

Militant

Prepare for Young Socialists' Week of Action

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THE MARXIST PAPER FOR LABOUR AND YOUTH

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YOUNG WORKERS DEMAND JOBS

After sweating over exams for a month, one third of a million school leavers will soon qualify for a brand new career—in the dole queue!

For many, the only use of 'O'-level English will be to fill in a mountain of forms at the Employment Exchange and the Social Security. What a tragic waste of talent!

They'll hardly need to be expert at maths though—it doesn't take much addition to check a weekly handout of just

Working class youth are really being forced to bear the brunt of the economic mess created by the bosses' so-called "private enterprise" system. Half of Britain's 1.3 million unemployed are under 26 years old.

That's why the Labour Party Young Socialists are organising a fight back. The LPYS demands:

- ★ A guaranteed job for all school leavers;
- ★ Work or full pay;
- ★ Share out the work with no loss of pay—a 35-hour week now.

Life isn't exactly a bed of roses for those 'lucky' enough to get jobs, either. Young workers are easy prey for profiteering employers. Apprentices are all too often exploited as cheap labour, and then sacked when they finish

their time and become entitled to the full rate of pay.

- ★ The adult rate of pay from 18;
- ★ Equal pay for equal work;
- ★ Training to be under the control of the trade unions;
- ★ A £70 minimum wage.

Whether it's in education, jobs, housing or even looking for a bit of entertainment, working class youth come off worst. The Tory press keep telling us we've "never had it so good" and should be satisfied.

By Brent Kennedy

But when you've worked all week, and after paying out rocketing rents, soaring prices and fares, and the weekend leaves you nothing in your pocket,



photo: Report

with £70 minimum

who could be satisfied with this society?

Capitalism has no future to offer young workers.

As the economic difficulties of big business get worse, the bosses are desperately trying to preserve their huge profits by ruthlessly attacking the living standards of the working class through higher unemployment and wage restraint.

If we let them get away

with it, the bosses will transport us back to the unemployment and poverty of the 1930s. That's why young people must get organised in the labour movement—the mighty 12 million-strong trade union movement—and especially in the Labour Party Young Socialists.

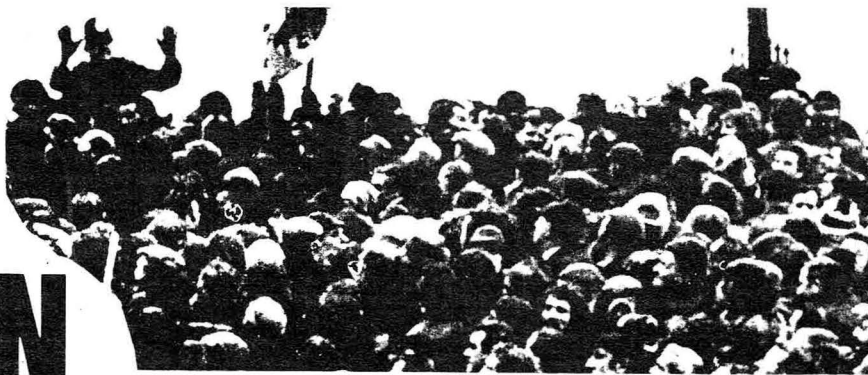
If the party of big business, the Tories, is allowed back into office, over 2 million will find

themselves out of work as state industries, hospitals, schools and council housing fall under the axe of public spending cuts to swell the coffers of the rich. **The Tories must be kept out!**

The grip which the millionaires have over industry—83% of the economy is in the hands of just

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MINERS' FIGHTING TRADITION



Miners block the gates of Saltley coal depot during their strike under the Heath government, February 1972

This year's South Wales Miners' Gala marks the twenty-fifth anniversary of the inauguration of a popular event which celebrates the magnificent trade union and socialist traditions of this strong and tested section of the labour movement.

The South Wales Miners' Federation first had the idea of holding a Gala for its members, similar to the Durham Gala, before the second world war. At first, it was considered too difficult to organise, to find a site, to draw large numbers, and to transport members and their families.

But after the war, when the Tory

government altered the Means Test, the Executive of the South Wales NUM called a demonstration in Cardiff in the winter of 1952. Between 40 and 50 thousand turned up to show their anger and opposition to the Tories. Following this, the Executive were convinced that no real obstacle lay in the path of a South Wales Miners' Gala.

The first Gala went ahead 25 years ago, in 1953. To everyone's amazement, the event was bigger than the 1952 demonstration itself. It brought together political, cultural, and social aspects of the movement—and proved a big success.

By Meirion Evans

(Brynlliw Lodge S Wales NUM)

Almost every year until his death, Nye Bevan appeared on the platform as one of the guest speakers, a testimony to the long socialist traditions of the South Wales miners. In recent years, unfortunately, the run-down in the pits has meant a fall in the numbers attending the Gala.

The great traditions and fighting spirit of South Wales must be passed on to the youth entering the pits. The reintroduction of productivity deals has forced many to consider their own

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Behind the glamour



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Behind the World Cup glamour ARGENTINA: A WARNING



By Phil Frampton [LPYS National Chairman]

For the millions of young people who are following the World Cup in Argentina, there have been a few eye-openers of the sort of world we live in.

Despite the fact that the ruling class tries to use football to make money and to take our minds off unemployment and lowering living standards, they can't avoid giving a glimpse of what lies behind the glamour.

Rod Stewart hiding under a café table while the Buenos Aires police are engaged in a shoot-out. Argentinian security police masquerading as gardeners and pulling out all

the flowers, the Brazilian centre-forward Reinaldo calling for the release of the thousands of political prisoners in his own country and a Swedish international declaring that he is prepared to give out leaflets attacking the Argentinian dictatorship. These are some of the events which are now being talked about.

Many young people must be asking themselves why it is that the Brazilian workers are forced to live under the jackboot of the Geizel military regime and why the Argentinian workers are watched by the machine guns of President Videla's police. The LPYS have pointed out

**“Release political prisoners!”
—Reinaldo, Brazil's centre forward**

that nowhere will the employers give up their profits and power without a fight.

Argentina is a warning of what the bosses will turn to if their 'democratic' methods fail to keep the workers in their place. In Argentina the ruling class is too weak to rule by any other method than brutal, armed repression.

To maintain their profits and the profits of the international monopolies like Ford and Chrysler, they hold down the workers' wages by force,

outlawing trade unions, arresting shop stewards, murdering thousands of socialists. In the past the workers have responded with mighty demonstrations and factory occupations but without a determined socialist leadership have been unable to kick these ruthless capitalists out of power and build a socialist society.

When faced with defeat the massive power of the miners and other trade unionists in 1974, the British employers

debated whether to have a military coup in Britain. In their papers, like 'The Times', they discussed the idea of Britain having its own Videla, eventually realising that at this stage the trade union movement is too strong a defender of democratic rights.

The message of Argentina is that only the labour movement can take society forward, ensuring full employment and a higher living standard for all, with sufficient facilities for health,

education, housing and welfare, by ending the grip of the rich few on industry and running a planned, socialist economy for the benefit of all. The labour movement is also the only force in society that can guarantee democratic rights against the crisis-ridden capitalists.

In Argentina the job of sweeping away the bloody rule of the torturers, kidnappers and murderers falls to the trade unionists and socialists still carrying out their work in the factories of Cordoba, Rosario and Buenos Aires. The job of trade unionists in this country is to give them every support.

NATSOPA members demand - A DEMOCRATIC FIGHTING UNION



The need for greater democracy within NATSOPA was the principal demand to emerge from the Spring meeting of the London Clerical branch held at Trades Union Congress last week. Delegates overwhelmingly passed a motion from Reuters asking for an explanation regarding alleged improprieties concerning union funds.

The controversy arose several weeks ago when an anonymous poster was circulated throughout Fleet Street demanding answers to several important questions:

1) Was there a police investigation into the Society's funds? (rumours have it that the fraud squad has been called in).

2) Why are union officials, according to press reports, unwilling to disclose their salaries?

3) Was it true that amalgamation talks with the NGA had broken down because NATSOPA's accounts did not stand up to inspection?

By Marcus Hosgood

(NATSOPA, 'Evening Standard')

The General Secretary, replying in the union's magazine 'Journal', attacked the allegations as being the work of wreckers wishing to destroy the union. Yet his retort was ambiguous and vague, in no way putting members' minds at rest.

Conference therefore supported an amendment from the Times Chapel to a London Machine branch resolution to the Governing Council asking the Executive to present to the membership a table:

1) setting out the scale of salaries paid to all full time society officers; and

2) setting out details of all incidental and other expenses drawn up by individual officers and lastly asking the Governing Council to conduct an inquiry into the causes why financial resources had fallen so low as to necessitate a special levy of 10p per member per week.

Conference also supported a resolution from the Frogmorton branch instructing the Executive to give financial aid and to encourage members' active support for the Garners dispute.

Members are confused and concerned. They want to know what is going on within their union. They have a right to know. **The cry must go up for a wholly democratic, completely open and fighting NATSOPA.**



SOGAT conference says - SAVE JOBS - 35 HRS NOW!

The SOGAT Biennial Conference passed several excellent resolutions, in spite of a vacuum created after a walk-out of all the London Central Branch delegates on the first afternoon, when George Willoughby, assistant secretary of the branch, was ruled out of order by General President Albert Powell.

The background is a two-year dispute between branches at Format International, a small print company in South London.

Nevertheless, 'Militant' supporter Jimmy Wilson [North West delegate] successfully moved a resolution on new techniques, calling for a 35-hour week.

He welcomed new technology but said it must be harnessed for the benefit of printworkers to improve the quality of life. We needed an industrial strategy of action with the other print unions.

This theme was continued when the same delegate

moved a resolution calling for amalgamation and one union for print workers. This was seconded by 'Militant' supporter Jimmy Friel [Glasgow] who said too much time was being spent in inter-union quarrels instead of the real fight against employers. We had no option but to unite. However, he sounded a note of caution. It had to be one democratic union in the traditions of SOGAT and not a big bureaucracy out of touch with the members.

By Jimmy Friel

(Delegate, Glasgow SGD Branch, in personal capacity)

Mick Jones [North West] successfully moved a rule change that reduced permissible overtime from 8 hours to 4 hours per week. Moving, he said he was sick of the platitudes about unemployment when excess overtime was worked.

Other successful resolutions called for increased holidays, sabbatical leave, opposition to further wage restraint, retirement for all at 60 with realistic pensions, and for North Sea oil profits to be used to eradicate poverty.

Seconding an emergency resolution urging support for the newly formed 'Print and Media Workers against the Nazis' Bill Keys [General Secretary] said this was one of the most important items on the agenda. Racism divided workers and the National Front fed on economic plight. We had to fight racism to our last breath.

He condemned the recent findings of the Parliamentary Select Committee. Thatcher was using racist ideas for political expediency, but this was an expediency that could destroy democracy. He defied anyone who opposed the motion to come to the rostrum. The motion was carried unanimously.

YOUNG SOCIALISTS GO INTO ACTION

On June 10th, the Labour Party Young Socialists' week of action begins.

On the first Saturday, street meetings and car cavalcades in most towns will advertise the Young Socialists and our policies. We aim to make this a week in which the youth of the Labour Party goes out and shows young people that we fight for youth, that Labour's youth do not accept that young people must be sacrificed in the crisis.

In some areas, regional miners' galas will be held that day, which the LPYS will be taking part in. An excellent leaflet has been printed especially for the galas, sponsored by Emlyn Williams [President, South Wales NUM] and Kevin Ramage [LPYS National Committee for Wales]. It calls for young miners to join the LPYS and the political fight for a decent deal for all young workers.

That same day, Bob Lee, National Secretary of the PNP (UK) Youth section and Tony Saunois, of the LPYS National Committee, are addressing a demonstration called by Leicester Young Socialists against racialism.

Given the number of school leavers who will be pouring out of the schools to join the one in every five teenagers already unemployed the campaign on the dole queues takes on extra importance. The brutality of this society will, in the next few weeks, face many of the young people leaving school and college. Suddenly all those strictures about the need to study hard so as to be suitable for a job will seem like a big con.

They will learn the truth—that the bosses don't want the labour of young people unless they can get it on the cheap. As the Department of Employment admits, most of those out of work had applied for six or more jobs. But as the same survey shows, employers don't want to take youth onto their books because they don't want to spend money on training them.

We must show the unem-

ployed that though the bosses don't want them, the labour movement does. While profits are stashed away by the rich, people like 16-year old Stephen Dayus commit suicide because they cannot stand the shame of being jobless. The LPYS will appeal to the unemployed to join our ranks and the fight against unemployment.

Join today

Join the LPYS today, and get your mates to join too. Write to the National Youth Officer, The Labour Party, Smith Square, London S.W.1. [Telephone 01-834 9434]

All areas should have leaflets (with local branch addresses), placards and papers ready for the activities, and special meetings planned for those who are unemployed. If you get a good response, ad hoc meetings could even be arranged in a nearby house or café.

Some branches already run discussion groups for the unemployed during the day. These are an excellent way of drawing newcomers into our ranks, arranging activities and discussing the ideas of socialism. If necessary, take time off work this week. Every LPYS member should be involved. Get older Labour Party members to help too. It's an investment for the future!

Glenys Ingham
(Deptford LPYS)

FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM

join labours youth



photo: Andrew Wiard (Report) (II)

Young unemployed - FIGHT BACK

Tuesday June 13th has been chosen as our National Unemployed Day when we will have a nationwide approach to the jobless. Tell the local press of what the LPYS is doing and get on the local radio to advertise the meetings which are planned.

But the most important job will still be approaching the local factories and workplaces asking the organised workers to help the LPYS recruit youth, getting the trade union youth committees and the apprentices' clubs involved in the struggle to organise those left outside the gates.

Many unions are already committed to campaign for a 35-hour week. We should show how much this would mean, not only for trade unionists but also for the jobless, if the work was shared out with no loss of pay.

The many organisations already sponsoring the Youth Campaign Against Unemployment can be approached for help in giving out leaflets in the factories and for calling young trade unionists together to discuss how they can link up with the LPYS. Where there is a sympathetic response further meetings should be arranged.

School Students - GET ORGANISED

Our National Schools Day is on June 15th, when we plan to leaflet school students and canvass them for support. Around this recruitment drive, several areas have again planned special meetings to discuss the problems of youth at school and the fight for the right to organise.

The campaign of the Tory press against the LPYS school students leaflet has flopped and the leaflets are available from Transport House. This victory for the Young Socialists must be pushed home. Clearly the Tories fear that our ideas might gain an echo amongst the youth and we must show their fears to be justified.

ACTION SCHEDULE

Saturday (June 10th)—Day of Action: demonstrations, leafletting, car cavalcades and street meetings. Evening: social/disco.

Sunday: mass canvass of council estates.

Monday: during day—visit trades unionists in factories, depots and offices. Evening: leaflet council estates and youth clubs.

Tuesday: National 'dole' day with leafletting and recruitment at dole queues. Evening: leaflet local estates.

Wednesday: leaflet local colleges. 3 pm: meeting for unemployed youth.

Evening: visit local factories on night shift.

Thursday: national schools day—leafletting and recruiting. Evening: gather LPYS branch members together for informal meeting, to watch the LP youth broadcast, if it goes ahead.

Friday: am: factory sales and leafletting. 7 pm: school students meeting followed by visit to a local disco with leaflets or pub sales of 'Left' and 'Militant'.

Saturday: Day of Action. Evening: social/disco.

In the week that follows, every area should by now have organised public meetings which will be advertised during the week of action.

Leicester LPYS recruit Asians



Young Socialists, PNP youth members and young Asian workers marching for workers' unity photo: Andrew Wiard (Report) (II)

Preparations by Leicester LPYS for the week of action were begun early in May.

Approaches were made to Constituency Labour Parties, union branches and local immigrant organisations for money and support. Total cost for the week will probably be in triple figures.

We have been canvassing and handing out leaflets for a couple of weeks now. Posters have been taken by shopkeepers and residents; and quite a few have appeared all over the city.

Support among youngsters in the areas we have covered has been tremendous. One comrade met eight young Asians who were so enthusiastic they were out selling 'Militant' on the street that night.

The 'Militant' India pamphlet is in the process of being translated into Gujarati, and looks as if it will sell phenomenally—the English

version sells like hot cakes, so sales of the translation should be even better.

Two industrial comrades have been going on 'lunchtime offensives', leafletting and selling papers at schools and colleges in their dinner hour, holding discussions on school gates and by ice-cream vans with school students.

