close down and losing jobs.

Today industry is run in the interests of only a handful of rich shareholders. The only way forward for the workers is socialism, with industry nationalised under workers' control and run for the interests of the whole of society. Only in this way would the curse of unemployment and attacks on living standards be removed for

ever.

The LPYS would play an essential role in mobilising the young in the fight for socialism, Andy explained confidently. That is why it must become a large, active body that will appeal to youth.

What Andy said was well received and the many new people at the meeting were greatly impressed.

This was the largest LPYS meeting held in Southampton with over 50 people attending. We hope from this start to build a campaigning LPYS locally, dedicated in the fight for socialism.

J. Planken

Southampton LPYS

— how it's done

On Saturday, May 13 about 16 Labour Party Young Socialists from Brighton, Hove, Eastbourne and Worthing held a Day of Action in Brighton against racialism.

At 11.15 Churchill Square was alive with LPYS members selling 'Left', getting shoppers to sign an anti-NF petition and giving out leaflets. The reaction of the public to the leaflets on the whole was encouraging (apart from a few National Front sympathisers we came across, who apparently didn't want the NF exposed!).

Most people who took the leaflets read them straight away and some shoppers even

came up to us and asked for leaflets because they had been missed out.

Another observation was that those who refused to take leaflets were older, which indicated a certain demoralisation with politics, whereas the younger people we came across were much more eager to take and read the leaflets. This bodes well for the future of the LPYS.

Just before we finished leafletting we were joined by an unexpected guest celebrity—John Tyndall. Some of the comrades noticed him go into British Home Stores. The LPYS then followed him through the store and out the other side. Once out in the street the LPYS gave him an

unwelcome reception and shouted anti-Nazi slogans.

About 15 'Lefts' were sold. After all the leaflets had been given out, we relaxed and had a 5-a-side football match.

The day's events proved that ordinary people want to know the truth about the National Front. As far as young people are concerned, the radicalisation, the determination to fight and the keenness for socialist ideas are there to build a mass socialist youth organisation. All that remains to be done is to recruit them to the LPYS to defeat racialism and establish socialism.

Clive Walder

Hove LPYS

MILITANT NOTICES

ISLINGTON Militant Public Meeting 'The Labour Party and the Need for a Socialist Programme'. Hear: Chris Hill (Greater London Labour Party Executive Member and Chairman London LPYS Regional Committee). Friday 2nd June, 8 pm. Small Hall, Islington Central Library, Holloway Rd, (5 mins Highbury Tube.)

BIRMINGHAM Militant Industrial Forum "AUEW Elections—What Next for the Union?" Speaker: Tom Smith, (AUEW, Chairman Leyland, Special Products Combine.) "The Crown", Hill St., Birmingham. Wednesday 7th June, 7.30 pm.

ROTHERHAM Militant Discussion Group. 'Which Way Forward for the Trade Unions?' Speaker: Rob Jones (Militant Editorial Board). Thursday 1st June, 7.30 pm. Place 'Tolbar', Rotherham Road, Maltby.

SOUTH MANCHESTER Marxist Discussion meetings. The Albert Inn, Walmer Street, near junction of Wilmslow Street and Great Western Street. 8.00 pm, Wednesday June 7th—'Ireland: the Socialist Solution'. 8.00 pm, Wednesday June 21st—'State and Revolution'. 8.00 pm, Wednesday July 5th—'Southern Africa'. 8.00 pm, Wednesday July 19th—'Reform or Revolution?'

HARLOW Militant Discussion Group Thursday 8th June. Subject: 'Communist Parties in Western Europe.' 8.00 pm. 200 Rivermill, Harlow.

SUNDERLAND Marxist Discussion Group. Every other Friday starting at 8.00 pm. June 2nd—"The AUEW Elections. Why Duffy won, and the effect of the victory." June 16th—"Workers Control and Management." June 30th—"The Orlov Trial in Moscow and the Russian Dissident Movement." July 14th—"The Future of the Labour Party." For further details, contact Diane English, Sunderland 44365.

Marxist Weekend school

Friday June 30th—Sunday July 2nd
At Goldsmith's College Students' Union, Lewisham Way, London S.E.14.
Programme:
Opening session: Role of Marxism in Britain.
Courses:
Marxist Economics
Marxist Philosophy.
International
Final Session: World Perspectives.
Leading Marxist speakers for each course.
Registration £2. Reading lists will be sent on registration. To register, write to: Marxist Weekend School, 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN.

Jumble Sale Saturday 3rd June, 295 Upper Street, Islington. 10 am to 2 pm. Help and goods welcome. All proceeds to Militant Fighting Fund.

WALLASEY Folk Night. Ewan McColl and Peggy Seeger plus guests. Wednesday 14th June 1978, 8 pm, Wallasey Labour Club, Church Road, Wallasey. Tickets £1 from Paul Harrison, 051-630 3438.

Militant Badges: 'Workers Unity and Socialism'. Bulk orders available. Contact Cathy Wilson, 24 Belvedere Street, Ryde IOW, Tel: Ryde 66938

YOU could win

A holiday in France for two worth £250!
A 3-room frame tent worth £150!
A family caravan for a week or a "Galleon" British holiday worth £100!
Plus a pocket camera, picnic set, sleeping bag, camp bed, deck chair, battery lantern and a football, if you bought every ticket for the MILITANT HOLIDAY RAFFLE to be drawn on Saturday July 1st! But if you just want to take a chance and buy a few books and sell as many as you can—Order now from: Militant, 1 Mentmore Terrace, London, E8 3PN. Price per ticket 10p, ten tickets in a book.

LEFT & RIGHT

Some More Equal Than Others

Anyone who thought Yugoslavia was an ideal 'socialist' state might like to reflect upon the career of boxer Mate Parlov.

From 20 professional fights Parlov has earned £150,000. From his next bout, a world championship joust with Britain's John Conteh, he will pick up an estimated £175,000.

The Yugoslav government has created a special arrangement for Parlov whereby he pays little tax and keeps most of his earnings. These go towards simple working class luxuries such as a villa on the Adriatic, complete with special trophy room, a 3-litre Mercedes and a new Volkswagen estate car. If he loses against Conteh he can retire without the need of ever working again.

Not surprisingly, Parlov believes that it is right that he should have lots of money, but there would seem to be something of a contradiction between his government-endorsed lifestyle and Yugoslavia's claim to be a socialist democracy in which all are equal. The ruling clique of bureaucrats who sit on the workers' backs, living off the enormous advances of a nationalised, planned economy, seem more concerned with imitating the perks and life-styles of the rich in the capitalist west, than with building a real workers' democracy as a model for workers all over the world.

£1,950,000 Wage Restraint

Calls for sacrifices and wage restraint have come from Tory and Labour governments alike. Wage increases have been held well below 10% for years and this hasn't stopped prices shooting up. It seems from the recent Civil List increases that our gracious Queen is to receive a mere 2.5% increase this year. Is the sovereign, too, showing 'restraint'?

However, all the publicity omits to say that the increase last year was 18%—and before that 15%. How many workers got that sort of wage rise? And of course it is a rather different matter to accept sacrifices on £1,950,000 a year than on £50 a week. Restraint for one might mean buying a few less racehorses—for the other it could mean having to go to jumble sales for children's clothes.

Of course, Buckingham Palace has tried to present the list as a response to national calls for economy. However, that argument looks a little thin when the same Civil List gives the Queen Mother an extra £200,000 a year—try comparing that to what most pensioners get!

The Duke of Gloucester will receive another 50% and Princess Anne 20%. The richest schoolboy must be Prince Andrew, who receives £20,000 a year. However—the poor lad will receive only £600 a year, the rest will be invested on his behalf.

This shows very clearly that the calls for 'restraint' and 'equality of sacrifice', far from being equal, serve to deprive working people rather than the rich.

Two Truths

"Inflation is still tumbling. Last month it was running at only 7.9 per cent—the lowest figure for five years." (*Daily Mirror*, Saturday May 20th.)

...There seems little doubt that the government's success story in the battle against inflation has started to go into reverse...Even on the most optimistic interpretations, it is clear that the pace of inflation is starting to accelerate." (*The Times*, Saturday May 20th.)

Once again we see blatant lying in the so-called 'impartial' press. The Daily 'Liar' printing one story, to try and 'help persuade' workers not to ask for decent wage rises. On the other hand, *The Times* printing nearer the truth, for the benefit of the managers and industrialists who want to know what is happening in the economy.

The truth? Just ask any worker about the weekly food bill. And read the *Militant*.

A SHIFT IN THE GLASSWORKS:

"It's like being a battery hen"

Does it affect our home life? Are you kidding? Harlow has more broken homes per head of population than any other new town.

Most workers are now aiming for a four day week. We are still working six days. It works out at a 48-hour week basic.

We work a three shift day system: 7 am-3 pm, 3-11 and 11-7. We do six days at any one shift, then have two days off and come back on a different shift.

The glassworks is the town's major employer of semi-skilled labour. Need I say more? How can you hold a family together when your working pattern is forever changing?

The glassworks is among the highest paid factories in the town, but for the conditions you have to put up with, it's among the worst. It's like being a battery hen with bedlam all around.

There are two main parts to the production, the hot end where the bottles are made and the cold end where they are checked, sorted and packed. At the hot end you have to face the worst conditions of all, oppressive heat that can soar to 120° in the summer, the hissing and the clanks of massive air powered machines, the acrid fumes that fill the air every time an operator 'mops out' the moulds with the dope, or dabs sulphur on the neck of the mould.

Flying Bottles

Every few seconds a 'gob' of molten glass descends into the mould, here the neck is shaped and bottle hollowed, with a hiss and a crash, across comes the 'invertor', up goes the bottle into the 'blank', where it's blown into shape. The last you see of the red hot bottles as they enter the cooling ovens.

At the cool end the problems are different, there we face a continuous stream of bottles, each one has to be checked. Did you know there are 36 faults a bottle can have?

Often in taking a faulty bottle off the line another falls over, and like a line of soldiers, one after another tumbles. A quick scramble, two by two the bottles are re-erected, before a jam is caused, and bottles are flying everywhere.

We have to wear ear muffs or cotton wool throughout the shifts. You can't communicate with your fellow workers unless you bellow right into their ears, such is the noise. On the whole the management's attitude is pretty callous.

In the past a charge hand, who are always on call, collapsed under the strain of working twelve hour days for some time. The ambulance came, he was loaded on a stretcher, down through the factory, then a pause at the gates.

Was it to enable the management to enquire of his health condition? Not on your life, it was to clock him out!



When glassworkers' anger boiled over: Pilkington's strike, 1970

By Harlow Glassworkers



Question Time

In an adjournment debate in the House of Commons last Wednesday, the role of the Special Branch was debated. Reflecting the fears of many activists in the labour movement, Robin Cook, Labour MP for Edinburgh Central, demanded from the Home Secretary an explanation of several disturbing examples of incidents involving Special Branch.

He referred specifically to an attempt to recruit a student at Paisley College of Technology to supply information on the political views of his fellow students in return for a tax-free payment, and to a memorandum discovered by workers occupying the British Steel plant in Greenwich, from Scotland Yard to the management giving details of previous convictions of two workers.

He complained of the lack of proper reports about the Branch's activities. Out of 36 annual reports of provincial police forces, only one contained a reference to the Special Branch. No report was given by the Metropolitan Police Commissioner of the Special Branch work being done by his force, despite the fact that they comprise half the total number of police engaged on this work.

Cook demanded that matters of a political character, like the work being done by Special Branch, should not be left to policemen but be subject to democratic scrutiny.

The reply by Labour Home Secretary Merlyn Rees was breathtaking in its complacency. On the lack of information, he simply asserted that there was no way of providing this without ruining the work that the Special Branches engage in! On the lack of control, he assured MPs that they were subject to the strictest control by...senior police officers!

True, he admitted that mistakes are sometimes made, when enthusiasm overcomes what ought to have been better judgement. That was evidently the case in Paisley, for which apologies had been offered and the man concerned had been transferred.

Perhaps the most amazing statement of all was his categorical assertion that it is not the case that in this country people's names are put on lists because of political views. Yet he went on to say that they were only concerned with any attempt to undermine or overthrow Parliamentary democracy. And who decides whether any person or group are so concerned? Senior police officers, presumably.

Rees was only prepared to admit that Special Branch men, 850 of them, 409 in the Metropolitan force alone, work at the ports and protect government ministers.

This debate will only strengthen the resolve of the labour movement to demand a thorough investigation by the labour movement of this force of political police who are accountable to no democratic control and pose a grave threat to the democratic rights of activists within the labour and trade union movement.

There is a changing mood among the men. Rents, rates, power bills and prices are all going up. It's not as easy to cover it with overtime these days, and the production bonus is now non-existent with only two tanks out of four working. There is an increasing muttering in the ranks, it might not be long before it erupts.

WHO CONTROLS

Most powerful weapon of big business



2 OUT OF 3 PEOPLE READ A MIRROR GROUP NEWSPAPER



Today we are told that Fleet Street is in crisis. The printing industry is faced with immense technological changes and the owners of our presses are demanding redundancies as a result. Journalists are fighting for the right to have closed shops and the Tories are wailing about the 'freedom of the press'. Meanwhile, monopolisation continues with Trafalgar House Investments moving into the newspaper business and mergers and take-overs in the provincials.

