

Militant

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DANGER

TORIES DAMAGE YOUR HEALTH

Photo: J McKittrick (MILITANT)



Bethnal Green Hospital

Prescription charges have been increased by the Tories from 20p to 40p an item.

Inevitably, some people will now think twice about visiting their doctor or taking a prescription to the chemist.

Working class health will suffer.

And the Tories have imposed this extra charge just as the Royal Commission on the Health Service is recommending that prescription charges should be dropped altogether.

Their contribution to the Health Service, considers the Commission, is negligible. Yet Thatcher's government couldn't resist taking this extra stab at the NHS.

Higher charges are estimated to bring in £200 million—that's equal to a third of the tax cuts that went to the rich in the Budget!

Not surprisingly, with living standards falling, working class health is deteriorating. The health gap between the rich and the poor is widening.

Unemployment, as research clearly shows, means more and more premature deaths through

By Bob Wade

deprivation and stress.

Prescriptions have been running at record levels. In 1975, doctors wrote more than 20 million prescriptions. If the Tories really want to save money for the NHS, they should look at the fabulous profits of the giant drug companies which milk the NHS!

The Tories see the NHS like the old Work Houses—a last resort for those who can't afford anything better.

Company directors and the like can afford private treatment—in fact, it often goes as a perk of the job!

So, as far as possible, health care is being 'hived off' to private enterprise. The top doctors, the drug companies, private clinics, and the medical insurance outfits will all be doing very well.

But, as far as the Tories are concerned, nurses, hospital ancillary staff—and patients—will have to put up with what's left of the NHS after the Tory cuts.

For the workers in the factories, at the pit face, and in other industries, and for working-class

women and children living in crowded and shoddy conditions, a good, comprehensive and free health service is absolutely essential.

The National Health Service is one of the greatest gains of the labour movement. We must not allow it to be destroyed by big business and the Tories.

The trade unions and the Labour Party must fight tooth and nail to defend and improve the NHS!

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**MORE
STEEL
JOBS
AXED**

"When Shotton goes, Deeside dies!"

For local people, the prospect of Shotton without the steel-works is that stark.

Andy Harrison

(ISTC, Shotton)

Of the 10,000 workers whose livelihood is the steel mills, 6,300 are to be chopped. And worse will follow: how can you cut out the heart of heavy steel-making and not affect the rest of the plant?

Then add the other jobs that will go—on the railways, the docks, and other connected industries. The estimate is that up to 15,000 jobs will disappear.

More than one in ten are already out of work on Deeside, in Clwydd, North Wales. The county council estimates that the region would need 34,000 new jobs by 1982 to alleviate the blight of unemployment—and that was before BSC under the Tories' dictate, pronounced sentence on Shotton.

This is what Tory policies mean. Keith Joseph should count on the heads of the workless men, the poverty-stricken families, and the devastated towns the cost of the £200 million cut in subsidies to industry this week.

The mealy-mouthed Tory spokesmen are promising the introduction of new industries. Advanced factory sites, financed with our money, were built outside Shotton years ago. I only know of one firm on the site.

We have been resisting closures for years. We extracted a promise from

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DEFEND THE NHS

Health Service
Feature, page 7

Militant

'LET THEM EAT CAKE'

"Let them eat cake!" was Marie-Antoinette's immortal reply to the starving masses' protest that they had no bread.

For hard-nosed class arrogance, however, the Bourbon queen has a rival—Mrs Thatcher.

When it was pointed out to her in parliament last week that the Budget had given 30% of its income tax relief to the richest 5% of the population, she said: "That in fact leaves 70% to go to the rest."

Sir Keith Joseph, too, is determined to revive memories of Marie-Antoinette. When workers in Glasgow recently asked him what the government was going to do about the region's appalling level of unemployment, he replied: "let them find other jobs!"