The Week of Action itself kicks off on the afternoon of Saturday 10th, with an anti-racist march through Highfields, ending in a rally outside a local hall. Among the speakers will be Jim Marshall (Leicester South MP) and Tony Saunois (LPYS representative-elect on the Labour Party National Executive). The afternoon looks like making a big splash. By mid-summer, who knows what the size of the LPYS branches will be?

By a Leicester LPYS member

Labour Party Young Socialists DEMONSTRATE against the TORY PRESS

Day in, day out, the so-called free press in this country churns out a pack of lies. If we believed them, all our ills are caused by lazy workers, living on fat wages and always going on strike.

If we believed them, Fascist groups like the Young National Front have a massive following while socialist organisations like the LPYS might as well not exist. Notice the massive publicity given to the YNF, yet the initiatives and campaigns of the LPYS against racialism never warrant a mention.

Fleet Street is owned by six millionaires; that is why it is biased. The LPYS have called this demonstration to protest at the Tory bias of Fleet Street.

Friday 16th June Speakers include:
Assemble 7.00 pm, Andy Bevan (LPYS)
Trafalgar Square, Jim Brookshaw
March down Fleet Street (AUEW 'The Times')
Rally at Temple Place

CHILE— WHERE ARE THE MISSING THOUSANDS?



In an international display of revulsion at the inhuman treatment of political prisoners in Chile, attention is being focussed once again on the military junta there.

Hunger strikes by relatives of prisoners who have disappeared while in the hands of the Chilean police have been taking place in several cities in England and Wales, including London, Oxford, Cambridge and Newcastle. This protest action is being co-ordinated with similar action in fifteen different countries and is the first time that such a demonstration of protest uniting all the diverse political groups of Chilean refugees in exile throughout the world has taken place.

Recently, we have seen signs of a bolder attitude by the Chilean working class. The street demonstrations to mark May Day, on a working day and when all demonstrations are banned, are remarkable evidence of the will of the Chilean people to resist the Junta's oppressive rule.

And the referendum, heavily biased in favour of a 'yes' vote to a question inviting support for the government's stand against so-called 'foreign interference' (with a Chilean flag against the word 'yes') failed to win the degree of support it was calculated to obtain.

The question of disappeared prisoners appears to

have split even sections of the military leadership. Together with pressure from the US government, which fears that the vicious policies of the Junta will provoke a new upheaval, mounting political opinion may very well succeed in obtaining at least the admission of deaths of many of the missing 2,500, which is the purpose of the hunger strikes.

These first cracks in the face of the Junta indicate the inherent instability of a brutal military-police dictatorship, relying as it does on terror and intimidation.

By Ian Sugarman
(Mid-Oxon Labour Party)

TECH STUDENTS NEED A LIVING GRANT

The recent announcement by Shirley Williams that the government are planning to introduce mandatory grants for 16-18 year old students must have raised a glimmer of hope for these students.

At present, very few of these students receive any sort of grant. For those at school, there are the means-tested educational maintenance allowances. However, in 1974/5 only 2.5% of pupils received these, and the average payment was £2.50 per week—hardly enough to feed and clothe a school student!

For students in further education colleges, the situation is just as bad. In 1974/5, only 7% of these students received the discretionary awards, and they averaged £2.80 per week.

The present situation means that many young people inevitably miss out on the chance to get an education. For those at college, their studies are often hit by

having to take part-time jobs to make ends meet. The poor chances for working class youth to get grants to study in FE should be considered in light of the fact that the percentage of working class children going to university has not changed since the war.

£10 a week

However, the measures announced by Shirley Williams, although a limited step forward, are entirely insufficient to guarantee a decent living standard for these students. It has not yet been decided if these awards will be given to all students, or just to ones on certain courses. Also, no figure has been announced for the awards, but £10 per

By Peter Lush (Middlesex Poly Labour Club)

week was thought to be likely.

This, however, would include the £4 a week which is to be paid for each dependent child over 16 in full time education. Obviously £10 per week would be insufficient for a student to live on, especially if they wanted to study at a college away from home.

It will still mean these students taking part-time jobs etc., to stay at college.

At present, Britain, according to the 'Times Higher Education Supplement', has one of the lowest participation rates in full time education of 16-18 year olds in Western Europe.

These awards must be seen in the context of the problems FE students face at present. They have the worst college facilities, with often inadequate canteens and libraries,

and have virtually no halls of residence, limiting very severely their chance to go to a college away from their home town.

Labour students must take up the problems of further education students; setting up Labour Clubs in these colleges as a base for militant students to fight for better conditions. The National Organisation of Labour Students should fight for the following demands:

Demands

- ★ Fight for a living grant of £1,800 per annum now!
- ★ Fight for a sliding scale between 16 and 18, so no student has to leave college for financial reasons!
- ★ Fight for a comprehensive

system of higher education—every student should have the chance to study in facilities as good as those at the best universities!

NOLS should also fight for the grant to be equal to the take home pay of industrial workers—this would make 'education for all' a reality, as it would give older workers the chance to come back into education without suffering great financial hardship.

However, in the present climate of cuts in public expenditure, to fight for these measures without explaining where the money is to come from is absolutely utopian. The only way of guaranteeing a decent education system is through a socialist planned economy, which could ensure that the resources were always available for education.

Bomb threat to anti-nazis

Last Friday, 26th May, a concert was staged in Ipswich by 'Rock Against Racism', featuring London-based band 'The Ruts' and a local reggae band, 'Black Ivory.'

Just as the music was about to begin, the police arrived and told us that they had received a telephone call claiming that a bomb had been left in the building. They also said that they had to take the threat seriously as the caller had used a pre-arranged code.

As a result, the 200 or so

youth who had turned up to demonstrate their anti-fascist feeling were asked to leave the building and the area was cordoned off, while the bomb squad was called for.

Fascists

To pass the time, I went to a pub nearby and who should I see there but a man known to me as one of the local fascists—no doubt gloating over the chaos that had been

caused.

Two of the organisers of the concert, both local members of the SWP, were then calling for everyone to rush the police cordon, to get back to the building, even though there was no information as to the outcome of the bomb threat!

Fortunately, everyone ignored this 'call for action' and the concert eventually got under way at 11.45 pm, after the bomb squad had detonated a brown paper parcel, which was in fact a hoax.

The SWP, through the

local Anti-Nazi League, which they control, have issued statements largely attacking the role of the police, who certainly did not come out with much credit. Why, if the call was treated so seriously, did it take the bomb squad two hours to arrive from Colchester, only 18 miles away?

Lessons

The whole incident was very suspicious, to say the

least. The lesson to be learned from this, is a complete rejection of the ideas and tactics of the fascists, who will stoop to any level to disrupt the activities of the workers' movement, and a serious question mark against the role of the SWP working in the Anti-Nazi League.

Report by
Paul Flatman
(Ipswich LPYS)

NEW MILITANT PAMPHLET

'Menace of Fascism—what it is and how to fight it'
By Ted Grant with new introduction by Roger Silverman

Price 40p + 10p postage
Order from World Books,
1 Mentmore Terrace,
London E8 3PN

MILITANT MEETING

Militant supporters in Nottingham organised a Militant Public Meeting on the subject 'Europe in Ferment' for Tuesday 23rd May. The meeting was addressed by Peter Taaffe and over 50 people, workers young and not so young, unemployed and students, turned up to listen to and discuss our ideas on this vital subject.

A SOCIALIST EUROPE

You could have heard a pin drop as Peter argued our position with relation to Europe, pointing out the consequences of the world crisis of capitalism and the possibility in the coming decades of a socialist revolution in Europe detonating a movement towards workers' democracy and socialism on a world scale.

However, the silence soon evaporated when discussion

Report by I Taylor
(East Notts LPYS)

from the floor started and there followed a wide-ranging and enthusiastic discussion with contributions elaborating on the points that Peter had made and others discussing areas that Peter hadn't been able to deal with in detail due to the limitation of time.

Commitment to the ideas thrashed out and discussed at the meeting was displayed when the financial appeal was made, with nearly £55 being collected.

All in all the meeting gave a tremendous boost to the supporters present and inspired real interest in those attending their first 'Militant' public meeting, and I am sure we will see them at many future meetings.

MILITANT NOTICES

Discussion Groups

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

LONGBENTON, Newcastle. CPSA 'Militant' supporters Marxist Discussion Groups. Every other Wednesday, Brandling Villa pub, South Gorforth, 6 pm. June 14th—'Marxism and the Trade Unions'. June 28th—'The State and Revolution'. Pamphlet by Lenin. July 12th—'Is Russia Socialist?' July 26th—'Marxist Economics'.

SUNDERLAND Marxist Discussion Group. Every other Friday starting at 8.00 pm. 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.

Events

Marxist Weekend School Friday June 30th-Sunday July 2nd. At Goldsmiths 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 with registration. To register, write to Marxist Weekend School, 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN.

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

The ugly face

Wilf Proudfoot, ex-Tory MP for Scarborough and Brighouse, now chairman of the local Tory party in Scarborough, owns a supermarket chain in Scarborough and district. He recently refused a request from the local magistrate to drop shop-lifting charges against a mentally depressed old woman caught picking up a trivial amount from a shelf in his Newby store [the charge was later dismissed].

With all the strains of maintaining his financial empire, his face has developed wrinkles which are worrying him. However, thanks to his high profits from cheap labour, he can afford a trip to America to engage a specialist, on private health of course, to remove the menacing wrinkles from his ugly face of capitalism.

What's in your soup?

The really lunatic nature of this system has been seen at its most ludicrous in the American court battle between the world's top soup firms, Campbell and Heinz.

Among the claims being made are that some Heinz ketchup contained too much mould and tomato rot; Cambells put marbles in the soup for a TV advert in order to push the vegetable chunks to the surface; both firms are alleged to have put pressure on retailers to stock more of their varieties (so much for 'free competition').

The court room topping to this farce is going to cost millions—and no doubt the owners will do their best to make sure we foot the bill. So next time you see a television advert about the '57 varieties', you might be tempted to ask, varieties of what?

Stiff upper lip

The European Court of Human Rights (at Strasbourg) has ruled by a majority of six to one that the birching of young offenders as practised in the Isle of Man is a "degrading punishment". The British government is now obliged to see that the Isle of Man, a Crown dependency, ends this form of punishment.

The one dissenting voice, however, was the British judge and international jurist, Sir Gerald Fitzmaurice, who yet again provided an example of the reactionary attitudes of Britain's judiciary.

Sir Gerald held that the court's view, which implied that any judicial corporal punishment of a juvenile was degrading, was "far too dogmatic and sweeping."

Sir Gerald (reports 'The Times', 26 April) admitted that his view might be coloured by the fact that he had been brought up and educated under a system in which corporal punishment of schoolboys was regarded as the normal sanction for serious misbehaviour.

It was often considered by the boy himself preferable to alternative punishments such as being kept in on a fine summer's evening to copy out 500 lines or learn several pages of Shakespeare or Virgil by heart.

Although beatings at his school (Malvern 'public'—i.e. private—school) were carried out without any of the safeguards of the Isle of Man practice, he could not remember that any boy felt degraded or debased.

So there! What's good enough for upper class brats is good enough for the plebs.

Open court?

The trial of the dissident nuclear physicist, Yuri Orlov, accused of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda," is now over. The courtroom, already packed with KGB and police agents, had to be sealed off by police to deny access to members of the public and foreign news correspondents.

Nevertheless, the tribunal refused to admit any testimony by Dr Orlov in his defence. Evidently the man's subversive ideas must be so dangerously infectious that even the Judges and the KGB had to be protected from their corruptive influence.

EXPLOITED BY BOSSES

I was walking along aimlessly kicking my heels the way we unemployed social security scroungers do, when it hit me.

There was a job advertised in my local newspaper shop window. Simply 'clean out houses ready for people to move into. Apply to building site opposite.'

Great, I thought, my ticket away from the dole office had arrived.

After about half a dozen visits I finally got in touch with the cleaning contractor I was to see. "Right son," he said, "I just want your first name, you can still sign on, and you will get a fiver for each house cleaned. There is your cleaning gear—see you Thursday."

So off I went armed with mop, bucket, broom, Ajax, cloths and paint scraper. It didn't feel like anything to be proud of—more like being trapped in an unpleasant web. I wanted a job that meant I could leave the dole office far behind me, but these were the employer's terms.

What alternative did I have? I could sign on as unemployed and work on the side or I could stay rotting on the dole. **Some choice!**

On arriving at my first house, I was met by the clerk of works who told me to sweep upstairs, mop the downstairs floors, clean out the toilet, baths and cupboards and generally get things spick and span. So off I went upstairs.

A voice came from below: "By the way, upstairs has been sanded down, it might get dusty up there." He wasn't kidding. After thirty seconds of sweeping sanded-down floorboards, in an enclosed room, the room was thick with dust, and I was already coughing. Bearing in mind it took an hour to get upstairs swept out, you get some idea of my state of health.

Anyway, after I had dis-



TRAPPED ON THE DOLE

posed of three-quarters of my lungs, I ventured forth to clean the bathroom. "Ye gods!" I thought.

After cleaning out more debris from the bath than would be caused by world war three, I attempted to remove umpteen rolls of sealing tape from the sides of the bath having to use a paint scraper which took slices of plastic bath with it. (An economy fixture no doubt.) This done, I tried to remove what seemed like tons of cement

from the toilet.

So I ventured downstairs and found similar circumstances. After about six hours a completely exhausted, walking mud-lump went home.

Next day I went back and did another house, and after a few days got quite proficient and did two, sometimes three houses a day. Then to my horror, I was approached by the clerk of the works who said that part of my job was to reclean houses after I had done them the day before, as

Next week—the view from the other side

workers had to carry out minor repairs.

Minor repairs? More like major demolitions. I was utterly demoralised: people had trodden over a nice clean floor with muddy boots, there were wood chippings about and the ceiling had to be replastered, which seemed as if they had plastered the floors as well. It had to be done!

Anyway it came as a relief when Thursday arrived. Only one problem. The cleaning contractor didn't!

I asked a chap doing the same job as myself who said some weeks he didn't come at all. This chap did it full time and had two kids to support. Would they last the week out? They'll have to!

The building firm gave me a number to get in touch with the cleaning contractor. When I phoned I discovered it was his local pub. No wonder the hours for contacting him were between 12 and two!

After six weeks I'd had enough and decided to call it quits for my own health and sanity. I hadn't had any replacement clothes or Ajax and was using a mop which made the floors dirtier than when I started.

Just before I left I discovered that the cleaning contractor was being paid £30 per house cleaned and £20 each time the house had to be recleaned. £50 per house! I got a fiver. £45 profit and he had workers like myself all over the county, as he was the only contractor allowed.

So, with about 20-30 workers, each cleaning 2-3 houses a day at £45 he made a bomb. I dare not report him as I would be prosecuted myself for working while I was unemployed. **That comrades, is my idea of exploitation at its foulest heights.**

PLAY REVIEW

7:84

THEATRE
COMPANY
ENGLAND

UNDERNEATH - where they try to keep the workers

Once again the 7:84 Theatre Company have come up with a winner. The need to fight for the end of the system is amply borne out, in 'Underneath'. It takes the form of a saga between the upper and working classes, the households of the Merrimains from Bromley and the Smeddles from Lancashire with no points awarded for guessing which is

which.

The typical capitalist interested in only his self esteeming money making ventures is portrayed by Sir Joshua Merriman, a past Oxbridge graduate with an outstanding background of high class living. In contrast to his lack of contact with the real world, the play concentrates heavily on the role of Frank Smeddles. As a worker who has to experience reality and day to day problems, Frank is an important char-

acter.

Sir Joshua and Bebbington a co-partner, invest their cash in an adventurous bridge-building programme. Each one with the exception of the third and final bridge, is a failure.

In order to spend the least money possible 25% of the total cost is saved. With such a massive saving it is hardly surprising to learn 45 workers have to die. One in Lancashire—Frank, and 44 in Invernesshire.

These deaths are a set back for the budding capitalists, but do not destroy their dream. After a week or so, the deaths of workers are of little importance to Bebbington and Merriman.

Lady Merriman and Telford, the son (a hippy cfm dropout, now a worker) raise concern for the dead workers' families. But even this pressure does not register with the capitalists. As far as they're concerned any wives and children left should fend for themselves.

It is this attitude which convinces Telford to look for an alternative. Initially his ideas are confused. He develops finally from an individual terrorist lethal with explosives to a worker with an understanding of events and people.