But who really controls our newspapers and what is their role? Why do five corporations control 82% of our newspapers and yet the TUC, who represent millions of working people, has no daily voice? Why is their continuous misrepresentation of the trade union case and exaggerated attention given to such items as social security scroungers and racialism?

RULING CLASS DOMINATION

The ruling class have always realised the potential of the press and so have always ensured that they retain control of, what to

them, is one of their most powerful weapons.

From the word 'go' they took measures to control any signs of 'independent' newspapers by imposing stamp and advertisement taxes, and paper duties in 1711. Corruption raged between the press barons and the government. Sir Robert Walpole paid £50,000 in ten years as bribes to the newspapers.

The press at this time was aimed at the middle classes as the working class could not afford such luxuries and due to the low level of education, could not read them.

MONOPOLISATION

With the increased education facilities came the 'birth' of the 'popular press' with Alfred Harmsworth, later Lord Northcliffe, founding the *Daily Mail* in 1896—its first issue sold a record of 397,215 copies. From this, he built up an empire which included the *Weekly Dispatch*, *Observer*, *Daily Mirror*, *Times*, and a host of magazines. With the low price of his papers—depending on advertising revenue to cover the costs of production, hundreds of newspapers collapsed, unable to compete.

Monopolisation of the press continued with Lord North-

cliffe's nephew, Cecil Harmsworth King, gaining control of Odhams Press. This process has continued until today the companies below control the huge majority of all our newspapers.

REED INTERNATIONAL LTD:

International Publishing Corporation: Over 70 magazines, including such things as *Woman*, *Woman's Own*, *Ideal Home*, *Titbits*, *New Musical Express*, *Practical Householder* and *Valiant*. 100 business and technical journals; *Odhams Printers*; *Tower Newsagents*.

Mirror Group Newspapers Ltd: *Daily Mirror*; *Scottish Daily Record*; *Sporting Life*; *Sunday People*; hundreds of provincial newspapers, also 29.6% of ATV.

Reed International are listed at around number 16 in 'The Times' top 100 British companies, with £479,000,000 in assets and £1,063.6m sales. They control 19.9% of all dailies and 40.5% of Sundays.

THOMSON ORGANISATION: *Times*; *Belfast Telegraph*; *Scotsman*; 25% of *Scottish Television*. Control 7.5% of all dailies and 6.8% of Sundays.

BEAVERBROOK NEWS-PAPERS/TRAFALGAR HOUSE INVESTMENT LTD.

Daily Express; Sunday Express; Evening Standard; 8% of ATV. Control 16.1% of all dailies and 16.1% of Sundays.

ASSOCIATED NEWS-PAPERS GROUP LTD.

Daily Mail; *Evening News*; *Weekend*; a host of provincial papers; 80% of *Associated Independent Radio*. Apart from these, they own *National Opinion Polls*, paper companies, *Ultrascope Newsagents Ltd.* and about 13 transport firms.

NEWS INTERNATIONAL LTD:

Sun, *News of the World*, many provincial papers, 8.6% of *London Weekend Television*. Control 10% of all dailies and 24.6% of Sundays.

PEARSON LONGMAN GROUP

Financial Times; 50% *Economist*; 50% *Investors Chronicle*; with *Westminster Press Ltd.* they own around 107 provincial papers and dozens of annuals. They also own *Penguin books* and *Ladybird books*.

THE GENERAL STRIKE

The importance of controlling the press was fully realised by Winston Churchill during the General Strike in 1926, which was provoked by the Tory government after printers refused to handle a leading article at the *Daily Mail*.

Before the strike began all the leading newspaper editors were asked to co-operate in the publication of a single 'emergency' news sheet—the *British Gazette*. Churchill prepared the news-sheet, the aim of which was "...to produce a really powerful, readable broadsheet not merely to contain news but in order to relieve the minds of the people."

Churchill gathered together 'scabs' from other newspapers to work on the *Gazette*. According to the *Sunday Telegraph* he "...watched the process of production with fascination and enthusiasm, exhorting the men to greater efforts." He even attempted to get the BBC to broadcast the sound of the running presses! At one point, J C C Davidson, Tory Party chairman, wrote to Baldwin saying: "The technical staff should be left to do their job. He rattled them badly...He thinks he is Napoleon."

The paper stressed the enthusiasm of the 'voluntary services' and minimised the effect of the strike. The only other papers printing at this time were the *Daily Herald* and the TUC's strike paper, the *British Worker*. To give the *Gazette* total control the government commandeered

THE

all their paper and ink supply—so much for 'freedom of the press'.

The lessons of the General Strike must be learned by the labour movement today. Churchill's behaviour shows the tremendous importance the ruling class puts in its ability to dominate the press.

ANTI-UNION LIES

Whenever the labour movement begins to move the working class instinctively tries to stop the ruling class from spreading their propaganda. In the power workers' strike of 1970, newspaper workers spontaneously stopped the printing of a vicious cartoon in the *Evening Standard* and more recently they prevented anti-union lies appearing in several papers over the *Grunwick* dispute.

The owners of our newspapers are watching carefully the power of the unions within the industry. They would very much like to repeat the 'success' of the American press bosses who have virtually destroyed trade union organisation within the American newspapers.

The *Washington Post* set up training schools for 'scabs' during 1974-75 in Oklahoma. The new technology makes this a fairly simple task. When the pressmen struck for higher pay the 'scabs' were moved in. The workers, faced with this and bad trade union structures, tried desperately to save the situation, even to the extent of sabotaging the machines. The move failed and now, some 18 months after the start of the dispute, the main trade unions have been 'busted' with many of the strikers blacklisted across the country, several have now resorted to suicide.

It is rumoured that the *National Association For Freedom* has similar training schools in this country and has published internal documents detailing the methods used in the USA. However, attempts to undermine the print unions have been stalled by the victory in 1975 at *Sharman Brothers* of *Peterborough*. When the management tried to bypass trade union labour by installing *Optical Character Recognition* equipment (typesetting computers which do not require the same level of technical skill as other methods of composing) they were faced with magnificent solidarity on the part of the workers. The NGA immediately blacked all work going to or coming from *Sharman's*.

The dispute was won when mass pickets stopped a lorry which was to transport the company's classified paper. The following day, when attempts were made to bring out one of their publications, the pickets sat down in the road, blocking the lorry. The police moved in and 25 NGA members were arrested but as a result, within two days the management climbed down and the dispute was won.

But the trade union leaders still fear this sort of action and are compromising their

position on the question of new technology. However, they have been forced to see the dire need for one union for the printing trade.

ONE UNION

The workers in the industry must beware—the management also put forward the proposal for one print union but one which they can tie down from the top. In a report made by *ACAS* for the *Royal Commission on the Press*, when commenting on industrial relations they said: "...we are convinced that such problems will not be solved without a single organisation for the industry." their idea is "the formation of a joint standing committee of publishers and unions to monitor and co-ordinate the plans of national newspapers on new technology and manpower."

Printworkers must tell the likes of *ACAS* what to do with their joint standing committee and instead press for one democratic and fighting trade union with officials subject to recall, annual elections and to receive only the average wage of the workers they represent.

On the question of the new technology, the answer must be no to redundancies, if necessary, work sharing with no loss of pay. Any advanced methods of production should benefit all of society, in particular those who have invested their skills and their lives in that trade. New technology should mean an end to long and unsocial hours for print workers, not the dole queue.

CLOSED SHOPS

In the past few years we have seen the *National Union of Journalists* stepping up their campaign for closed shops. At this the bosses squeal about the danger to the 'freedom of the press'. In *Darlington* a dispute has ended a 107 year record of uninterrupted publication of the *Northern Echo*.

The biggest selling provincial daily in England, published through the 1926 General Strike and the 1959 print strike, was brought to a standstill when members of the *NGA*, *SLADE* and *NAT-SOPA* gave their full support to a strike by journalists in defence of their closed shop. The ruling class fears that their ability to spread anti-trade union propaganda might be jeopardised by having a powerful union in control of the news.

How can the working class ensure that their case is published? Any individual paper is still tied to the press monopolies through their control of newsprint, distribution facilities and other essentials to the running of a newspaper. The main control of newsprint in this country is in the hands of *Reed International*, the owners of *IPC*. The workers' co-operative who took over the *Scottish Daily News* were faced with sudden increases in paper prices when they came into

PRESS?

Daily Record.

Then there is the control from advertisers—even the **Guardian**, when during the 7-day Middle East war, they tried to print an article sympathetic to the Arabs, were faced with an advertising boycott led by Marks and Spencer.

We are always being told that the national press is on the verge of collapse. The **Financial Times** calls this "one of the myths of present day Britain." The income from advertising in 1975 was £678 million, the **Financial Times** and the **Sunday Times** derive over 70% of their income from advertising. What chance has an independent paper for labour got without such revenues?

The few people who control this country will fight tooth and nail the slightest encroachment on their power but the combined forces of the labour movement would make them powerless. The only solution is to nationalise all the facilities of the press and back-up industries under the democratic control of the working class.

A FREE PRESS FOR ALL

What of the Tories or the Liberals etc? All should be allowed to express their views. As Trotsky said: "The real tasks of the workers' state lie not in clamping a police gag on public opinion but rather in freeing it from the yoke of capital...all currents of public

opinion that have not taken up arms against the dictatorship of the proletariat must be given the opportunity to express themselves freely. It is the duty of the workers' state to make available to them all, in proportion to their numbers, the technical means they may require."

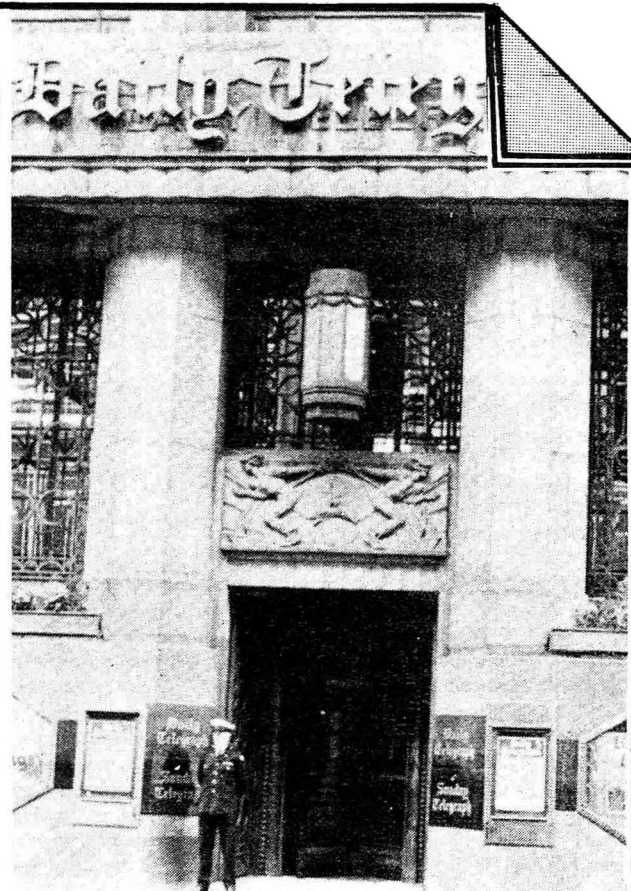
Special facilities could be granted to minority groups and the number of titles increased to give a wider range and give individuals a greater opportunity to put their ideas.

Lenin summed up the situation today when he said:

"Freedom of the press in bourgeois society means the freedom of the rich to systematically, unremittingly, daily in millions of copies, deceive, corrupt and fool the exploited mass of the people, the poor." A truly democratic socialist society could change this and by its very nature demand a free press, one which would put the views and aspirations of all of society, not just a small and privileged class.

By Nigel Costley

(National Graphical Association)



Headquarters of the 'Daily Telegraph', Fleet Street

Women's Magazines

portray women as wives, mothers, and spenders

Workers' Notebook

A recent article in the *Department of Employment Gazette* shows that it is possible for the introduction of a 35-hour week to reduce unemployment by anything from 100,000 to half a million. If an extra week's paid holiday was received by all workers, unemployment would fall by anything between 25,000 and 100,000. If half of all hours worked in excess of 48 a week were worked by full time workers a further 100,000 might possibly be knocked off the register.

But the boss looks at labour costs, and not wages, and it is much cheaper for him to have (in the words of the article) "One quarter of manual men in full-time employment working eight or more hours of overtime each week," than to cut the working week and take on some of the unemployed.

Stretching one man to the limit (and underpaying him so he'll work overtime) means only one NI stamp, one superannuation contribution, one person liable to go sick, and so on. It's easy to see where the resistance to work-sharing is coming from, and who is gaining (in the short term) from unemployment.

—Measures to alleviate unemployment in the medium term: work-sharing
Department of Employment Gazette:
April 1978, pp 400-402

An interesting footnote to the history of British capitalism in recent years is the way the number of compulsory liquidations of companies has gone up. In 1966, there were 934. By the time Labour went out of office in 1970, there were 1,296, in 1976, there were 2,511. The number of voluntary liquidations has gone down, reflecting the increased uselessness within the business world as demand turns down. There's no honesty among thieves...

