

# Militant

THE MARXIST PAPER FOR LABOUR & YOUTH

ISSUE 464  
13 July 1979

15p

## T&GWU CALL FOR MAXIMUM RESISTANCE - DEFEAT TORY ASSAULT ON UNION RIGHTS

The Tories this week made their first move in their plans to fetter the trade unions.

The measures outlined in the government's 'consultative document', if carried through, would undermine basic trade union rights built up over

many decades of struggle.

Faced with the enormous power of the labour movement, the Tories are attempting to undermine the power of the unions in order to clear the way for even more savage attacks on workers' living standards and democ-

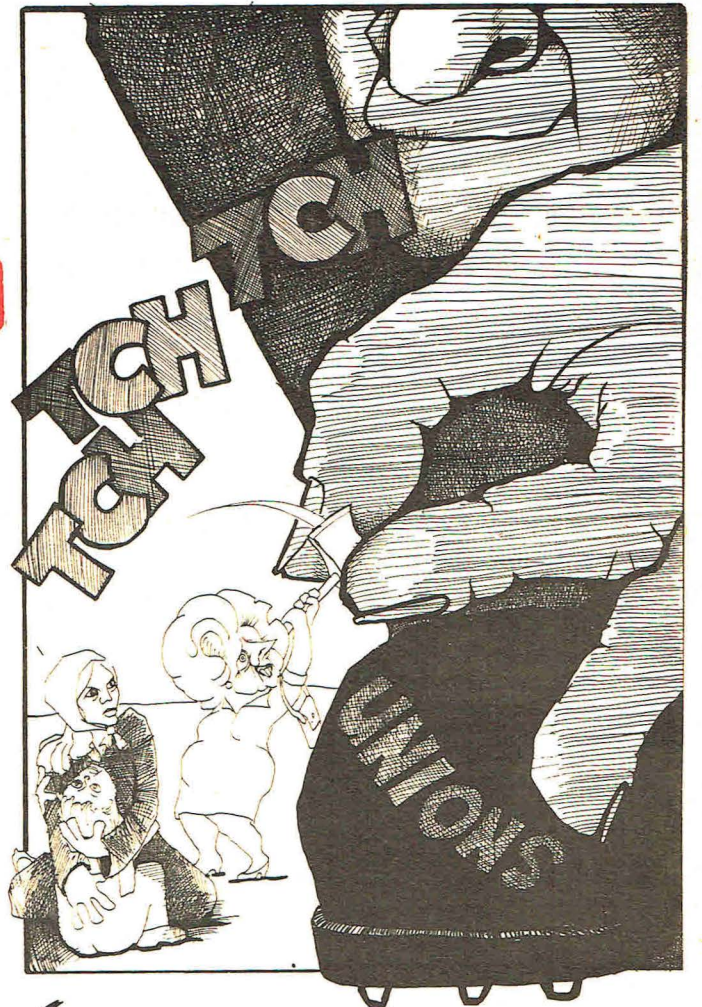
### UNION STRENGTH VITAL FOR DEFENCE OF LIVING STANDARDS

cratic rights.

The cuts being implemented today are disastrous. Future cuts being

planned by the Tories are savage beyond belief.

The Treasury itself expects that there will



It's one thing for Thatcher to take milk away from children. It's quite another to take on the unions.

This was the reaction of a delegate at the TGWU conference.

soon be over two million workers unemployed in Britain.

In order to boost big business profits, the Tories aim to cut real wages even more.

want to break their power! That is why the whole labour movement must be mobilised to defend trade union rights!

At its conference this week, the Transport and General Workers' Union, Britain's biggest trade union, passed a resolution which "urges the Trades Union Congress to mobilise maximum trade union resistance to those [Tory anti-union] measures and pledges its

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By  
Steve Amor

Only the trade unions, the democratic organisations of the working class, stand in the way. That is why the Tories

## TORIES VANDALISE EDUCATION

"This school can no longer guarantee to maintain the present standard of your child's education."

In an unprecedented move, head teachers throughout the country are sending out a letter to parents including this warning and detailing the effects of Tory cuts on their particular school.

By  
Roger Shrives

The general secretary of the National Association of Head Teachers, usually described in the press as a "moderate" union, said his members regarded the local authority cuts as "the most damaging attack on edu-



A Hackney classroom

prospects of teachers and other staff in the education field.

£550 million would be lopped off education spending. The local authority leaders have warned this would entail:

★ The loss of 150,000 jobs next year, about half in teaching. 20,000 jobs would vanish through so-called 'natural wastage', and a further 50,000 directly through sackings.

★ £300 million chopped off expenditure on primary, secondary and handicapped schools. That is about £40 for every child at school. Yet how many schools are already facing severe problems through over-large classes?

The fall in the number of school-age children especially in inner-city areas must be used to reduce class sizes and

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cational standards perpetrated by any government since the Second World War."

Local authority leaders meeting Environment Secretary Heseltine have been asked to suggest

ways of cutting local spending by up to 7½% in 1980-81.

Such deep cuts, if

implemented, will have a devastating effect on the future of working class children, and on the job

# Militant

## TORIES LAUNCH ATTACK ON UNIONS

The measures against the trade unions outlined by the government on Monday are part and parcel of the Tories' attack on working-class living standards.

In order to carry through crisis policies designed to restore big business profits at the expense of the workers, the Tories know that they have to try to undermine the power of the trade unions, now over 12 million strong.

Like the Bourbons of old, the Tories have forgotten nothing and learned nothing. Or almost nothing.

Remembering the humiliating defeat inflicted on the Heath government of 1970-74 when they tried to implement their infamous Industrial Relations Act, Thatcher and Co. are going for a war of attrition rather than frontal assault.

While wielding the public spending axe in all directions, the Tories are generously offering public funds to pay for secret ballots in the trade unions.

Their aim is transparent. They want to open up union elections to the maximum influence by the capitalist press and media, as far as possible to ensure the election of leaders they approve of.

★ Hitting at the roots of the trade union strength in the factories, the Tories are out to undermine the closed shop.

This, they claim, simply means widening the 'conscience clause'. In reality, they aim to provide the bosses with a scabs' charter to undermine effective shop floor organisation.

★ Horrified by the power and initiative of the snop stewards' organisations and local strike committees in last winter's strikes, the Tories intend to limit "secondary picketing".

In effect, they intend to bring in new laws to make picketing at best ineffective, and possibly almost impossible in practice. Already, the police use all the force they can muster to break pickets of weaker sections of the labour movement.

Unlike Heath's Industrial Relations Act, this Tory government intends to leave the legal initiative to the employers.

The bosses, however, are far from welcoming this as an unqualified advantage. This week, United Biscuits dropped its action [and paid the costs] against T&GWU member Reg Fall for so-called 'secondary picketing' during the lorry drivers' strike. As with other employers, their desire to smash

the shop stewards' organisations has to be weighed against the massive reaction court action would inevitably provoke from the unions.

By exposing both the union organisations and individual trade unionists to action for damages for "breach of contract", etc—removing immunities that were won by the unions at the turn of the century—the Tories hope to be able to cripple the unions financially.

There will be no new criminal laws against trade unionists, claim the Tories. But their new measures would open the way to even more intervention by the courts. Recent cases demonstrate the unmistakable class bias of the judiciary against the unions. Failure to comply with judges' rulings would mean "contempt of court", with the threat of fines and imprisonment.

In spite of the guarded language of Thatcher's proposals, these measures represent a fundamental attack on trade union rights. However, writing them into the statute books and putting them into practice are two different things.

The Tories should be warned by the 1½ million-strong strike in Western Australia when trade unionists were jailed under anti-union state laws.

As under Heath, these measures, if the bosses try to make use of them, will flare up in their faces. Trade unionists will not lightly abandon rights built up through decades of struggle, and which are rooted in the experience of the working class.

The mood of anger and determination at the Transport and General Workers' Union conference is just a foretaste of the movement the Tories will face on this issue.

Many delegates felt that it was not enough simply to ask the TUC to take action. They felt the T&GWU should itself initiate a campaign and give a lead to the TUC and other unions.

The trade unions and the TUC should immediately organise a campaign of meetings and rallies to mobilise mass opposition to the Tories' proposals. Mass demonstrations and rallies should be held, locally and nationally, to show the government that the labour movement will not tolerate any attack on trade union democracy.

If the Tories do not heed such a warning then they must take the consequences. If they try to go ahead regardless of mass opposition, the trade union movement would then have to consider a 24-hour general strike to halt Thatcher's government in its tracks.

# ONLY A FORTNIGHT TO LPYS CONFERENCE

The Labour Party Young Socialists National Committee met on 7 July in preparation for the 1979 Conference and camp.

From the regional reports it is clear that Labour's youth are preparing to face the Tory offensive. Thirty new branches are already in the process of being set up. We hope all these will be represented at the conference.

Not since the end of the second World War have young people been offered so bleak a future. A million young people will be on the dole in 1981 if the Tories are 'successful'. This year alone will see 1 in 5 school-leavers out of work.

But what are the prospects for the youth of Merseyside, Tyneside, Glasgow and Corby and black youth? In the United Nations' Inter-

LPYS Conference and Camp 1979:

Conference Saturday July 28th, 1 pm, until Sunday 29th at 4 pm, followed immediately by the camp until Saturday August 4th. At Bracelands Campsite, Coleford, Gloucs.

Cost approx. £25, meals included [children half price, creche organised]. £7 for the weekend.

Send deposits of £5 [£2 for children] to Andy Bevan, Transport House, Smith Square, London SW1P 3JA.

national Year of the Child, the Tories answer is to make the children of the working class suffer.

The National Committee of the LPYS declared their opposition to any cuts except those of MPs' salaries. While the MPs are voting themselves more money, no doubt to protect their families against hardship, the Tory MPs have voted for crippling cuts in education expenditure.

According to the Association of County Councils, the cuts will mean, "the end of free school transport, free libraries, free nursery places and subsidi-

dised meals." 70,000 teachers are to go; 'unessential' repairs will be left as schools rot.

The LPYS National Committee are demanding action from Labour, but point out that this situation would never have come about if Labour had used its time in office to mobilise the workers for the takeover of the bankrupt economy and the nationalisation of the monopolies.

### 1930s

Seventeen years of Labour government since the war and now we're being taken back to the 1930s!

Young Socialists everywhere will be at the where will at the conference be called to step up the campaigning work against unemployment. A

series of rallies and demonstrations are being proposed to draw young people into our ranks in a fight to get rid of the Tory government and the capitalist system they defend by bringing to power a Labour government pledged to never again defend the bosses, but to implement a socialist programme.

### Tony Benn

Make sure you attend the conference on 28/29 July! Tony Benn MP will be speaking, which is particularly important given the current debate on Labour Party democracy.

If you are coming to the conference why not come to the camp too, and hear Dennis Skinner MP, Neil Kinnock MP, Stan Newens MP, Alex Kitson, Deputy General Secretary of the T&GWU, and speakers from Northern Ireland and Chile.

You have just a fortnight to book. So do it now!

### By Phil Frampton

(LPYS National Chairman)

## MEET YOUR LOCAL SHERIFF

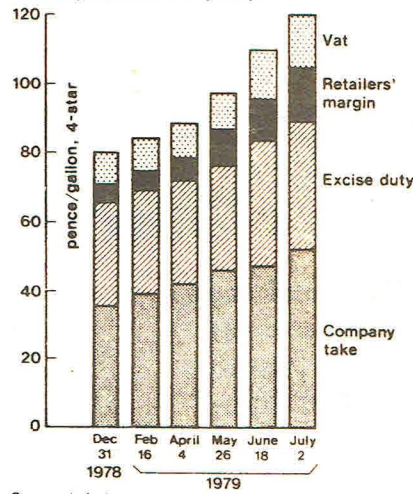


Complete with frills and buckles, this year's Sheriff of Nottingham—Mr Pole Carew, proprietor of the Nottingham Evening Post. But this 1979 version of the well-known baddie doesn't spend his time hunting down Robin Hood and his Merry Men—his targets are trade unionists. Journalists at the Evening Post are still fighting to get their jobs back after being sacked for going on strike last year.

NUJ strike in London, page 14.

## PRIMING THE PUMPS OF PROFIT

Petrol prices at the pump



Source: industry

The ruthless oil sheikhs and their vicious OPEC cartel are daily blamed for the new oil crisis.

Most of the oil states, it is true, are ruled by dictators whose subjects get little benefit from the vast oil revenues.

But, in directing our anger against the petrodiktators, the capitalist press conveniently forgets who it is that collects most of the price we pay for petrol at the pumps.

After the 1974/75 oil rise (400% on OPEC prices), the big oil companies, who control the international market and dominate home distribution, complained of squeezed profit margins.

"No longer", says the 'The

economist' (7 July). "On the best evidence we can muster, gross margins have risen from about 5p per gallon at the turn of the year to 15p.

"Nor have the oil companies suffered. We reckon OPEC has added about 7p to a gallon of crude in the Middle East. The companies... have added 16p to the price they charge the garage men for a gallon of petrol."

After that, the garages—many of them big chains—take their cut. And then there is the excise duty and VAT.

The big oil companies also get oil from non-OPEC sources—but the price of this oil, whatever the production cost, soon goes up to the OPEC level.

So all in all, the big oil companies are not doing so badly out of the oil crisis.

# EDUCATION UNDER ATTACK

## HACKNEY RESISTING SCHOOL CLOSURES

With a Tory government and the economy in a deep crisis, we expected the working class to bear the brunt of measures to defend the bosses' interests. But maybe not so quickly or so thoroughly.

In Hackney alone, if current plans succeed, we'll be left with one general hospital for a borough which is recognised as one of the main deprived areas. Our secondary schools will also be cut by one-third [from 15 to 10] due to "falling rolls".

Even our 'little bit of countryside' down by the River Lea is to be made into a gravel pit and then flooded for an extension of the marina. How many affluent boat-owners live in Hackney?

As one parent put it at a meeting to discuss the schools closure plans "they think they can pile it all on us and we'll take it. We have to show them that we're not going to take it any more."

There have been several meetings to protest at the planned decimation of our schools—some filmed for BBC TV's 'Tonight' programme. Inner London already has the highest proportion of single sex and voluntary schools in the country. ILEA's plans would leave us with just two mixed State schools in the borough!

They claim local parents want single sex schools, but that is not the view of parents or teachers at the meetings. In a survey I did of 60 parents at my children's infant school—73% opted for "more resources for good, local mixed schools for 11—19s."

Most opposition is being organised by an 'All Schools Stay' campaign, supported by Hackney NUT. As they point out, falling rolls give the chance to introduce smaller classes, nursery classes, special English language teaching

and other curriculum developments.

But the main problem is that half the schools are substandard in one way or another. As ILEA argues, keeping all schools open will simply mean leaving the more unpopular schools to fall into steeper decline while the queues will grow at the more popular schools. Transport is also a big headache. Some parts of the borough are notoriously difficult to reach by public transport—it can take an hour to get from one side to the other! Speeding juggernauts, and the cost of fares cause real difficulties.

What we desperately need are good, local (neighbourhood) schools, and research has proved that mixed education is the best, socially, culturally and educationally. We need schools that are easily accessible—not only for our children, but for parents as well, if local authorities are sincere about parental and community involvement.

ILEA suggests solving the Sixth Form 'problem' by providing a Sixth Form Centre for all schools. But evidence shows that whereas the expected drop-out of working class kids from Sixth Forms is 20%, from separate Centres it reaches 60%. On top of that, removing the more experienced children is detrimental to the school itself. And with increasing youth unemployment, staying on at school is going to be more attractive, particularly with ILEA's grant for 6th formers miserly as it is.

Another alternative to ILEA's plans is that of experimental 'federal schools'



A Hackney primary school

(3 smaller units for 11-14 year olds feeding a larger unit for 14 plus—under the umbrella of joint administration). The main drawback is that it would need purpose built accommodation for it to succeed, rather than the proposed utilisation of current buildings.

Hackney Council has recorded its protest to ILEA and called a public meeting, but they have offered no firm leadership—rather they seem to see themselves as 'arbitrators'. What we need is a massive campaign by the Labour Party (including our elected representatives on ILEA), TUs and Trades Council, to link with similar campaigns against the cuts in the health service.

At one of the public meetings there was some heckling of 'political ideas' and even a local Labour Party's ILEA representative, who was in the chair, pleaded for 'politics to be kept out of a meeting on education!'

But our schools are directly affected by the problems of living in Hackney, and by the cuts imposed by government.

The only way out for us, to provide the necessary finances and resources to ensure a

decent future for our children, is the election of a Labour government committed to a socialist programme. If our leaders are not prepared to act they should get out and let someone else lead the fight instead.

**By Lynne Faulkes**  
(Hackney Central CLP)

Photo: MILITANT

## 'EXCITING, REVOLUTIONARY' CUTS

"Exciting ... commendable ... revolutionary..." This was how Leicester's local evening paper, the 'Leicester Mercury', greeted the news of the Tory County Council's proposals to slash £3 million from the Education budget.

Such measures as abolishing the school meals service, keeping schools open during Leicester's industrial holiday in order to shut them for longer during the winter period to save on fuel costs, and increasing class sizes by a 3% reduction in teaching staff were welcomed by the press.