To make it even more difficult to follow deeply impractical and, under the circumstances, callous advice, Joseph has this week chopped about £200 million of government aid to industry. This will immediately threaten the jobs of tens of thousands of workers, when the Treasury already expects unemployment to rise to 2 million in the next period.

Even the bosses' organisation, the CBI, has balked at this. In a memorandum to the government, the CBI says cutting regional and other aid at the moment would be "ill advised".

Of course, subsidies to industry should be cut, they agree—but only as profitability improves. However, as they expect profitability to fall in this year and next, they want the state hand-outs to continue.

In other words, free market economics are all right so long as the cutting edge is directed against workers' pay and jobs, and against social spending. When it comes to investment and profits, they still want paternalistic hand-outs at our expense!

In fact, but for the crutch of massive hand-outs to industry in the post-war period, industrial investment would have been nil instead of negligible, and even bigger sections of British industry would now be completely moribund.

Signs of a future difference between big business and the Thatcher government are also evident on the issue of anti-trade union measures.

The CBI has applauded Tory moves against the

so-called 'mailed fist of union power'. But the bosses are not so happy about it being left to them to take action through the courts.

Certainly, the judges have always been sympathetic to efforts to undermine trade union rights. But if they went to court, the employers still had to face the consequences on the shop floor.

They would much rather the state took action for them. But the Tories remember well the fate of Heath when he tried to implement his Industrial Relations Act through the special court with penal sanctions.

Labour movement

Whether or not the bosses and their representatives are at sixes and sevens, however, the rank and file of the trade union movement has already shown its determination to fight any threat to trade union rights. As delegates at the Transport and General Workers' conference made clear, workers understand that the Tories are out to undermine trade union organisation built up over generations in order to clear the way for even more savage attacks on working class living standards.

The determination of the rank and file, however, is in marked contrast to the reaction of the Labour leaders. "It was noticeable," said the 'Financial Times' [11 July], reporting the debate on the Tories' proposals, "that Mr James Callaghan, Leader of the Opposition, refrained from condemning the government's package. He contented himself with some scathing remarks about the government's plans for cutting public expenditure."

What sort of opposition is this?

When the working class faces a Tory assault on all fronts, the whole labour movement must be mobilised to defend living standards and democratic rights.

This can only be done on the basis of fundamental opposition to the big business system which has produced the crisis policies of the Thatcher government—with a socialist programme based on the nationalisation of the big monopolies, banks and insurance companies, with minimum compensation on the basis of need, with industry run under workers' control and management and production planned in the interests of need, not profit.



LPYS members on anti-fascist demonstration in Birmingham last year

Photo: Andrew Wiard (Report) II

LPYS CONFERENCE AND CAMP NOT LONG TO GO!

It's never too late to book for the Labour Party Young Socialists' National Conference and Camp—but there's not long to go!

Come for the conference weekend, and hear the debates and guest speakers like Tony Benn. Every LPYS member should get along to the conference to see how the fight against the Tories is going to be taken up.

It's at the conference that we will be able to draw a balance sheet on the election and events of the last year. It's the conference that will decide the kind of clear socialist programme needed to answer the Tory attacks.

The cost? £7 for the weekend, including meals from Saturday evening until Sunday teatime.

By Kevin Ramage

(LPYS National Committee)

Once you are coming for the weekend, you should stay for the week—which will give the chance to participate in rallies and seminars, sports and socials.

A whole week—Saturday July 28th to August 4th—for only £25, all meals included!