Of course, many of these 'voluntary' liquidations weren't voluntary at all. They were swallowed up by even bigger firms. When next you hear a sleek Tory babbling about the wonderously healthy effects of competition, tap him on the shoulder and point out that large listed companies numbered 1,829 in 1969 and only 1,044 in 1975. [Note that the company figures do not exactly compare because inflation meant that they had to cut out small companies below a line which had to be raised every few years.]
Annual Abstract of Statistics: 1977

"Apart from monies from the Civil List amounting to £1,665,000, the Queen is rich in property and estates. She owns Balmoral and Sandringham and gets an annual income from the Duchy of Lancaster of £380,000. Half the annual income from the Duchy of Cornwall [£145,000] finds its way into the pockets of Prince Charles.

Money is provided to maintain the Royal yacht, British Rail pay for the upkeep of the Royal train, and the Department of the Environment keep up the royal residences. The Post Office pays for all telecommunications charges and the whole lot comes to £3 million a year.

Her Majesty does no domestic chores, shops in Harrods once a year, has a large, square cut diamond ring surrounded by several smaller stones, likes Louis Armstrong, suffers from sinusitis, does not need a dog license and loves After Eight mints and Kojak."

Advertising

A double page spread in *Woman's Own*, Britain's largest selling women's weekly, answers readers' "most asked questions" about the Royal Family. On the previous page is a short story, 'Ring for Romance', followed by 'The Private Life of Erin Pizzey', and 'Why Michael Cain became a tax exile'.

I don't suppose many readers of *Militant* take such publications, but the examples quoted above are typical articles to be found in women's magazines. And almost every week a new one appears on the newsagent's shelf.

The history of women's periodicals provides considerable insight into the aims and intentions of the publishing companies and editorial boards. In the 1950s it was indeed a profitable business, coinciding as it did with an enormous consumer boom.

Unlike the practical journals of World War II, that gave handy hints to readers on how to stretch out the rations, the magazines of the '50s became powerful selling mediums to housewives, through advertising. New consumer products meant spend rather than save, and editorial and commercial interests were as one.

The idea was to attract women of all ages and from all social backgrounds. With this in mind the weeklies were cheap and topical with liberal splashing of colour. A balance was achieved by including in their pages personal problems and sexual relationships.

This practical and visual appeal and domestic orientated formula attracted five out of six women to buy. The position of women in society, who had no social life, those who were not integrated into the process of production, was exploited by an emphasis on housework, keeping a marriage partner, and raising a family, which were considered to be worthwhile.

The '50s also provided another easily exploited section in society—the "teenagers". 'Marilyn', 'Mirabelle', 'Roxy', and 'Boyfriend' flooded the market with their strip romantic fiction, pin-ups and problem pages. Leisure interests, goods and services, as well as a simplified dream world of "girl meets boy" appealed to the young working women who had £250 million a year uncommitted spending money, £174 million being spent on cosmetics and clothes."

Despite attempts to re-orientate women's magazines throughout the '60s to meet the needs of "readers with new requirements", to present a "more realistic and intelligent view of modern living", the drop in sales between 1961-71 confirmed the International Publishing Corporation in their opinion that intelligence and consumption were "natural enemies".

In order to remain profitable it was necessary to

exploit younger women with disposable incomes, and, more importantly, emphasise through features and articles "women's proper social role". All women were, and still are, characterised as socially and politically backward, concerned only with home-making and housekeeping. Life had to be portrayed not as it really was for millions of working class women, but as the editorial staff considered they would like it to be. Hence articles such as 'The People Next Door', 'My Wonderful Mother', designed to propagate "traditional values".

Social issues are rarely touched upon, and there is a marked reluctance to tangle with the world of education, employment, and politics is never mentioned. Instead they attempt to reinforce the domestic career forced upon women and underline its value by projecting an unreal world of powerful emotional experiences, "famous lives", happy memories, warmth and companionship.



Princess Margaret:

The compelling story of her happiness and heartbreak

The monarchist propaganda, pro-Tory, anti-trade union bias of women's magazines continues at a time when the crisis of capitalism has a particularly malevolent effect on women. The double burden of a job and the tasks of cooking, cleaning, shopping and bringing up the kids has resulted in a

tendency among women to avoid active politics and active trade unionism. Because of the restrictions of the home that the magazines continually romanticise, and because the Labour governments have failed to alleviate the problems of women, they have tended towards conservatism and even reaction.

The stultifying role of being a housewife, and the narrow parochial way of life that it involves, as well as the isolation from all the organisations of the working class, is precisely what the media trades upon in its portrayal of rich, all-powerful rulers, and narrowness of outlook.

The '70s, however, has in reality seen a break with the stereotype of women as wives, mothers and household spenders, lacking in education, intellectual stature and social awareness. The increase in women working has helped to integrate millions into a social role, into the process of production, with the result that many more women are in trade unions.

At a time of social and economic crisis the lack of active involvement in politics has changed into its opposite. In the last few years many women including Asian women (the most oppressed and downtrodden) have taken part in strike action, which is a sign of their inevitable awakening to active trade union participation and after that to political activity.

Of course, the world of glossy magazines hasn't woken up to this fact yet, but sales are on the decline. Whilst the Queen prefers red wine to white, eats cucumber sandwiches and drinks china tea, and pays no direct taxation; whilst Her Majesty strolls around Balmoral, enjoys quiet evenings at home reading articles in magazines about herself, thousands of working class men and women are being won over to the need to change society.

By Hilary Long

(National Union of Public Employees)



FRANCE: THE

Last week, in the first part of this article on the Popular Front government which was elected in France in 1936, Peter Taaffe referred to the attempts by British Communist Party members, Eric Hobsbawm and Monty Johnstone to justify the part played in that government by the French Communist Party.

He contrasted this with the implacable hostility of Lenin towards such alliances with parties representing big business and demonstrated the correctness of Lenin's position in the successful Russian revolution in 1917.

After describing the massive wave of sit-in strikes and demonstrations staged by the working class after the victory of the Popular Front, Peter Taaffe illustrated the attitude of the CP leaders to these events by quoting from the 'Manchester Guardian' of 3rd June, 1936, "Several Communist deputies to whom I spoke were visibly embarrassed and alarmed. They declared the strike to be 'untimely', described it as an uncontrollable mass movement, and declined all responsibility for it."

The first part of the article concluded that, contrary to the views of these Communist deputies, the strikes which followed the Popular Front victory were a unique opportunity for the French working class to have taken power peacefully...

But, objects Monty Johnstone, any attempt of the French working class to take power would have led to "Colonel de la Rocque of the fascistic Croix de Feu with his 300,000 supporters trained for civil war by 60,000 officers of the reserve" (Marxism Today November 1975). This is the usual trick of the Labour and Communist Party leaders who attempt to frighten the working class with "civil war" should they attempt to take power. Exactly the same tactics were used by the Menshevik and Social Revolutionary leaders prior to the October Revolution.

Lenin answered them as follows: "To fear the resistance of the capitalists and yet to call oneself a revolutionary, to wish to be regarded as a revolutionary — isn't that disgraceful?...it (the capitalist class) will repeat the Kornilov (the Russian equivalent of de la Rocque) revolt... No gentlemen, you will not fool the workers. It will not be a civil war but a hopeless revolt of a handful of Kornilovites...But when every labourer, every unemployed worker, every cook, every ruined peasant, sees, not from newspapers, but with his own eyes that the workers' state is not cringing to wealth but is helping the poor...that the land is being transferred to the working people and the factories and banks are being placed under the control of the workers, no capitalist forces, no forces of world finance capital will vanquish the people's revolution: on the contrary, the socialist revolution will triumph all over the world ('Can the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?'—Lenin's emphasis.)

Futile

In reality, the relationship of forces in France in 1936 was a thousand times more favourable than in Russia in 1917. The fascists were completely impotent, as were the police and the army. The workers openly ridiculed the Croix de Feu during the occupations. At the massive Renault works, for instance, the "Manchester Guardian" reported the comments of a young worker:

"One of the best shows we put on (during the occupation) was the magnificent trial of Colonel de la Rocque. If you could have only seen de la Rocque (an effigy) locked up in a big cage resting on two drum sticks with heavy chains round his wrists and crying 'Pity me Pity me' as he was condemned to death. A dummy of de la Rocque with

the swastika and Croix de Feu armlets was then hung and burnt."

Monty Johnson may speculate on the possible use of the fascists and police against the workers, but the capitalists were quite clear on the futility of such methods. Thus 'The Times' remarked on May 28th: "Police were called out in large numbers but when the management looked over the situation and particularly the extent of the support of the men in the whole locality of the factories they were forced to request that the police be not sent into action."

Army useless

Nor could the army be used against the workers. The French army was a conscript army, as it is today. Demonstrations and upheavals were sweeping through the barracks precisely at this time, with the conscripts demanding amongst other things the reduction of army service to one year. At the Socialist Party Conference, which took place in the midst of the sit-ins for instance, the leader of the left Marcel Pivert, "demanded the immediate restoration of one year service...and read telegrams of support from the rank and file of provincial garrisons." ("The Times" 1st June 1936).

Any attempt by the French ruling class to use the army against the working class would have resulted in it splitting in their hands. Like their Spanish brothers one month later, the French workers and peasants in uniform would have paralysed the attempt of the officers to use the army against their fathers, brothers and sisters.

But, argues Monty Johnstone: "Across the Rhine stood Nazi Germany allied to Fascist Italy in the south-east, both getting ready to help France smash Republican Spain, whilst the British bankers used every form of pressure to give them a free hand to do so." In a much less favourable situation than France in 1936, with the actual armed intervention of imperialism, Lenin and the Bolsheviks were not deterred from taking power. The Russian Revolution detonated revolutions throughout Europe.

The reports in the British Communist Party's "Daily Worker" perhaps inadvertently give the lie to Johnstone's arguments. Speaking of the effects of French events in Germany, it reported on June 16th. "The Nazi press at first 'played up' the strikes saying they were an example of the 'chaos' from 'Bolshevik' influence in France. After a few days it became noticeable that workers were beginning to say they saw the huge gains won by the strikers as an example it might be a good one to follow."

If the German workers were inspired just by wage increases gained by their French brothers and sisters, imagine the effect on them of the Socialist Revolution.

Both Hitler and Mussolini would have been overthrown. The Spanish workers, who rose and were initially victorious in four fifths of Spain just one month later would have joined, as would the working class throughout Europe. On June 8th the Daily Worker itself had a banner headline: "Huge Strikes Sweep Over Western Europe." The Belgian workers under the direct influence of the French



THEN: The leaders of the 1936 Popular Front government in France: [left to right]: Côt, Duparc, Daladier, Blum, Herriot, Jeanneney, Lebrun.

HOW F SLIP OUT O WORKER

strikes came out in a huge strike wave, with street battles between workers and police in all the main cities of Belgium.

There is no doubt that if the French working class would have succeeded in carrying through the socialist revolution — which was entirely possible in 1936, the workers and peasants throughout Europe would have followed suit. The May/June sit-in strikes in 1936 could have become the overture to the Socialist United States of the Continent.

No Lenin

The ruling class of France, of Europe, together with their shadows within the labour movement, were paralysed by fear, some of them believing that the hour of their downfall had arrived. For instance Leon Blum remarked: "I am being spoken of as a Kerensky who is preparing the way for a Lenin." But there was no Lenin to be found in the ranks of the French Communist Party leaders.

The method, the programme and the tactics of Lenin were a book sealed with seven seals so

far as the French CP leaders were concerned. They bent every effort to derail the movement of the masses. In the process enormous suspicion and hostility towards these leaders developed, at least amongst the advanced workers.

Thus over a headline which said "Revolutionary Temper of Men in the Engineering Works", the 'Manchester Guardian' reported: "The revolutionary temper...is undeniable as may be seen by the extraordinary incident that occurred at Renaults yesterday. The local Communist deputy who urged the strikers to resume work on the basis of Monday's agreement...was howled down and driven out of the works. There is no doubt that not only the CGT but even the Communist leaders have no control and no authority over the strikers of several engineering concerns. (12th June, 1936)

Seeing power slip from the hands of his class and no doubt gnashing his teeth one worker commented: "It is strange to think that in a few days everything may go back to 'normal' and Renault will come



Massive demonstration of workers protesting at attacks by right-wing thugs on Leon Blum, leader of the French Socialist Party and head of the Popular Front government until he was thrown aside in 1937.

POPULAR FRONT, 1936



There were five Communist ministers in the 1945 De Gaulle government, made responsible, as always, for the crisis ministries of Labour and the economy.