Other 'revolutionary' proposals included charging school children to borrow library books, eliminating school crossing patrols and slashing expenditure on 'discretionary' grants to FE students.

Tory members of the Council's Education Committee welcomed these proposals as part of the national Tory plan to get the country back on its feet, and simply jeered when a Labour member dared

to suggest that these cuts would hit working class people hardest.

Despite their plan to reduce overall spending by around £5 million, the County Council are making provision for certain special cases to receive favourable treatment:

...School Children in Oadby, the most exclusive and wealthy area in Leicestershire, are to benefit from a plan to reduce the school starting age to four, whilst continuing requests from other parts of the county for adequate nursery provision are refused.

Labour movement opposition to the cuts is being led by Leicester Trades Council, public sector unions and local Labour Parties. A picket of the Education Committee meeting was dismissed by the Tories as 'sabre-rattling'.

It will be interesting to see how long this scornful attitude remains, as trade unionists faced with the threat of redundancies and attacks on their children's education fight back.

**By Paul Whelpton**  
(Leicester South NUT)  
**and Steve Woods**  
(Leicester South CLP)

## ABORTION: CORRIE BILL ATTACKS WORKING WOMEN

The Tory government has already made its mark as the most reactionary for decades. Their attacks on housing, through price rises and cutting living standards for the working class in order to pay off their capitalist backers have been devastating in only two months.

But the ruling class will attack on all fronts, and the July 13th second reading of the Corrie Bill to amend the Abortion Act heralds the opening of a new assault on workers' living standards and basic rights.

The Tory MP for Ayr North will probably include measures to tighten up on the medical and social grounds for which a doctor will be allowed to recommend an abortion and will shorten the maximum term of pregnancy for an abortion to be carried out from 28 to 20 or even 16 weeks.

The implications of such a measure becoming law

are ominous for working class women in particular. Less than 1% of NHS abortions are carried out after 20 weeks, and the two main reasons for carrying out such late operations are that the woman's physical health is in danger or that the baby may be deformed.

Inadequate provision of abortion facilities in the context of NHS cuts means longer queues and later abortions, however.

If the Bill is implemented the NHS with its crisis of resources will be forced to turn women away into the clutches of the private health clinics who have no moral objection to wresting hard-earned cash from working-class women faced with the dilemmas and traumas of bringing up an unwanted baby in a poor social and economic environment.

An indication of the stranglehold this capitalist system has on our lives is that the scarce NHS facilities are usually accessible if women are prepared to be sterilised at the same time as an abortion.

The Tories and their system offer only:

(a) a scramble for NHS

beds which Patrick Jenkin regards as a luxury, with the option of having the size of your future family decided under pressure at a time of stress

or (b) having to save hard to pay through the nose for your physical and mental health.

**We must demand:**

★ Reversal of all cuts in the NHS

★ NHS day-care abortion facilities in all areas of the country

★ The labour and trade union movement to organise mass opposition to the Corrie Bill and other attempts to restrict the rights of women and the working class as a whole

★ An end to the system which produces low wages, overcrowding and social stress and makes abortion the only way for many women.

**By Chris Edwards**  
**and Sue Hinchliffe**

(Student nurses, COHSE, Newcastle Central LPYS)

## DERBYSHIRE: FIVE HUNDRED TEACHING JOBS TO GO

"Nearly the worst in the country." This was how the NUT leadership described the recently announced cuts in education expenditure by the Tory-controlled Derbyshire County Council.

£4.3 million is being cut in the current financial year. Five hundred teaching jobs will disappear and according to the Derbyshire NUT Secretary compulsory redundancies are on the cards.

The cuts will mean that badly needed school building projects will not go ahead, and new books and equipment will not be purchased. Further there will be a

drastic cut-back in out-of-school activities; swimming lessons depending on coach travel to baths will go by the board; in-service training for teachers will be badly affected.

Most serious of all we are seeing the worst ever threat to teachers' jobs in the county. Supply staff, who provide a valuable service covering for absent teachers, have already had their services terminated. When a teacher leaves his job the vacancy will not be filled.

This will mean more work for the remaining teachers and less educational opportunity for the students. For

instance, if a school's one specialised teacher leaves, the students will not be able to study that specialism. Larger classes will also inevitably follow.

It is vital that NUT members take off their coats in the face of the Tory attack. Within 24 hours of the cuts being announced the Chesterfield branch had already called for industrial action including the use of the strike weapon.

**By Roy Davies**  
(Vice President, Derbyshire NUT, personal capacity)

## NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

# BATTLE FOR PARTY DEMOCRACY SHARPENS

**The decision by Labour's National Executive Committee to allow both re-selection of MPs and the method of election of the party leader onto the conference agenda is a major victory for those fighting for democracy within the Labour Party.**

The voting [17-9 on re-selection and 14-11 on the election of the leader] clearly reflects the demand for more control over the parliamentary representatives of the labour movement.

After five years of seeing a Labour government ignore conference decision after conference decision, the pressure for accountability of Labour MPs has probably never been greater. Dozens of CLPs, four regional Labour Party conferences, ASTMS, NUAAW, NUSMW, ACTT, the London

Co-op, and many other sections of the labour movement have all called for conference to re-debate the issue of re-selection.

If adopted by conference it would help to ensure that a check is kept over Labour MPs and that Party policy is put forward. This would particularly be the case if, as many CLPs are demanding, they should have the right at any time to initiate the process of re-selection of an MP as candidate at the next election.

For most Party members this move is undoubtedly seen as a way of ensuring that the party gets MPs who will fight for socialist policies. The

right wing, however, see it purely as an intrusion into their power within the Parliamentary Labour Party.

Shirley Williams is reported as saying at the NEC: "Re-selection would make an MPs job impossible. A Labour government would be asking for support for its policy which could well be refused by an MP because of re-selection". She even claimed it would "mark the beginning of the end of the possibility of getting another Labour government elected."

### Leader

In other words, Labour MPs may be forced to follow party policy and that would lose an election! The lesson of the last general election clearly tells a different story.

The motion initiated by LPYS representative Tony Saunois, to allow debate on the issue of election of the party leader, was also seen by some as an intrusion into the position enjoyed by the unrepresentative PLP. By allowing the conference to elect the leader, the governing body of the Party would be in a position to ensure that someone prepared to fight for party policy was elected.

If done annually, it would clearly ensure that Constituency Labour Parties and

Trade Unions could control the actions of the parliamentary leadership. At present, the right-wing dominated the actions of the parliamentary leadership. The PLP elects the party leader with no accountability to the rank and file.

Yet in the Canadian New Democratic Party, Danish Social Democratic Party, Dutch Labour Party, Icelandic Social Democratic Party, Norwegian Labour Party, Portuguese Socialist Party, Swedish Social Democratic Party and Swiss Socialist Party it is the national congress which elects the party leader.

However, the rank and file are demanding more party democracy and the NEC is beginning to reflect this. The right wing are clearly trying to bolster the position of the Parliamentary Labour Party. Many NEC members think that this is what lies behind the furious opposition to a motion tabled by Norman Atkinson.

Over £160,000 is paid to the official Leader of the Opposition to run the opposition, i.e. at the moment the Parliamentary Labour Party.

The motion would ensure that initially the money is paid to the NEC rather than to the Leader of the Opposition. The same amount of

money would then be made available to the PLP but all staff appointments would be made by the Party and not simply by the Leader of the Opposition.

During the recent dispute at Transport House the right wing have spoken of the need to cut back on the staff. Some NEC members feel that if this is done and the money paid to the Opposition is used to appoint staff in Jim Callaghan's office it will effectively weaken the position of the Labour Party and NEC while strengthening the power of the Opposition leader, Jim Callaghan.

The resolution will now be discussed at the next NEC meeting.

### Peerages

Reflecting the mood of the Party membership, the NEC also passed a resolution calling for no appointments to be made to the Lords, and any Labour Party member offered a peerage was called upon to refuse it. Tony Benn introduced the motion by saying the "power and patronage bestowed to one man in these appointments clearly damages the credibility of the labour movement."

The attitude of Labour's right wing was demonstrated by the cries of "shame" and

"ridiculous" when Tony Saunois said he supported "the abolition of the Monarchy as well as the Lords".

There is clearly a growing clash within the Labour Party between the left and right. This NEC was a foretaste of the stormy battles to come.

Left until the next meeting was a crucial constitutional amendment from Tony Benn. It would ensure that the NEC alone, without the present effective cabinet/shadow cabinet veto, would be responsible for drawing up Labour's election manifesto.

Potentially, these changes, ensuring greater Party democracy could result in a fundamental change in the Labour Party. The campaign to get all of them implemented scored some victories at the NEC.

Now the pressure must be kept up to ensure they are won at conference. CLP and union delegations must be committed to support them. The struggle for a mass, socialist and democratic Labour Party has now really started. If real steps are taken to democratise the Party, industrial workers who have turned away because of the policies of the right wing, will move into the Labour Party in their thousands in the next few years.

## RIGHT - WING IDEAS: Tried, Tested, & Defeated

At the last meeting of the Hertford and Stevenage management committee [GC], delegates found a copy of 'Labour Victory', the paper of the misnamed right-wing 'Campaign for Labour Victory', issued free on their seats.

The front page of the June edition is an appeal to all right-wing members of the party to get organised to stop the Left, and 'Militant' supporters particularly, from becoming delegates and passing resolutions.

It was not until after the meeting when I read it more thoroughly that I realised that most of the arguments put forward in the meeting were in fact straight from its pages.

The business of the GC was the discussion of resolutions for Party Conference. There were 6 resolutions.

The one resolution put forward by the right wing proposed changes in conference procedures so that delegates could not refuse the NEC's requests to remit resolutions. This was in response to the resolution passed at last year's conference rejecting the 5% wages policy, which the movers had refused to remit. Unfortunately our right wing got their resolution passed by 14 votes to 12.

The next resolution called for "restoration of a sharply progressive tax system", the nationalisation of any denationalised industries without compensation and an "all-out

campaign in unity with the unions, to force an election at the earliest moment."

After a debate in which one councillor said that the highest tax rate should only be 60-65%, as 83% was unfair to rich, and the Tories should be allowed five years in government: ideas put forward by CLV members and supporters—the resolution was carried 23 votes to 1 with 6 abstaining.

Next the Stevenage LPYS resolution on education was carried 23 for 1 against after being amended, but still leaving a good resolution.

### Mass Party

Next a resolution which read:—"This conference, following the outcome of the general election recognises that the four main tasks facing the Labour Party are: a) To build a mass party firmly based on industry and the community. b) To re-affirm the party's commitment to socialism as outlined in Clause 4, Part 4. c) To ensure the rank and file have full control over the parliamentary leadership through re-selection and election of the party leader at national conference. d) To lead a fight against the anti-working class programme of the Tory government."

We mandate the party to investigate the fall in membership and new methods of recruitment."

A move was made to remove part C but was beaten by a majority of 11. The resolution was carried 20 votes to 8 with 2 abstaining.

After two other left-wing resolutions had been

passed, it was the above resolution which was chosen to go to annual conference (with the LPYS resolution coming second). This was with 27 votes being cast for the left resolutions and only 6 votes for the right wing.

Resolutions like this are being passed up and down the country, but the significance of this meeting should not go unrecognised!

Hertford and Stevenage CLP is surely considered a 'sensible' constituency, after all the work put in by Shirley Williams.

The opponents of class politics and socialist policies in our party took the advice of 'Labour Victory'. They did not "Sit on their hands" and they did "speak up".

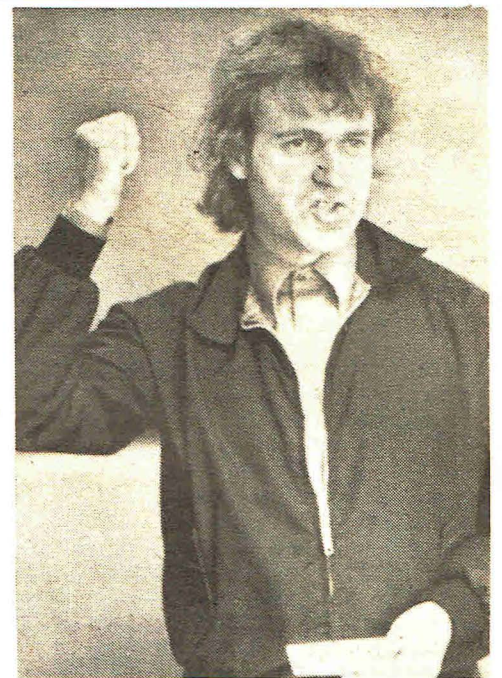
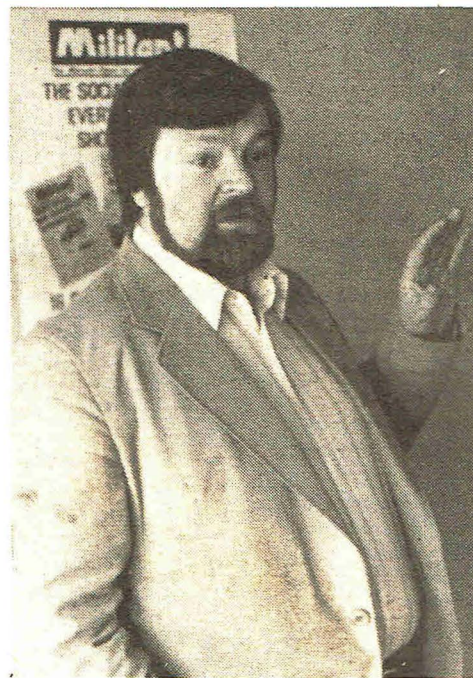
They are a model for the example held by the witch-hunt article: "Many CLV members are at work already because they know it's the only way to beat them"—by which they mean the Left.

But what good did it do them? Just organising behind the scenes to back up the out-dated policies of the Right won't stop the aspirations of Labour Party members getting resolutions passed and the delegates that they want elected.

The CLV may think that "It is absolutely vital that the agenda of debate is not written by the Loony Left". But it is obvious that the party doesn't want it written by the Campaign for Labour Victory!

By Steve Glennon

(Hertford and Stevenage LPYS)



Two of the speakers at the Weekend School: Bill Mullins, Roger Silverman

## Increased Support at Marxist Weekend School

Over 200 people attended each day of the Militant Marxist Weekend School at Goldsmiths College. This was a large increase on the number who attended last year.

After the film, Harlan County, on the Friday night, which got an excellent response, the School divided into six courses: Marxist Economics, Marxist Philosophy, Marxism and the Trade Unions, Ireland, the Russian Revolution, and the Labour Party. The standard of debate and discussion was very

high.

One of the best courses was on Ireland, where Peter Hadden, one of the leading contributors to 'Militant Irish Monthly', spoke. He outlined both the history of the labour movement in Ireland, and the issues facing the working class today.

The School finished with a 'Militant'-'Tribune' debate, with Peter Taaffe speaking for 'Militant', and Geoff Edge speaking for 'Tribune'. Although virtually all the contributions from the floor supported 'Militant's' policies, it was an extremely useful meeting.

The ideas of 'Tribune' are of great importance in the

labour movement today. Geoff Edge said that he was in favour of more such debates. 'Militant' supporters and others in the movement would benefit from such a clash of ideas.

The attendance and the School, and the enthusiasm for understanding Marxism shown in the discussion, is an indication of the real thirst for Marxist theory amongst supporters and readers of 'Militant'.

We must organise more events of this type, to help build even greater support for the ideas of Marxism in the labour movement.

By Peter Lush

# LEFT RIGHT

## BAD TASTE

The 'Daily Telegraph' [15 June] gave us an insight into what happens when Tory ministers move in: "Lady Caroline Gilmore, wife of the Lord Privy Seal, is busy moving into No 1 Carlton Gardens, St James's Park, and has discovered that not all the furniture and fittings are to her taste." Lord Carrington has decided to stay put in his own Knightsbridge house rather than move into the Foreign Secretary's official residence.

"Leading her way round the flat, Lady Caroline, younger daughter of the former Duke of Buccleuch [Scotland's biggest landowner], was speechless in one of the bedrooms. It had a motel-type dressing table, white wood bedside tables with chrome light fittings and a carpeted bed-head, and circular lighting hollowed out of the ceiling.

"'It is a Nash house,' Lady Caroline explained..."

The appalling bad taste was blamed on Mrs Callaghan by Lady Caroline. But the Callaghans didn't live there when he was Foreign Secretary, neither did the Owens. Yet £215,000 has been spent on renovating 1 Carlton Gardens.

Mrs Thatcher is fond of waving the axe: shouldn't cutting waste start at home?

## CRAZY

Prices are going up all the time—mind you, if you're a multi-millionaire this can be a good thing. Last week Mr Akkram Ojeh had his antique French furniture collection auctioned off at Sotheby's, for £6 million. Not bad when you consider he bought up the collection only two years ago at a mere snip of a price at £4 million.

During those two years the antiques were stored in the millionaire's very own ocean liner. Who'd have thought you could make £2 million by putting a load of old furniture on a boat, and then letting the whole thing just float around for two years. But this is how crazy capitalism works—millionaires can make millions without producing a single commodity beneficial to society.