All you need to bring is yourself, a sleeping bag, tent (space will be available for limited numbers without tents), toothbrush etc. No need to bring food, cutlery etc. It couldn't be

PROGRAMME HIGHLIGHTS

Saturday:	1 pm-9 pm: Conference
Sunday:	8.30 am-4 pm: Conference 6 pm-8.30 pm: Militant Readers Meeting [Ted Grant speaking]
Monday:	morning: Neil Kinnock MP on Nationalism afternoon: Stan Newens MP and Phil Frampton [YS Chairman] on 'Socialism, War and Disarmament' evening: 'Europe in Ferment'—Terry Harrison and Tony Sauniois [LPYS rep. on LP NEC]
Tuesday:	afternoon: Religion and Socialism: Andy Bevan evening: Labour Party and Trade Union Democracy: Dennis Skinner MP and Steve Glennon [LPYS NEC]
Wednesday:	evening: Ireland Rally [speakers from North and South]
Thursday:	evening: Debate: Militant/Tribune/Manifesto Group
Friday:	morning: Chile: Lessons of the Coup; Alex Kitson [Asst. Gen. Sec. TGWU]; Andy Bevan

easier!

If you haven't booked yet, contact Andy Bevan or your local LPYS National Committee member now!

Send a deposit of £5 to Andy NOW! Even if you only find you can come on Friday 27th, it's not too late!

SKYLAB - DOWN TO EARTH TECHNOLOGY

The press throughout the Western World reached a new level of hysteria last week. They all took a break from slamming the unions and the labour movement and turned to the horror that was descending on us from the sky.

Was it a bird, a plane or Cyril Smith attempting to hang glide? No, it was Skylab, the latest achievement of American capitalism.

The run-up to the descent of Skylab received more coverage in the press than the EEC elections (but then so did Prince Charlie's latest girlfriend).

In America the public

were whipped up into a whole Skylab fervour. Skylab crash helmets were put into mass production, and radio stations insured their whole audiences.

Similar attempts received little response in Britain, however—after all the British working class are quite used to dodging and ducking pieces of RAF jets falling out of the sky at them.

But in the offices of Fleet Street the rumours were running wild. Was it true that the flaming 80-ton monster had collided with one of Freddie Laker's DC 10s, which then plunged into Harrisburg setting off a nuclear chain reaction across the US?

Or that it crashed into Buck House wiping out the entire Royal family and Mrs Thatcher and the Cabinet who were round for the garden party?

But no. With a fizz and a

pop the space station broke up and scattered itself into the Indian Ocean, and upset a few wallabies in Australia. Ah well, back to bashing the unions.

Let's see, oh yes, the T&G have been getting out of hand lately...

Off-the-shelf

But why did the Skylab decide to pay us a visit? All was revealed by a NASA spokesman: "It's off-the-shelf technology" he explained!

You see they didn't have the money at that time to put on some boosters which could have avoided all this. So they thought they'd send it up anyway, and then when they'd built the space shuttle they could shoot one of them up to it and stick a couple of boosters on.

But then through lack of

funds the space shuttle programme was called off and the NASA staff had to rely on crossing their fingers.

Space exploration is very important and can discover gains beneficial to mankind. But left to the slap-dash, profit-motivated capitalists it is bound to be bungled.

And it doesn't inspire much confidence in the people who have to fly these economy-built rockets either. Describing the blast off of Apollo 15, astronaut David Scott said: "You just sit there thinking this piece of hardware had 400,000 components, all of them built by the lowest bidder."

Meanwhile, the Soviet Salyut 6 version of Skylab (complete with boosters) is still merrily buzzing around the earth. After all, it was built by a state, which despite monstrous bureaucratic deformities, has a planned economy.

SOUTHALL REPORT

BRUTAL POLICE TACTICS EXPOSED

The Tory press have almost totally ignored the Report by the Commission for Racial Equality, which shows the brutal tactics of the police at Southall.

The report speaks of —“very considerable violence” towards anti-Nazi demonstrators;

—“undisciplined and uncontrolled clubbing of fleeing civilians”;

and—“gross and inexcusable outbursts” involving the clashes which led to the death of Blair Peach and a raid on No. 6 Park View Road, where more than 70 people were arrested. [‘Guardian’, 9.7.79]

The CRE Report was leaked to the ‘Morning Star’, much to the embarrassment of the Commission’s chairman, David Lane (former Tory MP for Cambridge). Rather than discuss the contents of the Report, Lane only accused the ‘Morning Star’s’ story of being “misleading and mischievous”, and demanded an internal enquiry into the leak.