By Shirley Bedford
and Chris Clegg

(Nottingham West LPYS)

His efforts are concentrated on the site of the proposed third Merriman bridge, but here he is confronted with a typical bosses' weapon, bribery. A bonus of £180 is offered to workers employed by McMarlands, a contractor, to attract labour. What worker would refuse such an offer, when pennies are hard to come by and seeing each week through is difficult?

Telford has to face disappointment and the message aptly borne out that the bosses have got workers where they want them - underneath. The overall message of this play and all 7:84 productions, 'organize and educate' must be taken by workers as a starting point upon which to begin the fight for the future.

In Nottingham, the play produced at the University obviously did not have the same meaning as for workers. We sold Militant afterwards and it was apparent that to many of the students the message had not been grasped; only a few copies were bought.

The 7:84 Theatre Company provided only entertainment here but for workers it would have provided an understanding and a way forward.

Socialist campaign can sweep out Plaid Cymru

Caerphilly is quite a large town, typical in many ways of the towns in the South Wales Valleys.

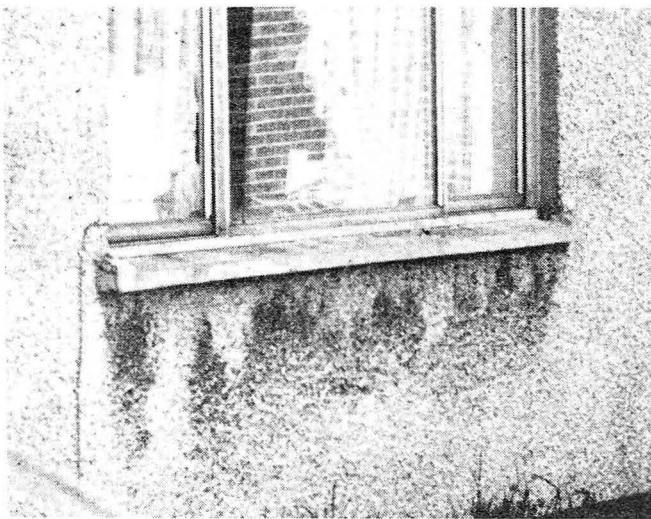
However, it has grown quite rapidly over the last 20 years because, with the increase of commuters, many people live in Caerphilly who work in Cardiff, only a few miles away. As a result, it has experienced many of the problems associated with rapid population growth.

Traditionally, of course, Caerphilly has been a solid Labour area, and even has areas named after Labour leaders—Bevin Park, Lansbury Park, Harold Wilson Industrial Estate, and many streets named after other leaders. However, it is no longer true to say that Caerphilly is a "safe" area, due to the rise of Plaid Cymru.

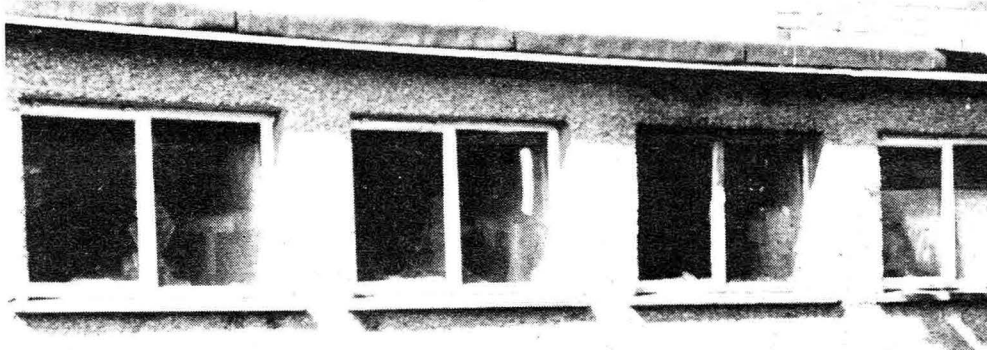
Undoubtedly, this is more a result of disillusionment with Labour than a rise of nationalism—not surprising considering the level of unemployment in the area. Also, in recent years, there has been much talk of corruption among councils locally—almost all Labour controlled.

Our own particular area, the Van Ward, was the first in which Plaid Cymru won a council seat. The Welsh Nationalist Party is a strange animal, and generally keeps nationalism out of its propaganda locally, acting as a "populist" party—all things to all men.

They try to run councils better than Labour, without really posing any radical



Lansbury Park council estate: damp creeping into the walls



Vandalism on the Lansbury Park estate

photos: Julian McKittrick

policies. They try to be more left-wing to the workers, and more respectable in the middle class areas.

Their record, however, is far from socialist, since they took command of the District Council in 1973. During the firemen's strike they put council workmen on the ready to take over, and similarly tried to break a NALGO dispute a year ago.

They are prepared to use council money to build lorry parks for private use. They have merged all the housing offices into one central office, which means people may have to travel miles to see an officer. And they have doubled the backlog of needed repairs.

Plaid Cymru have displayed an arrogant approach towards the voters, reminiscent of the worst right wing Labour councillors of the past. Our local councillor, Peter Entricott, has been in Sweden almost continuously for the last year! (He still

claimed his allowance of £300 for being the vice-chairman of the council.)

Syd Morgan, leader of the Plaid Group, is quoted as saying "Council tenants will be glad to pay the higher rents"! In our area, the Plaid-controlled Community Council put up fences for allotments before consulting local residents, and even before getting planning permission!

Plaid recently organised a "public" meeting in a nearby village to discuss "noise" in the area, and then barred local Labour councillors by physical force! Activities like this, and their failure to deliver the goods, has led to them losing ground again to Labour.

Lansbury Park is a nearby council estate which is now a nightmare. Built in the 1960s, it now resembles a concrete jungle ruined by decay and vandalism.

The names of the "Courts" are somewhat of an embarrassment—Atlee, Snowden, Alexander, Maxton, Hartshorne and Haldane. The estate won design awards when it was first built—it apparently looks good from an aeroplane.

However the realities are different. A children's play area is positioned next door to pensioners' flats. Damp and mildew are rampant, causing chronic bronchitis and pneumonia even amongst the old, while some have even had sewage coming up through floors.

The estate is populated by many old people, one parent families, long term sick or unemployed and other "problem" families. Youth unemployment is high and the whole estate reeks of poverty.

It will be no surprise to hear that vandalism has been a major problem. However, the reaction of the populace has been admirable.

Far from calling for more police, "bring back the birch" etc, the residents

formed an anti-vandal association, run by the children themselves, with the help of some adults including Labour Party activists. This has succeeded, mainly through providing constructive alternatives, in reducing vandalism to a minimum. It cannot solve the causes of vandalism, but it shows what co-operation can do and is a pointer to how a socialist society could solve our problems.

All this is a testament to years of complacency and opportunism by councils, but in the final analysis shows the results of the failure of Labour to change society. Recent expenditure cuts have worsened the situation and this has not gone unnoticed by the local Labour Party.

A year ago, the branch was hardly alive, meeting infrequently with few members. Out of necessity, we have grown, so now we have a small but growing and thoroughly socialist branch.

We have turned the tables on Plaid, and defeated them completely in the recent elections for two vacancies on the Community Council. Our candidates, including one supporter of Militant, came 1st and 2nd, followed by 2 "Tory" Independents, with Plaid trailing last.

We are now producing a regular newsletter to put our ideas and report our activities to the working class. **Marxists have been fully involved in the rebuilding of the Party. If we can do it here, then it can be done throughout the Party, and then we will soon see the establishment of a Socialist society.**

David Hill

(Community Councillor, Van Ward LP)

Lynne Cuthbert

(Van Branch LP, Caerphilly LPYS secretary)

UNITE BEHIND MINORITY REPORT

By Ray Apps, member of the NEC Working Party on Reselection



Joan Maynard MP voted for the Minority Report

As reported previously, the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party voted by 15 to 4 to accept the Majority Report of the Working Party on Reselection of Members of Parliament.

According to information received to date, the NEC will circulate all affiliated organisations with copies of the Majority's proposals, together with the Minority Report, for information.

We must now ensure that all affiliated organ-

isations will be given the opportunity to submit the rule changes suggested by the minority as amendments to those of the majority at the next annual Party Conference. This will require that affiliated organisations insist that the NEC proposed amendments are printed in the preliminary conference resolution booklet, circulated to affiliates, to allow for amendments.

The Campaign for Labour Party Democracy, at its recent Conference in

Oxford, refused to support the Minority report. We find that inexplicable when the report was drafted and agreed with myself by two of the most ardent and hardworking members of the Campaign—its Vice President, Jo Richardson MP, and EC member Bernard Kissen.

The Minority report was also fought for and supported on the NEC by Joan Maynard MP, who was not only President of the Campaign, but whose record of struggle for democracy in

the Labour Party is second to none.

With the possibility of Constituency Labour Parties actually losing, rather than gaining, powers of control over their MPs if the Majority proposals are implemented [see 'Militant 406], it is vital that the rank and file of the Labour Party, including supporters of the CLPD, unite in support of the rule changes proposed by the Minority Report.

Rank and file control over MPs

In every Constituency Labour Party in the country demands have been made by ordinary party members that there should be greater democratic control over Labour MPs to ensure their Parliamentary representatives really do represent the policies decided upon by the party. The difficulties faced by Constituency Parties in selecting new candidates in place of sitting MPs (e.g. Newham North East, who had to battle for months against Reg Prentice,

who has since proved his contempt for the Party by joining the Tories) resulted in over 60 Constituency Parties submitting resolutions to last year's Party Conference demanding an easier method of reselection.

The solution proposed in the Minority Report of the NEC Working Party fully answers this need and entirely reflects the sentiments expressed by Party Conference. It proposes that Clause XIV, section 7, of the Constituency

Party rules should state:

"If at any time this Party is represented in Parliament by a member of the Parliamentary Labour Party, procedure for the selection of a prospective Parliamentary candidate shall, as outlined in Section 3, be set in motion not earlier than eighteen months and not later than thirty-six months after the sitting Member was elected to Parliament.

"a) The sitting member shall automatically be placed on the short list unless he or

she wishes to retire.

"b) The General Committee may at a specially convened meeting intimate by resolution its desire that he or she must retire at the next General Election. A Member of Parliament against whom such action is taken shall have the right to appeal to the NEC on the grounds, and only on the grounds, that the correct procedure is carried out."

Workers' Notebook

The crooks and spivs who used to run the aircraft and shipbuilding industries fumed about the end of society as we know it (i.e. as they profit by it) if their firms were nationalised by the Labour government, without a doubt a progressive step.

In January Gerald Kaufman announced that £21,950,000 "compensation" would be given to the former owners in the form of Treasury stock. Now a further £4,800,000 is to be passed on, and since negotiations are continuing this could rise.

£26,750,000—not a bad haul to help the fat cats who crippled these industries to cut their losses and start again. We can confidently expect to hear no cries of outrage from the 'Express' and 'Mail' who were so shocked at the redundancy payments made to steelworkers early this year.

—Department of Industry Press Notice:
21st April, 1978

PNP Youth members speak out

Appalling conditions facing black youth in Britain's cities are beginning to stir up this section of society into political activity. In the inner city area of Liverpool, unemployment is at 33%. But for blacks, racial discrimination makes the situation much worse.

The local Pan-African group did a test of the racism of the local bosses; writing off applications for jobs, they sent two letters—one from a man with an African name, one English. The African name never got a look in. This situation plus bad housing and education

facilities etc. is illustrated in this interview with the secretary of a PNP youth branch—which is being formed in the area—and his wife. Liverpool 8 is slightly different from other areas where many blacks live, as he explains. —Phil Frampton, Bristol PNP Youth

POLICE HARASS YOUNG BLACKS

JA: Black people here are fourth and fifth generation and over the years there has been a great deal of mixing. For half castes, you get used to mixing with whites as a child but after a few years you begin to realise that you are different, that your colour marks you apart from your white cousins and aunts.

The pressure of culture is always on you to act white. Black kids draw their parents with straight hair. For myself, when I was 10, I went to the barbers and asked for a Beatle haircut. Many blacks go in for hair-straightening and in the USA, pills which claim to make you lighter.

School was my first taste of real discrimination. Racial discrimination is the main reason black kids don't make it. We felt it and we told the teachers but they said we had a chip on our shoulders.

But you were always the last to be picked out for any little jobs. With equal abilities to the rest, you still got differing testimonials. When I left the school, myself and two other blacks leaving were hauled in front of the headmaster and told to remember to keep up the good name of the school. Why were we the only ones to receive this treatment?

I went to the Tech and got City and Guilds then went to become an apprentice brick-

layer but I had to do 6 months probation before I could start my apprenticeship! I got my indentures but when I go for a job, I have to team up with two whites, its useless going on your own.

EA: Almost every job you get there is always someone who puts on the pressure because of your colour. I had a job at the Walker Art Gallery in the kitchen. The forewoman wouldn't let me touch the food. For everyone else it was OK so she really made me feel inferior. I left.

When we got married we went for a flat. We could only get offers from black landlords. We had a tiny room for £4-50. In the end we had to go back to our parents to live.

JA: Relations aren't very good with the police. When our flat got robbed they weren't any help.

They came back with the clock which had been robbed and asked if it was ours. It was and they took it for evidence. We've never seen it since.

EA: JA got picked up by the police once. We'd been to a wedding and were off to a club. A friend in the US army and his wife went to Stanley House. There was a fight going on. They were watching when the police appeared. They started quest-

ioning Tom. They were coming strong, so Tom's wife shouts "run". Tom ran but the police caught him.

Meanwhile we turned up. They had Tom and his wife. They started giving him the treatment and threw Cath on the floor. JA objected so they grabbed him. People were standing around watching when the officer gets on his radio and calls for help saying there was a riot in Granby Street.

JA: They pushed me into a police jeep and I automatically sat on one of the sidebenches. They said get on the floor. I refused. The sergeant whacked me on the head with his truncheon, I got on the floor.

They put their feet on me and started shouting 'Black b...' etc. Every time I got up they whacked me on the head. When we got to the station they dragged us out of the jeep.

They had us bent down, arm up the back and smashed our heads into the gate, saying "here nigger, think you're tough?" They did it to his wife as well. Its the sort of thing that happens every day round here.

In the station they locked me up, they wouldn't give me a blanket for the night because I wouldn't sign the statement they had prepared



for me.

EA: I didn't know where they had taken my friends. I searched round and found them. They were all mashed up.

They wouldn't let me see Tom, they let him lie in there for 3 days with a broken arm. His wife had a going over. JA had to go to Southern Hospital when I got him out. When I heard what they had done to him I felt sick.

All the witnesses in the world were no good in court. Tom and JA were done for assaulting a policeman. JA had never done anything criminal in his life!

JA: That's why it's so tense around here. Police harassment is part of everyday life. They have been down here trying to do a public relations exercise but its all onesided. You help us, we'll put you away.

We held a public meeting on police harassment. The police surrounded the building supposedly to stop any 'trouble'.

The last time we had any major racial trouble was in 1972. Colin Jordan, the leader of the fascist British Movement, came down to the Pier Head with a load of skinheads. He got a beating that day and almost ended up in the Mersey.

At the same time a new estate was going up in Falkner Street, and black people were getting houses. Gangs of white youths started protesting, then they began to throw stones and petrol bombs into the houses. Gang warfare started up and we used to have running battles through the town. We organised a patrol of the area and set up a no-go zone.

Things are slightly better

today. You never used to be able to cross Lodge Lane or Park Road at night or there would be fights. Now you don't just go up the north end round Scotland Road, and London Road past Church Street.

Especially in the clubs, if you go in ones and twos its OK, but if you go in groups you get trouble like at Mardi Gras where there were big fights until it became all black.

For entertainment the black youth who can afford it have only got a few clubs to go to. If they don't want you they only have to change the music. When they opened the Top Rank they made their position clear by banning Afro hairstyles!

Nowadays there are places you don't go through nature. It's as if you are penned in and segregated.

The General Strike, the Spanish Civil War

A WORKER REMEMBERS

Urias Jones, a class fighter of long standing, gave the following account of his political work in the 1920s and 1930s to 'Militant' readers in Llanelli Labour Party.

"I had just started working at 14 in the pit when the General Strike broke out. I was glad of it!

"There was a workers' committee set up in Crosshands and Tumble. You couldn't leave the area unless you told the committee where you were going, and they gave you permission.

"A group of us were going to Llanelli to hear A J Cook (the miners' leader) speak. The committee let us go to that!

"When Cook spoke, there were thousands there. Not only miners, but steelworkers, other workers also. Everybody wanted to hear. His slogan was 'Not a penny off the pay, not a minute on the day'.

"We left the meeting. The Police! We thought there was going to be a riot! But there was no trouble. They would have been squashed.