## FAT RAT

The director of China's Kirin Province Foreign Trade Bureau went on the razzle the other day. During a "20-day binge" ['Financial Times' 22.6.79] while entertaining seven potential customers, Wang Zhenyu ran up a bill for the state of £7,500. A small sum compared to the antics of the Western capitalists, but in China this figure is the equivalent of a hundred peasants' wages for a year.

When infuriated Chinese shopworkers heard of Wang's little spree, they described him as 'a rat nibbling away at the foundations of socialism'. The 'poison' the Chinese workers should use to rid themselves of Wang and other bureaucratic 'rats' is the demand for workers' democracy.

# HENRY FORD TOUR COST £2,000 A MINUTE

Six weeks prior to June 11th, the lid was taken off the pot. Sunday work became available to around 100 production operators.

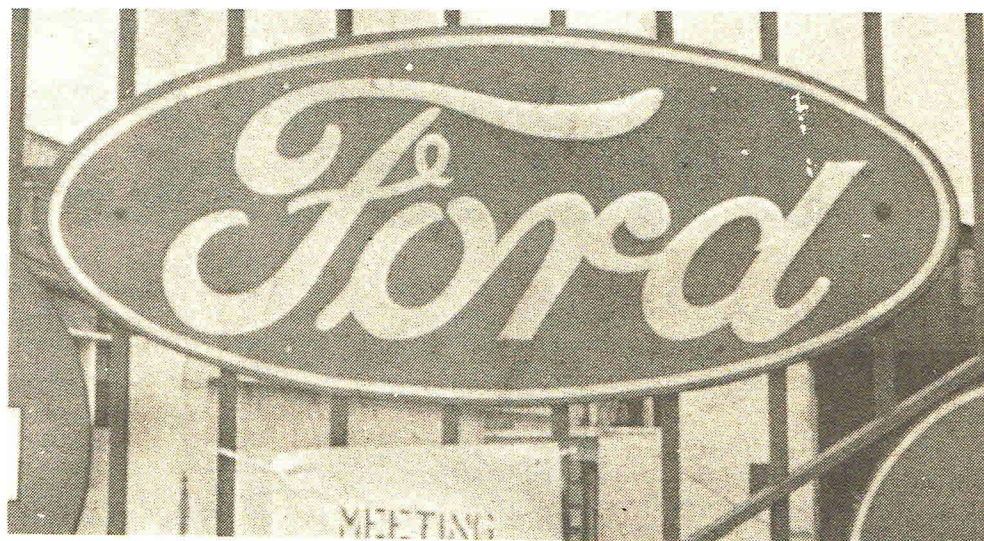
Every Sunday! Any maintenance man that wanted it! Even off night work! Hardly heard of before.

What was this all in aid of? The operators, on arrival, were given either a gallon of yellow paint and a 2 inch paint brush or 24 inch paint rollers and 5 gallons of black floor paint.

Maintenance work tripled, foremen running everywhere. With a fortnight to go all was made clear. Henry Ford II was visiting the plants prior to his retirement from the Board of Directors.

The painting went on. Machinery, floors and guard rails. On the route he and his entourage would take battery powered buggies were hired, all other personnel carriers commandeered, 6 or 8 in all.

And the painting went on. Press shop, machinery, floors, guard rails. One



foreman stood still for a minute and walked away with yellow boots.

News came through that the stagnant pond near one of the plants was cleaned up and plastic ducks and water lilies floated on top!

Then came the day. 2.30 was the deadline but 8 o'clock saw a dry run, with a foreman elevated to chairman of the Board. Panic stations! Half-way round the route, a fluorescent light was out. It took two maintenance foremen and three electricians to

fix it.

Twelve o'clock. Discontent among the management ranks. Foremen up to grade 8 were issued badges with their names on. Foremen grade 9 and upwards to plant manager issued badges with name and photo on. Rumoured it will go to ACAS after the visit.

Two o'clock. Foremen posted at every corner with walkie-talkies, and a foreman at press shop post with hand raised.

At 2.30 approximately

along comes Henry. Foreman lowers hand, down come five 300-ton presses as one, the floor goes like a bomb.

Before the sound is gone, so is Henry. He's in the plant for about 12½ minutes, the cost of the whole exercise approx. £250,000, that's £2,000 a minute.

PS Someone nicked the plastic ducks and lilies.

**By a Ford worker,  
Dagenham**

# POLICE CORRUPTION EXPOSED

By

**Mike Levene**

(Coventry SE CLP)

Last November, the largest ever investigation into British police corruption was set up. Under the command of Leonard Burt and based in Godalming, Surrey, the investigation titled 'Operation Countryman' is looking into the Robbery and City Police Squads.

Burt has asked to double the number of officers in the squad from 40 to 80, and make the investigation a permanent office!

Corruption cases being studied include: £200,000 Daily Mirror robbery in 1978; £150,000 haul from the Birch Lane branch of the Williams and Glyn bank in 1977; and the case of John Twomey and Patrick Carpenter, freed last March after allegations that police fabricated evidence against them.

Twomey and Carpenter have issued writs against four policemen, two of whom are now suspended.

The operation was deliberately based well outside London because of "strong fears about the vulnerability of a London-based operation to leaks from within, which would warn off officers being investigated." ('Time Out', 22-8 June.) Apparently, several Robbery Squad members are expected to be facing corruption charges by the end of the year, and some of them have even begun "compiling their defence".

Their "defence" entails "persuading" ex-criminals to give evidence on their behalf, to say that prosecution witnesses (mostly ex-criminals) are only accusing the police of

bribery and corruption for personal motives of revenge.

Enquiries so far show that four ex-criminals have already been approached in this way. Two are believed to have made statements helpful to the police officers under suspicion.

The ex-criminals are threatened that they will be "fitted up" for a crime they did not commit, unless they give evidence on the officers' behalf. Retired criminals are of course exceptionally vulnerable to this kind of pressure, with jobs and their families at stake.

"Operation Countryman" has apparently also discovered that an important senior officer who retired earlier this year under strange circumstances is alleged to have taken bundles of money from criminals and even to have helped in planning the export of stolen Matisse paintings to Germany!

"Countryman" has also shown that some police who have knowledge of houses left empty during holidays (don't ever tell a policeman that you're going on holiday) have been passing this information on to criminals for them to burgle. The proceeds are then split fifty-fifty.

"Countryman" of course has its limitations. Its investigations purely cover money and goods received, not "fitting up", which appears to be on the increase.

Predictably the Tory press are ignoring "Operation Countryman". They praise

new chief of police McNee as "compassionate and enlightened, tolerant and realistic." ('Sun', 20.6.79.)

They ignore his admittance on Thames TV (April 1979) that 68 officers from his force are currently suspended for serious breaches of discipline, dishonesty and corruption and his confession that "I shall never eliminate corruption in the Metropolitan Police. It will always be with

us. All we can do is hope to reduce it and keep it as low as possible." ('Time Out')

The labour movement must demand an independent enquiry into the role of the police in general, as well as the killing of Blair Peach. Only the labour movement, acting in the interest of the working people, can accurately expose the full extent of police brutality, bias and corruption.

## PT ACT USED ON SHOP STEWARD

Two days before Parliament renewed the Northern Ireland Emergency Provisions Act, Liverpool police detained a Belfast shop steward under the Prevention of Terrorism Act—when he was on his way home after a week's stay in England.

Thomas McDonnell, a NUPE shop steward in the Royal Victoria Hospital, Belfast, was returning from a holiday in Bradford. He was taken off the boat as it was about to sail and held in Cheapside Police Station, forcing his wife and two year-old daughter to travel alone, with no money.

The case has been taken up by Liverpool Trades Council, and demonstrations have been held outside the police station.

Arrested on Saturday, McDonnell was released and

stuck on a boat on Tuesday.

This is just the latest example of the use of the PTA against a trade unionist. The Act gives the police completely arbitrary powers of arrest for up to seven days and exclusion from the country without a hearing or right of appeal.

Already 1,000 people have been detained in Liverpool alone.

The trade union and labour movement must campaign for the repeal of all repressive legislation in Britain and Ireland.

Unions such as NUPE with mass membership in Britain and Ireland, should take up the campaign.

Send messages of support or enquiries for speakers to Liverpool Trades Council, Victoria Street, Liverpool 1.

# LIES, DAMNED LIES AND STATISTICS

We all need statistics, sooner or later, to back up our arguments.

But for the uninitediated it is far from easy to understand complicated tables of statistics, or to grasp what is really significant in whole volumes of tables.

And behind the imposing facade of 'objective', quantitative facts are concealed any number of biased assumptions and technical limitations which inevitably distort the data put on public display.

A book, written by socialists, with the aim of taking some of the difficult and deliberate mystification out of social statistics, is thus long overdue. This book from Pluto Press is not one of the series of "Workers' Handbooks" (like the "Hazards of Work") but is a basic text aimed at a more academic audience.

Many trade unionists may find it heavy going to read the first half of the book, which deals with things like the problem of

teaching statistics and the significance of "significance tests".

However, for those interested in using and understanding statistics, it is still worth buying, or borrowing, because the second half gives a very clear insight into the way in which statistics are produced and presented—and into some of the limitations of most of the statistics we have to rely on.

## Far from neutral

We are led to believe that official statistics are neutral facts from which "divergent political forces and pressure groups can argue about policy" (HMSO's Social Trends 1976). But they are a selection of data of far more use to the government and business interests (for whom they are primarily produced) than to socialist critics.

Sometimes statistics are deliberately manipulated (for example to reduce the total number of "official" unemployed or to reduce the "official" rate of inflation) but even where they are not "adjusted", the concepts employed in producing statistics "serve to reinforce the arguments advanced by the political and intellectual representatives of the ruling class."

What is produced, moreover, reflects the kind of state we live in: for example, "there is a plethora of information on fire-damage to properties, but little on industrially-related diseases; the number of house-starts is well documented, but figures on homelessness are miniscule; and the measurement of social security scrounging is clearly given priority over tax evasion, the consumption of consumer durables over poverty, and so on."

The chapter from a group of government statisticians which shows why and how official statistics are produced is very revealing:

"...Statistics do not, in some mysterious way, emanate directly from the social conditions they appear to describe, but...between the two lie the assumptions, conceptions and priorities of the state and the social order, a large, complex and imperfectly functioning bureaucracy, tonnes of paper and computing machinery, and—last but not least—millions of hours of human grind." (p149)

Different chapters give details of various kinds of statistics. Those on earnings, for example (e.g. in the 'New Earnings Survey') were originally produced to aid the government in keeping wage increases down. The figures over-estimate average earnings because "juveniles", part-time workers and those



'Demystifying Social Statistics' published by Pluto Press £3.95

absent from work are excluded. At the other end of the scale, fringe benefits to top management and unearned incomes are also excluded.

## Unemployment figures

Unemployment figures are in fact the numbers of those registered as unemployed, which is not the same thing at all. Many school leavers, married women, retired people and those whose benefit has run out are not registered. The last Census, in 1971, recorded 1.4 million who said they were unemployed, almost twice the current Department of Employment figure of 0.8 million.

Industrial accidents are only recorded if they are "notifiable accidents", and accidents that are actually notified by the employer. In 1970, 470,000 such accidents were reported, but 822,000 new claims for industrial injury benefit were received.

There are no actual statistics on the sickness and health of the population, far less the environmental and other causes of illness. The indicators that are used are such figures as death rates and absence from work through sickness, which bear only an approximate relation to actual rates of illness. Diseases with long-term debilitating symptoms, for example, may not have high mortality rates.

Figures for people away from work through illness are likely to be biased in favour of white-collar and professional workers with better sick-benefit schemes and do not include retired or unemployed people, or those who stay at home with children. The latter is an indication that official interest is not so much in people's well-being, but their ability to do work.

Some official statistics relate to "social class"; but the usefulness of these figures as

a reflection of our unequal society is severely limited by the way in which class is defined. It is essentially defined in relation to "status" and not in relation to the means of production.

In particular, the owners of capital do not appear in one specific category (though in 1951, "capitalists", "property speculators" and "landowners" were included in the same miscellaneous category as the "lunatic (trade not stated)").

Figures on ownership of wealth relate to the distribution of wealth and not to the control of production of wealth. Thus, not only do the rich have a lot of wealth, compared to the vast majority of the population, but they hold it in forms that carry economic power, like capital and land.

The effective control of wealth is even more concentrated than the figures indicate. Indeed, the growth in number of owner-occupied houses and life insurance policies lead to statistics that suggest that wealth is more equally distributed than it was: in 1912 the richest 12% owned 70% of the wealth; in 1960 they owned 42%. Figures like these have been used to argue that class divisions no longer exist.

The main source of figures on wealth is the Inland Revenue. Calculations are based on the estates of people who die each year, adjusted on the basis of mortality rates. But these figures ignore those who leave too little to be liable for estate duty (less than £15,000), and the very rich who avoid, or reduce, the duty payable in various ways, for example by setting up "trusts" or transferring their assets before they die.

The extent of poverty is usually measured by the number of people with incomes equal to, or below, Supplementary Benefits. This is "rather like measuring distances with a rubber ruler", says the author of that

chapter.

If Supplementary Benefit scales lag behind average wages, the incidence of poverty is greater, but the numbers estimated to be in poverty are reduced. In addition, depending on whether the poverty line is set at the basic Supplementary Benefit level, or includes the additional allowances payable in some cases, either 6,370,000 or 14,870,000 people (the latter a quarter of the population) may be estimated to be in poverty (Low Pay Unit calculations).

Official statistics are thus more complacent than the real level and extent of poverty. But the welfare role of the state is orientated to maintaining an adequate workforce for capitalist production and to legitimising the inherent inequalities in the system, not to eliminating poverty, and this is reflected in the figures produced.

The last part of the book contains several chapters on "statistics in action", including a thorough criticism of opinion polls, operational research, cost-benefit analysis and social forecasting. One of the contributors to the CIS reports has written a chapter on the use of statistics in "counter-information", "the radical re-use of statistics."

The following quote is a good summary of the intention and scope of the book: "Only by understanding that statistics are produced as part of the administration and control of a society organised around exploitative class relations can we grasp their full meaning; and only with the aid of this understanding can we determine their uses and usefulness, in critical social research."

By Vivien Seal

(Lambeth Central CLP)

## LONDON TENANTS PROTEST

Recently, 150 tenants demonstrated in the Public Gallery of the Greater London Council against the sale of council houses and an expected rent increase later in the year.

The tenants made themselves heard by arguing with Tory councillors and throwing leaflets and balloons on to the Council chamber.

GLC tenants have faced a 26% rent increase in the last 12 months. Now, to add insult to injury, the GLC have opened a Sales Office in the West End of London, managed by a well-known property businessman.

The GLC want to sell off as many houses as possible, leaving tenants in the pre-war blocks and high rise dwellings. There would be no chance of transferring to more decent accommodation,

that is a house with a garden.

Many angry tenants, mothers with children, besieged Tory Housing Chairman David Ashby (who accused the tenants of being a 'rabble') and demanded his presence on their estates. After many a heated discussion he agreed to meet a delegation. Maybe he will shed the same "tears" as did Mrs Thatcher when she visited a similar estate and hypocritically offered rehousing.

The complete deterioration of repair and maintenance standards on estates cannot be solved by one-off measures by shamed Tory politicians. A complete reversal is needed of the public expenditure cut-backs adopted by the present government.

The tenants' movement must once again rise from its slumbers and demonstrate some of its militancy as shown in the 1968 and 1972 rent strikes. The present Tory

attacks on housing can be illustrated by the complete slashing of Hackney's housing programme. Government directives have halted compulsory purchase orders and the acquisition of vacant land.

As one tenant remarked, we are being asked to pay more for less. Incidentally, after the demonstration the GLC declared that they would not increase the rents any further this year—unless the tenants wanted it, the Tory Housing Chairman sarcastically added.

No, Mr Ashby, the tenants do not want higher rents, but decent homes to live in. Capitalism cannot even provide this basic human need, so how about giving socialism a chance.

By Stephen Jacobs

(Worker with London Tenants' Organisation, written in a personal capacity)

## IRISH POSTAL WORKERS:

The 13,000 members of the Post Office Workers Union who have been on strike for nineteen weeks throughout the 26 counties of Southern Ireland began to return to work on 27th June.

The ending of the strike was on the basis of an interim offer which gave rises of 12%-18%, with the majority, including postmen and telephonists, getting 15%. Negotiations are to continue on the rest of the claim.

The interim agreement, though a long way behind the original demand for 31-37½% increases, is by no means a defeat. We have gained in strength and confidence from the struggle.

The Fianna Fail government's attempts to break the union have failed. In face of our determination, the government were pushed a fair distance from their original hard and seemingly steadfast position.

But we cannot ignore the fact that a lot more could have been gained if the union leadership had led the strike more effectively.

The all-out strike was not planned or prepared for. Our union leadership attempted to limit the action to one- and two-day stoppages. This led to confusion and division, until the all-out action was called.