This Report was probably

not intended for public distribution, especially not so soon after the death of Blair Peach in Southall.

The CRE Report, however, gives detailed accounts of police truncheon attacks and eye-witness accounts of the attack on Blair Peach, criticising the refusal of the police to deal with this death as a murder enquiry. It calls for a public enquiry into Peach’s death.

Special Patrol Group

The government and Scotland Yard are at present conducting an internal review of the SPG—they have much to answer for. The report gives a number of examples of SPG brutality.

Nearly 100 people seeking refuge in the Holy Trinity churchyard “were rounded up and beaten by mounted policemen.” The most violent attacks were made on the

“People’s Unite” Community Centre in Park View Road, where 70 people were arrested, many of them seriously injured and £3,000 worth of musical instruments were destroyed!

The Commission’s report itself gives us the facts of this vicious attack. A “substantial” group of demonstrators fled up Park View Road from Southall High Street.

“The whole group was vigorously pursued by mounted policemen and members of the SPG, as well as other policemen, and fiercely attacked. Clearly they defended themselves as best they could, although to little avail.

“A small contingent of police regrouped outside, some armed with riot shields charged the front door of the house and broke it down. They then stood aside and a number of other police officers, with batons drawn, charged into the house.

“The people on the first floor were arrested. As regards the fleeing demonstrat-

ors on the second floor, these were arrested, and one of these reports that although he was not offering resistance, as he was led downstairs, a police officer coming up kicked him in the groin.”

It is reported that one 19-year-old Asian youth had to have his testicles removed, and a young West Indian (Clarence Baker) was detained in hospital for ten days with a blood clot after being hit on the head with a truncheon. He claims there was a definite police tactic to “go for the head”.

Scotland Yard’s statement claims that “an unprovoked attack was made on police outside 6 Park View Road.” The CRE Report admits that some people “wrongly, unwisely but understandably” tried to stop the police by throwing objects at them, but “the use of the term ‘unprovoked’ [attack] is unjustifiable in the circumstances.”

Ms Gareth Pierce, one of the defence solicitors for the 342 cases of arrest from the Southall events, said she had never seen so many severe head injuries before after a demonstration. Despite claims that many demonstrators



Police arrest demonstrator at Southall

came from outside Southall itself, 70% of the first 228 arrested came from Southall and a further 13% lived nearby.

This CRE Report opposes the role of the police and their brutal tactics. Its contents must be published and an enquiry called for by the labour movement, involving

local immigrant groups and key eye-witnesses of the events, which will truly expose the role of the police in general and successfully mobilise the trade union movement in defence from future attacks.

By Mike Levene
(Coventry SE LP)



OXFORDSHIRE NO REGRETS

Just in case you were thinking the Tory councillors regret having to make damaging cuts in schools and social services, think again. Brigadier Roger Streatfield, Oxfordshire’s Chairman of the Education Committee, has no regrets whatsoever.

He claims the cuts will ‘do people some good’. The removal of the obligation upon local authorities to provide nutritious school meals was welcomed by the Brigadier: “A school dinner of just soup and bread should be sufficient. When I was in the Army I got by on bullybeef and biscuits”.

And he had an important message for mothers who need to work to keep their

families above the poverty line: “Schools are not meant to be child-minders on the rates. Being a mother should be a full-time job until a child is at least ten years old”.

“Couples have a choice whether or not to have children, and if they cannot afford them, they should not expect local authorities to help out.”

The good Brigadier even has a word on the cancer risks associated with taking the pill over a long time: “The commonest cause of cancer among women is sleeping around with too many men”.

So there!

By Ian Sugarman
(Oxfordshire NUT)

FROM WELFARE STATE TO BANANA REPUBLIC

“We are living with a West German level of standards in an Italian or Panamanian economy.