"The miners were disci-

plined. The General Strike was the nearest to revolution in this country ever. There was a revolutionary fervour.

"I remember going down to the soup kitchens. We all felt solidarity. A feeling of solidarity. Class conscious we were.

"The soup kitchens were only for the men on strike. The women went to the parish relief. Collections were taken by choirs.

"My family was a saving family. We used up all our savings in the strike. Everybody was helping each other out.

"There was poaching going on. Rabbits. The only trouble was skinning them!"

QUESTION: Do you think that the young workers today can carry on the traditions of 1926?

"The young people today are subjected to the propaganda of the media. As you say, you are Labour Marxists. I've got to congratulate you on that. That is the way we must build.

"I joined the army in 1927, for three years. I discovered Marxism. If we want to understand the struggle today of all countries, particularly

the third world, we've got to have an understanding of Marxism, dialectical materialism and historical materialism."

QUESTION: How did you come to fight in the Spanish civil war?

"My brother was in the Independent Labour Party (ILP). There were adverts in the *New Leader* (the ILP paper) asking for volunteers. I wrote and I was successful.



Members of the trade union militias arming the workers of Barcelona, 1936

"I went, then three others from the village. Two went from Llanelli. They were killed out there.

"There were many conflicting groups in Spain. I was with the PSUC (Unified Socialist and Communist Party of Catalonia).

"Owing to non-intervention we didn't win the revolution. The biggest supplier of arms was Russia. Stalin did not give them to the POUM

[Workers' Party of Marxist Unification, a centrist party]. "Every political party was at the front with its own units. Stalin was supplying the PSUC with arms. Others had none at all.

"In Barcelona and Cartagena ships arrived with ammunition. Stalin starved one section (of arms) and fed others.

"I met George Orwell. He had queer ideas. He wasn't

with you or against you. As we say in Welsh, *shoni bob ochor* (he was with everybody)!

"You could see the end coming. My understanding of Marxism stood me well. Teh spirit keeps me alive. When I came back in 1938 I was unemployed for a few months, then I went back to the pits.

There were two million out of work then. It's getting like that now. What we need is a socialist party with a Marxist programme. A programme is important.

"There is crisis today. Look at Italy—alliance with the Christian Democrats is preached by the Italian Communist Party. It is class collaboration! I was a member of the Communist Party. Not now! I resigned because of its class collaboration!

"Spain also. There the CP dropped Leninism. They call themselves a revolutionary Marxist party, but they've dropped Leninism. Lenin I like!"

'The Spanish Revolution 1931-7'

By Ted Grant

Order from: World Books,
1 Mentmore Terrace,
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30p + 10p postage

UNEMPLOYMENT



Waiting for Liverpool Dole office to open

photo: Report (II)

How Capitalism wastes human resources

Under the capitalist system, with production geared to private profit, society's resources are squandered in a thousand and one ways. Any High Street demonstrates this, with mushrooming banks and building societies which produce nothing and with the shops full of goods made more expensive by the duplication of product ranges and built-in obsolescences. But the biggest waste is undoubtedly unemployment.

A worker is at least twice as likely as the 'average' worker to be unemployed if he is 16-17 years old, or if he lives in Northern Ireland, or if he works in the building industry. Between 1973 and 1977 unemployment of immigrant workers rose more than twice as fast as the average. Over 300,000 workers have now been continuously unemployed for at least a year. The dole is so low that about

half the unemployed are now drawing supplementary benefit.

But as well as the uncalculable cost of the demoralisation and misery of the unemployed and their families, unemployment represents a monstrous waste of society's resources in terms of what the unemployed could contribute to production.

There are now around one and a half million workers registered as unemployed. Many more people want a job but are not registered because they are not entitled to benefit or live in areas where there is no chance of finding work. Cambridge economists have estimated that these unregistered unemployed total nearly one million, bringing total unemployment to around 2½ million or 10% of the labour force.

10% lost

Ten per cent lost production would be bad enough. But in fact, if all these workers were employed,

production would rise much more than 10%. Not because those out of work are more energetic than those in jobs. Nor because they would be working with better equipment—firms will obviously try to keep their most efficient plant operating in a recession.

But the reality is that in many industries unused capacity also means low productivity. A good proportion of jobs are not tied directly to the level of production. The bosses have to keep on most office and sales staff even during a fall in production. A growing number of direct production jobs, moreover, cannot be cut out by the capitalists as soon as sales fall.

Most nineteenth century factories consisted of large numbers of workers doing a small range of jobs, and it was simple to lay off a proportion as soon as output fell. But now many industries involve integrated processes with each worker like a cog in a huge machine which cannot be removed without everything grinding to a halt. And even where there is the technical possibility of cutting employment as

output sags, the capitalists' freedom of action is curtailed by the powerful opposition of the organised workers.

These technical and 'labour relations' difficulties explain why so many redundancies now take the form of the bosses trying to find an

opportune moment to close down a whole plant or section of a plant, particularly if it is old and inefficient, or one with a high level of militancy.

But they also explain why a low level of production means low productivity; and conversely why an expansion of production to provide jobs for the unemployed would involve a very substantial increase in productivity as well.

The economists' calculations are that to increase employment by 10% (and thus eliminate unemployment), would require increased production of about 20%. Or to put it the other way round, the unemployment of 10% of the labour force involves underproduction of 20%. Confirmation of this figure, and for the really big increase in production which could be achieved without any increase in employment at all, comes from a survey of spare capacity in industry:

The massive increases in production which would be involved in taking on all those who require a job is no argument that full employment is impossible. Rather it shows just how essential it is. Twenty per cent lost production represents (in terms of 1976 prices) around £22,000 million. Twenty two thousand million pounds represents:

- ★ Nearly double the current total of pensions, unemployment pay, and other welfare benefits
- ★ three and a half times expenditure on the health service
- ★ ten times council house building
- ★ more than one third take-home pay of the whole working class

The extent of the 'sacrifice' involved in £22,000 lost production is clearly gigantic.

Why has unemployment risen?

If it were true that the unemployed were scroungers, it would certainly be a magnificent testimony to capitalism, would it not, that it turned a large section of society into parasites? Parasites there are, of course, who live on the labour of others—but out of choice and in great comfort derived from their stocks and shares.

The vicious and reactionary theory that the unemployed are there from choice has no basis. One of the reforms of the 1964-70 Labour government was to raise the level of unemployment and supplementary benefit relative to earnings. Bearing in mind that unemployment is concentrated among low-wage sections it has been calculated that the average dole for a married worker

POTENTIAL PERCENTAGE INCREASES IN OUTPUT

	Averages, weighted by employment		
	With present hours	With additional overtime	With additional labour
Food, drink and tobacco	6.3	11.0	15.5
Chemicals	16.9	18.2	19.5
Mechanical engineering	13.6	21.5	35.0
Motors	1.4	6.7	33.6
Metals	6.0	10.6	11.5
Textiles	7.4	13.0	18.8
Clothing and footwear	15.0	20.8	24.5
Paper and printing	13.4	22.4	28.3
Construction	14.9	22.2	36.0
Total	7.6	12.4	21.5

MENT

relative to take home pay in their most recent job rose from about 50% in the early 'Sixties to around 60% since the late 'Sixties. Those receiving earnings-related benefit get 75-80% of their take-home pay when at work, but only for six months. It is quite possible to find individual cases where these 'improved' rates have caused workers to quit a lousy job a bit earlier or to stay on the dole a week or two longer before being forced into some sweatshop on starvation wages.

But there is no evidence whatsoever that this applies to very many workers on the unemployment register. And even if it did, it just means that their place in a particular job is being taken by somebody else. The Tories and the gutter press never explain how cutting down workers' capacity to hold out on the dole while looking for a job will increase total employment. It would do nothing of

The campaign against 'scroungers' and in favour of making the dole less 'generous' has got nothing to do with unemployment. What the capitalists are after is making unemployment even more intolerable, so that fear of the sack is a more potent weapon for 'disciplining' the workers—that is for keeping down demands for wage increases.

Is new technology responsible for unemployment?

A hundred years ago the church told people to accept their fate as the will of God. In 1978, when a TV pundit mutters darkly about technology and presses a button which makes "2 to 4 million unemployed in the 1980s" appear in computer-readable lettering on the TV screen beside him, he is also conjuring up the idea of a process beyond the control of men.

But this new technological fatalism is just as much of a smokescreen as its religious counterpart.

The idea that the mass unemployment of recent years is due to a sudden acceleration in technical progress has no basis. Certainly, the tendency to replace men by machines (the increase in what Marx called the technical composition of capital) has been a feature of capitalist development in recent years. But this is nothing new: it is a permanent feature. It was just as true of the booms of the 'Fifties and early 'Sixties when there was more

or less 'full' employment.

There is no evidence that there has been an acceleration in this process in recent years. Certainly, there now seems to be the possibility of a leap forward in automation opened up by the use of micro-processors—the tiny silicon chips with the power of a computer—in many sectors of industry and especially services. But this process has hardly begun and has no connection with the mass unemployment of recent years. And even if the possibilities for the replacement of human labour in the direct production process are speeding up, **this would spell unemployment only in the context of stagnant production.**

Too few new jobs

The reason for the rise in unemployment over recent years has not been a sudden acceleration of productivity—in fact it has stagnated. The 'number of people registered as unemployed at some time during the year' has only increased from 4 million to 4½ million each year, and all this increase is accounted for by women, the main explanation apparently being their greater readiness to register rather than an actual faster rate of job loss.

The very stable number of men registering each year—practically three million—does not seem consistent with the idea that technical progress is destroying more and more jobs each year. In fact, the rise in unemployment is explained mainly by the slower provision of new jobs rather than the faster destruction of old jobs.

Almost all the rise in unemployment reflects the fact that each worker put out of a job, or leaving for some other reason, is finding it much more difficult to find a new one—the average unemployed worker has been looking for a job for 17 weeks, compared with 8 weeks in 1967.

But, some will say, isn't the labour movement stranded between the horns of a dilemma? If investment does not rise British industries are driven out of world markets—and unemployment rises. If investment does increase, it means more and more workers replaced by machines—and unemployment rises.

But the fundamental point is that investment in new equipment does not itself cause loss of jobs. Certainly, in the context of a stagnant market, investment will tend to have that effect, as new capacity, which can produce more cheaply and which employs fewer workers, drives out older plant. But in the context of an expanding market, higher investment would increase employment immediately in the industries producing the investment goods. In the longer run, extra workers could be taken on in work with the new plant to supply the growing market. Increased production would accommodate this without requiring the scrapping of old plant.

To see investment and technical progress as destroying jobs is to see just one side of the two-fold relation between the accumulation and capital and employment. As Marx explained, on the one side, accumulation of capital means more jobs on the new capacity. On the other hand, accumulation 'repels' workers as the new capacity drives out old. In Japan, for example, in the 1950s and 1960s, the industrial capital stock grew at 12.5% a year, three times as fast as the British capitalists managed. But far from meaning that employment grew slower, it grew at 3.7% a year in Japan and not at all in Britain, despite the fact that industrial productivity in Japan also grew three times as fast.

The crucial difference is that Japanese capitalists were able to 'expand their share of world markets on the basis of this tremendous rise in productivity, and that their home market was propelled forward by the massive level of investment. So the basic reason for the rise in unemployment faced by British workers over the past four years is not too high investment: it is too low a growth of production. In capitalist terms, this means just one thing: **too slow a growth of a profitable market.**

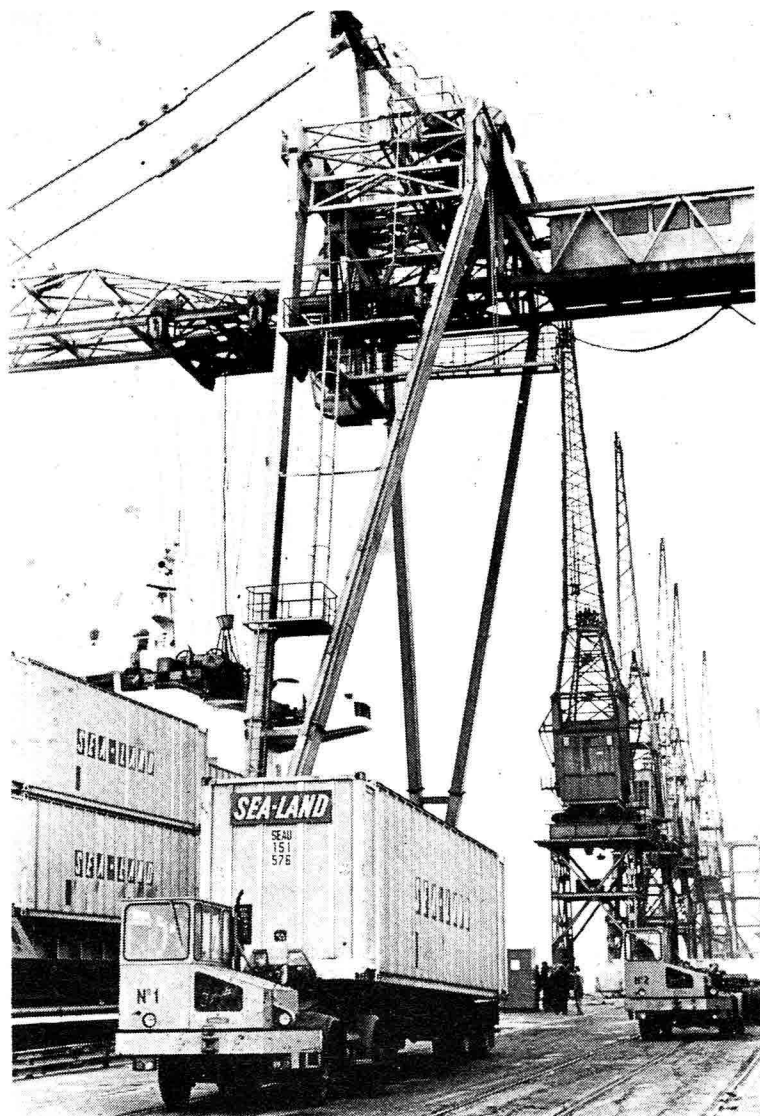
The world market

If the immediate factor behind the rise in unemployment is the slow growth of the market, is the solution simply to put pressure on the other capitalist countries to end their obstinate refusal to expand their economies, as Denis Healey suggests? The following table, however, shows that it is not mainly exports which have slowed down and are responsible for the slow growth of the last four years. The stagnation has predominantly come from workers' living standards (private consumption), public investment and investment by the capitalists.

Rates of Growth	% per year	
	1961-73	1973-77
Exports	5.6	4.1
Private consumption	2.8	-1.2
Government investment	4.9	-3.4
Capitalists' investment	4.3	-3.4

Source: Economic Policy Review, 1978 [Appendix, Table 4]

These cuts cannot be blamed primarily on the world economy. The basic factor behind these developments was the catastrophic fall in the rate of profit sustained by British capitalism—from 13.5% in 1960 to 3.5% in 1975 according to the Bank of England's figures for the pre-tax rate of profit of industrial and commercial companies. In response to this the British capitalists demanded savage



Preston Docks: containers have thrown thousands of dockers out of work—with poor prospects of other jobs photo: Report

cuts in living standards which the Labour government has implemented through the various stages of the 'Social Contract'.

With the take-home pay of the average manual worker having fallen by 8-10% since 1973, it is not surprising that 'private consumption' has fallen. Moreover, the capitalists have insisted that the government radically prunes its expenditure. It is no use, from the capitalists' point of view, if the extra profits they can extract by driving down living standards are borrowed back by the government to finance the social services.

The public spending programmes for 1977 were cut by £2½ billion in the announcements of February and December 1976 and by a further £4 billion through the operation of the vicious 'cash limits' system, which meant that the local authorities etc. were given quite inadequate resources to cope with inflation.

Profits up 140%

The cuts in living standards, and downward slide in the value of the pound which increased export profits, have led to what is probably the fastest rise in profits in the history of British capitalism—by 140% between the summer of 1976 and 1977. But still investment has hardly increased. Investment in manufacturing industry after replacement of capital used up is now still lower in real terms than it was in 1951.

As well as increased profitability—and the capitalists are still 'looking for' the rise in profits to

continue since it began from such a low base—the capitalists require an expanding market. But the very cuts in living standards and public spending, of course, lead to a decreased market. So all the investment which is going on is necessarily aimed at rationalisation, cutting costs and employment, since only an idiot would invest for an expanded market in conditions where there was no prospect of this happening.