Before this there should have been mass meetings in all areas as a build-up to a national day of action, with all the members converging on Dublin for a big demon-

stration. In this way the whole union would have been geared up to the all-out strike.

A campaign throughout the labour and trade union movement, appealing for its full support, would have strengthened our hand. Active support could have been gained on the basis of an explanation of what a victory for us would have meant for the whole movement.

The key to a quick and successful ending of the strike was the calling out of the Irish Post Office Engineering Union, whose members control the Telex and automatic telephone system. The stopping of these services, which were used by big business to get around the worst effects of the strike, would have strengthened the strike enormously.

Yet though this support was offered by the IPOEU conference and demanded by the POWU conference, the union leadership refused to take action.

The lessons must now be learnt. The building of one union for all Post Office workers must now begin. There is no future in each section fighting separately.

The government fears the coming together of all Post Office workers. It would rather have us divided.

There must be joint claims and joint action to improve the lot of all. This work must now begin at branch level with joint committees and other such joint action.

This strike made clear the need for political action. The Fianna Fail government and Fine Gael, the second bosses' party, used their position to oppose our and other workers' demands for decent wages, to protect the interests

# STRUGGLE JUST BEGINNING

Photo: Derek Spiers (IFL)



Members of the POWU prepare to march through Dublin on May 30th

and profits of the class they represent.

Union activists must get into the Labour Party and make sure it defends our interests in the same way in the future.

The international solidarity during our strike was tremendous. Money was sent from as far away as Japan and Australia as well as from Britain.

The Post Office workers in Northern Ireland also gave great active support in not

handling mail sent across the border.

The fight of Irish Post Office workers for decent wages and conditions is only beginning. For future success it is important that we learn the lessons of this strike.

By Mick Carbin

(Dublin Post outdoor branch, POWU, in a personal capacity)

## UPSTAIRS DOWN-STAIRS

The rich tenants of London's Mayfair want for nothing. Buying a flat in some of the blocks would cost you over £200,000.

Recently I've been working there a lot as a painter and decorator, and I can see that the employees of these upper class types aren't doing nearly so well.

I worked in the flat belonging to the owner of one of the biggest tailors in Britain. Last year his little concern pulled in £8 million profit. The silk shirts in their West End shops will set you back £90.

But how much of this wealth gets into the hands of the working class? Not much for me when I worked there. Even less for his direct employees.

Our friend the millionaire lives in a flat kindly provided by his own company (bills and rent inclusive). The cleaning lady comes in every morning at 7 o'clock to clean the flat.

"I came from the Philippines to get a job here," she told me. "I Hoover all the carpets, wash the kitchens and the three bathrooms. I wash all the laundry every day. Then I clean all the chandeliers [the cheapest of which cost £800]."

"I then have to clean out the four bedrooms and make the beds, and clean the living room and hallway along with all the leisure rooms.

"When I leave this flat at half past five in the evening I go over to their son's flat

[which cost about £80,000] and clean that.

"I leave there at half past seven and come back to his parents' flat and do sewing and other odd jobs for the wife. I finish at 11 o'clock at night.

"I work well over 100 hours for a basic wage of £45 every week. When I asked the lady for a rise, she said that £45 was enough for anyone, and that she didn't know what I did with all my money."

"They take advantage of you because you are new to the country."

The family chauffeur was only slightly better off. "I have to clean their Silver Shadow Rolls Royce every day, and take them wherever they want to go. Sometimes you can wait about in the car for hours for them. I have to do their shopping as well. I always have to be at their beck and call.

"There've been times when I've been in bed and they've rung up and told me to pick them up to take them to some social. I can't remember the last time I had a holiday.

"My basic pay is £60 per week. They treat you like slaves here, like dirt."

Capitalist society still has these stark contrasts between the rich and the most exploited workers. The Tories talk of there being 'one nation'. Conditions like this, more reminiscent of 'Upstairs Downstairs' without the false glamour, show what a lie that is.

Andrew Campbell

(Peckham LPYS)

## A FLYING START

Our nursery centre lies amidst an estate of high rise flats built upon the rubble of an old inner-city community.

It is in a so-called deprived area and caters for so-called inadequate parents, although their "inadequacy" is merely that they are poor, unemployed, single parent families or black.

The centre itself is a model of what nurseries should be like. It unites under one roof the care side of young children's needs, such as feeding, changing and medical attention, together with their educational needs.

There are over 20 adults caring for about 100 children. The age of the children means that this is essential. With a high ratio sufficient attention can be given to each child.

Many of the children are from families speaking little English, notably Sikhs and Gujaratis.

Having a ratio of 7-1 with 3-4 year olds means that plenty of time can be spent developing their language, numerical concepts, pre-reading skills and so on. Even at 2 years old, the

children greatly benefit from the nursery.

It develops their sociability and language. It gives them a flying start when it comes to reading, number work, writing and artistic development. It is living proof of the right of all children to full day nursery facilities on demand.

The nursery takes babies from 6 weeks old up to the start of school, which gives continuity of care, although the babies are separated into their own section.

The older children are in three areas in an open plan system. The nursery is open 49 weeks a year. It is designed to help working parents being open 7 am until 6.30 pm. The children are family grouped, and the staff eat breakfast, dinner and tea with the children.

Most of the staff work

shifts. It is here that we bump against a major drawback. While the teachers are responsible to the Education Committee and get school holidays and shorter shifts the nursery nurses employed by Social Services get only three weeks' holiday, have one hour longer shifts and are paid much less.

There is a false distinction between 'care' and 'education'. In practice teachers are as much responsible for care as the nursery nurses and the nurses as much responsible for education.

Yet we have a false barrier set up to divide us. This puts us in different unions (nurses are in NUPE or TGWU). Rather than these divisions there should be a joint training course for nursery teachers and nurses linking education and care.

The centres should come under one department and there should be one union. All staff should have school holidays on a rota basis, with hours and scales of pay based on teachers' salaries.

The centre is part of a community development project covering the catchment area for a comprehensive school. Accordingly it co-ordinates the work of five play groups in the area and is

By Felicity Dowling

(Liverpool NUT, personal capacity)

# THE MEANING OF THE 'CULTURAL REVOLUTION'

**There has been an enormous revival of interest in China throughout the capitalist world.**

This has been stimulated, as far as big business and its spokesmen are concerned, by the prospect of lucrative trade deals between the capitalist world and China. Something like 70 trade missions have visited China in the last year, as the capitalists frantically elbow each other aside in order to capture their share of this potentially vast market.

The upheavals in the post-Mao era have also been the subject of numerous analyses in the West. This interest will no doubt be sustained by the plethora of books, magazines, features and articles which can be expected on the 30th anniversary of the Chinese revolution, which falls in October of this year.

Justification for the Chinese revolution, after the Russian revolution, the second greatest event in the history of mankind, is to be found in the colossal development of China since 1949.

## Stability and progress

Output has increased in China by something like 80-fold during the last thirty years. A mere 1.8 million tons of steel was produced in China in 1952 while almost 32 tons were produced in 1978. This was, moreover, a seven million ton increase in comparison to 1977.

Compare this to capitalist Britain, which produced 20 million tons of steel last year, a drop of 7 million tons in comparison to 1970! China's industrial production is 5 times that of 1957. Electric power has increased from 7.3 billion kilowatts in 1952 to 121 billion kilowatts in 1976.

Tractor production has shot up from less than 1,000 in the same year to 190,000 in 1976.

Similar figures show the same spectacular progress in coal production, electrical generators, trucks, locomotives, which have increased from 20,000 units in 1952 to 505,000 units in 1974.

China's progress is even greater when compared to the colonial and semi-colonial world. India, for instance, produced 20 million tons of cement in 1977, while China produced 60 million. To the starving masses of Calcutta, Madras, Bombay and the other cities and countries of South-East Asia, the conditions of the Chinese workers and peasants seem enviable.

Even the most bigoted capitalist commentators have spoken with grudging admiration of the favourable conditions of the Chinese masses in comparison to the rest of the 'under-developed' world. Rees-Mogg, editor of 'The Times', concluded after a visit to China: "It is clear, the average Chinese worker is adequately, though plainly fed, properly dressed, and has a roof over his head."

## Health and education

Dramatic improvements have been recorded in health care, and education. The 'Financial Times' commented recently: "The life expectancy of people in China is rising so quickly that it may soon match those of highly developed countries. Recent worldwide surveys by independent demographers have put the average Chinese life-span at 62 years.

"However, internal statistics show that in some regions, it is 70 or more. A year or two less than countries such as Japan and the USA. The increase is largely a result of China's rapidly improving living standards and medical care system." (12 September 1978).

Yet, in 1945, the average life span in China in the Shan Tung province of China, was 40 years! The average life-span today is in the region of 70 years. Public health is maintained by a co-operative medical service, which gives each peasant complete medical care for an annual fee of 50 fen (15p).

China is now believed to have one physician for every 1,000 people, a figure surprisingly close to that of Japan, which has one physician for every 800. The infant mortality rate is down to 2% which compares well with the USA's 1.8%. Some 95% of China's 900 million people are liter-

ate.

In the past 30 years, China has appeared as a haven of stability and progress in the eyes of the masses of Asia and of the rest of the underdeveloped world, whose lives have been blighted by the mass unemployment, rampant inflation, and other diseases of capitalism and landlordism.

In the 12 years before 1949, prices rose by more than 8 million-fold! The amount of currency which would buy two oxen in 1937 would buy two eggs in 1945, and 1 sheet of toilet paper in 1949.

China's price stability in the last 30 years is an enormously favourable contrast to this period. In 1952,

to a mere 84 fen.

Other commodities have also fallen in price, such as pharmaceuticals (cut by half), pens and stationery, and some brands of watches. The workers of Ghana with an inflation rate of 100%, or Argentina, with prices soaring by 150%-200%, or even the British workers, where prices have more than doubled in the last four years, would on this score undoubtedly envy the Chinese workers and peasants.

## THE FIRST IN A SERIES OF THREE ARTICLES BY PETER TAAFFE

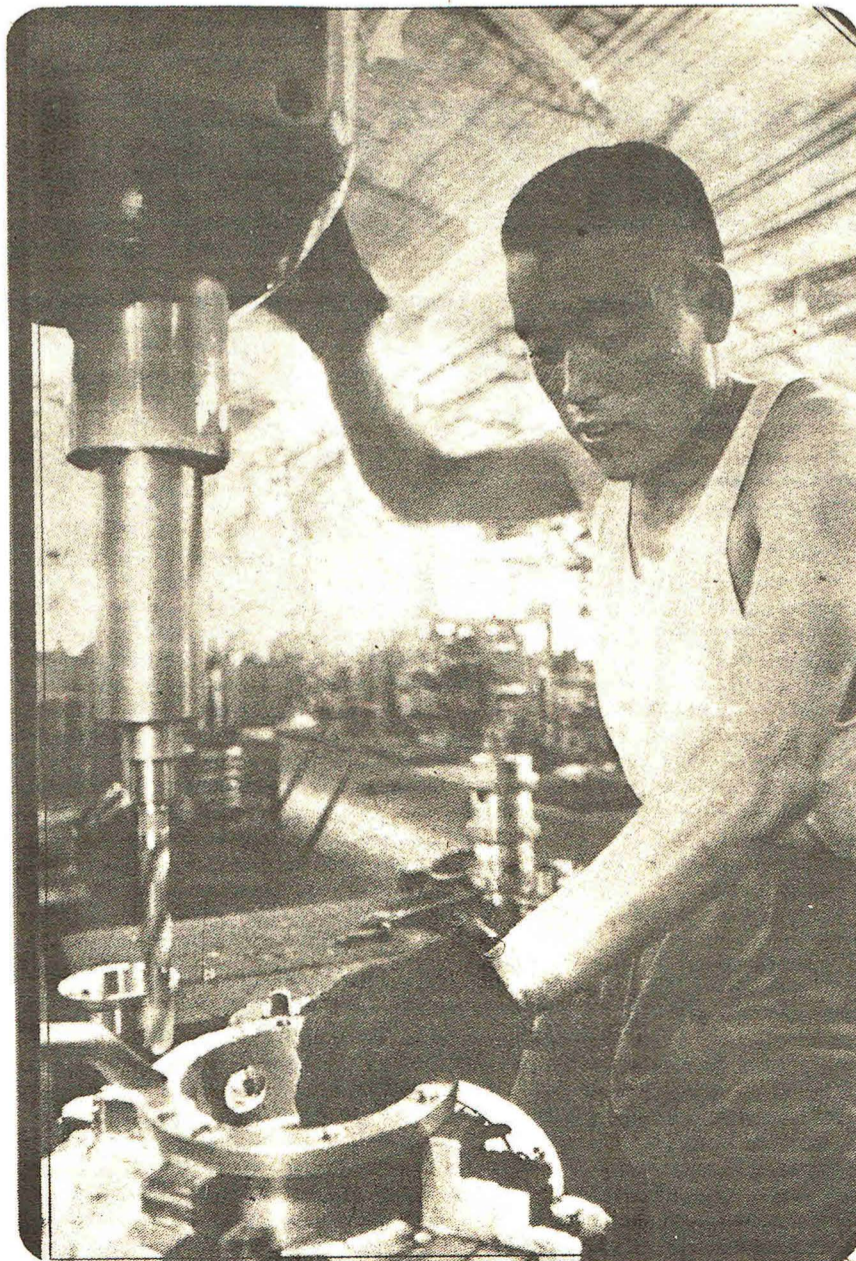
Take for instance, the question of price stability. Under the Kuomintang regime, prior to the revolution, inflation was a scourge for the Chinese workers and peas-

ants. In the 12 years before 1949, prices rose by more than 8 million-fold! The amount of currency which would buy two oxen in 1937 would buy two eggs in 1945, and 1 sheet of toilet paper in 1949.

## Bureaucratic rule

In the language of steel, of concrete, of cement and also in the rising living standards of the masses, the Chinese Revolution has more than justified itself. The elimination of landlordism and capitalism and the introduction of a plan of production has made it possible for China to advance with giant strides.

This progress, moreover,



A drill operation in a Peking machine tool factory. Chinese industry has made great advances.



Soldiers of the Peoples Liberation Army par

# CHI NO

has taken place in spite of the existence of a monstrous bureaucratic elite in China.

The explanation for the existence of this bureaucracy is to be found in the origins and development of the Chinese revolution of 1944-49. The social forces involved were entirely different from the Russian Revolution. The Bolsheviks, led by Lenin and Trotsky, based themselves on the working class which drew behind them the poor peasants to overthrow Tsarism and then to eliminate landlordism and capitalism.

Because of the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky the Russian Revolution was probably the most conscious movement in human history.

The working class and even the poor peasants were saturated with the spirit of internationalism. They saw the Russian revolution as the prologue of the international socialist revolution which was the only salvation of Russia. Power, moreover, was vested in the workers' and peasants' councils with the right of recall over all officials.

But the isolation of the revolution to a single backward country led to the bureaucratic degeneration of Russia, a process personified by the rise of Stalin. Gradually the masses were pushed aside with power concentrated in the hands of a bureaucratic elite.

Mao Tse-tung began where Stalin left off. Right from the outset of the Chinese revolution, management and control was vested in the





participate in road-building project

# NA OW

hands of the bureaucracy. Mao came to power at the head of a peasant army. The working class in the towns was largely passive. But where workers greeted the Red Army by going on strike they were arrested and, in some cases, shot. The Red Army already possessed an embryonic state machine with its own courts, money, and administrative apparatus.

Mao was the bonapartist leader of the bureaucracy, the military-police dictator at its head. The bureaucracy feared the independent movement of the working class which would have threatened their rule.

Chinese society was in an impasse. Over the two preceding decades Chinese capitalism had shown its complete incapacity to take society forward. Manoeuvring between the classes, Mao eliminated landlordism and capitalism and created a state machine in the image of Moscow, that is a one-party totalitarian regime, with power in the hands of a caste of privileged officials in the police, army and state machine, but resting on a planned economy.

Nevertheless, the Chinese bureaucracy has been able to play a relatively progressive role in the development of industry, of agriculture, and of Chinese society as a whole. They are still able to play that role today, in contrast to their cousins, the bureaucratic elite of Russia.

The Russian bureaucracy has become an **absolute**

fetter, a monstrous drag on the further progress of Russian society. The Chinese bureaucracy is a **relative** fetter on the development of China.

The role and the development of the two bureaucracies is indicated by the rates of development in both economies. Thus, Russia last year, was capable of developing the economy by a mere 4%. It is estimated that the Chinese economy leapt upwards at a rate of almost 14%.

But despite the tremendous progress of Chinese society, because of the existence of a monstrous bureaucracy, of a one-party, totalitarian regime, this has been at three or four times the cost it would have been had workers' democracy existed in China.

Tremendous mis-management and waste goes hand in hand with the existence of a bureaucratic aristocracy.

To take just one example, the Chinese press itself has admitted that the engineering industry has only worked at 50% of capacity over the past period.

This has been reinforced by the constant zig-zags in economic and social policy throughout the last 30 years. Mao Tse-tung and his bureaucratic acolytes veered from one policy to another. Economic adventurism, attempts at 'liberalisation', extreme centralisation, followed by de-centralisation, have all been tried in dizzying succession in an attempt to drag Chinese society up by its 'bootstraps'.