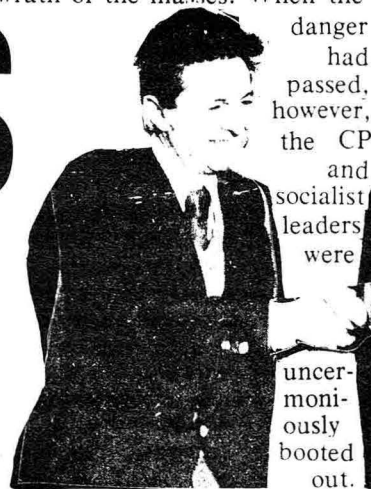
Below: AND NOW?: Berlinguer [Italy], Carillo [Spain], Marchais [France]—the 'Eurocommunist' leaders of Europe's mass Communist Parties are set to repeat all the worst mistakes of the Popular Front.

POWER PED OF THE HANDS

A planned economy would have allowed for cancellation of the debts of the small men in town and country and the extension of cheap credit and aid. The social reserves of reaction would have been completely undermined. Instead Leon Blum was forced out of the premiership of the Popular Front government in 1937 and the Socialists were completely excluded in 1938. The French working class, as with their Spanish brothers and sisters, were thus delivered into the arms of Fascism. The French Popular Front prepared the way for the enslavement of the working class by the Nazis and their French collaborators in the Vichy regime.

In the immediate post-war period, the European capitalists used the Communist and Socialist party leaders through the medium of coalition government to save themselves from the wrath of the masses. When the

danger had passed, however, the CP and socialist leaders were



uncer- moni- ously booted out.

Even Eric Hobsbawm admits, "the governments of anti-fascist unity in Western Europe could get rid of their Communists whenever they wished, and in any case kept them in subordinate positions, where they took the blame for unpopular government policies, eg as ministers of labour." But Hobsbawm is incapable of drawing the necessary conclusions from this.

The legacy of the Popular Front is one of defeats—sometimes bloody and terrible, as in Chile. Monty Johnstone tries to refute this by pointing to the elimination of landlordism and capitalism in Eastern Europe in the aftermath of war. Here there was a "striking success" for the Popular Front! In reality, it was nothing of the kind. The Stalinists formed a coalition, not with the liberal capitalists, but

with the 'shadow of the capitalists.' The quisling capitalists had fled with the advance of the Red army. Real power—the army, and the police—were in the hands of the Stalinists. These "Popular Fronts" or "National Fronts" were merely a screen to mask this. When the "shadow" began to take on some substance, the Stalinists leaned on the working class and completely eliminated the last vestiges of capitalism. (See Ted Grant's "The Marxist Theory of the State", to be republished soon.)

New and even viler versions of the Popular Front are taking shape in Europe in the period into which we are moving. In Italy for instance, the Communist Party even abandoned the Popular Front in favour of a "National Front". It has proposed an "historic compromise" with a party to the right of the Tory party in Britain. The right wing Christian Democratic

Party has been linked to a number of military plots and Fascist conspiracies in the past ten years.

Yet the PCI leaders have recently

expressed their preparedness to serve in a government even with Fanfani.

This vicious reactionary, when he was Prime Minister, used the divorce referendum to prepare a shift to the right and a link up with the Neo-Fascists! They justify this by pointing to the defeat in Chile! Allende was overthrown, it seems, because he failed to link up with the Christian Democratic Party, thereby alienating the middle class! There are none so blind as those who refuse to see:

Not in alliance with the "political exploiters" of the middle class stratum, but only by linking the struggles of the urban and rural middle class together in action could the middle layers have been won to the side of the working class in Chile. In turn this would have meant the carrying through of the socialist revolution. Half

measures and prevarication gave reaction the opportunity of ensnaring the support of at least a section of the middle class and preparing the way for a bloody retribution against the Chilean workers and peasants.

Lessons of history

But the 1970s are not the 1930s, or even the 1940s. The Italian, French and Spanish working class are immeasurably stronger than in the past. Stalinism no longer exercises a mesmeric effect on the rank and file of the Communist Parties. Once a Popular Front comes to power there will be enormous repercussions within the ranks of these organisations. The CP leaders will inevitably attempt to apply the brake to the movement of the masses, as the early period of the Portuguese revolution demonstrated.



They proclaimed their faith in the "socialist revolution" only after the masses had themselves compelled the government to nationalise most of industry.

On the basis of the great events which impend in Europe, the rank and file of the Communist and Socialist Parties will see that only disaster lies at the end of the road of the 'Popular' or 'National' Fronts. The workers in these organisations will seek a return to a programme capable of giving them victory in the struggle to eliminate capitalism. As a step towards this, the advanced workers must absorb the lessons of past popular fronts in order to prevent catastrophe in the struggles which are now opening up.

GREECE / INDIA

GREECE

The government re-shuffle in Greece and the ensuing crisis inside the ruling New Democratic party is only the latest sign of the continuing polarisation of Greek society.

The fact that the Prime Minister Karamanlis felt it necessary to broaden the base of his government having a 48-seat majority in Parliament only 5½ months after the last election ('Militant' No 384) indicates the further weakening of the government's position.

Karamanlis brought in Mitsotakis from the right wing Neo-Liberals as his 'number two' in the Cabinet and Kanellopoulos from the ruins of the liberal Centre Democratic Union as Finance Minister. Both joined the New Democracy party at the same

time as they got their jobs and addressed appeals to their supporters to do likewise.

Last November's elections exposed the growing strength of the working class. Nationally PASOK, the Socialist party, and the KKE, the 'Exterior' Communist Party, won 34% of the vote. The previous ever highest for the left was 25% in 1958. In the three major cities of Greece their share of the vote was 44% and in solid working-class areas like Piraeus, 51%. At the same time, the New Democracy vote was down nearly 25% on 1974, with the party losing 41 seats, and the Centre Democratic Union was almost squeezed out of existence.

Since the elections, the government has continued to preside over a worsening economic situation. There is virtual economic stagnation:

the only growth area is in services. Last year agricultural production fell for the second year running, and industrial production grew by only 2% compared with 10% in 1976. There was smaller real investment: 13.3 billion Drachma (the same as in 1972) of which the government provided ten billion. In the first months of this year production and exports both fell.

The government has been attempting to boost the economy by deficit financing and devaluation of the Drachma, both of which are helping to fuel inflation. The resulting fall in living standards and the fact that the general recession in Western European capitalism which has sealed off the possibilities of Greek workers finding work abroad has led to a mounting wave of class battles.



[Above and top of page 11] KKE demonstration in April against new anti-terrorist law.

workers move left
leaders move right

The elections were held nearly a year early by the government in an attempt to renew its majority before society became more polarised and support grew for the workers' parties. In addition, the big struggles of 1977 undermined Karamanlis's authority, in spite of his huge Parliamentary majority. He was forced to call elections and an attempt to rally his supporters or else face the danger of large extra-parliamentary struggles against an obviously unrepresentative Parliament.

Workers' demands

But in spite of the fact that the New Democracy emerged from the elections with a majority, the massive advance of the Left only gave added confidence to the workers' struggles. Generally, workers' main demands now are for a 30% wage increase; a sliding scale of wages linked to a price index drawn up by the trade unions; pensions to be 80% of the minimum wage; a 5-day, 40-hour week with no loss in pay; ability to retire after 35 years working with pension; workers' control of pension schemes; abolition of all anti-working class laws; admission of all trade unions to the trades councils and TUC; abolition of the Junta constitutions; and democratic

elections in the Trade Union Federations, Trade Councils and TUC.

The government and the bosses are rejecting all these demands and are offering only a 15% wage increase, with the result that the workers' struggles have continued after the elections.

These battles culminated in the 600,000 strong March 1st General Strike in support of the above demands and against the government. The real temper of the Greek workers and their willingness to give battle is seen when it is remembered that no more than 25% of Greek workers are organised and that there are no strong national unions. Most of the unions are very small, often just based on the factory. At the same time, the Trades Councils, TUC, and many of the Federations which link the small unions together are controlled by the government which uses rules imposed during the Colonel's Junta to keep control.

Local struggles

The March 1st strike was organised by PASOK and KKE which used the two unofficial 'Co-ordinating Committees' which they have formed to rally support. But because the PASOK and KKE leaders have not put forward a perspective of how

the struggle against the government and the bosses can be taken forward, they have allowed a certain pause in workers' activities since the March 1st strike, although local struggles, like the Athens Trolleybus strike ('Militant' no 402), have continued.

May Day

In fact, the PASOK and KKE leaders have given the impression that they are trying to avoid giving a clear political lead and that they are scared of leading a movement against the government. For instance, there was only a limited turn-out at the Athens May Day rally because neither of the parties really campaigned for a large attendance. The rally was called by the industrial branches of PASOK, KKE and Communist Party Interior (the small 'Eurocommunist' party), not the parties as such, and the absence of Party leaders like Andreas Papandreou of PASOK limited the rally's appeal.

In addition to this, the KKE has been following an adventurist policy of calling one day general strikes at a few days' notice with no real preparation in the factories. They are not linked to an ongoing struggle and are really an attempt to build its base against PASOK. Inevit-

WHAT ROLE FOR COMMUNIST PARTY OF

"MISLEADING ARTICLE" [letter]

Dear Comrade

Roger Silverman in his articles 'The Coming Revolution in India' ('Militant' 17 and 31 March 1978) accuses the CPI(M) of misleading the workers about the democratic intentions of Janata Party, of playing into the hands of Indira Gandhi, of holding back the revolution, etc.

It is unfortunate that R Silverman has to resort to gross distortion of the stand of the CPI(M) on many issues, to prove his point that the CPI(M) is not a revolutionary party and does not have a Marxist programme.

The Draft Political Resolution for the 10th Congress of CPI(M), April 1978, states: "The interests of the monopolies and the landlords demand a curtailment of people's rights to the point of dictatorship.... So long as the domination of the monopolists, big bourgeoisie and landlords continues to hold the Indian economy in its grips, attempts will be made by one combination or another to install dictatorship to make its rule viable.

"It will be erroneous to

ascribe loyalty to democracy and commitment to resist dictatorship to a particular group or party. The struggle against dictatorship will see many vacillations and changeovers from one camp to another, groups and sections changing their positions quickly under the pressure of the economic crisis and the developing mass struggle and the need to protect their own interests against the rival combination. The main question for them is the secure possession of state machinery and that decides their attitude....

"These policies (economic) will only enhance and strengthen the forces of dictatorship, undermine the democratic unity of the mass forged in the anti-emergency struggle. Pursuance of these policies will only strengthen the authoritarian trends inside the Janata Party and government....

"Therefore there should be no complacency that the programme for dismantling of the authoritarian framework and expansion of democratic rights will have an easy

passage without popular pressure and vigilance; or that fresh erosion of rights can be avoided without popular struggle and unity of the people....

"It is true that all (Janata) will not be faithful to these commitments (dismantling authoritarian framework), vacillations, hesitations, and even treachery may be attempted.

"The urge for democracy, for fulfilling the promises will be repeatedly obstructed by the class interests which dominate the party (Janata), by its class outlook and ideology."

The reader must excuse these lengthy quotations but it is absolutely necessary to clarify the position of CPI(M): I hope that those taking part in the debate would refrain from such un-Marxist practice, as it neither clarifies the issues involved nor helps to advance the revolutionary movement.

Yours comradely
Gurpal S Johal
IWA(GB) Nottingham
Branch

Read 'The Coming Revolution in India'
by Roger Silverman
10p, from World Books,
1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN

HONEST

We welcome comrade Johal's letter, since the only hope of developing a clear programme for the CPI(M)—which bears the main responsibility today before the workers and oppressed masses of India—lies through honest and open discussion. That has always been the tradition of Marxism and of 'Militant'. We have no need to resort to distortions or to stifle discussion as we are confident in our ideas.

We would like nothing better than to be proved wrong on this question. As we said in our articles, all that is missing to ensure one of the greatest revolutionary victories in world history, and to avoid one of the bloodiest defeats, is a leadership capable of matching the courage and élan of the workers and oppressed castes over the last 15 months, in the teeth of Janata's trigger-happy police.

The cautious, carefully measured, ambiguous quotations from the CPI(M) leaders which Comrade Johal reproduces in his letter, were anticipated in the articles he complains of. We wrote:

"It is not enough to mumble that if Janata goes to



Indian Prime Minister and Janata leader, Maraji Desai.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

By Bob Labi

ably, these strikes have had only limited support. Workers rightly ask what is the point in having one 24-hour strike after another, when they do not lead anywhere and leave those militants who do strike in an exposed position before the management.

This limited pause in the workers' struggle has allowed the ruling class to attempt a limited counter-attack. Thousands of militants have been sacked from factories: estimates range from 2,000 to 5,000 and the government has introduced more repressive laws under the guise of 'fighting terrorism'.

But the government has only been able to act because of the inactivity of the labour movement. The PASOK and KKE leaders give the appearance of being terrified to act, to lead the struggles forward. For example, there has been no attempt to link together the struggles of every section of Athens transport workers; instead each group has remained isolated, allowing the government to pursue its policy of divide and rule.

The weakness of the workers' leaders has been seen in the recent right turn by the PASOK leaders over the issue

of national defence. Papan-dreou has called for Greece to produce its own H-bomb for use in any war with Turkey. The PASOK parliamentary group once again voted for the government's war budget.