Stagnation

The government's whole strategy has been that an export boom would provide the growing market necessary to "justify" the capitalists ploughing back their higher profits in increased investment. But the reason for slow growth in the world economy is not some out-dated prejudice against expansion on the part of the German and Japanese governments. They are all holding back on expansion in an effort to hold back wages, restore their profits and prevent an acceleration of inflation. So instead of expanded openings for British capital there is stagnation and intense competition.

NEXT WEEK:

- ★ Do government employment schemes and subsidies really keep unemployment down?
- ★ The need for the 35-hour week without loss of pay.

Andrew Glyn

(Oxford Labour Party)

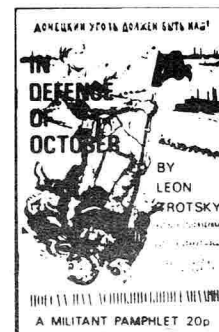


Workers demonstrate against redundancy threats

photo: Report

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ZAIRE

In the past, the ruling classes of Europe have boasted of their "civilising" role in Africa, and of how they granted "emergent nations" their independence when "the time was ripe".

Events in Zaire, however, reveal just how far direct colonial domination was replaced by indirect exploitation—with the propping up of the most "uncivilised", barbarous regimes as the agencies of continued capitalist plunder.

As soon as one of the most corrupt and ruthlessly repressive of these regimes was threatened, last month, French imperialism flew in the paratroops to save Mobutu and defend their interests.

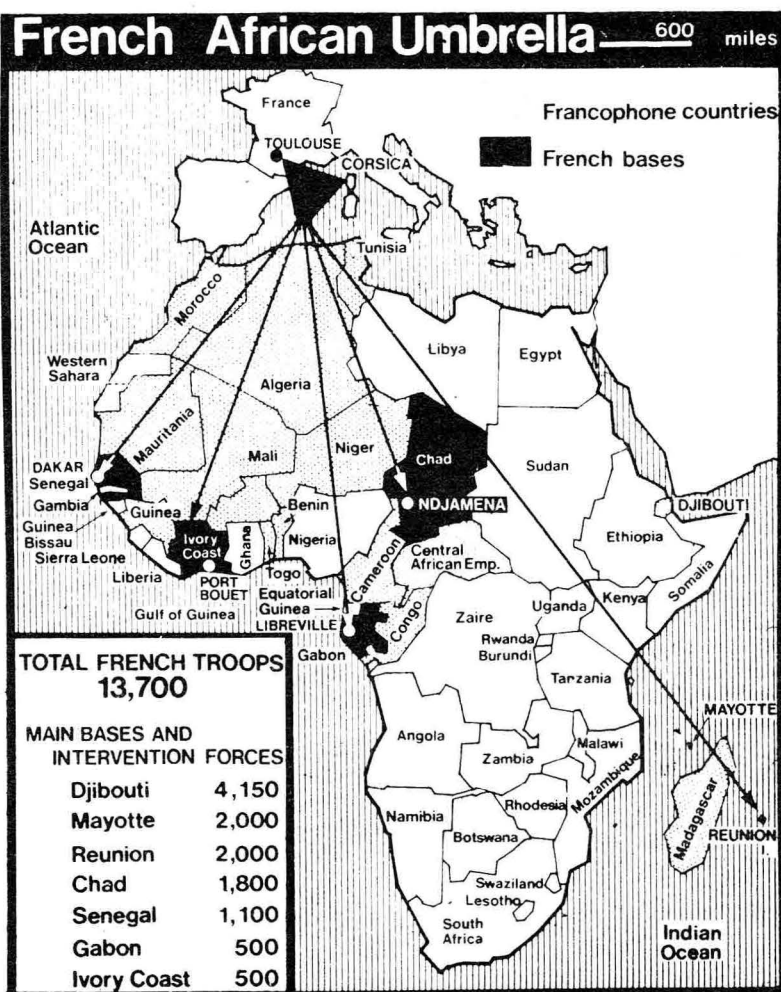
The French government claimed that its intervention was "humanitarian", aimed simply at rescuing the Europeans in Shaba, a story backed up by the capitalist press in Britain. In fact, the dropping of French paratroops was almost certainly the main cause of the horrifying massacre of whites in and around Kolwezi.

Prior to the French intervention, there were firm reports of only a handful of European deaths, although the atrocity scare-stories had already begun in the press. The Belgian government (despite its denials) was almost certainly negotiating with FNLC (Congo National Liberation Front) representatives for the evacuation of Europeans by Belgian forces. FNLC spokesmen, who claimed that there were already French troops fighting for Mobutu (possibly mercenaries), warned that any intervention would prejudice the lives of Europeans in Shaba.

Nevertheless on the 19 May, the French paratroops were dropped over Kolwezi: "Refugees," reported *The Times* (22 May), "say the massacre began as French paratroopers from the Foreign Legion launched their assault on the town [Kolwezi] on Friday...It appears that French nationals were the rebels' primary target in those last hours before the French troops retook the town..."

"The French operation brought a sharp clash with the Belgian government, which was informed only after the paratroops were on their way. Mr Tindemas, the Belgian prime minister, criticised the French operation as being of "quite a different

Why France sent the Foreign Legion



By Lynn Walsh

character than the Belgian"; and the Belgian Socialist Party issued a statement criticising the French action more bluntly as being of "a purely military character, which compromises the security of Europeans in the region."

Expressing opposition to any further military involvement in Zaire, Andre Cools, the Socialist Party leader, warned: "Belgian youth must not become the spearhead of an African Vietnam." (*Financial Times* 24 May)

While the Belgian reaction partly reflected pressure exerted through the Socialist Party, which participates in a coalition government with the Christian Democrats, it also reflected the resentment of Belgian big business.

Wording their public criticisms diplomatically, the Belgian government nevertheless clearly viewed France's "humanitarian" operation as a cover for further efforts to establish a dominant role in Zaire. Belgian capitalists, with a stake of \$800 millions in Zaire, undoubtedly remembered Giscard's speeches when visiting Zaire, when he

referred to the former Belgian colony as "the most Francophone country after France itself."

After last year's operation, when France had flown in Moroccan troops to save Mobutu, the Belgian foreign minister, Renaat van Elslande, had bluntly declared: "France is particularly interested in Zaire's natural resources and Belgium resents this as international rivalry." He had gone on to ask France to leave "Belgium alone in regions where it is historically at home." (*Le Monde* 22 May)

Invaders welcomed by population

While the French intervention has been presented as a humanitarian rescue bid, the upheaval in Shaba province has been pictured in the crudest possible terms, as a frenzied invasion by Katangan exiles, armed, directed and cynically manipulated by Cuba and Russia.

But this fails to answer one vital question: how could a

small invasion force, generally estimated at only about 2,000, rout the Zairean army and take over the main mining centres of Shaba—and for the second time in little over a year—unless it had extensive local sympathy and support?

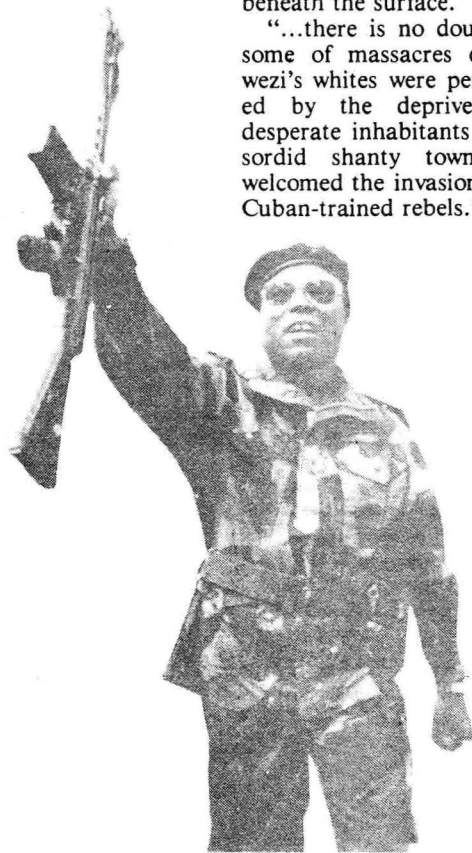
In fact, events in Shaba testify, not to the strength of the invaders, but to the rottenness of the regime they aimed to topple.

The invaders are usually referred to as ex-Katangan gendarmes. These are the remnants of the force that supported Moise Tshombe's attempt, shortly after the independence of the Congo (renamed Zaire), to establish a separate state of Katanga (renamed Shaba). When this failed, largely because of the UN forces' intervention in favour of a unified Congo, Tshombe's gendarmes went into exile in neighbouring Angola.

Tshombe's movement was right-wing, but more recently the Katangans fought with the left-wing MPLA in Angola. After their victory, the MPLA leaders were only too pleased to support the

Katangans' struggle against Mobutu, who had actively obstructed the MPLA in its fight against Portuguese colonialism and who had supported the CIA-backed UNITA and FNLA.

What is clear, however, is that the ageing ex-Katangans now form only a minority of the FNLC. In the last few years, the ex-gendarmes have been joined by a growing stream of young volunteers from inside Zaire, not only from the Lunda people of Shaba, but from all over the country. If the arms and training are available, as they now are from Cuba and Eastern Europe, there can be little difficulty for the FNLC finding recruits, when there are at present 250,000 (mainly Lunda) refugees living in camps in Angola rather than face the barbarous conditions and repression in Zaire.



General Nathaniel Nbumba, leader of the FNLC, which has attracted increasing support from inside Zaire

The media have portrayed the Shaba events as simply an orgy of violence against whites, perpetrated by black, "communist" hordes. But the reports of evacuated whites contradict this crude version. The wife of a Belgian school-teacher told *The Times* (22 May):

"We did not get any support from the Zaire Army soldiers. We feared them more than we feared the rebels."

"The natives in the town also took advantage of the situation. They told the rebels where the whites were hiding and then they looted the homes."

"Many of the refugees at Kolwezi," continues the report, "were saying that government troops, high on hashish, rather than rebels were responsible for the worst massacre."

After decades of the most barbarous colonial exploitation, and after a further period of super-exploitation and degradation under Mobutu's neo-colonial regime, is it surprising that the most downtrodden of the local population should turn in anger against the Europeans, the most conspicuous representatives of their exploiters? Only a Marxist leadership, capable of expressing the anger of the oppressed and giving them socialist aims, could have averted such bloody reprisals.

Reporting from Kolwezi, John Swain gives a graphic picture of the situation:

"The sad truth is that, with some notable exceptions, many of the 2,500 Belgian and French expatriates running Kolwezi's copper mines worked in Zaire for money rather than for a love of the country. Theirs was often a selfish, sumptuous way of life which they could not hope to repeat in Europe. They had high salaries, lots of domestic servants, fabulous houses with big gardens and swimming pools. Their wives could afford to buy the most expensive perfumes and Paris fashions..."

"Few Kolwezi whites ventured into the hot and dirty shacks of Cité Manika with their earthy, sour smell, their flies and barefoot urchins, where 150,000 blacks lead lives of misery and despair. Had they done so they might have felt the simmering discontent and the tension beneath the surface."

"...there is no doubt that some of massacres of Kolwezi's whites were perpetrated by the deprived and desperate inhabitants of this sordid shanty town, who welcomed the invasion of the Cuban-trained rebels."

French intervention in Zaire was justified on "humanitarian" grounds. But the capitalist press soon revealed that what was at stake was more than the lives of the two or three thousand whites whose fate occupied the front pages.

Shaba [formerly Katanga] is about the nearest nature has ever come to producing a real El Dorado.

Zaire is one of the world's main copper producers, accounting for 6% to 8% of world output. About three-quarters of Zaire's export earnings are from copper, and about half of the copper comes from the mines around Kolwezi.

Shaba is also rich in diamonds, zinc, silver and platinum.

Africa's El Dorado

Even more vital than these minerals to western capitalism, however, is Shaba's cobalt [a by-product of copper mining]. Shaba's copper could fairly easily be replaced from other sources. But Shaba accounts for 50% to 60% of the west's supply of cobalt [yielding the very highest quality mineral], vital for the manufacture of magnets, industrial catalysts, and above all heat-resistant metals for the military aero-space industry. The growing demand for cobalt is also rich uranium deposits, of unknown [or undisclosed?] extent, and the

presence of this nuclear fuel is an additional reason for the intervention of French capitalists committed as it is to one of the biggest nuclear programmes in the west.

Clearly, this vast mineral wealth, which makes Zaire potentially one of the richest countries in Africa, is the loot that western imperialism is determined to keep its hands on.

Mining, however, was brought to a sudden halt by the fighting. Experts who have examined the damage at Kolwezi's vast open-cast copper mines claim they could be

fully operational within six months and work at 30% capacity within days once the water has been pumped out.

"But the betting here," reports the *Sunday Times* correspondent from Kolwezi, "is that they will remain idle...or work well below capacity because Zaire cannot find white experts brave enough to run them" [28 May].

Whether or not western forces manage to prop up Mobutu for the time being, imperialism has suffered another serious blow, with the interruption of mineral production and the inevitable price rises that shortages, panic and profiteering will bring on the international metal markets.

ZAIRE



Leaders of the Congo National Liberation Front plan operations

Another report provides and eloquent comment on the hysterical denunciations of a Cuban invasion of Shaba, of which neither the western governments nor the capitalist press have been able to provide any evidence. An evacuated Briton told *The Guardian* (22 May) of how he was rescued by the French paratroopers—but not in a way that would have provided President Giscard with any satisfaction at all!

"As the parachutes opened over the town the rebel prison guards slipped away, leaving the jubilant local population cheering what they thought was a Cuban drop.

"When the guards left the people just wanted to get into the prison and lynch us. They were cheering and waving at the troops coming down on the parachutes. They honestly thought the Cubans had come in to help the rebels and they loved it."

The invaders have now pulled back, some returning to Angola, some hiding in the bush. Few doubt that they will be back, and with even bigger forces, whatever the support provided to Mobutu by the west.

France plays Africa's gendarme

Last year, France transported Moroccan troops to save Mobutu. This year, France has intervened directly to prop up Mobutu's crumbling dictatorship. The French action, moreover, is not an isolated episode but part of a drive by French capitalism to increase its influence throughout Africa.

The underlying motives are undoubtedly economic. Although France has less investment in Zaire than Belgium, the US, and Britain, it has huge investments throughout Africa. French capitalism has favourable trade balances with a number of African states, and carries on a highly profitable arms trade second only to America's.

As a consequence of its African policy, France is now engaged in four military operations: in Chad; in Djibuti; in Mauritania (where it has mineral interests and is fighting the Polisario Liberation Front); and now in Zaire.

The French ruling class has the illusion that, while the power of the United States has declined, France can play the role of African gendarme, protecting pro-western regimes and safeguarding capitalist interests.

"France, under President Giscard d'Estaing, has as-

sumed the mantle of international policeman laid down by the United States after the Vietnam disaster...the president (believes) he too (like De Gaulle) is leading France back to an historic role of influence alongside the super-powers." (*The Times* 24 May)

But while big business and the right-wing press applaud French efforts on their behalf, the serious strategists of capital have already expressed fears that France will burn its fingers in Africa. This is indicated by the very cautious, indirect support from the other powers, and the attempt to replace French paratroops with a "pan-African" "peace-keeping" force of Moroccan and other African troops.

In France, too, sections of the ruling class—remembering their defeats in Algeria and Indo-China—have voiced fears of being embroiled in unwinnable African wars.



President Giscard d'Estaing

The capitalist critics of Giscard's policy point out that it is easier to send French forces to prop up shaky regimes than to pull them out. Relatively small guerrilla armies can tie down large conventional armies for years, draining resources and provoking a political reaction at home against neo-colonialist intervention.

Even in economic terms intervention can rebound. Already, French policy has provoked a reaction from countries like Algeria and Libya, which back liberation movements being fought by France, and which are actually more important economically than the client states receiving protection. Military intervention, as the US found to its cost in Angola, also has the effect of pushing the liberation movements more and more into the arms of Cuba and Eastern Europe.

The dilemma of imperialism is reflected in the split in the US government over how far to go in trying to prop up Mobutu. If they allow Mobutu to fall, Zaire would very likely go the same way as

Angola and Mozambique, resulting in the overthrow of landlordism and capitalism.

But a more open military attempt to defend Mobutu's rotten regime, would just as likely stiffen the movement against him and prompt increased aid from the Eastern bloc—with the same result in the long run.

The balance has tipped against imperialism

Zaire is proof enough of the complete inability of imperialism to develop society in the ex-colonial lands. The complete rottenness of these client states makes it futile for the big powers to try to sustain regimes like Mobutu's without pouring in massive resources—and ultimately opening up a new Vietnam.