Such methods are inseparable from control by a bureaucratic elite. But, it has meant massive dislocation of the Chinese economy and society. The Chinese economy is only now just emerging from the devastation which resulted from the so-called 'Great Cultural Revolution'.

Capitalist commentators and the quasi-Marxist sects in the West were taken in by the radical demagoguery of Mao Tse-tung and the red guards used at the time of the launching of the cultural revolution in 1966. Only the Marxists explained the objective basis for this violent switch in policies on behalf of Mao Tse-tung and the bureaucratic elite he represented.

By 1966, Chinese society had reached an impasse. The huge and swollen bureaucracy was consuming more and more of the surplus produced

communicated itself to the bureaucracy, and even to the summit of that bureaucracy, represented by Mao. As Stalin had done in a similar situation, Mao Tse-tung launched an assault on the more blatant examples of abuse and mismanagement by the bureaucracy.

## Red guards

He leaned on the 22-million strong red guards and used them as a whip to cut down and eliminate, at least temporarily, some of the excesses of the bureaucracy. An era of so-called 'egalitarianism' was initiated. So-called revolutionary committees were introduced, allegedly to supplant the Communist Party. Demands for the establishment of "real workers' democracy" and of the methods of the "Paris Commune" appeared in some of the propaganda of the red guards.

Many radicals in the West were captivated by these developments. Some so-called Trotskyists even argued that it represented the develop-

ment could only be assured through greater rewards for the bureaucracy. This was the meaning of the so-called cultural revolution. An attack was launched on "all privileges".

and Russia, let alone China which is still backward in comparison to these two giants.

The Russian revolution demonstrated that in a society of scarcity the quenching of the stimulus of personal interest leads to stagnation and sometimes to a decline in production. This is what

ment of industry. Consequently, progress enormously lagged behind the real possibilities of China's planned economy. Hua Guofeng, moreover, has revealed the colossal damage resulting from these methods. The dislocation resulting from the rule of the 'Gang of Four' was particularly calamitous.

Hua recently claimed that "as a result of their interference and sabotage between 1974 and 1976, the nation lost 100,000 million yuan (£33,000 million) of industrial output, 28 million tons of steel and 40,000 million yuan of state revenue".

In China's technical colleges alone in 1975 "fighting produced 8 million dollars' worth of damage". Hua claims that the economy was "on the brink of collapse in 1976".

The bureaucracy still ruled although some of its privileges were cut. The top echelons of the bureaucracy continued to live a comfortable and cosseted existence behind the walls of its exclusive Peking Compound.

This was shown by the revelations of an American journalist who spent some time with Madame Mao during the period of the Cultural Revolution. She denounced "decadent Western capitalism". Yet in their private quarters she wore the latest western fashions and watched western films in her personal cinema!

Mao failed in his attempt to cut down and eliminate the bureaucracy. The triumph of the "right wing" led by Deng and Hua shows that, on the basis of backwardness and the isolation of the revolution, the growth of a privileged bureaucracy is inevitable.

The experience of China in the past 13 years bears out the analysis made by Trotsky of the causes which led to the triumph of Stalinism in Russia.

Even before Mao's death, the right wing of the bureaucracy had been fully restored to power. As 'The Times' commented: "the new ruling group looks like a phantom of the one destroyed in 1966" ('Times Review' 1978). Those like Deng and his supporters, who had been purged by Mao for allegedly "taking the capitalist road", have been fully integrated back into the bureaucratic machine.

Mao's shock tactics against the bureaucracy have completely failed. "Premature egalitarianism" has been loudly condemned. Inequality and privilege are now openly proclaimed as the greatest of virtues.

**Next week:  
The contradictions  
of the Chinese  
economy**

**Mao failed in his attempt through the "Cultural Revolution" to cut down and eliminate the bureaucracy. The triumph of the "right wing" led by Deng and Hua shows that, on the basis of backwardness and the isolation of the revolution, the growth of a privileged bureaucracy is inevitable.**



Workers at a Shanghai factory, together with university students, make wall posters of Mao's quotations at the height of the Cultural Revolution in 1967

ment of a political revolution against the bureaucracy itself. They forgot—or never understood!—that Mao Tse-tung was a representative of the millions of privileged officials in the state machine.

The Yugoslav Tan Jug agency recently claimed that during the cultural revolution: "Wages, in practice, were frozen and the scale of difference between the highest and lowest was 1:5."

The methods of shock-brigadeism, of 'moral incentives' were employed in industry and agriculture. Sixteen million students were mobilised for rural work. A vicious and hooligan attack was launched on all aspects of "bourgeois culture." Extreme jingoism and Chinese xenophobia was whipped up in this period.

Under the so-called 'Gang of Four', the Ministry of Foreign Trade was labelled the "Ministry of National Betrayal". A Chinese version of 'socialism in one country' was proclaimed. But, as Stalinist Russia had shown, it is impossible to insulate any country from the world market, from the world division of labour. In reality, throughout the 'Cultural Revolution' and during the reign of the Gang, China continued to be involved on the world market.

If China was to acquire modern technology, then it was compelled to sell its products on the world market. "Autarchy"—a completely self-sufficient economy—is impossible in the modern world even for the mightiest economies such as America

market between the peasants and the state enterprises. Strictly controlled and limited incentives were also introduced in industry for managers, technicians and experts. But Communist Party members were expected to take in wages no more than the "party norm", which was the average wage.

This in turn laid the basis for the growth of a privileged elite. But such a development was inevitable on the basis of the isolation of the revolution.

In China, Mao attempted similar methods—with disastrous results. The denunciation of 'incentives'—while the bureaucracy, particularly the summits, still enjoyed a privileged existence—led inevitably to a lack of interest on the part of technicians, in the develop-

**In the language of steel, of concrete, of cement and also in the rising living standards of the masses, the Chinese Revolution has more than justified itself. The elimination of landlordism and capitalism and the introduction of a plan of production has made it possible for China to advance with giant strides. This progress has taken place in spite of the existence of a monstrous bureaucratic elite in China.**

by the labour of the working class and the peasantry. This in turn cut down the resources that were needed for investment in industry, the development of modern weapons for the army, etc.

The stagnation in Chinese society was reflected in the growing discontent of the masses, which in turn com-

the police and the army. Mao represented the bureaucracy, and was its supreme arbiter. But, as with Stalin before him, Mao was not averse on occasions, to striking blows against this very stratum which he represented.

The bureaucracy was consuming the fruits of the planned economy which

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# CHILE - NEW GENE -

## An Eyewitness account by an LPYS member

It is now nearly six years since the Chilean armed forces overthrew the Allende Popular Unity government and inaugurated a regime of military terror.

Tens of thousands of Chileans were tortured or killed. Trade unions and political parties were banned. Ten per cent of the population fled abroad, often to face persecution in neighbouring Latin American countries.

But the workers' organisations are being rebuilt, in trade unions and in the shanty-towns where most workers live. Last month an LPYS member visited Chile, and in the following article gives an account of the new mood amongst Chilean workers, especially the youth, and of the more sophisticated form of control used by the dictatorship.

Repression is more subtle in Chile these days. No longer are there tanks on street corners, prisoners herded into the football stadium.

Torture is still routine for detainees, but the regime is more selective now in whom it picks up. The junta is far more interested in mounting a massive intelligence-gathering operation by infiltrating the workers' organisations which are springing up.

This information is then used to arrest key individ-

uals and close down organisations once they begin to become a threat.

This tactical change is an expression of the growing confidence of workers and the solidarity given to them by the international labour movement.

**The events of May Day and after illustrate the political balance of forces in Chile today.**

Just before I arrived, Santiago witnessed on May Day the largest demonstration since the junta came to power. 10,000 people, including trade



Chilean dictator Pinochet meets with Kissinger, who helped him topple Allende

unionists, took to the streets in defiance of the military.

The junta responded ruthlessly. Four hundred people were arrested and judging from interviews I had with some of those detained and with human rights organisations almost all those detained were tortured or badly beaten up.

The majority on the demonstration were young people, including many students. Some workers were misled by divisions within the trade unions on whether to persevere with the demonstration.

Many workers also told

me that they were wary of committing themselves to activity which would have little practical result. They were mostly older workers who had experienced the repression of 1973-6.

They explained that whilst their opposition to the regime was total, they risked losing their jobs and indefinite blacklisting for missing a work day for political activity. With unemployment at 14.8% in Santiago, and the official cost of living higher than in Britain, these workers felt they couldn't risk that sort of sacrifice.

**Younger workers did not feel so intimidated.**

In some unions, notably the Construction Workers Union, active youth sections have been established. They were especially hit by the May Day repression. The junta picked up large numbers of young workers and unemployed youth in the aftermath of the big demonstration.

For many of those detained it was their first real taste of direct repression. Many of them had been 12 or 13 at the time of the coup. The resultant upsurge of consciousness amongst young workers and students was breathtaking and manifested

itself in demonstrations and fasts all over Santiago in solidarity with the detainees of May 1st.

The junta had to respond. Most of those detained were released after hours or a few days in prison.

Sixty-eight were charged with offences against the security of the state and sent for committal proceedings. There the judge made the momentous and ironic decision that demonstrating and leafletting could not be considered "anti-Chilean activities" and that therefore they should go free.

**This was a small, but significant, victory for the power of the working class.**

But victory was by no means total. Twelve detainees were sent for trial by military tribunal. It is likely that it was these twelve that the Junta had carefully selected for detention before May Day.

Two were actually arrested before May 1st and another, according to photos, could not have participated in the incidents of which he is accused.

## Resistance

These events illustrate graphically the two-pronged method being employed by the dictatorship to intimidate the resistance. On the one hand they carefully select their victims for the work they carry out in their trade union, party, faculty or

# WHY CELEBRATE THE FRENCH REVOLUTION?

By  
Jim Chrystie

In one way Marxists agree with Henry Ford. History, as taught in schools, is bunk. Kings and queens wheel on to "the stage of history", fight the battles, achieve great things and then [un]fortunately die.

It is a similar process which is mostly taught about the French revolution. The storming of the Bastille, which happened 190 years ago this week, is often portrayed as a pointless act because only seven people were imprisoned within it.

But the Bastille was more than a prison, it was also a fortress. Its cannons dominated Paris, particularly the nearby St Antoine district, one of the strongholds of the militant 'sans culottes'.

The fall of the Bastille decisively changed the balance of forces inside France. The power of the King and the aristocracy was broken by the common people.

Yet the ultimate victors of the revolution were the capitalist class. The 'sansculottes' were not a united class. They comprised of small tradesmen, craftsmen, and day labourers.

Big factories were few and far between. Workers were not united with

their own separate class identity. The sansculottes were a mixture of small craftsmen in the process of disappearing under capitalist industrialisation and the germs of a modern working class coming into being.

And from their ranks came the first socialist movement. Led by Graechus Babeuf, some sansculottes tried to overthrow the government in 1797. Babeuf was not the first advocate of socialism.

But before him, they had all been enlightened representatives of the ruling class, who never expected to bring their systems into practice, but used them for the moral enlightenment of their fellow-men. With Babeuf, communism became a movement.

For the first time communists placed themselves on the standpoint of the working people and strove to make their system a reality through the revolutionary overthrow of the existing order of society. In that sense Babeuf was the first modern socialist.

His methods, ideas and organisation by means of a secret society were crude. In this he reflected the inadequate development of large-scale industry and therefore the working class for communism to be a mass movement.

But his and his followers' con-

tribution to modern socialism was considerable. Buonarrotti, Babeuf's companion, escaped to Italy. There he organised the Carbonari, secret societies modelled on Babeuf's, which struggled against oppression in France and Italy for the next 25 years and inspired many British Chartists.

The traditions of Babeuf and the Carbonari were taken over by Blanqui in France. In 1834 a group of German workers exiled in Paris made contact with Blanqui's organisation and set up the League of Exiles, later called the League of the Just.

In 1847 they changed their name to the Communist League, and under the inspiration of Marx and Engels adopted the 'Communist Manifesto' as their programme. This Manifesto acknowledged both the debt workers owed to Babeuf's movement, and its limitations.

Its judgement was:

"The first direct attempts of the proletariat to attain its own ends, made in times of universal excitement, when feudal society was being overthrown, these attempts necessarily failed, owing to the then underdeveloped state of the proletariat, as well as to the absence of the economic conditions for its emancipation, conditions that had yet

to be produced, and could be produced by the impending bourgeois epoch alone."

This week in Paris the capitalists will celebrate the fall of the Bastille and their coming to power. President Giscard d'Estaing in a desperate attempt to cling to the 'glory' of the old French Empire will rush from the Paris festivities, board his Concorde and fly with the sun to celebrate Bastille Day in the Imperial outposts of Guadeloupe and Tahiti.

Workers though will have different cause to celebrate. We can recall that it was the sansculottes who stormed the Bastille and were the active force in the downfall of feudalism. And remember the revolution which brought into being the first socialist movement the world had seen.

For a fuller account of the French Revolution read:  
**THE FRENCH REVOLUTION [1789]**  
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# RATION ENTERS STRUGGLE

shanty town, and yet they also arbitrarily arrest people, and sometimes in large numbers, as a warning that they are still capable of the brutality towards the working class for which this particular Latin American dictatorship has become notorious in the years 1973-76.

In spite of the risks they run the labour movement in Chile is developing slowly and surely and the junta will not be able to hold it back. Pinochet obviously saw May 1st and the weeks that followed as a testing ground. He wanted to show the trade unions that he was prepared to finish the job that he started last year when he closed down the National Trade Union Co-ordinating Committee and others of the more militant federations.

In fact these organisations are still very much alive and are growing. It is important to remember that many of the most experienced comrades are now either dead or in exile and therefore the labour movement as a whole is going through an enormous process of rebuilding, educating and gaining confidence.

This means that on one level it may not be strong enough to mobilise openly on a demonstration but on an everyday basis the important task of reconstructing the workers' organisations is ploughing ahead.

## Trade Unions

During my visit I was able to participate in trade union discussion groups and workshops for the unemployed where not only the effects of the junta's rule are tackled but where there are also frank and open discussions on Chile's labour history, the failings of Popular Union and the socialist way forward.

The trade unions also have the responsibility of



Chilean shanty-town

training their young militants in the traditional aspects of negotiating and struggling for their trade union and economic rights. While I was there an important dispute was going on and was finally resolved.

This took place in the La Papelera paper producing plant where the unions were taking industrial action over the sacking of 15 comrades for political activity and were negotiating a 30% wage increase and 10,000 pesos (£150) productivity bonus.

The timber and paper industries are at present booming and form Chile's second largest export after copper. This workforce, comprising many young workers experiencing their first direct taste of class struggle, also posed the demand of the right of recall over a trade union leader who had clearly betrayed their interests.

The outcome of this dispute was the reinstatement of the sacked workers, the pulling into line of the trade union leadership and a £60 bonus. There has subsequently been a rash of demands by other groups of workers notably in the car and copper industries.

**The junta is not about to topple, but it can no longer rule in the old way.**

## New legislation

In an attempt to maintain its position it is now introducing new reactionary legislation.

An Amnesty law which will be used to pardon amongst others the killers of Orlando Letelier (a member of Allende's government). An anti-terrorist law. A Labour plan whereby the junta will try to control the unions as it can no longer outlaw them.

Laws to dismantle the

National Health Service. A new constitution to be published and "voted on" later this year.

All these measures will be opposed by workers in Chile. And it is vital that they are taken up by the international labour movement.

## Future

Chilean workers still see the economic isolation of the Chilean regime by international labour as vital.

At the moment the junta's position is still strong. But the strength of the workers is growing. The economy is still labouring under the monetarist Chicago school of Milton Friedman. Although some industries have begun to grow, inflation is still running at 80%.

All I spoke to in Chile saw the struggle ahead as a long one. But compared to just a few years ago, the signs are encouraging. If in their new struggles Chilean workers are able to build a mass workers' party with a socialist programme they would not only be able to sweep away the junta, but also the profit system which spawned the military regime.

# SOUTH AFRICA

Many people in South Africa and outside have written off talk of class solidarity across the colour lines as the words of dreamers. With whites earning up to twenty times blacks' wages, with privileges being given to whites on the basis of colour, and with all the racist poison implanted in the apartheid society, no socialist thinks unity will be an easy achievement.

The basic group which will fight for democracy and

socialism in South Africa will be the black working class. But it is important if a racial carnage is to be avoided that attempts should be made to win over or neutralise sections of the white working class.

Those who describe all white workers as imperialists effectively help to drive them and keep them in the arms of capitalist reaction.

The following letter appeared in the South African newspaper 'Sunday Times'

on 25th March. Whilst 'Militant' does not agree with all of its sentiments it does show the basis for an appeal to sections of white workers.

"Black man ('Fear not, white brother', 'Sunday Times', March 11), I don't fear you. Neither do I despise you, nor patronise you.

I belong to a minority group commonly known as the working class, salt of the earth, consumer, broad public or what have you.

Thirty years ago, when I started my apprenticeship, our union motto was 'Equal work, equal pay'. It still is.