"Multi-class" party

The official PASOK weekly paper was closed down in favour of a new weekly aimed at a 'broad audience' run privately by members of PASOK's Central Committee. This fitted in with Papandreou's call for the establishment of unity "at all costs" with "other forces" (meaning liberal capitalist politicians) before this October's municipal elections. This fitted in with the explanation of one EC member that PASOK is not a 'class' party but a 'multi-class' party!

But this rightward move is meeting increasing resistance from the PASOK members. Although the rank and file had been somewhat cowed by the massive wave of expulsions of left-wingers which began in January, 1976, and only petered out at the end of last year, there is now growing vocal opposition to both the leadership's policies and the

right-wingers who got parliamentary seats in the wake of PASOK's growth and the purge of the left. At Area meetings of PASOK in Athens there have been attacks on the leadership's policies and opposition to deals with capitalist politicians.

There is no doubt that there will be a battle inside PASOK over what should be the party's policy in the municipal elections and who the candidates will be. There is even a process of differentiation taking place in the PASOK Parliamentary group. It has been reported that the Party leadership has been forced to act against five right MPs because of the rank and file's anger at their behaviour. A leading CC member admitted at an Athens PASOK meeting that the CC had no control over the MPs. The membership's growing anger is already reflected in the Parliamentary group with some PASOK MPs being accused by the right as 'communists' and 'revolutionaries'.

Early election?

Papandreou has called for the October local elections to be a show of strength against the government and has forecast a new general election before long because of the increasing problems for the government.

Certainly the government reshuffle was designed to widen its support in the coming elections, which shows that even Karamanlis understands its weakness. There are continuing rumours of a new, bigger reshuffle before autumn and of the possibility of an early general election.

There is no doubt that there is enormous anger and bitterness building up among the Greek workers. Everywhere you go you meet the same hatred of the government and willingness to



struggle. But what is needed is a fighting lead by the workers' leaders which would instil confidence in the working class that there is a possibility of changing the situation. Lack of leadership, hesitation and absence of perspectives at the top is the major reason for the current pause in the class struggles in Greece.

The workers' parties must form a United Front to link together the isolated struggles. There should be a serious campaign to mobilise the widest possible support against the government, to explain the issues involved and the need for a government of PASOK, KKE and CP (Interior) which must carry out socialist policies.

The municipal elections

must be seen as a stepping stone to bringing down the government. The workers' parties must campaign for the highest possible vote as a measure of the opposition to Karamanlis, unlike the KKE which at present is planning to fight them on local issues only.

Stormy period

But this campaign cannot wait for the local elections. Preparations must be begun now by forming a United Front and drawing up a common socialist programme to overthrow capitalism by the PASOK, KKE and CP (Interior). A campaign which would link the demands of the March 1st strike with the need of an organised cam-

paign to force a new general election and bring the government.

Even if the workers' leaders refuse to give a concrete lead such great pressures are building up that it is entirely possible that there will be a sudden spontaneous movement by the working class which will forcibly put the workers' leaders on the spot.

All the signs point to a stormy period ahead in Greece. The one thing that will not happen is that the government changes will strengthen its position. The task now is to wield together the forces of the Greek working class around a socialist programme and a plan of action against the capitalist government.



Riot police outside Athens Trolleybus workers' HQ.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BRAZIL

Last week, industrial workers in Brazil rediscovered the strike weapon. 50,000 workers were involved in the movement, which hit Ford, Volkswagen, Perkins, Philips, Pirelli, and other multinationals. The workers were demanding a 20% pay increase and improved conditions and health benefits. The government, as usual declared the strike illegal, but this only swelled the number of strikers.

THE WRONG GENERAL ZIA

CORRECTION
In our centre-page article on Bangladesh last week we inadvertently printed a photograph of the wrong South Asian dictator—General Zia-ul-Haque of Pakistan, instead of General Ziaur Rahman of Bangladesh. Since both are known as "General Zia", both as stereotyped products of the British officer elite academy tradition, both look alike, both are engaged in bestial policies of torture, beatings and assassination, and finally both are presiding over regimes balancing on a knife-edge and hence doomed to a sudden end before very long, perhaps our readers will excuse our error, for which we apologise.

Roger Silverman

"After the 12.30 whistle", related one striker, one or two turned their machines on. But they saw that they couldn't really carry on or they'd get it. I almost cried when I couldn't hear any noise. It was so strange to realise our power."

The last strike in Brazil took place in 1968 and ended when workers occupying a number of factories were marched out, their hands on their head, through lines of soldiers.

But the situation has changed. Last week there was no military intervention, and most of the bosses agreed to negotiate. Fords at first refused to discuss

the workers' demands, but later agreed after receiving protest telegrams from American unions.

Most of the strikers have now returned to work pending negotiations. But it is clear that they are prepared to move again if the employers do not come up with satisfactory offers.

After twelve years of military dictatorship the workers are clearly no longer prepared to tolerate the repression and super-exploitation that has been the rule in Brazil.

AMNESTY IN CHINA

100,000 people purged by the Chinese bureaucracy have been granted an amnesty 20 years later.

In an attempt to deny Krushchev's allegation of Stalinist repression in China in 1956, Mao Tse Tung tried to stage-manage a period of open criticism of public life, with the slogan "let a hundred flowers of criticism bloom, let a hundred schools of thought contend". However, such was the ensuing flood of objections to his privileged bureaucracy that the "school of thought" had to be quickly closed and the "hundred flowers" weeded out and pulled up by the roots.

Now the latest immed-

iate need of the bureaucracy, for co-operation from the intellectuals in developing the economy, requires the amnesty for thousands who were driven out of public life at the time.

Of one thing we can be certain. Nowhere in the ranks of those given a slightly larger leash will we find those Chinese Trotskyists who worked courageously to build the illegal trade unions in the cities under the brutal Chiang Kai Shek dictatorship and who were imprisoned by Mao in the 1950's for demanding free speech, free trade unions, for workers democracy and an end to the one-party Stalinist state.

INDIA (MARXIST)?

MARXIST LEADERSHIP NEEDED

the right you will oppose it, that insofar as it strengthens democracy you will support it, and that you condemn those acts which are reactionary, etc. The masses will only understand and respect an unambiguous line."

To say "there should be no complacency," to talk of "popular pressure and vigilance," and to warn of "vacillations, hesitations, and even treachery" is a little mild, against a regime stained with the blood of many hundreds of murdered workers and landless peasants, at Kanpur, Panthagar and all over India. It is precisely nothing more than an attempt by the CPI(M) leaders to cover themselves against all eventualities, and to edge back; shamefacedly and on tip-toe, from their earlier statement (also quoted verbatim in our articles) that the CPI(M) "looks upon the Janata Party as the major political force in the battle for the defence of democratic rights and civil liberties of the people!"

We would ask Comrade Johal to write again and answer us: didn't the CPI(M) in statements like that expli-

citly provide testimonials to the democratic intentions of the businessmen, landlords, ex-Congress renegades and Jana Sangh bigots that make up the Janata Party? Never mind their words, didn't they in deeds help bring Janata to power, not only in the March, 1977, General Election but in subsequent state elections?

Wasn't it the intention of the CPI(M) leaders to give Janata the government of West Bengal, and wasn't it only the inordinate greed of Janata for a bigger majority which forced the CPI(M) to oppose it? Hasn't Janata always been defeated by the CPI(M) wherever it has fought independently (West Bengal, Tripura and Assam)? And haven't our warnings of a resurgence of support to Indira Gandhi by default of the CPI(M) been strikingly confirmed in recent elections in Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh and elsewhere?

The fact that the CPI(M) leaders are beginning to retreat from their unqualified endorsement of Janata is a tribute to the pressure of Party activists within the ranks, who find it increas-

ingly difficult to detend that policy when every day brings news of new massacres and of new electoral shocks. But an honest Marxist leadership would openly admit its mistakes, explain them and correct them. It would not merely cover its tracks with ambiguities.

We ended our articles with the words: "Within and around the CPI(M) there is a ferment of healthy questioning, criticism and discussion. Not one but many new shocks await these layers of thinking worker militants. That is the real hope for the Indian revolution."

If Comrade Johal and other CPI(M) activists will remember our warnings amid the upheavals that lie ahead, we are convinced that they will draw the conclusion that the present Party policy is disastrous, and that genuine Marxist policies are needed, based on confidence in the power of the workers and poor peasants to change society along socialist lines, as in Russia in 1917. But time is short!

LETTERS TO: The Editor, Militant, 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN

LETTERS

Threat from micro-processors

Dear Comrades,

A new technological invention called a micro-processor threatens to put millions of people in the industrial world on the dole. Very simply it is a whole computer made very small which enables jobs to be automated.

Already Fiat in Italy have a fully automated car assembly line and seventeen watch-making firms in Switzerland have been bankrupted because the new digital watches use the micro-processors, making them cheaper than the traditional Swiss watch.

Typists will be replaced, by a word processor, which can do the job of five typists, postmen will disappear, there will be automated warehouses, paint sprayers etc. No job will not be affected.

It has been estimated that multinational firms like GEC and Phillips will cut their workforce by 30%. Marxists point out that under capitalism mankind is dominated by the means of production, he is a mere appendage of the machine, used by capitalism to make a profit and discarded when no longer useful.

In a socialist society inventions like the micro-processor would enable us to cut the hours we work dramatically and increase the leisure time so mankind can run society and fulfill the latent talent which each human being possesses.

Yours fraternally
Alan Turner
West Leeds CLP

Suggestions and Congratulations

Dear Comrades,

Having being off work with a slipped disc, on Monday afternoon I watched "Power without Glory" on ITV. It was the story of one man's influence, and that of the Catholic Church, on the Australian Labour Party in 1920-30.

Have you any information on the history of the Australian LP, as maybe in future you could feature an article in 'Militant' on Australia?

Also could I make some further suggestions. History teaches us the errors of the past of capitalism. Why not a series of articles on "Ireland", "the Chartist movement", "Fabians", "the ILP", and the movement of the workers of America ("Wobblies") and their struggle against capitalism.

May I congratulate you on your work in "Militant" and the efforts to make it a widely and well read and discussed newspaper for the labour movement. All power to your ideals of socialism. Thank you for your help and service.

Yours fraternally,
William West, Blyth.

"Let's put our trust in the young"

Dear Comrades,

I am of the opinion that manipulation of the economy by Mr Healey could be an advantage if socialist principles were applied. Better still, if applied to solving the unemployment problem.

In the construction industry, armed forces, merchant navy, docks, steel, pilots, farming, mines, fire, police, motor industry, etc, we are too old at 45 to 50 irrespective of ability, and while representing 50% of industries that are also being run down, as TU members we still accept trainees.

Why shouldn't the people in the boardrooms, MPs, TU officials, religious and medical personnel, judicial, tax and medical staff, self-employed etc be forced to retire at sixty by law? If you haven't made it or solved it by sixty you never will. Let's put our trust in the young for a change.

A minimum pension of £55 for married pensioners, and £45 for single pensioners providing they have no other source of income, with the opportunity of doing voluntary work only, with no pay, and no employable position being available. Enough empty school and factory space with machines provided to allow pensioners to get on with their own thing, like people who work allotments, job satisfaction.

A step in the right direction would be a one year, eighteen month or a two year cut back in retirement, accepting automation with jobs to be replaced by an actual plan of training for leisure and work by law for all before 1983.

Yours fraternally
T. Bradburr, Kirby.

Newham's Tory MP— False Pretences

Dear Editor,

Congratulations and thank you for the 16 Page Militant, with the all round improvement of content etc from issue to issue.

May I refer to the excellent article in your paper on 12th May headed "Newham Success for the left" by Tom Jenkins of Newham North Labour Party. Being a past resident of that borough the goings and comings of that area always bears an interest for me.

Congratulations to all concerned at Newham LP on their local election returns—more so after the sabotage and intrigue instituted by the few on the many in the past. I refer of course to the Prentice saga.

After the return of an increased labour vote, although the election was a local one, I should think that even the self appointed Tory MP [Mr R. Prentice] should take a good look at his own-brand democracy. That ratepayer candidate [Julian Lewis] a party to the turmoil caused in that constituency, with his failure to be elected, should also take a good look at his standing even with the Ratepayers-cum-Tory party and realise the people in Newham have given them notice to quit.

I am not in disagreement with any member wishing to change his brand of politics, but with the action following the change: going Tory with a

Labour majority, thus imposing that policy [Tory] against the wishes of the majority in the constituency. With the local result what it is, I should think this only shows the sitting MP is drawing his salary under false pretences.

I would have thought the House of Commons would have had something to say, and bring some pressure to bear on that MP to do the right and proper thing ie resign the seat and fight it as either a Tory or independently. But we only see the own brand democracy of the MP Mr Prentice, and that after all his spouting of undemocratic forces at work in Newham.

I cannot see any reason why that Tory should represent a Labour elected constituency, fought and won on a socialist policy, further endorsed by the local election result for Newham for which Newham NE Labour Party must surely be given full marks. Arising from the happenings at that place, I would suggest all Labour members in all constituencies take a good hard look at their proposed MPs, if only to ascertain they are not just jumping the band wagon of power, but vote for people who are prepared to carry through the struggle for a socialist society for all concerned.

Fraternally,

J.A. Hunt.