The defeat of imperialism in Angola and Mozambique marked a decisive change in the balance of forces for world imperialism. The intensification of the struggle in Rhodesia, the movement of the black youth in South Africa, and the additional impulse given to liberation movements throughout Africa, testify to this.

This new situation in Africa places the fight for a Socialist United States of Africa, which alone could provide a basis for the socialist planning of production necessary to lift the African people into the twentieth century, on the agenda for the coming period.

The revolutions in Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia and Somalia, because they have been confined within narrow national limits and have consequently relied on the Stalinist states of Russia and Eastern Europe for support against imperialism, have inevitably taken on a bureaucratically deformed character.

But movements throughout Africa, and particularly in the working-class centres of South Africa and Nigeria, would open up the possibility of a struggle for socialism, in collaboration with the workers of the advanced countries, which would avoid bureaucratic distortions and open up a democratic development of society.

The first duty of the labour movement of the metropolitan capitalist countries is to demand the immediate withdrawal of all imperialist forces from Zaire, and from Africa generally. But we also have a duty to advance an internationalist programme and perspective for socialism which takes account of the toiling masses of Africa.

MOBUTU: the West's barbaric Frontman

Throughout the west, the capitalist press is hysterically denouncing 'foreign', 'communist' influence in Zaire. But from the time he came to power thirteen years ago, Mobutu has been nothing if not a stooge of foreign capitalist interests.

Mobutu Sese Seko seized power in 1965 with CIA help, and it has cost the US about \$17,000 a year since then to keep him in power. In the years when his regime seemed one of the most stable in Africa, and provided a sound basis for the exploitation of Zaire's mineral and agricultural resources by the multinational corporations, the west had nothing but praise for Mobutu, one of the most vicious dictators in Africa.

More recently, however, his western paymasters began to fear that he was getting too big for his boots—and becoming a serious economic liability into the bargain.

In 1973, when Zaire's economy seemed to be buoyed up by the rapid rise of copper prices, and high prices of other raw materials, Mobutu embarked on a programme of "Zaireanisation". Foreign interests were taken over and put under state control, under the direction of the great "Guide of the Nation", General Mobutu.

Since then, Mobutu has been obliged to hand most of the expropriated interests back on very favourable terms to the foreign corporations. But not before running up staggering debts, and reducing the economy to a shambles.

Multi-millionaire

For Mobutu, "Zaireanisation" meant primarily the concentration of the country's wealth into the hands of his family, tribal associates and selected army commanders. "While Zaire remains one of the poorest countries in the world, and is getting poorer, its president—with his industrial and property shareholdings all over Europe, his villas in Brussels, his apartment blocks in Paris, and his engaging habit of filling an attaché case with foreign currency from the national bank whenever he goes abroad—must now count among the richest individuals anywhere." (*Sunday Times* 28 May)

A former governor of the Bank of Zaire, who recently fled to Europe, told the *Sunday Times* "that the entire funds allocated to the president at the end of the 1960s had been expended not for state purposes but for purely personal ends. These included \$6 million to buy a small Mercedes assembly line for the president's wife, Antoinette...and another large amount intended to purchase for Mobutu himself a minor Swiss bank."

Under his management, Zaire ran up incredible foreign debts of about \$3,000 million. Any other country that so offended the IMF's book-keeping principles would have been mercilessly pilloried in world headlines. But Mobutu, for all his faults, was still the west's bastion in



General Sese Seko Mobutu

central Africa.

In fact, the IMF, together with other international and private creditors, were due to meet to discuss the re-scheduling of Zaire's debt just as the new crisis broke out. Mobutu may survive for the time being, but the economic crisis will remain. Apart from the debts, foreign investment has dried up and the national income is thought to be declining at about 5% to 6% a year.

Inflation is about 80% a year, and there is an extensive black market, especially in imported goods. Although Zaire is rich in agricultural raw materials, as well as minerals, food now has to be imported to sustain the population.

Savage rule

Such is the extent of graft, corruption, and large-scale smuggling, that in the last recorded year state customs receipts from exported goods fell by a staggering 43%.

The complete rottenness of Mobutu's neo-colonial regime was reflected at the beginning of this year in purges directed against the army leadership itself. Mobutu's fellow conspirators of 1965 were long ago bumped off, imprisoned or forced into exile. But in following last year's Shaba invasion, when he was saved by Moroccan troops, Mobutu again turned on the commanders of his brutal and ill-disciplined army, jailing 250 officers and executing 13 after a show trial.

Throughout his rule, Mobutu has facilitated the ruthless international capit-

alist exploitation of Zaire by the most brutal dictatorial methods. Little, if anything, however, was said previously about this repression in the world capitalist press.

"An example of how the government keeps its power can be gleaned from the massacre of between 700 and 1,000 villagers carried out by a national guard battalion in the Idofa district 300 miles south-east of the capital [in Bandundu province, which has long been a stronghold of anti-Mobutu feeling] in January this year." (*The Guardian*, 2 June)

According to reports, village headmen and their relative were hunted down by Mobutu's troops, and then publicly hanged, burned or buried alive.

"Similar pacification' tactics were employed in the Shaba province last year after the Katangese revolt fizzled out at the end of 80 days' sporadic fighting.

"At least one village of several hundred people 30 miles west of the mining town of Kolwezi was reported to have been wiped out by FAZ [Zairean Army] troops during their less than victorious advance against the rebels. Even hardened Moroccan soldiers who had been flown in to lead the counter-offensive were said to have been sickened by such tactics. "It does not take much speculation to envisage what FAZ forces now reoccupying Kolwezi are doing to the local population after the second Shaba invasion."

This is how Mobutu rules Zaire!

LETTERS

Labour Party Democracy

Dear Comrades

I must confess I am both gratified and surprised by the brief response from the CLPD Executive to Ray Apps' article on reselection. Gratified because I hope this is an indication that the CLPD are now going to throw their weight behind the Minority Report submitted by Ray, Jo Richardson and Bernard Kissen and surprised by the inference that supporters of 'Militant' have not always supported mandatory reselection.

Since long before the CLPD was even founded, supporters of 'Militant' have been putting forward demands not only for the mandatory reselection of MPs, but also for the right of recall over all representatives in the labour movement and for no representatives to be paid more than the average wage of a skilled worker. It is only the combination of these two conditions that will ensure that the right type of people come forward for positions, and that they are directly accountable to those they represent.

In the midst of the attempts to replace Reg Prentice by an MP whose views were more in line with those of the Newham North East Labour Party, rank and file Labour Party members throughout the country began to look at changes to this area of the rules. It was in this period that the CLPD was born as a pressure group pledged to fight for rule changes to increase the accountability of Labour Members of Parliament.

The two issues which came to the fore were mandatory reselection of MPs and the method for electing the leader of the Party by the membership and not the PLP. Both of these reforms have always had the full backing of 'Militant' supporters, who have often been instrumental in their constituencies and union branches affiliating to the CLPD. However, they have continued to point out that this should only be considered as a step towards achieving the full right of recall. Can this be construed as not supporting mandatory reselection?

Our one major disagreement with the campaign has been on the question of the model resolution they asked constituencies to send to last year's Annual Conference. There was no disagreement on the procedure proposed, only what the amendment would have deleted, namely the existing paragraph (b) of section 7.

Whilst the procedure laid down in this paragraph is cumbersome, it should be remembered that when it was written it was intended as an emergency procedure, when such emergencies could not be foreseen, and in this role it works well. Even in recent years when its inadequacy has been demonstrated, it has been used successfully to remove a number of sitting MPs.

Coupled with a new rule for mandatory reselection conferences it will still provide an important safeguard, as it enables a General Committee to decide to have a reselection conference when it sees the

need for one. It is not surprising that the majority of the members of the Working Party seized on the Campaign's willingness to delete this paragraph and propose to transfer these powers to the NEC.

We now face proposals to be submitted by the NEC, which seek to take away rights from Constituency Parties. It is of the utmost importance that all party members who support mandatory reselection canvass support between now and Party Conference for the proposals of the Minority Report which includes all that was enshrined in the 60-odd resolutions plus the safeguard in paragraph (b).

It is of particular importance that this debate is raised within the trade unions, as many affiliated unions could consider their commitment to support mandatory reselection satisfied by the proposals of the Majority Report. Unless the major block votes can be won over to the proposals of the Minority Report this year Conference could prove a major setback, rather than a victory for party democracy.

Yours fraternally
Paul Schofield
Reading Labour Party

'Militant's' Record

Dear Editor

Victor Schonfield's congratulations on Ray Apps' outspoken support for mandatory reselection of Labour MPs was wholly justified and very welcome as I also endorsed every word of that article. However, I am puzzled by Comrade Schonfield's implied suggestion that 'Militant' has only been converted to the idea of reselection in the recent period.

I have been associated with and a support of 'Militant' since it was first published in 1964. Since then in all of its material in connection with democracy inside the trade union and labour movement, 'Militant' has consistently argued for the rank and file of the labour movement to have control over full-time officials and MPs by the right of recall or by any other democratic method determined by the rank and file.

The Campaign for Labour Party Democracy has received the support of 'Militant', perhaps not uncritically, nevertheless in fundamentals. For instance, I disagree with the idea of sacrificing Paragraph (b), clause 7 which gives Constituency Labour Parties the right to set the reselection procedure in motion at any time, in order (presumably) to make it easier to achieve the objective of mandatory reselection. I am sure that Victor Schonfield would defend my right, and 'Militant's' right, to offer what I believe is constructive criticism.

'Militant's' support for democracy inside the labour and trade union movement has been recorded for all to see. It may not have been expressed in precisely the same terms as advanced by CLPD, but nevertheless 'Militant's' support for Labour Party democracy is no less determined.

Yours fraternally
Tony Mulhearn

Vice Chairman, Liverpool District Labour Party

KEEP FIT— YOU COULD BE LEFT TO DIE IF YOU'RE ILL

Dear Comrades

I was sick after reading in our local newspaper that: "Ten patients of mine died last year whose deaths could have been avoided but they didn't get treatment on time." The reason for this quite innocently is—believe it or not—due to a shortage of cash and staff.

I was outraged. This horrifying story continues: "The crisis is so severe that more than 100 patients from all over Merseyside, Wales and the Isle of Man face a wait of up to 18 months for surgery. Many of them have coronary artery disease—the biggest single killer in Western Europe."

Capitalism appears to be hell-bent on moving heaven and earth to prevent even an existence for working people; how much longer are Labour going to tolerate capitalist dictatorship? Because that's what it is. We're not just talking about unemployed nurses and doctors or the general running down of the health service, we're talking about people's lives which has got to come before pocket linings or shortsighted greed.

The reason why workers are going down like flies, the reason why hospitals are crammed with museum pieces, the reason why the staff have to suffer deplorable conditions and redundancies is simply because they say the money isn't there. Well I say end this barbaric system and arm the labour movement with a fighting, uncompromising, militant Marxist programme before any more have to pay the life-destroying price for the anarchy of capitalism.

Yours fraternally
Steve Higham
Sec, Bootle LPYS

Limited action not always enough

Dear Comrades

I read with interest the letter published in 'Militant' 406 by G Wilson on selective sanctions against the employers. This last month has shown to engineers that there is no simple recipe for engaging in industrial action; it depends on the concrete situation. With the situation today of hard nosed bosses you have to prepare the membership for all out struggle if it is a serious enough issue.

An example of this is a dispute at Sheffield Stanley Tools, where a section of 36 workers imposed the limited sanction of going onto "normal" performance of production bonus. This was met by

the management with a calculated attack on the organised trade union. The 36 were threatened with dismissal, forcing the union to defend its members by calling an all-out official strike of all four factories in Sheffield.

I would agree with the comrade that it is far better to win without the hardship caused by strike action to the pockets of our members. But as the example points out, management are a factor beyond our control and if they think an all-out strike will break the workforce then that is what they will provoke.

Yours fraternally
Rob Jones
Sheffield Heeley
Labour Party

ANTI-NAZI LEAGUE— NO FIRM CLASS BASE

Dear Comrades

Alistair Tice's letter in 'Militant' (407) asked for readers' views on the Anti-Nazi League.

I think we should first of all welcome the mobilisation of thousands of youth against the National Front at the ANL carnival. As well as showing opposition to fascism, it showed that young people are looking for political answers to their problems and are ready to fight for them.

But that was all it did. No effort was made by the organisers to show young workers how to get rid of

fascism and racism, let alone their other problems. This would have involved saying, "get rid of the capitalist system," and the ANL won't say this because it might offend some of their "big name" sponsors.

At a meeting in Nottingham, one of the national organisers said: "It's not just the blacks the NF are after... their final target is the Jews." If a long-lasting movement against racism is to be built, it has to prove that workers need to fight it, in other words that it threatens the unions and the Labour Party—the organisations with which

Revolutionary Art reflects need for social change

Dear Comrades

The letter from comrade Humby on Surrealism [issue 407] misses the point.

The surrealists want to free art from all external constraints, i.e. all constraints other than the artist's own aesthetic requirements. Marxists have always maintained that art and all culture is not separate from society but an integral part of it.

In a class-based society the dominant culture is always that of the ruling class. A new or revolutionary art form or movement does not arise out of thin air but is a reflection of social unrest and the need for economic and political change in society.

For the surrealists, to desire liberation from all external restraints on their aesthetic activities is to desire liberation for culture from the cramping restraints of capitalism. Of course, culture can never be truly free and realise its full potential until we live in a classless society—which can only be achieved through socialism. The surrealists realised this and deliberately tried to build links with the working class movement, since they knew that this was the only force powerful enough to overthrow the constraints of capitalism.

The surrealists did not and do not turn their backs on reality—they are simply providing a view of another aspect of reality. To condemn them simply because their creations do not reflect a detailed transitional programme or provide an accurate picture of working class life would be clearly ridiculous. Trotsky recognised the revolutionary significance and potential of surrealism and so should socialists today.

Those of us who are fighting for a socialist transformation of society in the political and economic sphere should always realise the importance of revolutionary movements in culture as a reflection of the social tensions and aspirations of society.

Fraternally
Andy Dixon
Wallsend CLP

Sri Lanka state threat

Dear Comrades

The government in Sri Lanka has just introduced two Acts which in effect represent a giant stride towards the creation of a police state. The immediate excuse has been the murder of North by an organisation calling itself the Tamil Liberation Tiger Organisation.

One of these Acts seeks to ban the above organisation as well as other organisations of a similar nature. The minister in charge, of course, has the discretion to decide which other organisations are of a similar nature.

The other Act seeks to remove the right of bail and prescribes minimum punishments for various criminal acts as well as "waging war on the state", "conspiracy" to do so, etc. Also the minister may decide that any activity which seeks to promote class struggle, disaffection of government, etc. comes under the provisions of the Act. This is clearly aimed not just at these "Tigers" but also at working class organisations raising the slogan of a general strike, especially the LSSP.

The agitation against these Acts [which were rushed through Parliament in two days] is now building up. Only the power of the organised working class can defeat the creation of a police state here.

Fraternally
A reader in Sri Lanka

workers protect their living standards.

The ANL says: "Show you think the NF are nasty and go home." Because of this it probably won't last for more than a few months. 'Militant' supporters should support and intervene in ANL events to show the youth who turn to them that the struggle against fascism, racism, unemployment and all youth's other problems goes on—in the Labour Party Young Socialists.

Yours fraternally
Tony Cross
East Nottingham LPYS

WHERE'S THE MONEY?

This week's total of £384.79 is the lowest since the beginning of the year.

It means that we've dropped behind the £1,000 a week average we were getting. There are only five weeks to go before the end of the second quarter and every effort must be made to put us back on target.

As has often been stated in this column, money is the sinews of war. To continue improving and expanding our paper, the money has to be raised, so that more readers can be armed with a fighting Marxist programme to put forward in the labour movement.

The reason for the low total could be the 'rest' that everyone had over the holiday weekend. But if this is the case money should flood in over the next week as comrades, with 'renewed strength' increase their efforts to raise this money.

From the **Eastern Region** we received a total of £15.15 which included extras on paper sales in Ipswich (£1.05) and the Harlow May appeal (£8.10). From **Hants** we received £12 in total from the Isle of Wight, made up of sale of badges £9.60, and 'feeding a comrade' £1.75. Nothing came in from **Humberside** or **Lancs**.

From the **North London** area £8.80 was raised, including £2 from the Wobeyes of Hackney, £1.20 from the sale of old photos, £1 from J Turner (St Pancras) and £2 from D Cobelli (a shop

steward at Rolls Royce Mulliner Park Ward). The rest came from small donations and extras on paper sales. From the **South London** area we received £29.28 which was made up again of mainly small donations, car lifts, extras, swindles (£2), Penge LPYS 70p, and anon (Lewisham) £10.