Unfortunately, we have been indoctrinated for the same length of time to fear for our jobs. That is why I did not mind your not having the necessary schooling to qualify for an apprenticeship.

Now I realise that for us to have any say in running our country, we must have a stronger working-class vote. That is hardly possible when 75 per cent of the working class is voiceless.

I understand your frustration and possible hatred of the whites when I realise my children will not have it any better than I.

You see my car and my house and my TV and you envy me.

But my car is not paid for, the house belongs to the mine; the TV serves to keep my wife from going mad while I work overtime to make ends meet.

Do you know what I feel when I see black mothers or wives living away from their families to do another woman's housework, also trying to make ends meet?

Friend, we're both in the same trap. No, I am not scared of you.

Starting off with equal opportunities, I could still beat you. But I don't want to. Shoulder to shoulder is what I desire most.

The real scared people are the people on top of the heap in this country, financially and politically.

But that's enough. I could scribble on for yours. See you down the mine.

—WHITE BROTHER 99

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES

### IRAN

Following the nationalisation of the banks and insurance companies [see 'Militant' 5th July] the Khomeini regime last week nationalised virtually all Iran's modern manufacturing industry.

Combined with the seizure of the assets of the royal family, only a small proportion of Iran's economy now remains in private hands.

The regime has been driven into taking this act, because it had little alternative. With the overthrow of the Shah many

capitalists fled the country.

Bazargan, the Prime Minister, explained that the only way to get manufacturing going, was for the state to take them over.

Iran and Brazil were once lauded as examples of how capitalism could develop the Third World. But it has not worked like that. Industrialisation creates a working class but not a stable economy and that spells death for the shaky regimes which try to maintain private enterprise.

### BRAZIL

As a result of the growing pressure and willingness to fight by Brazilian workers [see 'Militant', 22nd June], the government has recently introduced a Political Amnesty Bill.

This will allow the leaders of the Communist Party and the Peasant League to return along with two radical state governors, one of whom wishes to re-create the Brazilian Labour Party.

The junta wishes to control the pace of change. Some

hard-line generals vetoed proposals to legalise the Communist Party. But the amnesty is a major indication of the weakness of the regime.

They recognise they cannot govern in the old way. Obviously they hope that the returnees will split the opposition. But 15 years after coming to power in a military coup, six years after 'lending' their torturers to Pinochet in Chile the days are numbered for the rulers of the continent's economic giant.

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## Indian police 'disturb' Mr Desai

Dear Comrades

May I nominate the following for one of the most self-contradicting, mis-informed, distressing, blood-curdling, anger-provoking, just plain stupid quotes:

*"The police have no justification in revolting or taking to agitation. If the police are allowed to do that, no democracy can survive."*

The quote is from Mr Desai of India's fascist-orientated ruling Janata Party, facing a revolt by certain sections of the police force fighting for better pay.

Now he is proposing "preventive detention laws...for illegal elements, or disturbing elements." What constitutes 'disturbing' elements is an open question. And people he labels as 'anarchists' will "have to be dealt with in a special way."

Obviously the working class must prepare to steel itself for what will be even greater attacks on its virtually non-existent living standards by a bankrupt and destitute, so-called 'democratic' government.

Yours fraternally  
Andy Bullen  
CPSA

## Tories hit the sick first

Dear Comrades

Did anybody see the headlines about "suffering patients" this week? No—there weren't any, probably because it wasn't a strike by nurses or hospital porters this time.

Instead a local mental hospital announced it might have to close because it hasn't got enough staff. This would mean people taking in mentally ill relatives they aren't really equipped to cope with.

In addition, an award-winning day centre for the mentally handicapped at another hospital is still unopened after six months because the Area Health Authority cannot afford to employ the staff to run it.

A spokesman said it could be two years before the centre was fully staffed—without allowing for the cuts in public expenditure being contemplated by the hatchet men (and women) in Westminster.

It's not just the mentally ill who are suffering either. On the same news bulletin a spokesman for the County Council told us some services would have to go because of the cuts, £5½m off the council's budget.

The Tories aren't interested in the health or living standards of the working class. We are going to have to defend them ourselves.

We also have to fight for the quickest possible return of a Labour government with a socialist programme capable of not only maintaining, but vastly improving them.

Fraternally  
Chris Ridge  
USDAW, Nottingham

## ROBIN HOOD RIDES AGAIN—BACKWARDS

Dear Comrades

I have just returned from a course held in Birmingham with other workers from all over the country.

The reaction of my workmates to the budget can be summed up in the phrase of one of my Scottish brothers, who described it as a "Doooh Nibor". At first I thought I was being sworn at in Gaelic, but on further enquiry I found out that it stood for Robin Hood backwards—the Tories are robbing the poor to give to the rich!

Various comments were passed about Thatcher getting her priorities right by allowing socially useful tax exiles like pop and film stars back into the country while refusing parasites such as nurses and health workers a decent living wage.

The reality of what a Tory government means has come home with a bang to working people. The con-trick of tax cuts has been exposed for the meaningless myth it always was—if you happen to be one of those unfortunates on under £10,000 a year. For the rest of us, the price of basic commodities like food and clothes, prescription charges and rents continues to rise.

By the end of an evening discussing the situation and attempting to beat the budget before the price of beer [and the brewers' profits] went up, my Scottish friend had to agree "perhaps we ought to have your revolution after all..."

Yours fraternally  
Alan Beynon  
York CPSA [P&T branch]

## Ending low-paid "women's work"

Dear Comrades

Although I agree with the case Dave Cotterill put in issue 461 of the paper, opposing shift work, I want to raise a couple of points about it.

The article is entirely negative on the subject of women. You say what women must not be allowed to do. But what is the way forward out of the vicious circle of working in the home and in low-paid "women's jobs"?

To stop at preventing the worst excesses of the exploitation of women's vulnerable position in paid work, in no way tackles its causes.

Secondly, by using the argument of the "responsibility" of women for running

the home without also pointing out that jobs should be organised so that the responsibility can be shared by men (thus enabling women to take part in politics and life outside the family), you are tacitly supporting what is clearly the basic cause of subordination of women in paid work and the home.

Third, the article urges men to oppose shift work for women, but not for themselves.

There are unfortunately plenty of examples in history of male workers promoting 'protection' of women workers as a means of excluding women from competing in a certain area of work. This is bound to continue so long as

men are forced to do shift work to earn a living.

The question that the Equal Opportunities Commission was, evidently misguidedly, trying to deal with is that at the moment there cannot be "equal pay for equal work" because women are confined to "women's jobs".

By putting your emphasis on the necessary restrictions on women's work, rather than on the need to reduce hours and shift work for men (which would mean that women could then do more of the same jobs) you are supporting the present division of labour.

Fraternally  
Jacky Turner  
London

## Does 'Militant's' programme put voters off?

Dear Comrades

One can only wonder who Peter Lush was addressing himself to when supposedly replying to my recent letter (see 'Militant' 406—Ed).

He certainly fails to deal with the one point I raised, namely the doubtful electoral advantages of the 'Militant' programme. I was only concerned to question the claim made by 'Militant' speakers and repeated by Peter Lush, that rock-solid Tory seats like Bournemouth East could be won if Labour fought on the 'Militant' programme.

Bournemouth is one of the places where the ruling class retire to. They would be making bombs in Bournemouth East, not voting Labour, if we had the 'Militant' programme—which in itself is not an argument

against the 'Militant' programme!

Are perhaps some 'Militant' comrades also worried by the questions I raised, and is it in order to allay their anxiety that Peter Lush seems compelled to distort what I say?

Nowhere did I imply that Labour's defeat was due to the fact that some Labour candidates fought on a left-wing programme. Contrary to what Peter Lush tries to infer, I certainly do believe that Labour should fight on a left-wing programme and this was implied in my letter.

But this is only one condition for victory.

Only if Labour governments act in the interests of the working class will they retain the confidence of the Labour electorate. The govern-

ment of 1974-79 betrayed the working class and we paid the penalty.

But there are left-wing programmes and left-wing programmes. A programme, no matter how left wing, that the working class cannot relate to will not be a success electorally.

It may be that the 'Militant' programme falls into this category. How else are we to explain the recent disaster at Liverpool in the Euro-election, where the only 'Militant' supporter was standing?

The Tories captured Liverpool on a swing to them since the general election of 11.3%, which was the largest swing to the Tories in the whole of the UK. Barbara Castle, who fought a similar constituency on what by all accounts was also a leftish programme, had

## FREE ENTERPRISE CORROSION

Dear Comrades

With the recent price rises in beer—my local brewery, Ansells, put 3p on a pint instead of the 2p the Tory budget promised—I decided to move into home brewing.

About nine months ago I purchased a special valve (£1.50 for two bits of metal) to go on a pressure barrel. Last week I noticed that it was leaking.

After some considerable trouble (due to corrosion) I got it off the barrel and took it back to the friendly retailer (a large store that sells everything except what it's named after).

The manager was duly summoned and explained to me that all you had to do was bang it and it would be all right. Seeing that I was unimpressed with this course of action, he fetched a replacement.

The replacement was a

## A warning for Thatcher

Dear Sir

The sooner this Tory government is out of power the better it will be.

This Tory government is only out for the rich and filling their own pockets. They have no thought or consideration for the working people or those suffering in hospitals and the sick.

They are inconsiderate, selfish and greedy, these Tories. Let's get them out—the sooner the better.

Mrs Thatcher has been warned. We want love, peace, freedom, and help for all the sick and suffering and jobs for the workers: a fair deal for all.

Yes, we want things right and straight in this world, not the way the government is doing things.

This government is making things worse and worse. I hope this Tory government is soon put out of power.

I am yours sincerely  
D P Harland  
Eastbourne

different design, so I asked whether this was to avoid the corrosion of the previous one. He muttered that it was just to make it cheaper.

Anyway, he added, I shouldn't expect these things to last forever. I said that I expected them to last longer than nine months. He countered by saying if they lasted forever, then the shop would never sell anything!

I toyed with the idea of explaining the benefits of a planned economy to this honest spokesman for "free enterprise", but decided against it.

Roll on socialism when things are made to last forever, and resources are used for things people need, not squandered on built-in obsolescence.

Yours fraternally  
Simon Heather  
ASTMS

## Women in manual trades: the problems

Dear Editor

Since the Sex Discrimination Act came into operation in December 1975, many women have entered or attempted to enter manual trades formerly banned to them.

A variety of difficulties have been encountered due to entrenched prejudices, sex-biased education, and many employers finding numerous excuses for refusing to employ a woman when she applies for a job.

To help women obtain their rights, an organisation called Women In Manual Trades (WIMT) was set up. WIMT is open to all women who work in, or are interested in working in, manual trades formerly exclusive to men, e.g. building, skilled engineering, printing, etc.

We try to help and encourage girls still at school, school leavers and older women who wish to enter manual trades or who want to know more about them. We also assist women already in these trades to withstand the pressures they encounter at work and elsewhere and to provide mutual support.

National conferences are held twice a year and a newsletter is also published. In areas where there are enough members, groups have been formed.

Women interested please contact WIMT (North), c/o Tess McMahon, 16 Sholebroke Ave, Leeds 7.

Fraternally  
Flo Giblett

# RECORD TOTAL BRINGS US NEARER TARGET

By Clare Doyle

Readers of the 'Militant' have responded magnificently to the latest appeals for cash. The week's total, which includes the Euroraffle proceeds, has gone well over the £5,000 mark! Another two weeks like that and we will be back on target! But...it isn't easy.

Three supporters did find themselves in a position to make £100 donations this week. But, however 'lucky' they are, giving this amount of money still represents a very welcome sacrifice on their part.

A UPW member in Salford having just received a lump sum in back pay sent us one of the £30s we asked for to instal two new phone lines at our office. D Williamson of Glasgow organised an appeal at his workplace—the National Savings Bank office—to 'mop up' some of his colleagues' back pay too and bettered his last total of £43.24.

On a hand-written sheet he explained: "The Tories' budget has meant a massive increase in the cost of living and so the 'Militant' once more asks you to find a little extra on your paper this week to help build the only journal in the labour movement which will campaign for the correct and bold socialist policies that will rid working people of the threat of Toryism for ever! Remember—the 'Militant' survives only on the donations of working people so give generously!"

A reader in Fife sent £1 saying: "Sorry I can't afford more out of my £34 SS payments but with wife and four kids it's hard enough to

survive. Good luck with half-yearly target."

And even our references last week to Wimbledon brought £1 from a Nottingham 'bet on Borg-Connors match'!

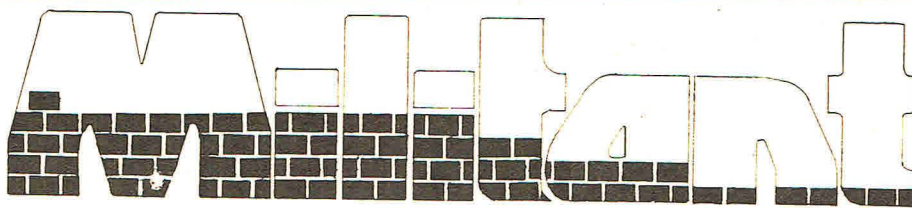
The sources of cash for a fighting Marxist paper are numerous! Just a glimpse of the efforts for the first half-year Fund total is given below (and just a glimpse of some of the weak areas is given on the chart!). To reach the year's target of £85,000, every source in your area must be tapped! Don't ease up over the holiday period—as far as cash for the 'Militant' is concerned, anyway! Every bill still has to be paid!

Listed below are just some of the contributions from each area and the total received this last week [excluding the Euro-raffle shown elsewhere]:

**Eastern:** R&J Walsh £10, H Cowdroy £1, R Palladino £1 towards Ipswich Marxist Discussion Group (though unable to attend) along with £1 from T Bennett and 50p from school student S Billcroft and £3 more. Other meeting collections—Ware £5.62, Peterborough £7.10, Whittlesey Discussion Group the same amount, Norwich DG £2.91 and Harlow DG £2.80. At a party B Edwards raised 85p playing (?) 'Kerplunk' and Andrew McKay (age 9) 65p for darts. Total £123.01.

**Hants & IOW:** Four members of Poole LP Young

## Build



Area	Target 52 wks	Target 26 wks	Proportion of target received	Received
Eastern	4,700	2,350		1,677
Hants & IOW	3,100	1,550		1,382
Humberside	2,000	1,000		880
London North	9,500	4,750		3,152
London South	3,900	1,950		2,016
Manchester & Dist.	4,500	2,250		1,450
Merseyside	5,000	2,500		1,651
Midlands East	3,300	1,650		1,620
Midlands West	9,000	4,500		3,830
Northern	5,500	2,750		1,931
Scotland East	2,900	1,450		872
Scotland West	4,500	2,250		1,374
South East	4,500	2,250		1,974
South West	3,100	1,550		1,446
Wales East	2,600	1,300		884
Wales West	3,400	1,700		857
Yorkshire	6,800	3,500		2,339
Others	6,700	3,250		6,071
<b>Total</b>	<b>85,000</b>	<b>42,500</b>		<b>35,406</b>

Progress towards year's target ██████████ Progress towards July 7th target ██████████

## TARGET FOR THE YEAR £85,000 - TARGET FOR JULY 7th £42,500

**Socialists** £3.70, A Skelly, G&L Nicholls and G Hetherington £1 each, Gosport Readers' Meeting £25, Jumble Sales—Poole £40, Southampton £21 and Ryde beer sales £5.16. Total £396.16.

**Humberside:** R Leggott, K Oxborough and D Fleetwood (YS) £2 each, J Wooliss, D Brown and B Owen (both G&MWU) D Willett £1 each. Shop stewards commission £8.67. Immingham Militant Readers' Meeting £8 and J Prescott MP 40 Belgian Francs (50p). Total £72.97.

**North London:** C O'Malley £8, S Donnelly £4.10, F Lapping £2. £1 H Leggatt (NUPE Branch Sec), M Edmonds, E Castle and Belinda Faulkes (age 3!), £2.70 for 'hand delivery of 6 months 'Militants'! £5.14 at Abbey Ward LP Social. LPYS collections—Hendon South £11, Southgate £2. 'Guess the Fine' (from Southall L ...) £3.30. Total £260.01.

**South London:** Two tax rebates—£96.20 and £10. F&B Kidd (G&MWU) £3. G&S Raffle (?) Stockwell Jumble Sale £75. Refreshments, raffle and 'Projection fee' at Marxist Weekend School £69. Total £375.61.

The all London Euro-do' cleared £153 after covering £60 costs. Special thanks to a student comrade who slipped a £100 cheque into the collection!

# THIS WEEK: £5,207

**Manchester & District:** £8 worth of 1ps and ½ps (M Cummins). Stockport Readers' Meeting £16. UPW members' back pay of £30. Total £73.80. (Lancs nil).

**Merseyside:** Another very welcome £100 donation. £5 G Fyth. £2 A Wynne (NUPE). Bootle YS member C Onions 75p. NGA members collection £9.75. Total £198.42.

**Midlands East:** C Sankey (PWA) £1.15 plus 85p. B Moody (NUM) also £1 for a copy of Militant. Collections at Alan Smith Group £5.75. North Notts LPYS £1.35. Meeting on AUEW claim £20. Total £52.95 (Leics nil).