Free Member T&GWU
Number 1/24358 Ilford.

Don't Talk, Work" Says Boss

Dear Comrades,

Chatting after a recent meeting, I got into a conversation with two women, both fairly new members of their union. We discussed the difficulties in persuading women to become union members and their reluctance in some cases to go against the opinion of their husband or boss.

Their particular firm is small and employs mainly married women. Certain concessions are made during school holidays, which mean that the women workers will put up with a lot rather than risk losing a job. I was told that the owner has never sacked anyone; the only conclusion to draw from this is that one day you just can't bear it any longer and you walk out!

He is disliked throughout the factory, and both women emphasised what a shock it was to the owner when they sought union recognition. He couldn't understand why they should feel the need to question his right to rule as he saw fit.

One of the women gave me a memo that she had received in her pay packet; she has received quite a few she said—it seems the boss prefers to communicate with his workers by memo rather than face them! (One day he did meet her "Is she a seasonal worker?" he asked. She has in fact worked there some years now!)

I am enclosing a copy of the memo, minus name and firm...

I was extremely surprised to see you gossiping with a fellow worker at 9.35 am this morning. Not only should you have been at your machine at 9.30, but you were also preventing her from working.

This is not the first time I have noticed this sort of thing. Please let there be no repetition. Your hours are already very short. They should not be shortened further.

Both women seemed quite confident of winning over a majority of their workmates to the union; they see clearly that the only way to fight a bully is to be stronger, and their strength lies in the union.

Yours fraternally,

Cathy Wilson

Parliamentary Labour
Candidate, Isle of Wight,

Mandatory Reselection

Dear Comrade

Congratulations on Ray Apps' article, with its outspoken support for mandatory re-selection of Labour MPs. What a pity 'Militant' didn't take up this position a few years earlier, at the beginning of the re-selection campaign.

Yours fraternally

Victor Schonfield

Treasurer, Campaign for
Labour Party Democracy

3 Million Slums Gone 4 Million Still to go!

Dear Comrades

Recently a Labour Party member in Brentwood lent me a policy document for the 1959 General Election, 'The Future Labour Offers You'. It makes fascinating reading.

In the section dealing with housing: seven million householders had no bath of their own; over three million either shared or had no water closet at all; nearly two million shared or had no kitchen sink; and more than one million shared or had no cooking stove.

The only modern figure I know, based on a 'Shelter' report, is that today four million homes are lacking at least one of the above amenities. Analysing the '59 figures, seven million homes then lacked at least one basic amenity. After all, if you haven't either water closet, sink or stove, you are not likely to have had the plumbing for a bath.

So in the last twenty years while man has trodden on the moon and we have supersonic air travel, only 40% of the inadequate housing problems has been tackled. At this rate under capitalism, it won't be until well into the 21st century that every householder will have a home with all the basic civilised amenities.

Yours fraternally

Bob Edwards

Harlow CLP

Nurses on the Dole

Dear Sir,

Andy Rumsey (letters 31st March, 1978) is only partially correct in his contribution regarding staff shortages in the National Health Service. There are well over 5,000 qualified nurses on the dole, a situation created by the miserly attitude and total disregard for the health of the public by differing governments, ie there is no shortage of qualified staff, only a shortage of numbers employed.

I am a third year student nurse who will be sitting my state final exams next February, but the chances of finding a job on qualifying are remote. Although married, with a family to keep, the high cost of living and my husband with an average wage of less than £35 per week, I need to work in order to live.

Many people ask why so many trainee staff are recruited. The answer is simple: cheap labour. It is much cheaper to employ a pupil or student nurse for two or three years respectively, than to employ qualified staff.

The result is, on qualifying, the student or pupil nurses are given their notice and being replaced by another set of students or pupils. These in turn are dismissed on qualifying and so it goes on.

Another sore point at my place of employment, is that trainee nurses earning £1,500 per annum are paying for meals the same amount as Senior Consultants earning £12,000 per annum. However, with a midday meal costing up to 70 pence (this to increase from next week onward), more and more nurses, myself included, are taking their own sandwiches.

Yes, we can buy them. But at 56 pence for two, we can't afford to. If we eat in the canteen, by the time we have paid bus fares to and from work, nearly half our wages have been spent on the cost of being at work alone.

A large majority of nurses, like myself, love the work they do, but dedication should not be repaid by low wages, and the cutting back of badly needed qualified staff.

Fraternally,

COHSE Member, Leeds.

Tories' blind Eye to Shah's Terror

Dear Comrades,

How hypocritical can the gutter press get? On Sunday 30th April in the News of the World (the Tory world) which has a large working class following, there was a report on a speech made by Ma Thatcher.

She talked of the growing influence of Communism in Africa and how the 'Reds' are threatening to subvert democracy. She also said this could affect stability in the West and threaten our democracy.

So, what is new about MT making a speech like that? Nothing, but when we see where she made the speech it shows what hypocrites the media are.

The speech was made in Teheran, in Iran where there are thousands of political prisoners imprisoned by the Shah and his secret police of SAVAK. A place where democracy is a dirty word and where socialism is banned, the latter no doubt a reason for their speech here.

Clearly the media is blind to the immediate threats to democracy. Because Iran can finance British capitalism, the press turn a blind eye to the evil ways of the Shah in case they annoy him.

All the capitalist gutter press are interested in is profit for capitalism. To oppose this you must be a group that wants to subvert democracy etc.

But comrades we know that Socialism and democracy go together, one cannot exist without the other and it is only through Militant that we can build socialism and true democracy, where people determine their lives, with a media that gives us facts not distortions.

Joe Cox

Newcastle Poly Labour
Club and Wallsend LPYS

WE HAVE SIX WEEKS TO REACH HALF-YEAR TARGET

BIG SUMS AND SMALL SUMS all add up to an excellent total of £1,087.19 in donations to the Militant this week. That is certainly more than a 10% increase for us;

In fact, as last week's total was £768.39 (and not £2,768.39 as mistakenly printed at the head of the column last week! it is 40% increase.

Another such leap next week would bring us very near the average weekly total we need to reach the £70,000 target by the end of the year. With over £20,000 in the fund, a really big effort could even get us to the half-year target on time—**JUST SIX WEEKS FROM NOW!!**

Just look at the simple sums involved that have helped create this week's £1,000.

Just 10 times £1 equals £10—as from: A. Blacoe (Cambridge), S. Thomas (Hull), H. Grainger (Scunthorpe), M. Burke (Edinburgh), M. Rimmington and B. McCarthy (Cardiff), Mrs Howard, B. Howe, R. Allen and J. Simkins (London).

THIS WEEK'S TOTAL: £1,087.19



'Junior Marxists' fancy dress competitors at 'Militant' South Wales camp. Report p3. Photo: Julian McKittrick

£35,000 NEEDED BY JULY 8th			
FIGHTING FUND CHART £70,000			
Area	Target 26 wks	Target 52 wks	Received
Eastern	2,200	4,400	1,005.55
Hants & IOW	1,050	2,100	983.83
Humberide	1,100	2,200	794.98
Lancashire	750	1,500	259.83
London: North	3,850	7,700	2,004.72
London: South	1,900	3,800	1,063.27
Manchester & District	1,450	2,900	448.48
Merseyside & District	2,250	4,500	948.26
Midlands East	2,200	4,400	1,144.37
Midlands West	3,700	7,400	2,076.83
Northern	2,450	4,900	1,141.88
Scotland East	1,250	2,500	559.10
Scotland West	1,450	2,900	574.06
South East	1,150	2,300	815.55
South West	1,150	2,300	670.15
Thames Valley	850	1,700	536.21
Wales East	1,000	2,000	574.55
Wales West	1,150	2,300	511.32
Yorkshire	2,600	5,200	992.38
Others	1,500	3,000	2,953
Total	35,000	70,000	20,059.11

Progress Towards year's target [shaded box] Towards July 8th target [dotted box]

Just 10 times 50p equals £5 as from: J. Condon (GEC Bradford), E. Battiscombe (Cardiff), T. Hargreaves (Plymouth), A. Wood and P. Kane in Edinburgh, T. Earle and P. Drawater (Peterborough), R. Bennett (AUEW), P. Hughes (GMWU London) and J. Capper in Scunthorpe.

Just 5 times £2 equals £10 as from D. Lovell (Taunton), J. White (Worthing), J. Moore (ASOB Birkenhead, plus 20p), 'A Manchester supporter' and Mr and Mrs Wobey (Hackney).

Just 10 times £5 equals £50. This week's example:—M. Singleton (Brighton), D. Webb (Stevenage NSMM, plus 5p), T&J Pearson, C. Butterworth, and M. Wedderburn of London, D. Scott & J. Legg of Lanarks, 'Guss' of Bradford, a student in Stoke and D. Hayden and P. Jamieson between them.

Just 4 times £25 equals £100. Special thanks to R. Ovary (Cams.), a 'Southampton reader', 'Cup Final Draw', (Bracknell), and 'Back Pay' (Manchester) made up that sum.

£20 donated by M. Miller (E. Kilbride MP) plus £17 'over time pay', IOW, plus £7 from G. Childes (Exeter University) plus £6 from 'NE Derbyshire Caterers' makes another £50.

EVERY sum is welcome—the £5 collected from NGA members in Liverpool, the £1.12 'extras' from readers at Cynheidre Colliery, S. Wales, the 50p J. Knight (Nottingham) gives for his copy of the Militant, the £1.50 V. Crossley of Pirrie Ward LP gives every week to the Fighting Fund. £1 and the 10p donations came from two readers—J. Dunlop, Liverpool and K. Huxtable of Harlow. Under £1, over £1... they all help. School student, M. Richardson gave 25p, Laurence (Worthing) 60p and F. Glancy (Edinburgh) 80p.

J. Bull (Edinburgh CPSA) gave £1.70, M. Ball of Wakefield NALGO and L. Foster (Brighton MATSA) each gave £4, M. Wren of Hove £3, R. McArthur (London) and L. Rix (Exeter) £2.50 each. A Swedish reader donated £2.80. Many thanks to all this week's contributors.

Collections at or after Labour Party Young Socialist meetings made totals of £2.55 at Gosport and Fareham; £2 at Penge, 55p at Harborough, £1.30 at Hackney and £1 (drinks) in Lanarkshire. Some YS members gave individual donations already mentioned here but there should be many more expressing their support or the Militant with any sums—they can spare, small and large.

Collections at Militant meetings amounted to nearly

£200 this week including £92.20 net in London (of which £10 was two 'birthday fivers') from Croydon, £25.70 in Leicester, £18.28 from Bradford readers and a total of £14.42 from Discussion Groups in Gosport, Hull and West London.

Every effort is appreciated and should be emulated. If you know what a "Frank Woppett '30's Disco" is, you could hold one and raise £36.60 as supporters did on Tyneside!

A well organised jumble sale can bring in sums like the £60 raised in Glasgow. The 10 foot high display over the Militant stall at Brighton's LP fair attracted £47.80 for our funds.

'Food, drink and folk' in Islington made £69.55. A dance in Birmingham raised £27.65 and a Huddersfield Militant Social £10. Gardening in Stirlingshire brought in £15, sale of anti-racism badges in the Fareham area £12.30, tape measures in Woolich £6, Militant indexes from Hastings £4.32...

A 'Chilli Evening' in Cardiff raised £6, Lanarks, 50s Club £23, Rochdale raffle £5, Signatures on a plastered wrist (London) £5. Another 'fiver' from Cardiff was collected as 'fines for smoking', charges for tea and coffee, meals, odd ½ps and 1ps etc...

The list is endless and the sky's the limit for the Militant Fighting Fund. Let's have £1,500 next week for a start! Every penny and pound you send adds up to bringing a bigger and better Militant another step nearer.

BALLYMENA BY-ELECTION

Paisleyites fear socialist campaign

The campaign for the vacant seat in the Ballymena by-election is now well under way. The Labour and Trade Union co-ordinating Group got off to a good start with a well attended meeting on Wednesday, 17th May, to discuss the campaign.

Since then members of the group locally and supporters from outside the area, have been canvassing the main working class estates in the town.

Sectarianism

So far, we have been met with a warm response. Despite the fact that Ballymena has no real Labour tradition, many of our canvassers have been invited into workers' homes to explain our policies.

The Democratic Unionist Party, who need to win this seat in order to retain control of the Council, have also been active. Their campaign began in the traditional style. Anxious to push sectarian issues to the forefront, they organised a meeting to commemorate the anniversary of the day the farmers blocked the town

centre during last May's Loyalist stoppage.

The meeting, however, was solely concerned with the by-election. Ian Paisley promised an "active" campaign—complete with flag waving and band parades. He also "explained" that the reason the DUP were defeated in the by-election in December 1977 was because of the pact between the official unionists, the Alliance Party and the Marxists!!

To counter the efforts of the DUP, the Official Unionists have brought in all the big names in their party, John Taylor, Harry West, Captain Ardill, to try and bolster their personal esteem of their candidate. No doubt too, the middle class Alliance Party will rely on a similar tactic.

Nationalists

The certainty that the election will be fought along sectarian lines by the main parties has been increased by the late intervention of the Irish Independence Party. The IIP is a nationalist split-off from the Catholic SDLP together with ex-mem-

bers of Eddie McAteer's Nationalist Party.