In **Manchester** a total of £27.42 was raised. This included money from a raffle at a Labour Party social (£9.85), a collection at a Marxist Discussion Group (£3.52), a bet in Salford (£1) and £2 from a wage rise in Oldham. From the **Merseyside** area we received £22.46. D Woosley (Wavertree CLP) gave £2, B Curry (Wavertree NGA) £5, and B Wearing (President of Liverpool DLP) donated £1. From Wavertree CLP we received £2.32 and from Bootle LPYS £1.50.

Midlands East sent in a total of £27.60 which included £25 from the Leicester area and small donations, extras etc. from the rest of the area. From **Midlands West** we received £36.50. £16.50 of this came from Coventry and was made up of profit from a social, use of washing machine and small donations. V Clarke from Stafford donated £20, her winnings on the West Midlands 500 Club Draw.

By far the best region for sending in money this week is **Northern Region** which sent in a total of £114.04. B Mitchell (Ashington) donated £1.50, D Triece (Newcastle) £1, V Phadke (also Newcastle) £4, and J Scurfield

(Newcastle Poly Labour Club) £2. A comrade in the Newcastle area who had his bicycle stolen recently was sent £10 through the post anonymously to help pay for a new one. As this comrade had been offered a loan of a bike he sent the £10 to the fighting fund. A Militant Readers Meeting after the Northern Region Labour Party annual conference raised £23.87 and Newcastle Poly Labour Club donated £10. The rest of the money was made up from 'a round for the Militant' £1 and other small donations.

From **Scotland East** we received £1.20 while from **Scotland West** and the **South East** we received nothing.

The **South West** area sent in a total of £16 this week which included E Biddell (Bristol) £5, a non-swearing sponsorship in Bristol £2.50 (!), extras on paper sales in Bristol £1.80 and Gloucester £2.10. £9.30 was also collected from small donations in the Bristol area. From **Thames Valley** we received £9.35. This all came from the Oxford area and was made up of rent money £3, sale of bike £3.50, meal for the 'Militant' £1.60 and extras.

Wales East sent in a total of £24: from J Cuthbert (Cardiff) £10, a skittles match between Cardiff North LPYS and Caerphilly LPYS which raised £4. (In case you're interested Cardiff won—for the second time they say). We also received £10 from a member of Penith and Barry LPYS. We received nothing from

Wales West this week although I know they weren't having a rest last weekend because they were running the Swansea Summer Camp. It was a great success and raised a lot for the fighting fund but as yet we have not been told exactly how much. Hopefully we will get that money next week.

£35,000 NEEDED BY JULY 8th

FIGHTING FUND CHART		£70,000	
Area	Target 26 wks	Target 52 wks	Received
Eastern	2,200	4,400	1,020.70
Hants & IOW	1,050	2,100	995.83
Humberside	1,100	2,200	794.98
Lancashire	750	1,500	259.83
London: North	3,850	7,700	2,013.52
London: South	1,900	3,800	1,092.55
Manchester & District	1,450	2,900	475.90
Merseyside & District	2,250	4,500	970.72
Midlands East	2,200	4,400	1,171.97
Midlands West	3,700	7,400	2,113.33
Northern	2,450	4,900	1,255.92
Scotland East	1,250	2,500	560.30
Scotland West	1,450	2,900	574.06
South East	1,150	2,300	815.55
South West	1,150	2,300	686.15
Thames Valley	850	1,700	545.56
Wales East	1,000	2,000	598.55
Wales West	1,150	2,300	511.32
Yorkshire	2,600	5,200	1,007.88
Others	1,500	3,000	2,979.28
	35,000	70,000	20,443.90

Progress Towards year's target Towards July 8th target

Wales West this week although I know they weren't having a rest last weekend because they were running the Swansea Summer Camp. It was a great success and raised a lot for the fighting fund but as yet we have not been told exactly how much. Hopefully we will get that money next week.

Last but not least is **Yorkshire** which sent in £15.50. This came from £7.50 raised at a West Leeds Discussion Group, £1 dona-

tion from M Scanlon and £1 from L Rowley (both from South Leeds LPYS) and £5 from A Mares from Leeds University Labour Club.

Although there are five weeks to the end of the second quarter there are only four weeks in which to sell the remaining raffle tickets for the 'Militant Holiday Draw'. All money must be in by 30th June.

If you have run out there are more books available but don't leave it too late to sell

them. As yet no raffle ticket money has been included in any totals as a lump sum is put in at the end (8th July). When this is done, it should push up the totals but unfortunately not by £15,000, the sum needed by 8th July. **Every comrade must help to put their area back on target by sending in donations and raising money in the movement to build the 'Militant' and a fighting programme for the labour movement.**

MILITANT WEEKEND SCHOOL-

ESSENTIAL FOR LABOUR ACTIVISTS

The 'Militant' Marxist Weekend School, June 30th-July 2nd, will provide one of the best opportunities of the year for the discussion of

Marxist theory. All the sessions cover important theoretical topics.

The course on 'Marxist Economics' will be valuable for all activists. After the session on 'Wage, Labour and

Capital' and 'World Economic Crisis', there is a debate on 'A Socialist Economic Programme for Labour'. This is an essential topic for all socialists fighting for a break with the present Tory policies of the Labour government, dictated by the crisis of capitalism.

'International affairs' are always hotly debated in the labour movement. This course covers three different aspects: 'Colonial Revolution', 'European Perspectives', and 'the Crisis in Eastern Europe'. With the upheavals at present in countries like India, a clear understanding of the colonial revolution is also vital.

Crisis in Europe

The discussion on Europe should also put events in the past few years in perspective: the Portuguese Revolution, the overthrow of the colonels in Greece, the elections in France, the huge steps forward for the working class in Spain, and the crisis in Italy, will undoubtedly provide the basis for an excellent debate. The session on 'The Crisis in Eastern Europe' will examine the situation there today, and the way forward for the working class.

The course on 'Marxist Philosophy' should be a very valuable one. A clear understanding of historical materialism and dialectics is essential to understand the development of society and the processes taking place in the labour movement today. The session on 'Marxism and Science' should be very useful, given the wide debate there has been in the labour

movement on such issues as nuclear energy, the environment and the use of technology.

This Weekend School should be valuable for anyone active in the labour movement. For Labour Party Young Socialists members, it will give the opportunity to have a more theoretical discussion than is usually possible in branch meetings. It will be an excellent chance to introduce new LPYS members to Marxist theory. Similarly, for Labour Club members, it should be seen as a chance to introduce new students to the ideas of Marxism.

Long-standing activists in the labour movement will also find this school a valuable back-up to their everyday work in the Labour Parties and trade union branches. Trade unionists will have a key contribution to making the school a success by giving their experiences in the movement.

Every section of the movement, especially Labour Clubs and LPYS branches should now be organising a party of its members to come to the school. To help the organisers, please send in bookings as early as possible. There is accommodation available.

The school takes place at Goldsmith's College Students Union, Lewisham Way, London S.E.14. The registration charge is £2 and there will be a pooled fare. For further details, or application forms, please write to 'Militant Marxist Weekend School', 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN

By Mark Morton
(NOLS National Committee)

ADS

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.

LONDON LPYS Demonstrate against the Tory press. Friday 16th June, 7.00 pm. Trafalgar Square. March down Fleet Street, rally at the Temple. Speakers include: Andy Bevan (Labour Party National Youth Officer); Jim Brookshaw (AUEW, 'The Times').

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

SOUTHPORT LPYS
Public Meeting

Hear Steve Higham (Bootle LPYS) on 'The Socialist Way Forward' and:

Sue Ball (Southport LPYS) on 'The Battle Against Racism and Fascism'

Chairman: Barry Goodman (Southport LPYS)

Thursday 15th June, 7.30 pm at: Birkdale Labour Club All are welcome

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'.

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.

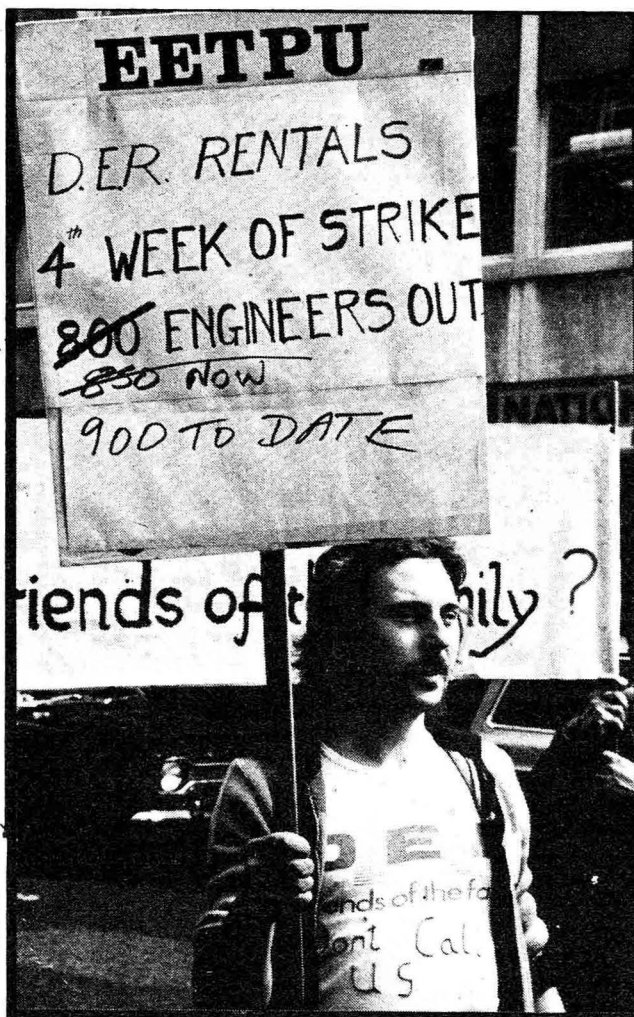
WALLASEY Folk Night. Ewan McColl and Peggy Seeger plus guests. Wednesday 14th June 1978, 8 pm, Wallasey Labour Club, Church Road, Wallasey. Tickets £1 from Paul Harrison, 051-630 3438.

IRELAND—The Tasks of Revolutionaries. Debate between the Spartacist League and Workers' Power. 7.30 pm, Friday 16th June. The Australia Bar (corner of Hurst and Bromsgrove Streets), Birmingham.

Librarians for Social Change/Aubrey-Berry-Campbell Defence Committee are holding an open meeting on the Right to Know at the Library Association, Ridgmount Street, W.C.1. on June 13th at 6.00 pm. All those interested in the State's attempt to limit our knowledge of their activities are invited to attend. Speakers include Duncan Campbell and Steve Pinder.

DER VICTORY

management retaliate



DER engineers picket Thorn House during strike

The strike by DER TV service engineers, fully reported in 'Militant', has now been settled.

The deal accepted by the men was for a weekly wage rise (including phase 1 and phase 2 allowances) for Grade 1 engineers from £63.16 to £74.70—the management's previous offer being £68.95. If every Saturday morning is worked the rise is of the order of £13.22 per week.

The action of the EETPU national officer responsible for the dispute have caused concern among members. While his members were demonstrating outside Thorn House (parent company of DER), the official concerned was negotiating individually, without the knowledge of the members, with the management of DER.

By this he ignored one of the major demands on conditions—company recognition of senior stewards. The settlement also ignored the men's demand for an end to Saturday working. When the senior stewards met the National Officer, they were told that they should recom-

Eddie McParland
(Greenwich Labour Party)

mend the settlement or the EC of the EETPU may withdraw official support from the dispute.

Regular re-election and the average wage of their members is the only way of putting an end to the autocratic behaviour of appointed bureaucrats!

The strike was called off as it had really begun to bite: DER management immediately went on the offensive. Despite a no victimisation clause in the agreement, on the first working day after the dispute they attempted to discipline a senior steward and two other engineers. In North London, a region only recently organised, they attempted to harass the members by moving them without warning from store to store. In both cases the engineers sat in and refused to go out on calls until the situation was resolved in their favour.

Management's major attempt to break the tenacity and militancy of the engineers

came last week. A letter from the Managing Director was displayed on company noticeboards threatening as part of the "self-financing productivity deal" that redundancies would be necessary—voluntary at first, but then nominated—in those areas "where there has been a reduction of renters."

The engineers have responded to this blatant threat of victimisation by blacking all new equipment and related training courses and by refusing to accept any redundancies of union members. They insist that in all negotiations on redundancies their senior stewards should be present, as the situation is too critical to be left to full-time officials.

It is clear that Thorn Industries, following the success of the strike, are attempting a rearguard attack on the DER engineers to ensure that other sections in the Thorn Group do not follow their lead. The DER engineers remain equally determined that not one union member should lose his job.

Newcastle NALGO Strike

NALGO members in Newcastle are on strike for the first time during the branch's 70 year history. The strike, by five telephone operators in the prestigious Civic Centre, has crippled communications between the public and council staff.

This action follows a decision by the council to de-man the switchboard service on the introduction of a £400,000 IBM computerised switchboard (local unions wanted the council to install a Plessey system because of the unemployment situation in nearby Sunderland). All the council has to do is to fill one vacancy and the strike will be over.

This strike is only one of several actions which was approved by the Branch Executive last week. It is likely that social workers, Housing Department storekeepers and committee clerks will soon be on strike. Other sections of the workforce, also cheesed off with the council's approach to industrial relations, are about to take action just short of striking.

The switchboard strike, which started on 24th May, has not yet been made official, although the action has the support of the other members in the department, the branch and other unions. Official backing is likely to come when the National Emergencies Committee discusses the strike on 6th June.

It is up to Labour Party members to make sure that when their councillors are also employers they operate along socialist lines and refuse to implement Tory-type policies of cutting services and reducing staff levels.

By George Pitcher
(NALGO Newcastle)

**£5.70
worse
off!**

At Hoover Ball and Bearings in Southend, we work to a bonus system earning in excess of £15 a week on bonus. The unions have made an agreement with the company that before phase III is implemented, we must accept new bonus standards; a rise in some targets.

We have held the company to an 8% increase on targets that will go up, but the company has removed all 'excesses' from all jobs. In most cases, removal of these 'excesses' means a £10.70 a week drop in our bonuses. With a £5 pay rise it means that we are **£5.70 a week worse off!**

We called a shop-floor meeting and there was a unanimous vote to go out on strike against this management proposal. So far the strike is unofficial, although we are hoping to have it declared official today.

Peter Howard
(T&GWU shop steward,
Hoover Ball and Bearings)

PLASTONAS

BLACK SCAB LABOUR

Forty AUEW maintenance engineers have been on strike at Plastonas, Leeds, since May 4th over a wages and conditions claim. They are determined to halt the steady erosion of living standards they have suffered over recent years. Some skilled engineers are taking home, after deductions, less than £55 a week.

On May 5th, management scabs did maintenance work on two machines, whereupon SOGAT members in the factory refused to operate them. This act of basic trade union solidarity provoked furious opposition from an unexpected quarter—their own full-time officials, who instructed them to resume "normal" working immediately.

A mass meeting of the 400 SOGAT workers on May 7th overwhelmingly rejected their officials' advice, but they were

threatened with disciplinary action unless they obeyed the instructions of their union. These full-time officials must indeed have a strange idea of the principles of trade unionism if they consider it "normal" for workers to co-operate with management in breaking a strike!

Now managers who are ex-engineers, and even company directors, are continuing to do the strikers' work. They are spitting in the face of the whole trade union movement, yet other workers in the factory have been prevented from stopping them by the actions of their own officials.

This dispute must be won to show the bosses that they can't blackleg on a strike with impunity. This is an important issue for all trade unionists.

SOGAT members should send resolutions to their

National Executive demanding that they reverse the instructions of the full-time officials involved and allow their members at Plastonas to black machines which are being maintained by scab labour.

Also AUEW members should support the call of the Yorkshire District Committee for their union nationally to apply pressure on SOGAT for the same purpose.

There is a daily picket of the factory from 6-9 am and 1-3 pm. Other members of the labour movement are welcome to give support. Financial help is also urgently needed.

Donations and messages of support to B Carson (Strike Committee Treasurer), 24 Springhead Road, Rothwell, Leeds.

Bill Innes (AUEW Convenor) spoke to 'Militant'.

Closure threat at Tress

A McFadden, Convenor, AUEW spoke to Bill Hopwood

The strike at Tress Engineering for a wage rise in line with government guidelines (Militant 407) has turned into a struggle to save the jobs of the entire 300 workforce.