**Midlands West:** £5 L Hughes (NUPE/YS) and E Croke (Convenor, Kelvin Diesels, Glasgow via Stafford!). £4 J Morrissey (UPW Sec), £3 T Sears. '21st Birthday money

£6.50'. 'Whiskey Raffle' (J Burke). £9 D Patchett (T&G WU). Coventry AUEW Junior or Workers and YS joint discussion group £2.05. First ever Kidderminster Militant public meeting £9.50. Brum Jumble sale £19.13. 'Jumping a canal' (only?) £1! West Midlands '500 club' total raised £312, including £100 donated by winner: Total £580.62.

**Northern:** Subscriber, Seaham £13.60. T Surrige TV appearance £5. K Cox £1. Spennymoor meeting on Russia £5.13. Total £41.44.

**Scotland East:** G Ivers £6.48, A Laird £3. £1s from R Brown (new MP), J Hannan and M Grieve (SS claimant). £12 Dundee Readers' Meeting. £10 new monthly Shipyard sweepstake. Total £95.15.

**Scotland West:** £55 donation H Grant. 'Back pay collection at NSB, Glasgow—£46.50 from 30 people (only three under £1!). £10 E Ralston (T&GWU), K McKay £3. £1s J Gallagher (TASS), G Higgins, R McLean, N McQuat. Quatermass Disco Paisley £62.

Glasgow Disco £17 and Jumble Sale £54.50. Total **South-East:** Medway supporters £60.79. R Ward £5, R Smith £1. Thames Valley Discussion Group £4. Total £117.85.

**South West:** Redruth reader £10, S Russell £8, P Cairns (Br Aerospace) £1.81, B Kelly £1.80, B Ballogley and S Tout £1.25. £1s from D Morgan (T&GWU), D Pole, G Tudor (APEX), A Gray and R Thomas (Ex-MP). S Glos. LPYS £3.50. Newton Abbott raffle £6. Total £72.33.

**Wales East:** YS members £30. Caerphilly Militant readers £23.93. Total £67.70.

**Wales West:** S Alcock (USDAW) £4, Jumble sale £21, 'Supper' £6. Swansea LPYS member at 'Mass media' discussion. Total £47.60.

**Yorkshire:** R Barker £4, B Narey £2. Rotherham Paper 'extras' and 'money jar' £9. Readers' meetings—Sheffield £19 (net), Wakefield £17.50, Cleckheaton £6.70. Wakefield 50s Club £13. Total £132.05.

**Others:** Militant Weekend School—collection etc £398.53. CPSA Executive members—F Bonner, K Roddy, S Appleton, J Tromans, P Byrne and M Duggan—£72! Total £566.78.

**Grand Total for the week [excluding raffle] £3,322.73. Many thanks to every contributor.**

**NB: The first of the Tory tax rebates will arrive on Friday 13th. Lucky for some! Use your rebate to fight the Tories' vicious plans. Build the 'Militant'. Send your tax rebate to the 'Militant' fighting fund.**

## ads

**RATES:**  
CLASSIFIED: 5p per word. Minimum ten words.  
SEMI-DISPLAY: £2 per 2 column centimetres.

All advertisement copy should reach this office by SATURDAY.

**SEAHAM Marxist Discussion Group.** 'Internationalism and nationalism'—what do they mean? Thursday July 19th, 7.30 pm. 6 William Johnson Street, Murton.

### CLASSIFIED

**BARKING LPYS Bastille Day dance** Saturday July 14th, 7.30-12.00 pm. Dukes Head, Barking Road, East Ham (bus no. 23, 162, 238 from Barking Station). Guillotine Disco 50p!

**Picket and Demonstration at the GLC's Home Ownership office, 1-4 King Street, W.C.2.** 10.00 am onwards, Friday 20th July  
★ End council house sales  
★ Close the home ownership office  
★ Sack John Cory-Mitchell, Director of home ownership  
This office has been open for one month  
End council house sales now  
For further information contact Susan Masters, London Tenants' Organisation, 17 Victoria Park Square, London E.2. (981 1221)

### PRINTED SWEATSHIRTS



IN NAVY, RED, BLACK, BOTTLE, SKY, MAROON WITH RED MOTIF

Sizes: S—32-34"; M—34-36"; L—38-40"; XL-40-42"; Child's—26", 28" 30"  
£5.50 incl. postage & packing  
Offer lasts until July 13th

Send size and colour preference with postal order to: R Harris, 249 Margate Rd, Ramsgate, Kent.

ALL PROCEEDS FOR FIGHTING FUND

### DURHAM MINERS' GALA

Saturday 21st July

Northern 'Militant' supporters will provide accommodation on Saturday night for those who want to attend the gala, help sell papers etc.

Social events will be organised around the area on Saturday evening.

Contact Wilf Flynn  
3 Kennet Avenue, Jarrow, Tyne & Wear. Tel:0632-892731

### MILITANT MEETINGS

#### MANSFIELD Militant Public Meeting

'Which Way Forward for the NUM'

Speakers: Henry Richardson (Notts NUM area committee); Ian Isaac (Lodge Secretary, St John's NUM, South Wales), Chairman; Bob Moody (Welbeck NUM), personal capacities Sunday 15 July 7.30 pm. William IV pub, Sutton Road, Mansfield.

**LEWISHAM Marxist Discussion Group** Thursday July 19th Marxism and Economics; Thursday August 2nd: Marxism and the trade unions. All meetings start at 8 pm. Venue: Deptford Town Hall, New Cross Road, S.E.14.

**HOUGHTON - LE - SPRING Marxist Discussion Group.** The State and Revolution (Lenin). Thursday July 26th, 7.30, 13 Finchale Court, West Rainton, near Houghton-le-Spring

### DON'T BLAME ME! I Voted LABOUR

100 badges at £13 plus £1 postage. Contact Val Pearce, 16 Wagbullock Rise, Bracknell, Berks. All profits to the Militant Fighting Fund. Money with order please.

# GLEN NEWSPAPERS

## Management like Victorian Mill Owners

Journalists in East London have come out on an indefinite strike against a management who have "the mentality of Victorian mill-owners."

Members of the National Union of Journalists at GLEN newspapers walked out last week with fellow members at the Express group, which was recently taken over by GLEN.

When they took over, the GLEN management proceeded to tear up an agreement enjoyed by the Express journalists, including a closed shop, which the NUJ members had taken three years to win.

After a seven-week strike earlier this year, the Express journalists returned to work with a guaranteed staff level of 35. Soon afterwards GLEN took over—since then 15 vacancies have been created

By Bob Wade

and remain unfulfilled.

Staff transfers have been ordered, bringing non-union staff into the closed shop, and staff have been shifted without consultation. Senior editorial staff have been persuaded to resign from the NUJ, in breach of the house agreement.

A former deputy FOC of the GLEN group, Mike Jempson, has been clearly victimised. When he was eventually hounded out of this company, he joined the Express group as a freelance reporter. When GLEN took over the Express, Mike was thrown out on the coals on the excuse that the company didn't need him—even though the 'East Ender' was understaffed and Mike had worked for many years as a

journalist in East London.

When this was brought up during negotiations over the house agreement the management said they didn't want to discuss it and contemptuously said they were 'bored' with the whole issue.

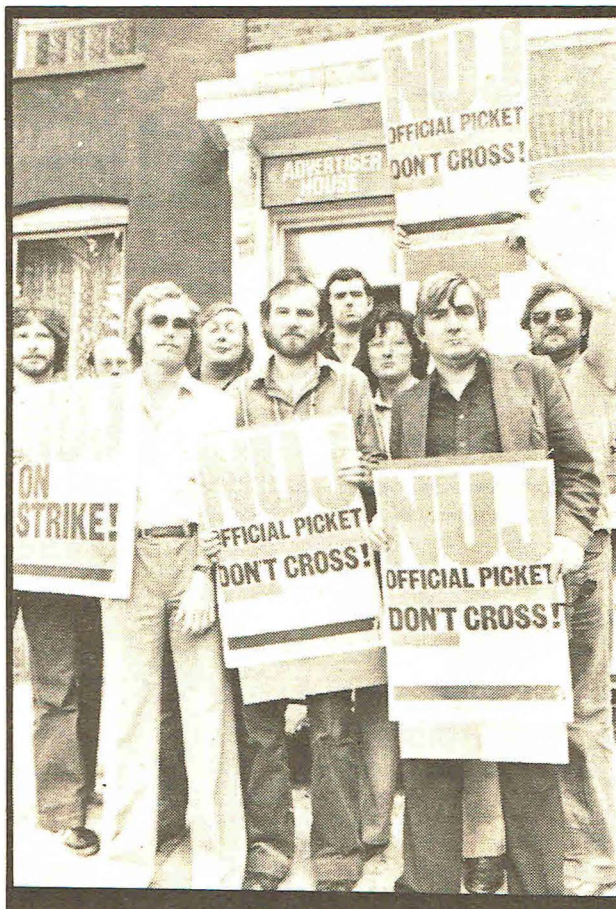
Now with the strike only a week old management are telephoning strikers to tell them that their union membership will be held against them in the future.

One striker said: "You can't negotiate with people like this—our only recourse is strike action. Their industrial relations mentality is like that of a Victorian mill owner."

The defence of the closed shop and the fight against victimisation of union members is a fight for the whole trade union movement.

Don't communicate with the GLEN/Express newspapers which include the Dagenham Post, East Ender, East London Advertiser and the Stratford Express.

Photo: J McKittrick



NUJ member picket East London Advertiser offices

The chapels need money—both chapels were involved in strikes earlier this year and have given most of their funds to the journalists involved in the Nottingham 'Evening Post' dispute. Send donations to 48 Wyatt Road, Forest Gate, London E.7.

Henshaw's, Edinburgh

DEFEND UNION RIGHTS

For the second time in four months, the workers in this machine shop at Charles Henshaw and Sons Ltd, Edinburgh, have been forced to take strike action against the dismissal of their shop steward.

In April, after working for the company for only two weeks, I was elected steward of the machine shop. Previously, there were only "workers' representatives", and the factory was not well organised.

This is still the case in the other shops where workers belong to several different unions.

Angered by a management move to delay the payment of wages from the normal time of 11.30 am, when they were normally paid, to 3.30, the machine shop staged a demonstration by walking out. A few weeks later, two workers received a written warning about bad time-keeping, despite not having had verbal warnings, which is supposed to be the case.

Then the following Friday I was called in to the office and told that I did not fit in with the company's standard of time-keeping and was being dismissed. When the management refused to change their position the shop walked out on strike, immediately made official by the District Committee.

Within a few days, management had caved in and re-instated me. It was agreed that I would receive a disciplinary warning, but only on condition that a disciplinary code was drawn up, under which all old warnings would be void.

Now history has repeated itself. Just before the summer holiday, I was again informed that my bad time-keeping were grounds for dismissal and a letter was sent to me on 26th June confirming this. The next day, the machine shop came out again, and will remain out after the annual holidays until I am re-instated.

This firm consistently drags its feet in its dealings with the unions. Just as the strike was beginning, the AUEW Assistant Divisional Organiser was attempting to negotiate a new holiday agreement.

The firm have amended the industry-wide agreement so that the starting date for getting holiday pay is 1st June instead of 1st January, which has left several newly-started workers out of pocket.

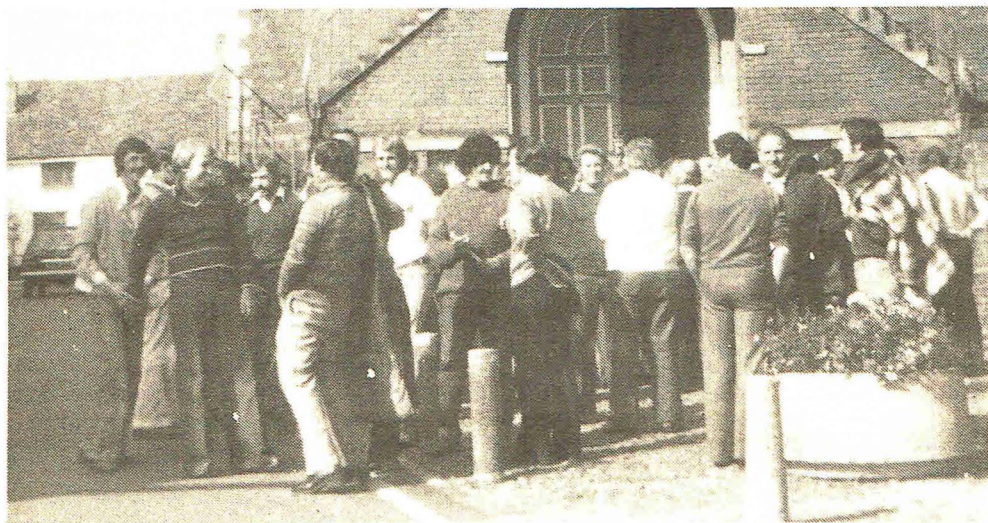
A campaign has been launched to mobilise the trade union movement in the Edinburgh area in support of this strike for the basic right to elect a shop steward, and for him to represent the members without fear of victimisation.

Please send donations to the strike fund and messages of support to:— AUEW, 145 Morrison Street, Edinburgh.

By Alan Douglas

(AUEW steward, Charles Henshaw & Sons Ltd)

## US AIR BASES



Pickets were arrested in last year's dispute. The photo shows construction workers outside the Woodbridge magistrates court

## LOCKOUT AND INTIMIDATION

Through bitter strike action last year, construction workers on the US Air Force bases in East Anglia won a favourable settlement. But this has never been fully implemented, and now 140 men are involved in action against Costains, one of the main contractors.

The strike committee has issued the following statement:

"Due to the break-down of management on the USAF bases in East Anglia (Woodbridge, Lakenheath and Bentwaters) Costains have again

### From Denis Young

(Press officer for strike committee, Woodbridge, Lakenheath & Bentwaters)

resorted to intimidation, threats and with-holding of men's wages, for example:

★ The sacking of a convenor steward for carrying out his lawful union duties.

★ The lock-out of any man who does not want to be used as slave labour.

★ The deliberate action of trying to stop men from drawing social security to feed their wives and children, after

they had locked them out.

"We do not want to be out of work. We all have mortgages to pay and children to feed. We just do not understand how an employer such as Costains can behave in such a manner towards a workforce that has tried to get on with the job.

For example, men employed as carpenters have been doing labouring jobs etc just to keep the job going. Do Costains stand to make money from the client of the job, over this, or what?"

"We just want the right to work and earn a living".

## PYE LIVINGSTON

# Multi-Nationals Threatens Closure

"Dole money's no' funny! We want work!"

These were the slogans shouted by 400 angry women workers who marched through Livingston, West Lothian, last Monday, protesting against the threatened closure of the Pye-TMC factory by the Phillips multi-national combine which took over Pye last year.

They were joined in the march by three coach-loads of their fellow workers from the Pye factory in Airdrie, and delegations from BL, Bath-

gate, Ferranti and Parsons-Peebles, Edinburgh, and Edinburgh Trades Council.

The factory manufactures transmission equipment for the telecommunications industry, but Pye no longer have the contract for the British Post Office and Phillips have transferred this product to one of their Dutch factories.

The march ended outside the office of the Livingstone Development Corporation, whose officials had met the marchers and assured them

that they had done everything to help Pye to find an alternative occupier for the factory—an answer which did not satisfy the marchers.

The factory convenor, Lorraine Bryce, explained the urgency of the situation. The first 200 jobs are due to go on 13 July. Deputations to the Scottish TUC and Electricians' Union (EETPU) conferences have produced no results. With unemployment in Livingston already at 15%, the outlook for these 474 workers is grim.

## CADBURY'S: LITTLE TO CELEBRATE

This summer marks the centenary of chocolate making at Cadbury's Bournville site in Birmingham. But there is little for Cadbury workers to celebrate.

Cadbury's bosses have shown their contempt for the workers by forcing through a "continental" 12-hour shift system, four days on, four days off, since 16 June, despite the overwhelming opposition of the workforce.

Meanwhile Cadbury, new Tory MP for Birmingham Northfield is trying to introduce a Bill for compulsory secret ballots in trade unions.

At Cadbury's Bournville, the workers rejected Continental shifts by a 2-1 majority both at a mass meeting and in a secret ballot, yet the management are attempting to ride rough-shod over the democratically determined wishes of the workforce and introduce the shift anyway.

Management introduced the shifts, using 60 "volunteers" in the cream egg plant. The supply of liquid chocolate to the cream eggs was blocked, and the workers on the loading decks refused to touch them too.

The company responded by sending these workers home. As a result, the whole factory

By Bill Murray (APEX steward) and Graham Debenhams (TGWU steward) personal capacity

has ground to a halt, with 4,000 production workers (TGWU and USDAW) on strike, demanding the end of any continental shifts.

Even some of the "volunteers" have joined the strike in sympathy. Last Friday morning (6 July), 20 came out again after crossing the picket line.