“We have put the cart before the horse and, however desirable and wonderful these services are, we cannot have them all until the economy is put right.”

Tom King, the Minister of State for Local Government was speaking at a press conference. The government had been discussing proposals made by the Tory-controlled Association of County Councils to

slash local authority services in such a savage way as to bring a ‘Panamanian’ level of public expenditure.

School meals

The proposals on education make some of the Tories’ previous ideas look moderate. They want to end the local authorities’ obligation to provide school transport, school meals “of a given nutritional level”, school milk, and free nursery education.

They also want to take a step back further than the last war by reducing the period of statutory schooling by for example, part-time education, or deferring admission to the age of six, or

letting pupils leave at 15 if they can find jobs.

Reduced standards of school building, reduced hours of schooling, with a suggestion of a 9.00 to 2.30 day without a lunch break, are other cash-saving ideas.

In social services, they think that a few ‘West German’-style luxuries could go. For example, councils could stop giving old people in homes any pocket money. They could also stop making all these extravagant improvements in old peoples’ homes to make them safer from fire.

In fact, they find fire precautions as a whole a bit of an imposition. They want to relax fire safety regulations in hotels. And if you do get a few tragic fires like last week’s in

Spain, too bad.

They want to be able to charge insurance companies the cost of rescuing people from crashed vehicles, and for the use of fire services.

Some of the proposals will not only affect the working class but will add to the costs of their own supporters. For example, they want to charge farmers for providing fuel to dispose of the carcasses of cows afflicted with anthrax.

The bone-headed representatives of capitalism also don’t realise that the reduction of communications, etc, part of society’s vital economic infrastructure, to Panamanian levels is one sure way to push the whole of the economy in that direction.

But the crisis, where every penny of so-called ‘wasteful’

public spending feels like a ton weight round their necks, dictates their policy.

Employment Protection Act

Other cut-backs which would be part of the biggest ever attack on the ‘Welfare State’ are that all legislation on consumer protection, the environment and public participation in planning should cease to operate.

“Ease the requirements of the Employment Protection Act on employers”. “Make local authority premises immune from the Health and Safety at Work Act.”

These two moderate proposals will get a hot reception

from local authority trade unions, as will the abandonment of regulations governing the temperature of work places and educational establishments. (They say that this makes ‘double sense’ in view of the energy crisis)

This arch Tory body claims to find itself hampered by a lack of discretion in what services they provide. Many Tory councils have found cuts easy enough under a Labour government. With the Tories in at Westminster, and the ending of these mandatory duties, these local tinpot Tories will have enormous scope for attacks if we do not stop them.

By Roger Shives

CLASS WAR HITS THE COMMONS

The Houses of Parliament had seen nothing like it for years. There hadn't been so much excitement since the visit of Guy Fawkes.

Young people, young workers, argued enthusiastically about politics. The noise and excitement was such that a member of the House of Lords was reported to have woken up for the first time for years.

About two hundred people crammed into a small room in the Houses of Parliament. Nearly as many waited outside. They had come to hear a debate between the Young Socialists and the Young Conservatives around the motion that 'This House believes that free enterprise not socialism would solve the problems of unemployment, bad housing and low wages.

Speaking for the Young Tories; an immaculately suited young gentleman—Derek Cliff. When you took away the rhetoric and his very bad jokes, what did he say?

He was forced to admit that free enterprise had not always 'worked as well as he had hoped', but said that socialism was worse because it meant a 'rounding down' of society.

He demanded a 'fair days work' for a 'fair days pay'. But he stubbornly refused to say, despite gentle requests from the floor, what he earned as a director of a bakery. Some wages are 'fairer' than others.

Misery and poverty

Tony Saunois spoke for the LPYS. In contrast to the Young Tories' sneering attitude to the problems faced by the working class Tony spoke with burning anger against the society that had caused young people to end their lives because of the humiliation and despair of unemployment.