They are nothing more than Green Tories, with only one demand: British withdrawal from Ireland. Their stand will undoubtedly polarise the voting patterns.

Attack

So far in this campaign, the DUP has ignored the IIP and turned their attention towards the Co-ordinating Group. They have been telling the people of Hurryville—according to Paisley this is his heartland—that the policies of the Co-ordinating Group, if implemented, would mean more unemployment—and more dole money!

It is no accident that the Paisleyites are having a go at the Socialists. To hide their own bankruptcy behind the drum and the flags—they are attempting to discredit the ideas of Socialism.

Whatever the final outcome of this campaign, we will pull out all the stops to ensure that our programme gets across to the working people of Ballymena—and the labour and trade union movement in Ireland, North and South.

We have distributed election material to all the trades councils, union headquarters and the main union branches in the North. Already one big branch of the Amalgamated Transport and General in Strabane, has come out and backed Eric Johnston.

Locally, shop stewards from the giant Michelin Plant have been approached for their support. We have distributed Eric Johnston's manifesto outside of the main factories in the Ballymena area.

Appeal

Open air meetings on the housing estate have been held with a lot of success. No effort is being spared to get the ideas of socialism across in Ballymena.

Messages of support, donations etc should be sent to the secretary, Labour and Trade Union Co-ordinating Group, 18 Donegal Street, Belfast.

By Barry Adams and Bill Webster

Labour and Trade Union Co-ordinating Group

Adverts

RATES
CLASSIFIED: 5p per word, minimum 10 words
SEMI-DISPLAY: £2 per 2 column centimetres.
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'.

Leicester Labour Party Young Socialists, Demonstration Against Racism and Fascism. Saturday 10th June, Assemble Spinney Hill Park 1.45 pm. March to public meeting at Wesley Hall, Speakers: Jim Marshall MP, Tony Saunois (LP NEC elect), plus a speaker from Leicester Anti-Racist Committee.

Concert/disco, local reggae bands/disco, at Highfields Community Centre, Saturday evening, 10th June, 8.00 pm.

TRADE UNION DISCUSSION GROUPS
NEATH: Full Moon Pub. The Parade, Neath. Every second Tuesday, 8.00 pm.

PORT TALBOT: contact P. Harris, 13 Beverley Street, Port Talbot, for details.
PONTARDULAIS: Kings Public Bar. Every Tuesday, 7.30 pm.
AMMANFORD: The Welfare Club. Every Monday, 8.00 pm.
GWENDREATH VALLEY: every Thursday, 7.15 pm. Upper Tumble Social Club, Tumble.

New LPYS recruitment leaflet for week of action. Produced by London LPYS Regional Committee. Out soon. Only £3.50 per 1,000 plus p&p. Enquiries to John Bulaitis, 10 Winbourne Court, Croydon Road, London, SE20.

CARILA: Latin America Bookshop, now open at 29, Islington Park St, London N.1. Tel. 359 2270. Books, magazines, newspapers in English and Spanish.

UNION CONFERENCES

GMWU: IMPLEMENT FIGHTING POLICIES!

The delegates representing nearly 1 million General and Municipal Workers at Scarborough this week will have vital decisions to make. The three issues of overriding concern to the membership are unemployment, pay and social spending. The Executive has given them top priority in terms of Special Motions and a document on the economy. Do their proposals offer a clear guide for effective action and will any other alternative be put to Congress?

A shorter working week without loss of pay is G&M policy but resolutions to Congress underline the urgency of its implementation. The full backing must be given to every struggle waged to achieve it.

A 50% reduction in overtime working would mean between 100,000-200,000 more

jobs. But the EC Document highlights the disastrous loss of 1.3 million jobs in manufacturing in Britain in the last decade.

Even their ambitious proposals for reflation the economy with the use of North Sea revenues would, at best, not bring unemployment below the 800,000 mark.

READ MILITANT GMWU REVIEW 1978 price 15p

Twelve articles by G&M members on the situation facing them and the way forward

On pay, National Officer, Charlie Donnett, protests in his report that last year's "no incomes policy" was an incomes policy in disguise.

The careful wording of this year's Special Motion (A) "responsible voluntary collective bargaining" and a



return to "the original concept of the Social Contract" could similarly mean "no voluntary collective bargaining" and a policing of wages by the TUC.

Verbal opposition to Government "interference" is not enough. The myth that wage rises cause inflation which forms the basis of the Social Contract idea must be decisively rejected.

No less than 30 original motions to this year's Congress opposed any further phase of Incomes Policy. Resolution 102 is the clearest remaining alternative to the

EC's position. It explains that the holding down of workers' living standards has served simply "to bolster up the profits of big business... (which) in the last quarter of 1977 increased by 31.8%". "The take home pay of a married man with 2 children on average earnings is less today in real terms than when the last Labour Government lost the 1970 election." This fact alone casts doubt on the EC's claim that "there will be a recovery in real living standards."

Motion 102 demands: 'A minimum of £60 for 35 hours,

a job or full maintenance for all workers and socialist policies.'

The membership has had enough of wage curbs. Delegates must insist on their right to decide on the alternatives forwarded by the branches of the union before the executive's motion is put to the vote.

One of the most important demands for more control by the members is on the power of decision making through Industrial Conferences. The delay of the Executive's "review" of this issue until "freer bargaining" exists is unacceptable.

So is the argument in the Congress report that it is too expensive for the Union to encourage the setting up of combine shop stewards' committees. They are a vital weapon in the battle to save members' jobs and conditions.

So are joint trade union committees in the public sector. As the EC's document on the economy explains, "the proposed increase in public spending for 1978/9

million workers involved. The decision of the UPW Conference delegates must be welcomed and followed up by the passing and implementation of motions 149 and 150 by the GMWU.

Full support must also be given to resolutions 1, 2, and 230 denying union membership to open fascists. Their aim is to destroy the hard won democratic rights and even the organisations of the working class.

Another responsibility of the union is to fight more energetically on behalf of women workers who constitute one third of the membership.

Similarly youth have particular grievances. The suggestion of a Youth Section in the GMWU (resolution 18) should be supported as a means of channelling the energies of youth into building a fighting union.

The union exists to further the interests of workers in a vast array of jobs. Much detailed and valuable work is carried out by the research and education departments. But on the overriding issues in relation to the economy, a crucial choice must be made. Either we accede to propping up a diseased capitalist system dependent on further sacrifices from our members or demand the mobilisation of the labour movement on socialist policies including public ownership under democratic control as described in the rules of both the Labour Party and the GMWU itself.

Clare Doyle
(GMWU Lambeth)

GMWU CONGRESS
Militant Forum
Sunday 4th June, 7.30 pm
Talbot Hotel,
Queen Street, Scarborough
All welcome

infact does not restore the underspend and is only 2.2% higher than that of 2 years earlier."

This situation demands not just a TUC Public Sector Committee but a real campaign to defend the jobs and living standards of the 6

BAKERS NEED A LIVING WAGE

In the last year the Bakers' Union has constantly been in the news over the struggle taken up to improve its members conditions. An end to compulsory Bank Holiday working, the full rate at 18 from December 1978 and a 5-day working week have been achieved.

If the case for a militant, fighting programme for the trade union movement needed proving, then the experience of this union is enough. Yet until the 1974 strike, the Bakers Union was considered by many to be virtually a 'company union'.

This was all changed by the anger from the membership at the long hours, low pay and difficult working conditions. This was reflected by the election of new officers, who in turn played a part in developing the confidence within the members in their ability to change their conditions through struggle.

Big Three...

At the same time, however, the last few months have seen Spillers French, one of the "Big Three", pull out of the industry, with very little fight being put up. The closure,

and the transfer of assets to Rank Hovis McDougall and Associated British Foods, went through with all the precision of a military campaign.

The employers had planned everything in advance and took the union completely by surprise. Although the 5-day week was achieved in subsequent negotiations, the employers succeeded in closing the bulk of Spillers' bakeries, and the 13 bakeries that have been taken over by RHM and ABF are still in jeopardy.

Had the EC called an emergency meeting immediately Spillers' plans were known, and organised a

serious national campaign to fight the closures, it is possible that the jobs could have been saved. An emergency situation demands emergency action!

... Big Two

Now the "Big Two", RHM and ABF are left in a dominant position within the industry and the case for nationalising these two monopolies is further strengthened. The government has handed subsidy after subsidy to the employers to keep the price of bread down, while the

bosses have continued to profit from workers' low pay and long hours.

Workers' control and management and a socialist plan are needed, not subsidies to the employers' profits!

The proposed Phase 4 of the Social Contract will be discussed at the conference in Bridlington and it is important that last year's rejection of the Social Contract is re-affirmed. But the last year has shown that resolutions for an end to wage restraint are not enough. The TUC passed such a resolution last year, yet the Government's 10% policy has held down wages, because the TUC leadership has not

been prepared to back up their resolution with a serious campaign for a decent wage for all workers.

Overtime working is endemic in the baking industry, despite the Spillers' closure and the 5-day week agreement. The only way this can be ended is with basic rates which can offer comfort and security to the workers. A major resolve from this year's conference must be for a living basic wage

By Gerry Lerner

Garners employ fascist

Last Thursday the chief accountant for Garners came out of the Gerrard Street branch [their HQ] and showed the pickets where his sympathies lay by turning his lapel and revealing an NF badge.

He later came out and tried to take photos of the pickets.

Lots more support is needed by these workers fighting to win recognition of their right to join a union, especially for the blacking. Garners are still able to get food in unmarked vans.

All the resources of the T&GWU and the labour movement should be used to shut down the few remaining branches that are open. Cash and resolutions are needed to: Garners Strike Committee, T&GWU, 12/13 Henrietta Street, W.C.2.



Police confront trade unionists on the Garners' picket line.

Film: Benefit for Garners at the Scala Cinema, Charlotte Street, W.C.1. Films: Harlan County [Miners' struggle in the USA]. Grunwick and Garners. Sunday 4th June, 4.00 pm.

Welders threatened by lung disease

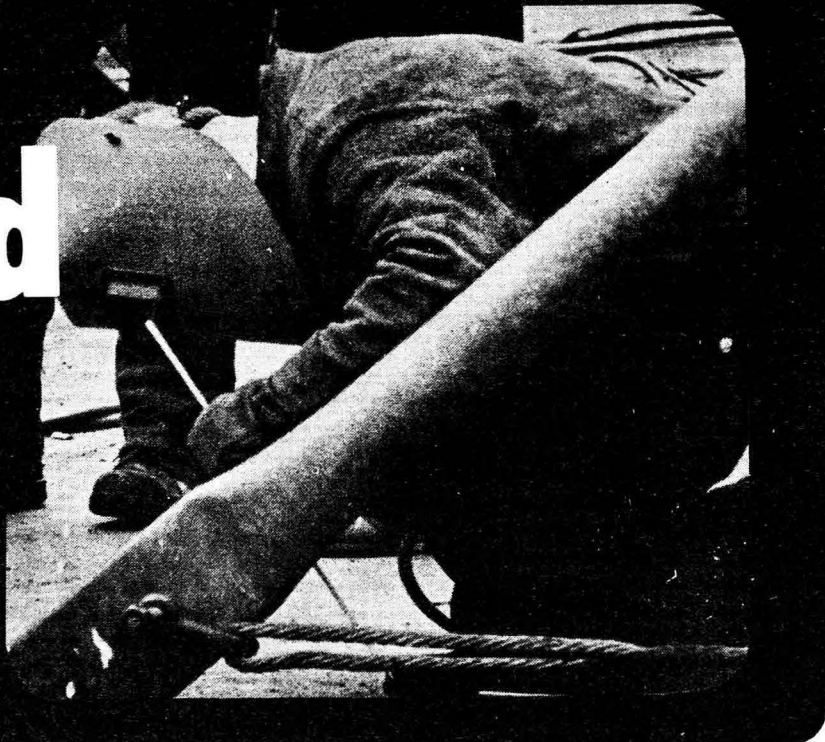


photo: Andrew Wiard (Report)

On Monday 5th June, Panorama [BBC-1] deal with 'Welder's Lung'. One of those to be interviewed is Tony Carty, Secretary of the Wear District Welders' Shop Stewards' Committee of the Boilermakers' Society. He recently spoke to Bob Stothard of Sunderland North Labour Party, who asked first what the Society was doing about this disease.

TC: Any attempt at improving conditions at work has never been easy. The Londoners cite the case of the dockers, for instance, whilst here in the North East we can use the example of the miners. Only last year we had a stoppage because of the dismantling of an asbestos-covered building, which, in the opinion of the men, was being carried out in a dangerous manner.

The union has taken important steps towards having 'Welder's Lung' classified as a prescribed industrial disease, but there are still several bureaucratic obstacles.

Militant: Do you, as a shop steward, face any specific problems with the various Safety Acts and regulations?