The mood on the picket line is good, with a 24-hour picket rota, and most of the TGWU lorry drivers are turning back. Cadbury workers are determined to win a victory and strengthen their shop floor organisation.

Next week, 100 years of Cadbury's.

### FOR A SHORTER WEEK

At a mass meeting held on site at IMI Kirkby on 18th June, the members of 6/S23 Branch of the Transport and General Workers' Union overwhelmingly and enthusiastically voted to accept their stewards' recommendation to pursue a shorter working week by introducing a mini-shift on a Friday.

This action was out of procedure, however, and the members were advised by the local official, E Roberts and convenor F Martin to first go through the procedure. At a mass meeting a week later, members voted to suspend all action until the end of August so negotiations could go ahead.

We are now in procedure and the members feel that if there is not a satisfactory answer by August, the enthusiastic response will probably escalate.

Our eyes are now opening to see that the capitalist system doesn't offer or give a better standard of living. We have to fight for ourselves.

By George Devlin (TGWU IMI, personal capacity)

### By Pat Craven

A massive campaign of solidarity is needed if these workers are to keep the factory open. Members of the EETPU and workers in the Phillips/Pye/TMC combine especially, should be rushing in donations and messages of support to:

Ms Lorraine Bryce, Convenor, Joint Shop Stewards Cttee, Pye-TMC Ltd, Houston Industrial Estate, Livingston, West Lothian.

# NUM CONFERENCE: STOP PIT CLOSURES

"Someone somewhere has got to say this is enough!" said Emlyn Williams, President of the South Wales Miners, during a heated debate over pit closures.

Miners from Yorkshire, Scotland, North Wales, Durham, and Northumberland pledged their full support in the fight to save Deep Duffryn colliery in South Wales.

The possibility of strike action spilling over to a national stoppage was on the cards. In the words of Mick McGahey, the Scottish President: "Deep Duffryn is not a South Wales issue—it is an issue for every coal field in Britain."

Feeling the intense pressure from below, Joe Gormley himself came out with fighting talk, but at

the same time pleading with the NCB to change its attitude: "I am appealing to the Coal Board to change their minds before it is too late, because there will be a hell of a period of discontent in the British coal fields soon if they don't."

Deep Duffryn was seen as the first in the firing line—ten other pits in South Wales have also been earmarked for closure. In the Cynon Valley itself there were 14 pits in existence in 1959. Now there are only four.

The actions of the National Coal Board would be "absolute butchery" if they were to be carried out. This united opposition has forced the hands of the NCB to rethink its position.

On Monday they issued a statement saying they were to reverse the decision in face of this pressure. Deep Duffryn Colliery itself would be granted a £3 million subsidy to develop the coal reserve.

A note of warning, however, was given about the

need for flexibility—otherwise the future of the pit could not be sure. The miners in South Wales will remain vigilant until this statement is put into practice.

In the closing session of conference, a resolution was defeated which attempted further to democratise the NUM and make its leaders more accountable. The resolution for rules change was submitted by the Derbyshire area, calling for the election of officials every five years with an age limit of 65. Although this was defeated, similar resolutions stand a very good chance of being passed in the future.

In the South Wales area conference, for example, a similar resolution was narrowly defeated. A majority in this coalfield would in fact swing the issue on a national scale.

Holding the NUM conference in a tax haven tourist resort like Jersey had created a stir amongst the rank and file in the union. This resulted in a resolution calling for conference to be held only in

mainland Britain being submitted.

The intention of holding the conference in Jersey was for delegates to bring their wives and enjoy themselves and forget about the daily struggle back home.

As one delegate said to me: "How can you get up and defend the conference being here?" But this was left to the host area, the Durham Mechanics Association, whose delegate called upon Joe Gormley to defeat the resolution and uphold union democracy!

When the vote was called a handful voted in favour and then a handful against. The majority abstained—including left-wing areas pledged to support the resolution. To everyone's absolute astonishment, Gormley declared the resolution lost and called next business!

Yet despite the holiday atmosphere, the pressures back home undoubtedly let themselves be felt over wages and pit closures in particular.

The Tories are now preparing for a future conflict with the miners. Already 750,000



NUM members on the march—more battles to follow this winter?

tons of coal are being moved from the pitheads in Yorkshire to the power stations at Ferrybridge, Eggborough.

Drax and Thorpemarsh. The miners must now prepare the union for such a battle looming this winter.

## UNITY AGAINST 'BEECHING BRIGADE'

The 77 delegates meeting in Paignton for the National Union of Railwaymen's annual conference displayed a firm and consistent resolve to oppose any Tory attempts to cut existing rail network, sell profitable sections of British Rail such as Sealink and the British Transport Hotels, or to curb pay levels and conditions of work.

The "Beeching brigade" are already calling for the axing of 2,000 miles of track, warned President Alun Rees. He made it clear that if the industry was threatened the NUR would do all in its power to resist.

Bro Rees exposed the Tories' hypocrisy in telling the unions to leave politics to the elected government. He set the tone for the whole conference with his opening call for a campaign around the demand for a 35-hour week, the sharing out of work without loss of pay to alleviate unemployment, and for the return of a Labour government pledged to socialist policies.

Bro Turton from Sheffield pointed out that the reason for Labour's defeat lay in the fact that the leadership of the party had failed to pursue socialist policies. Criticising the attacks made by Labour leaders recently on low-paid workers, he argued that no Labour government had ever been prepared to break with capitalist policies and implement its commitment to Clause IV.

Sid Weighell's statement that "the Tories talk a different language", and so free collective bargaining was once again the order of the day, brought many delegates



NUR banners on Blair Peach funeral

Photo: MILITANT

to their feet demanding a campaign against low pay.

A resolution calling for "a basic rate of £65 for railmen with appropriate increases for other grades" was defeated by 47 votes to 30.

Sid Weighell, opposing the demand, argued that inflation was rising so quickly that by December 1979 the £65 claim might be insufficient. The conference has thus given the Executive no mandate, but railmen will be watching with a critical eye the progress made on achieving a living wage.

The mood of conference was serious. The next twelve months will be critical for the railway industry.

Spiralling energy costs meaning massive fare rises.

The recent budget lopped £14 million off external finance and £1 million from the railfreight grants.

If railwaymen are to effectively oppose these attacks, it is vital that the squabbling between NUR and ASLEF is replaced with a co-ordinated campaign, involving TSSA as well, to defend the railways.

The fight against the Tories must also be taken up politically through the Labour Party, railmen must launch a real struggle for socialist policies.

It is only through such a struggle that, as the union president put it, "The Tories can be banished to the dustbin of history."

Report by Robin Clapp

## FOSTER WHEELER 750 WORKERS SACKED

On Thursday 5 July, 750 men were sacked from Foster Wheeler Ltd, a contracting firm near Immingham. This was allegedly for refusing to comply with their conditions of employment.

In fact, the men had been working to rule since 27 June in an attempt to secure a better bonus payment. With most men earning an average of £50-£55 a week without bonus the added payments were essential to make it up to a living wage.

At the moment, the bonus is about 70p an hour and the men are asking for a more

satisfactory level, nearer £1 an hour.

They are particularly dissatisfied with the conditions in an industry where there are only 9 to 10 months' work a year.

Management have already claimed workers are earning £145 a week for 40 hours, a ludicrous suggestion. One steward commented: "If that was the case we would be tearing down the fences to get back to work."

In fact, mass sackings in this field seem to be a well-tried tactic with Foster Wheeler, in order to negotiate

directly with union delegates rather than shop stewards.

Pickets of 80 to 100 men have been mounted every day to gain support from workers on the site employed by other contract firms.

The men are understandably bitter about the sackings and fed up with the already lengthy and drawn out negotiations. But they are now more determined to bring the issue to a victorious conclusion.

Mike Forster talked to a shop steward at Foster Wheeler

## FIRMINS-FIGHTING VICTIMISATION

The 'Militant' meeting held on 6 July outlined the past and possible future of the workers of Firmin's, Birmingham, currently on strike over enforced redundancies.

Chris Davies, convenor at Firmin's, spoke of the events leading up to these redundancies.

Discussions on the redundancies in the stamp shop both at domestic and plant level were held some six weeks ago. Management tried to push the union into accepting "selective redundancies."

The union refused, so a "voluntary redundancy" plan was initiated (six volunteers asked for), later management told the shop stewards that three volunteers had been accepted.

With three still required, management brazenly proposed:

1) For one worker with 20

year's service: alternative work in the polishing shop; 2) Another, already suffering from respiratory problems, to begin working the gas-soldering department; both as trainees on a month's trial! 3) Chris Davies, convenor, selected for redundancy to take effect within days!

Consequently, an immediate failure to agree was registered, and the workforce met and voted unanimously for strike action—which began on Wednesday 20 June.

The call for a united stand against future dictatorial management was reiterated at the meeting by Chris Newis, of the National Graphical Society, who spoke of the vital struggle of workers nationwide to build up their trade union against renewed attacks from big business and the Tories

Such is the bosses fear of

trade unions, they will use any under-hand, desperate attempt to destroy any organisation being built up. Naturally, the Tory government will try to help the bosses with repressive legislation, laws on picketing, etc.

With a new wave of redundancies sweeping Britain's diseased industry, it is vital for the whole labour movement to take a stand against sackings in general, and the victimisation of shop-floor leaders like Chris Davies in particular.

By Flo Wardle

(NSMM STRIKE COMMITTEE, Firmins, Birmingham)

# GLC TORIES SELL OFF COUNCIL HOMES

**In a blaze of publicity, the Tory-controlled Greater London Council last month opened its so-called 'Home Ownership Office'.**

This Office will not, of course, be providing cheap mortgages for reasonably priced private houses. Nor will it be helping tenants to escape from the mercenary clutches of private landlords.

No this office will be selling off the best—the 'most desirable'—of the GLC's own houses.

"The role of housing authorities is changing", says the Tory Minister for Housing and Construction. "Up to now, they have concentrated

By Mike Levene

on the provision of homes to rent. Increasingly, they are going to be concerned with the advance of home ownership as well."

This 'advance', however, won't be making any more homes available. It will simply be taking homes out of the public sector—where nationally there are currently over 1 million on the council waiting lists—and putting them into the private sector.

The result? Even longer

waiting lists! Even more homeless families! More power and profit to the private landlords, the blood-suckers who live off people's need for a home.

The Tories describe the GLC's retrograde move as an "imaginative initiative". Who better, then, to supervise this scheme than John Cory Mitchell?

This man, appointed by the GLC Tories to run the 'Home Ownership Office', is already director of no less than 58 companies.

Fourteen of these companies are connected with shipping giant Cunards, twelve with the 'Ideal Building Corporation', and six with the Trafalgar House empire. This company, which increased its profits from £81 million to £104 million from 1977 to 1978, is the property and finance corporation which

now owns the extremely right-wing, pro-Tory Daily Express group.

Victor Matthews who runs the newspaper empire, makes no secret of his political bias: "the Beaverbrook papers should continue and express their views which are sympathetic to those of the Conservative Party and of capitalism." [1.7.77]. Trafalgar House donated £66,000 to the Tories in 1976/8.

Could the close connection between the Tory Party, the capitalist press, and big finance and property interests really be made clearer? Next Friday, Greater London tenants' organisations will be picketing this Home Ownership Office. The whole labour movement should support them in fighting the reactionary policy of selling off much-needed homes, in London or elsewhere.

# Militant

The Marxist Paper for Labour and Youth

Tel: 01-986 3828

Editor: Peter Taaffe, Business Manager: Dave Galashan. Published by Militant, 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN. Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office. Printed by Cambridge Heath Press Ltd [TU]

## TRADE UNION RIGHTS

CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE

full support for the strongest possible defence of basic trade union rights."

This resolution, which will be endorsed by millions of other trade unionists, must be acted on.

The TUC and all trade unions must rapidly call shop-floor and branch meetings, local and national meetings, to explain the need for a mass

The Thatcher government will not be made to retreat through friendly arguments and appeals to reason. Only a bold demonstration of power by the trade unions will stop these measures.

Locally and nationally, massive rallies and demonstrations must be organised by the trade unions to show the Tories that the organised workers will not tolerate attacks on trade union rights.

Thatcher and her big business friends must be shown that if they at-

Harry Urwin, Deputy General Secretary, moving the resolution, pointed out that the laws on picketing were already very restrictive, and the talk of secondary picketing was a mere smokescreen for withdrawing immunity from unions.

The only dissent was from delegates who felt the proposals didn't go far enough. That instead of calling on the TUC to act, the TGWU should take the lead in the fight back.

campaign of action against the Tory measures.

The Tories' talk of consultation is so much eye-wash. Their anti-union measures flow from their anti-working class policies. They are part and parcel of the same programme.

tempt to carry through their proposals they will face an even bigger upheaval than the wave of industrial action which rocked and finally wrecked the Heath government in 1974.

[Editorial comment, page 2]

# CHRYSLER WORKERS OUT FOR FULL CLAIM

**Two thousand production workers at Chrysler's Ryton plant in Coventry downed tools on Friday 29 June in support of their pay claim.**

On the following Tuesday, a mass meeting at the Coventry Stoke plant voted to give management ten days' notice of strike action if an improved offer was not forthcoming. Only 15 of the 3,400 production workers voted against.

The last few months have been tough enough for Chrysler workers, particularly at the Stoke plant. The revolution in Iran put a stop to orders from the Chrysler plant there, resulting in 1,300 production and indirect workers being laid off.

Management took advantage of this situation, and forced the transfer of 300 men from Stoke to Ryton. These were mainly machinists, who were forced onto assembly work, and about a third of them resigned in disgust.

After six weeks, guaranteed lay-off pay ran out. By this time, many of the men became dispirited, but when stewards were able to negotiate 85% of pay, based on legislation passed by the last Labour government to avoid the threat of redundancy, and with orders from Iran begin-

ning to pick up again, the workers' confidence grew.

There is overwhelming support for action to secure a claim based on a 25% increase in the basic, reduction in the working week, guaranteed full lay-off pay, 25 days' annual holiday, and maternity leave.

The events of the last few months, together with the Peugeot-Citroen take-over of Chrysler, which could threaten jobs, have galvanised the workforce and put them in a fighting mood.

Unless management comes up with a big increase in basic rates, they'll have a big fight on their hands.

Phil Luker spoke to Dave Edwards, T&GWU convenor, Chrysler Stoke, Coventry.

## EURO-DRAW RESULTS

The winners of the 'Militant' Eurodraw drawn on Saturday 7th July were:

1st prize [week in Rome for 2]: M Crowley, London SE7 [04096]; 2nd [weekend in Amsterdam]: V Strange, Caerphilly [34844]; 3rd: crate of wine: J Johnson, Birmingham 31 [17125]; 4th: coffee maker: J Atkins, London SW17 [04932]; 5th: cognac: J Whiffen, Glasgow G42 [13873]; 6th: garlic press: B Morgan, Liverpool L25 7th: Irish whisky: R McDonald, Liverpool 15 [22893]; 8th: Danish bacon: G Brown, Chester-le-Street [56729]; 9th: German sausage: S Batty, Iver, Bucks [06921]; 10th: Brussels sprout: T Thomas, St Barts Hospital [41562].

Total received from each area after deduction of a proportion for the £602.20 costs:

Eastern	190.90
Hants & IOW	110.90
Humberside	78.30
London North	202.80
London South	108.40
Manchester & Lancs	126.60
Merseyside	67.70
Midlands East	96.70
Midlands West	193.00
Northern	120.00
Scotland East	55.70
Scotland West	76.70
South East	113.50
South West	138.60
Wales East	44.70
Wales West	6.80
Yorkshire	119.70
Others	33.30
Total	1,884.30

trous. Hampshire plan to lose 470 teachers and 220 school meals staff next year.

Jobs and educational standards are at risk. The working class get little enough from education as it is. All trade unions and Labour parties must campaign against these measures.

## STOP PRESS

Management and unions at Cadbury's, Birmingham, met ACAS for arbitration on Monday [9th July]. ACAS apparently favoured the union's position, and management are now ignoring ACAS's recommendations! The strike is expected to be made official by T&GWU/USDAW later this week. Report, page 14.

## EDUCATION

CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE

improve facilities, not as an excuse to sack teachers and close schools.

★ £20 million taken from the nursery education budget, which is already totally inadequate. How many working class children are already unable to benefit from this head start in education due to lack of resources?

★ £100 million from Further Education. Among other things, this means less provision for training and retraining for jobs. How many more unemployed youth will be denied any chance at all of escaping the dole queues?

★ £25 million from administration.


★ The rest of the cuts will come from reducing school-meals subsidy,

adding greatly to parental costs. There is even talk of completely doing away with school meals! Reductions in transport subsidies, cuts in school milk, raising the fees of overseas students to the 'full economic cost' would also be on the cards.

★ Capital expenditure is to be 'trimmed' by £25 million. How many schools are still housed in Victorian buildings? How many will be faced with the bleak choice of closing down or remaining in slum buildings, as in Hackney [see page 3].

On top of all this, Universities are to be asked to economise, and there are suggestions of completely closing down new universities built as recently as the 60s!

Some Tory councils have already cut back spending to the bone, like Leicestershire and Derbyshire [see page 3]. The effects are disas-



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