He showed clearly the hypocrisy of the Tories. They claimed to protect democracy. But they quite clearly stand for a society owned and controlled by a handful of millionaires.

So-called private enterprise was obsolete, it offered only misery and poverty to the working class. Only a planned socialist society could take mankind forward.

The response of the Young Tories was to give Nazi salutes from the floor while the seconder to the motion could only exclaim that Tony's contribution was "utter rubbish". In the whole of the debate the only objection the Tories could muster was that the YS programme was 'undemocratic' and 'curtailed freedom'. "Private enterprise could get back on its

Report by Helena Wray

(Southgate LPYS)

feet, if only", they moaned "there wasn't so much 'socialist interference' from the state".

As LPYS members pointed out, this presumably meant the millions of pounds given by the Labour government in tax concessions and state handouts to the Tories' friends in big business. Private the capitalists may be. Enterprising they are not.

Source of amusement

The expensively dressed and well spoken young Tories obviously had no inkling of the misery to which capitalism condemns so many; no con-



Tony Saunois addresses the meeting in the House of Commons

Photo: MILITANT

cern for the poverty their cherished system brings. They in fact found sources of amusement in the situation of workers facing redundancy in areas like Speke, and in slum conditions.

They were 'ordinary' men and women, they claimed, but obviously none of them had had to eke out an existence on

social security or poverty wages. It was the LPYS speakers from the floor and the platform who rubbed the pampered Tories' noses in the realities of life.

Martin Elvin, an ASLEF member seconding Tony Saunois showed how trade union opposition to Tory policies was inevitable.

Peter Jarvis, an NGA

member, showed the hypocrisy of the Tories who condoned the cut-throat ruthlessness of business yet threw up their hands in moral indignation at workers who used their union strength to gain more control over their lives.

In contrast to their previous heckling and shouting, even the Tories were silenced by Andy

Bevan, who with sober facts and analysis showed the bankruptcy of capitalism. After summing up, the vote was taken and the Tory motion was deservedly resoundingly defeated. The meeting ended with the singing of the Red Flag by the victorious LPYS.

DURHAM MINERS' GALA:

Since 1872, the Durham Miners' gala has been an annual demonstration of the miners' determination never to give up the hard fought for rights of the union.

As well as the miners and their families many other trade unionists attend the Gala which is both a social outing and an annual demonstration of the strength of the labour movement. What a change from the time when 300 striking miners were imprisoned in the Bishop of Durham's stables.

At a time when the most reactionary Tory government for years is in power full of plans to reduce living standards and 'sort out the unions' it is important to remember the conditions workers faced in the past. The experience of the Durham miners before 1869 when the union was firmly established is still important to the movement today.

No union, no safety

Conditions in the early 1800s were horrific. Men, women, and children from the age of six worked up to 18 hours a day, 6 days a week. The only light was a candle or

THEN AND NOW - Fighting for our rights

By Bill Hopwood

the sparks from a flint and a spinning steel wheel. The seams were narrow, often wet and full of gas. All the work of hewing and putting was done by human muscle.

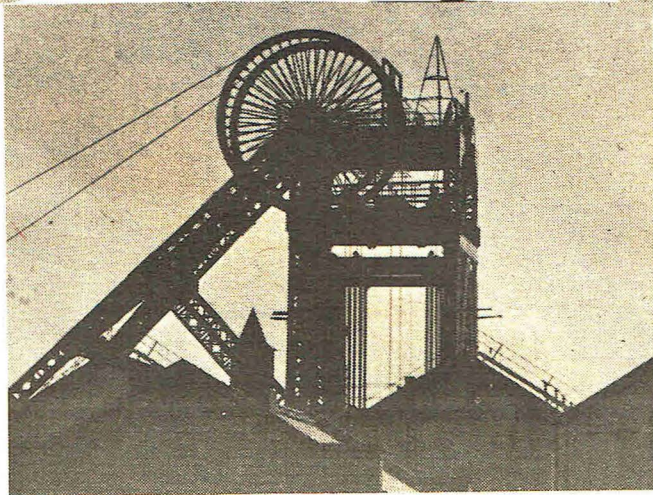
Safety didn't exist. Twelve thousand miners were killed in Britain in the ten years up to 1872. Often only major disasters were recorded.