TC: We are still forced to stop and reconsider our position as workers even after the apparently "progressive" piece of legislation has been placed on the Statute Book. Years ago, the fight for an

improvement in the safety field was on the obvious level: unguarded machinery etc., but more specific areas such as silicosis and pneumoconiosis being classified as Industrial Diseases for the miners were an important step forward. Asbestosis has only recently been added after intense pressure by workers in the asbestos industry and Welder's Lung is even more vague in a sense, so I think we'll be in for a long battle.

Naturally, the weld itself has to be of the highest standard, and the industry is forever trying to achieve faster, stronger welds for the sake of productivity; new processes have been developed without proper regard for the health and safety of the men.

Militant: I was always under the impression that Welder's Lung was a recognised Industrial Disease.

TC: You are referring to Siderosis, or Iron on the

Lung. This is considered a "benign" affliction by medical authorities. What happens is that fine particles of metal dust gather on the lungs clogging the tubes and, apparently, when a welder leaves his occupation his condition improves. However, we are claiming that new processes involved in welding are damaging our whole respiratory system—not just the lungs.

Militant: Where did you get your information on the pollutants present in welding processes and what sort of facts are you in possession of?

TC: A lot of the scientific data I received from the British Society for Social Responsibility in Science and by keeping a file and record relevant to the facts myself. A glance at the Threshold Limit Values (TLV) for different countries is an indicator of the sort of pressure we are working under:

Source of fume	Fumes Expected	TLV mg/m3 [UK]	Sweden	Russia
Plated metal	Chrome or Cadmium	0.05	0.02	0.02
Filler Stick Stick etc.	Nickel; Cobalt	1.00	0.1	
	Manganese	5.00		0.03
	Lead	0.15		0.01

The TLV for Nitrogen Dioxide (NO₂) is 5mg/m³ exposure, but tests have shown that exposure to less than 1mg/m³ can harm the lungs in a very short time. Subjects then become susceptible to infection (welders are particularly prone to influenza and pneumonia) and if Ozone (O₃) and Sulphur Dioxide are present—which they are in most welding processes—then one-fiftieth of the TLV will affect the lungs.

Militant: Which aspects are most common in the discussion of Welder's Lung amongst the lads at Austin and Pickersgill?

TC: In almost every case it is the reluctance of the Health Authorities to prescribe Welder's Lung as an Industrial Disease. The Authorities are unsure about the exact causes of the affliction so they feel powerless to do a great deal about it except talk a lot

of hot air: meanwhile the general health of welders is at risk.

That there is a disease beyond doubt; and that the medical authorities are uncertain about their ground is also clear, but does that mean men are forced to retire from welding or finish work altogether because of dallying by the Authorities?

Militant: What is the company doing about your concern for the health of the welders?

TC: After some pressure from the union, they had to borrow a mobile X-ray unit from the NCB to film the lungs of welders: this is a good instance of how the NHS cuts work when there are no mass X-ray units available in the Sunderland area; it costs the company £6-£7 per photograph, so they were naturally not dancing on air about it. They have also surveyed the state of welders in their yards and provided us with the breakdown. I have heard of extraction systems being set up so that they draw fumes up in the air and round the shop in some industries and it was discovered that overhead crane operators were suffering from Welder's Lung!

Militant: You mentioned a survey on the health of your welders earlier this year. What were the results?

TC: In the period 1st January, 1976, to date, at A&P alone, there have been ten deaths in the 50/69 age group all of whom were welders and had been most of their lives. The survey was carried out on 238 welders who were X-rayed: 68 of these (over a quarter) were found to have produced abnormal films. Welders at A&P have held one-day token strikes to draw attention to Welder's Lung: this followed a spate of deaths of welders. Three months later, the Registrar General agreed that the death-rate amongst welders was "excessive".

Militant: What would be your long-term strategy for improving health and safety on the job?

TC: For men and any shop steward, I would say this: every man, woman or youth who participates in the day-to-day routine of working for wages is, in some way, exposed to danger of one sort or another in the normal course of events. By that I mean in a socialist society where industry is planned and run for the benefit of society and not for profit alone they would not be.

Under an alternative industrial society, workers would be looked after and protected from the dangers and perils of industrial working in a way which would make modern (?) capitalists who are at present running businesses faint from disbelief. For far too long, the worker has only been tolerated because he, or she, is cheaper to run than a machine.

At every turn there is yet another danger waiting to trap us, be it on the wages front, redundancies or health as we are finding with our campaign for the recognition of Welder's Lung. Welder's Lung is no more "benign" as a disease as capitalism is "benign" as an economic system.

We must campaign for: an occupational health service; workers' control and management of the shipyards; a planned socialist society.

LESNEY'S PROFIT BEFORE SAFETY

The following article is an example of management's attitude towards the safety of its workforce. In the past, Lesney's, the Matchbox toy firm in East London, was notorious as a non-union workshop.

"On May 12th, whilst engaged in discussion with Mr V Lewis, personnel officer for Lesney International, Lee Conservancy Road, Hackney, at about 1.30 pm, the foreman of my department entered the office and uttered the words 'low profile' to the personnel officer.

Not knowing what was being discussed, I asked for an explanation. I was told that there had been a 'phone call to the company stating

that there was a bomb in the building.

My first reaction was to ask: 'Are you going to evacuate the building?' The answer I received was that the company were treating the call as a hoax and were conducting a search of the building.

I stated that this was not good enough and would give the company a matter of minutes to make a decision or I would take the members I represented out of the building. After a very heated discussion, this I did. I was then again approached by Mr Lewis and my foreman to take my members back to work.

I refused to do this and contacted the local police

station and asked their opinion of the situation. They stated that in their opinion it was a hoax but obviously could not guarantee that it was. I then decided to take my members back to work reluctantly.

On returning to work at about 3 pm I received a telephone call from a worker on the switchboard, who considered that some sort of solidarity of the workers should take place to show their disgust at the management's attitude to this situation.

After this call I contacted the deputy convenor for the AUEW in my site. I explained the situation and asked for some action on the matter; we then made our way to the works manager's office for an explanation.

He stated that the caller had not said where the bomb was placed in the Lesney complex, and as such could not be treated as a real threat, and that he as factory manager would be happy to receive a formal complaint from the people involved the next day. The bomb warning had been given about 1 pm for the next five hours."

Michael Lawless
(AUEW Shop Steward)

BROCKHOUSE HUNT - WAGES HELD DOWN

May 16th was the day that the workforce at Brockhouse Hunt foundry in Birmingham walked out on strike. The mood is so strong that out of 206 T&GWU members only three voted to return to work at the mass meeting two days later. Thirty-five AUEW members and a small number of patternmakers are also out.

Unacceptable

Management here are not even prepared to pay 10%; AUEW members have been offered just 6.9%, while the production workers have been told that 8.6% is all they are going to get. Needless to say, this is entirely unacceptable to the workers. The Transport and General had submitted a claim for the 10% increase, improved fringe benefits and a 4-day week without loss of pay.

The management are hiding behind the government's guidelines to keep down their wage bill. They maintain that the increases in overtime rates under the nationally agreed Minimum Earnings Level (MEL) must be deducted from the 10% increase. What's more, with overtime working being cut back by management now, the workers stand to lose even more.

But they are particularly annoyed that the foremen have been reclassified as 'Departmental Managers'. They do the same jobs but have been able to get more than the government's limit. Workers at Brockhouse Berry, another plant in the Brockhouse Group, have received 10% and new bonus payments as well, totalling an extra £12.50 a week.

To add insult to injury, when the men turned up on May 25th to collect their holiday pay for the following

week, management docked two days' pay off anyone who had been off sick when the strike started.

The strikers are incensed. At the mass meeting two days after the strike started just three T&GWU members voted to return to work.

Determined

They are prepared to stick it out as long as necessary. The last major dispute lasted three weeks, and the unions were successful. They are determined to obtain the same success now.

Jeremy Birch
talked to
David Kerr
[TGWU Steward]
and **Paul Petrucke**
[AUEW steward]

Militant

POEU CONFERENCE

NO RETREAT ON 35 HRS

The POEU stands at a crossroads. Whether to accept a pay deal based on 10% and to compromise the 35-hour week claim or whether to fight for a pay rise to restore our standard of living and keep on with the industrial action for a shorter working week.

This is the background of the union conference held in Blackpool this week.

Traditionally, the POEU has enjoyed the 'luxury' of good wage increases with improvements in working conditions but now with pay restraint and economic cutbacks in nationalised industries, improvements have to be fought for.

Two of the problems which illustrate this are fear of redundancies and the move to form separate unions for the technical officer grade.

Jobs threat

The modernisation programme, introducing electronics and digital exchanges as well as advancement in underground cabling, will

mean the loss of jobs for workers not only in the industry but will also reduce future employment prospects. The other aspect of this programme is of course the added stress in having to attend long training courses away from home and having to absorb the new technology.

A new problem which faces the union at the moment, or rather an old problem raising its head again, is the concept of a separate union for the higher technical grades. The main issue which has resulted in this split has been the reduction in differentials which has taken place during the years of the Social Contract.

Unfortunately, the formation of this splinter group misses the real issue of the problem. It is true that across the board wage increases have reduced differentials but it is not whether these increases are across the board or percentage which matters most, rather that the increases are big enough to compensate for inflation and falling living standards.

Elections

The whole concept of splitting the union at a time like this can only benefit the Post Office management. The

attitude of this is typified by the new Chairman, Sir William Barlow. Although appointed by a Labour government, he has all the profit-minded policies which identify him with the private system from which he came.

The election of a new NEC and the future policies of the union will be decided at this year's conference. The present complacent attitude of the NEC has to be changed if its members are to get the service they deserve from the union leadership.

For too long the Executive has been dominated by the right wing and this has resulted in the union being held back, with individual

branches having to take the lead on issues such as the fight for a 35-hour week. This very year, for example, one of the London branches has issued an alternative policy for the POEU.

If this becomes official policy then it would advance the union, but if the leadership remains the same, then even progressive policy will not be implemented. What is needed is a change of policy and a change in the NEC to give the union members a union they deserve.

Kevin Patterson
(Leeds Internal POEU, personal capacity)

NUM A MOOD OF DISCONTENT

As predicted by activists in the labour movement, the local productivity agreements pushed through by the NCB, aided and abetted by the right wing of the NUM are bringing widespread disillusionment in the coalfields.

Unless an agreement between the NCB management and the union is made quickly, the pit rescue men intend to come out on Monday June 5th for a full 100% productivity bonus and 80p an hour for stand-by. The rescue men at the moment are getting only 40% of the bonus and a pathetic 3p an hour for stand-by.

By Kevin Barron (Maltby Colliery)

Two weeks ago half the Yorkshire collieries came out in support of the rescue men. As the Yorkshire NUM thought an agreement was imminent, the strike was called off after two days, but if there is no settlement and no safety cover, the miners also intend to stop work as from Monday.

The miners are totally behind the rescue men. As one lad said: "We have really taken this dispute to heart." Since the introduction of the productivity deal there



Weary faces at the end of a shift

photo: Report

has been more lost production than in any period since 1974. This reflects the general unrest among the miners and shows their resolve to fight this divisive scheme.

No doubt this dispute will only be the first nail in the coffin of the local productivity

bonus scheme devised to weaken the miners' unity.

Send donations and messages of support to: Mines Rescue men: [1] Rotherham 63351; [2] Mr Pells, Doncaster 63723; [3] Wakefield 62990.

TORY WAR ON UNIONS

[Continued from front page]

money supply to strikers. As strikers themselves receive nothing from the government, this means the Tories are planning to cut off social security payments to wives and children—in other words to starve strikers' families!

5 Most sinister of all, the document proposes that a Tory government should introduce a large, mobile squad of police equipped and trained to 'uphold the law' against 'violent picketing', and recruit a team of "good, non-union drivers" to cross picket lines with police protection. In other words, the Tories plan a massive official strike-breaking force.

A.J. Lees. Mass picket call

The National Society of Metal Mechanics has put out a call to the labour movement to support a mass picket and demonstration at A J Lees', Witton, Birmingham, on Wednesday June 7th. The picket will assemble at 7.30 am.

The union is demanding "reinstatement of our shop steward dismissed for his union activities." A union leaflet describes conditions of employment at the firm: "Wages are as low as £23.20 for 40 hours."

Donations and messages of support to: R T Green, 206 Goosemoor Lane, Erdington, Birmingham.

Determined not to drift unprepared into confrontation as Heath did, the Tories and their big business backers are now calling for thorough preparations for civil war with the unions, as they did before the 1926 General Strike. If successful, these plans would mean the end of democratic trade union rights. They would cripple effective resistance to cut living standards, mass unemployment, and slash social services.

But the Heath government also has lessons for us. If the tremendous organised power of the trade unions is mobilised—as the miners and the

dockers showed—nothing can stand in their way. That is why the Tories are afraid of the labour movement. Mobilised against a reactionary Tory government, even the biggest and best prepared strike-breaking force would be brushed aside, and the best-laid plans would be thwarted.

Above all, however, the Tories' plans underline the necessity of preventing the return of another Tory government.

Every worker must be told what a Tory government would really mean. The whole labour movement must be mobilised to keep out those vicious class enemies. Labour must campaign on bold socialist policies to offer real solutions to workers' problems and guarantee a massive Labour majority in the coming general election.

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