The management announced that the entire factory was closing immediately. They claim the closure is nothing to do with the strike but because there are no orders.

This contrasts with the claims of the National Enterprise Board last year when they took over the factory and also earlier this year when

there was talk of investing, expanding and diversifying the Tress site.

The shop stewards feel that the main task is to save jobs. At a mass meeting there was unanimous agreement to the shop stewards' recommendations to end the strike and temporarily drop the pay claim. They returned to work on Monday morning.

The shop stewards are determined to save jobs—they will be in the factory to ensure nothing is moved. They already have support from Harry Cowans MP, George Arnold Div. Organiser, and are seeking support from the District and County Council.

The role of the NEB in these developments is a disgrace. The running of Tress has been left to the Fairey group management.

The NEB has put its trust in these people to decide whether to keep the factory open or not. The decision to close Tress has already discredited Labour and the NEB in the area.

There is an urgent need for support to keep the jobs. Pressure must be put on the NEB to reverse the scandalous decision to close Tress. Messages etc. to A McFadden, 9 Cornhill Avenue, Gosforth, Newcastle.

SELL MILITANT TO YOUR WORKMATES

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

**Yorkshire Miners' Gala
Youth Campaign Against
Unemployment
PUBLIC MEETING**
"The Miners and the Labour
Movement:
which way forward?"
Speakers:
Kevin Barrow (Maltby
NUM)
Nick Bradley (Labour Party
Young Socialists, LP
National Executive)
Chairman:
Tom Delamere, Secretary,
Houghton Main NUM
(personal capacity)
1.30 pm, Saturday 17th June
Rockingham Pub
(upstairs lounge)
Bennetthorpe Road

UNION CONFERENCES — EIS, FTAT

Reports: UPW, TASS, NUSMWCH & DE

Scottish Teachers

Reduce class sizes

-end teacher unemployment

This year's AGM of the Educational Institute of Scotland, the largest teaching union in Scotland, meets as teachers face another session of falling living standards and worsening conditions.

Most Scottish teachers have only just received the 10% pay increase negotiated last March. Backdated, it looks like a healthy sum, but in fact it represents another cut in teachers' wages. Keir Bloomer, leading EIS salaries negotiator, has said we need a 60% wage increase to make up what has been lost through inflation since the Houghton award of 1975.

While the strains and problems of teaching multiply, more and more newly-trained teachers are unable to get jobs. This summer, over half the college leavers will not find teaching posts, especially in the primary sector. In Tyneside, where 113 new primary teachers will be leaving college in a few weeks' time, there is only one primary vacancy.

If every unemployed teacher were given a job, class sizes could be cut to 30. The curriculum changes proposed for secondary schools in the Munn and Dunning reports will require at least 30% more teachers. Many resolutions reflect concern for the interdependent problems of teacher unemployment and conditions, demanding that the union call for a dramatic reduction in class sizes, more preparation time, and implementation of a no cover policy.

The Executive wants this last motion to be remitted, and is likely to oppose any motion calling for action to win real improvements in pay and condition. The leadership has accepted wage restraint

Catherine Burns
(Angus Local Association)

and the need for cuts in public spending, depriving itself of the opportunity to give a fighting lead to teachers.

The union structure must be democratised, and two important resolutions seek to begin this process: **Glasgow Local Association** wants 75% of the Executive and the Council (at present dominated by head teachers) to be made up of classroom teachers; **Caithness** is calling for all full-time officials to be accountable through re-election every four years. **Renfrewshire** is also demanding that the EIS observe official

pickets. If passed, these changes would begin to turn the EIS into an organisation reflecting the needs of ordinary teachers.

In 1978 the EIS and Scottish teachers stand at the crossroads: either they will continue to accept that working people pay for the crisis, leading to continuing decline in living standards, jobs, class sizes and educational standards. Or, as some of the resolutions indicate, we can fight back on wages, demand a flat-rate increase and improvements in conditions which will also create new jobs.

Teachers are not alone. Together with the other teachers' unions in Scotland and England, with other public sector workers, and through the STUC and the TUC, the EIS must campaign to save and improve education.

- ★ For a reversal of the cuts in education
- ★ For a massive expansion of all sectors of education
- ★ For a renegotiation of the contract to reduce class sizes and increase preparation time
- ★ For a minimum wage of £80 a week for every teacher
- ★ For one union for all teachers, affiliated to the Labour Party

FTAT NEED BOLD LEAD

Not one resolution at this year's FTATU conference supports wage controls. Eight resolutions demand an end to it, backing the union's opposition to the social contract at the TUC for the last three years.

Resolution after resolution reflects the discontent with the Labour government's present course. The demand for a 35-hour week, the programme taken up by nearly all unions to fight unemployment, is repeated—along with demands for a reduction in overtime without loss of pay, early retirement and the restoration of all public spending cuts. **Lambeth's** resolution 182 raises many important demands on this.

Workers in the furniture, construction and construction supply industries have a major fight on their hands, with many factories closing. The question of youth unemployment is also raised by the London Wick branch which

By Tony Cross
and Cliff Smith
(Nottingham
No 16 branch)

calls for the union to "take steps to implement the ratio of apprentices to journeymen" and for young workers to be involved in the union.

Medway's demand for the restoration of government cuts in housing must be backed, but this must be linked to the fight to restore all cuts and to end unemployment. The union must add its voice to the demand for the nationalisation of the building and construction supply industries under workers'

control and management, to take them out of the hands of the monopolies which have ruined the economy and now demand that the working class pays.

The aim for 100% membership in the industries is crucial. The long and bitter strike at E & H Architectural, fully covered in the 'Militant', showed that this campaign must be fought with as much determination by the leadership as by the rank and file. FTATU must mobilise its own membership and turn to the rest of the labour movement for active support if future struggles like this are to be won.

ONE UNION FOR ENGINEERING



Jane Smith, TASS No 1 Division delegate, speaking at conference

election, but have accepted the policy of not mandating their delegates to the full AUEW conference.

The problem of amalgamation was best summed up by a comment made by Hugh Scanlon in his fraternal address: "The *Worthing proposals* are a basis for amalgamation without loss to the individual sections. There are those who want it for a shift to the left and those for a shift to the right. But future events will force amalgamation.

"There should be one union for one industry, a concentrated, united force. The future lies in industrial unionism. Not by trying to get into as many industries as possible."

Conference rejected a motion calling for a National Wage Claim, but reaffirmed its opposition to any interference in free collective bargaining and any form of wages policy which stood in the way of free collective bargaining. The motion that was passed also condemned the TUC General Council for refusing to carry out Congress decisions in relation to wages and living standards.

On equal pay for women, it was pointed out that the Equal Pay Act wasn't much good because employers flaunt legislation left, right and centre. TASS demands the "Rate for the Job" and adopted the slogan: "Men's pay for women". Industrial action will be supported by the EC for the achievement of this demand.

The demand for a 35-hour week with no loss of pay is to be taken up and campaigned for together with a campaign to reduce systematic and excessive overtime working. However, the need to struggle on the wages front in order to reduce the necessity of overtime working was not linked inseparably to this.

Because of wage restraint, overtime is essential in making a living wage. It can't be got rid of until all workers have won a living basic wage.

Report by
Alan Hartley

Sheet Metal Workers

The following resolution from London 36 Branch was passed unanimously at the Sheet Metal Workers' Conference last week.

"This conference, in the interests of its members and the working class as a whole, born out of bitter experience since 1975, calls for the immediate restoration of real free collective bargaining, while totally and utterly rejecting the imposition of pay limits of any description, whatever fancy names may be applied, and be they implemented by statute or so-called voluntary medium.

Furthermore Conference requests the Callaghan government to honour the pledge made in Labour's Manifesto, for a fundamental shift in the balance of wealth and power in favour of working class people who by dint of their labour produce the wealth of the nation."

Tony Beere
(NUSMWCH&DE)

UPW - New mood

Report by
Dave Griffiths

(Stafford UPW, in personal capacity)

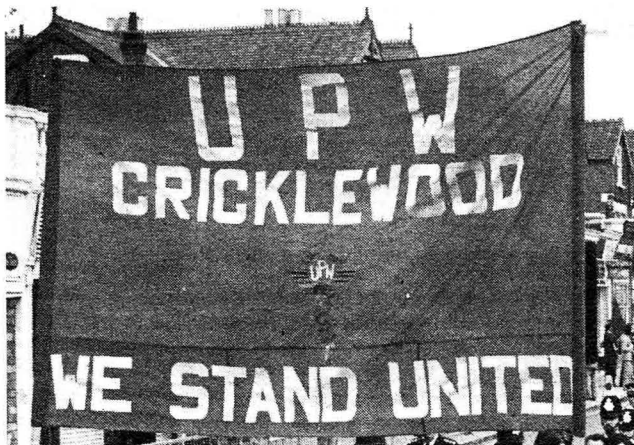
This year's UPW conference marked a step forward for the union. Much of the frustration felt by UPW members began to find expression in militancy during the debates.

After the massive rejection of Sunday working, Tom Jackson conceded that this vote was a general statement on the lot of the postmen.

The shocks given to the EC (and the TUC) over Grunwick were added to over the remainder of conference. An amendment was passed calling for an alliance of public sector workers to oppose wage restraint. Hardly an acceptance of a Phase Four!

The EC should now vigorously pursue this demand to build links with other unions in order to launch action, at the November recall conference, for a £65 minimum wage.

On Wednesday, by a massive thousand plus to a handful, conference rejected



Sunday working. To see the jubilation, especially from the younger postmen, you'd think they'd won the FA cup! This is only the start of Post Office workers' efforts to defend and improve living standards and conditions.

After our decision to oppose a 7-day week, the 'Mirror', who in the past wept crocodile tears about poor, low-paid postmen, called us "mean and selfish". These hypocrites show how much they really care for the working class! The howls of the Tory press, and the latest 'secret' Tory report shows that they see the breaking-up

of the Post Office and our union as easy meat.

Tom Jackson, in fact, pointed to this danger. But talking is one thing, to prepare our ranks for this attack needs action. The opportunities missed over Grunwicks have to be regained by taking up the demands of the conference and mobilising the membership around a campaign to improve wages and reduce the working week in order to guarantee jobs.

At the same time the union should use all its influence to campaign for socialist policies from Labour, the key to keeping the Tories out.

Militant

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NALGO

NALGO's 1978 annual conference follows closely on their recent special conference about the 1978 pay claim.

The effort to persuade the union to ignore the 10% guideline failed, but there was a substantial rise in the anti-social contract vote over the 1977 conference and the union is now committed to opposing cash limits and other government interference in public sector pay negotiations.

So for the third year running, NALGO members will experience cuts in real wages. The effects of the earlier drastic capital programme cuts are beginning to affect jobs, and the cash limits

real jobs rather than phoney "Holland" job creation palliatives must be supported if the union is serious in its commitment to full employment.

Conference has another opportunity of determining pay policy. Resolution after resolution rejects government interference, whether direct or of cash-limit nature. In addition, **resolution 80** would give the membership more control over claims being submitted and give members long-overdue control over the negotiators.

The NEC's pay policy document is weak, but the amendment by **Glasgow District branch [resolution 71]** attempts to give it more

"WE MUST TAKE OUR PLACE IN THE LABOUR MOVEMENT"

mean continuing cuts in actual services, threatening members' conditions and jobs. Present government policies promise a future of further wage cuts, rising prices and crisis measures of public expenditure cuts in the face of the economic slump predicted by the pundits

It is against this background that nearly 2,000 delegates representing 700,000 clerical, technical and professional workers meet to formulate the union's policies. The main items of debate are the economy, pay policy, unemployment and the cuts.

Delegates can pose the socialist alternative to cuts by passing the resolution from Kirkby (**resolution 56**) asking for the NEC to continue the campaign against the cuts on the basis of the socialist alternative to the cuts. The NEC are opposing this. They further highlight their inability to offer fighting leadership by opposing an amendment calling for a campaign based on their own policies! This cynical attempt to abandon the fight against the cuts should be vigorously resisted by delegates.

On unemployment, there is a call for a **30-hour week with a living wage**, which could take many workers off the dole. Resolutions calling for

strength and should be supported if the delegates are serious in protecting their members' living standards.

The conference has opportunities for debate on many other issues—abortion, fascism, the relation of NALGO members to other trade unionists both in Britain and abroad, maternity/paternity rights, Whitley etc. But many of the resolutions passed will not have their full impact until NALGO takes its proper place in the labour movement.

Delegates should press for discussion of the Labour Party affiliation resolution which has been left to the end of the agenda. Involvement of NALGO and its members in the mass political party of the working class and fighting for their policies within it is a necessary step for every serious trade unionist.

The key issues of the economy and NALGO's political role underpin all the other questions to be debated. **Only with NALGO actively campaigning for its policies throughout the labour movement can it begin to advance members' working and living conditions.**

Ronnie Stevenson
(Strathclyde branch delegate, personal capacity)

UCATT

"Why not fight?"

Building workers, at this year's UCATT conference, accepted a wage settlement of less than 10%, which will work out at less than £3.60 on the basic rate.

The T&GWU building section and the Furniture, Timber and Allied Trades workers were accused of being 'money militants' now, in order to poach UCATT members. But if the union is worried about losing members, against a background of growing unemployment in building, surely the answer is a fighting union, leading the battle to protect members' interests?

Terry McCabe [Doncaster], part of the Yorkshire delegation which, with a few others, totally opposed the wage settlement said he was "dismayed and angry"; he came to speak as a young trade unionist and shop steward, and demanded to know why many delegates, who said they disagreed with the settlement, were willing to bow to it. "Why not fight? Wages policy is just a way of propping up capitalism, which can't afford any more wage rises or reforms." He demanded that the trade union movement take up the struggle for socialism.

But unfortunately the left in the union, dominated by the Communist Party, went along with the settlement, saying "It's all we can get under the present circumstances—we'll take what we can now."

As **Geoff Coleman**, moving the composite from Kingston branch for next year's conference, said, "If you don't



Midlands UCATT workers demonstrate during 1972 building strike

fight for the 35-hour week, you won't get it, but if you go out and explain and campaign on a 35-hour week, it can be achieved."

Do the bosses ever claim to be able to 'afford' what trade unionists demand? Our job is to fight for a 35-hour week without loss of pay, to improve conditions for those in work and create jobs for

the thousands on the dole.

The Kingston composite showed the mood of delegates, in spite of the confusion and lack of confidence in the union's power to fight this year. It called for the union to demand £2 an hour for craft workers and £1.90 for non-craft next year. It directs the Executive Council to wage a militant campaign

to achieve this, together with a guaranteed 35-hour week, by taking industrial action if necessary.

The movers refused the executive's call to remit the resolution, and it was carried overwhelmingly, against the J's advice.

y Jim Newlands

POEU 35 hour week - fight is on

John Pickard reports from Blackpool

At this year's conference of the Post Office Engineering workers, supported by the overwhelming enthusiasm of the conference, the National Executive Committee backed measures to step up the industrial action now being taken over the 35-hour week.

The Post Office Engineers are very conscious of the threat to their jobs posed by new technology in the industry. They are now extending the ban on new equipment and plant, started last Oct-

ober.

They have refused to participate in bringing into service any new public exchanges. That has now been extended to include other projects such as defence circuits and marketing projects. The ban will now cover all new items of plant and equipment in all sections of the Post Office.

Conference approved a campaign which will include selective stoppages at cash or bank orientated centres (like the Stock Exchange), all-out regional strikes, a work to

rule, overtime bans and various other localised activities. A 25p per member levy will be raised throughout the union from 1st July to back the campaign.

Alongside the question of

35 hours, the most important debate was on wages and the productivity deal. As this conference showed, there is an enormous groundswell of pressure building up in the ranks of the union over pay.

MINERS

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

future.

The actions of the right wing in the miners' leadership in attempting to break the unity of the NUM must be counteracted. The over-riding of democratic conference decisions and the deliberate flouting of the will of the majority, poses the urgent need for union democracy.

Our full-time officials must not be allowed to get away

with murder. Every official should be regularly elected and subjected to the right of recall by the members. That is what union democracy is all about!

All officials should be on no more than the average wage of a face worker, not the inflated salaries they receive at the present time.

Only then will we have full democratic control of our representatives and return to the best fighting traditions of the organised miners.

YOUTH DEMAND JOBS

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

200 powerful monopolies—has prevented the Labour government from solving our problems.

Labour's youth say that only by breaking the undemocratic rule of this tiny, unrepresentative clique can Labour win the power and wealth to provide jobs and a higher standard of living, and pay

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