Ventilation hardly existed leading to many explosions; in Durham and Northumberland between 1816 and 1846 at least 968 people were killed in explosions. Most pits had only one shaft which meant ventilation was very poor and that there was no second means of entry or escape.

The miners were bound for a year to the employer which meant they had to report to work every day. If they failed they were fined but if there was no work they weren't paid. These bindings were enforced by the courts and weren't finally done away with until 1872.

Miners were paid by the tub and if the level had settled down or contained more than a very small proportion of small coal or rock the miner wasn't paid for the tub although the owner still sold the coal.

Imagine in near blackness trying to tell the difference between 'black brass' and coal. This policy of 'laying out' sometimes meant that at the end of a shift, having filled 8 tubs, a miner was paid for only 1 or no tubs. It wasn't



until 1872 that miners had any defence against this policy and were allowed to appoint their own check weighmen, whose wages they paid.

Fighting for a union

There were many strikes against these hated conditions, such as that of 1810, the ones in 1831 which won a 12 hour day for boys, 1832 by Hepburn's Union, 1844 which lasted 18 weeks, and 1863 before the union was permanently established.

In all these strikes they faced the full weight of the employers. The striking miners and their families were roughly evicted from their homes and forced to live in makeshift tents.

Many of the shops were ordered not to trade or give

credit to miners. In 1844 Lord Londonderry for example, told tradesman in Seaham Harbour (which was part of his estate) to refuse to trade with the miners or he would ruin them.

The use of blacklegs was widespread. The police, courts, militia and drunken thugs were all used to try and intimidate and provoke the miners. An example of the bias of the law was in 1832 when a constable deliberately and publicly shot a miner—sentence 6 months. At the same time a miner, Jobling was convicted, although probably innocent, of murder and was gibbeted in Jarrow Slake.

In spite of the huge difficulties the miners did establish the union. This didn't solve all their problems as the many hard struggles of this century show, but from then on they had some weapon to face the employer with.

The miners had to fight for

political rights as well as building the union. In 1832 there was a mass demonstration for political rights as well as building the union. Miners were involved in the Chartist movement and in 1872 80,000 from Durham and Northumberland marched through Newcastle for the vote.

In this century the miners are linked to the building of the Labour Party to the position today where there are no Tory MPs in Durham and some of the seats have been held for 75 years.

The heroic and long struggle of workers to build their organisations must be remembered when the Tories complain that the union has too much strength.

What hypocrisy! The Tories' forefathers profited and fought to maintain the gross exploitation of the miners and all workers in the past.

Many today would love to return to those dark days. Only the strength of the labour movement prevents them.

CHESTER-LE-STREET Social Labour Club, The Railway Station, Chester-le-Street— evening, Saturday July 21st

Militant Readers' Meetings:

NEWCASTLE: 'A More Democratic Labour Party', The Unemployed Centre, 9 Queen Street, The Quayside, Newcastle. Sunday July 22, 7.30 pm

SPENNYMOOR Fight the Tories with Socialist Policies Steam Mill Pub, Merrington Lane, Spennymoor. Sunday July 22nd, 7.30 pm

LEFT & RIGHT

MISERS

The vicious nature of Toryism has been shown again in Wandsworth. The backwoodsmen who introduced cuts in outings for children in care, cuts in direct labour, are selling council houses, and have slashed the social services budget recently turned their attention to the Old Age Pensioners. Wandsworth Tenants' Association organise a Summer Ball for 400 old age pensioners. Previously, under the Labour Council, they could use Battersea Town Hall free. Now the Tories are charging £160 to hire the hall. The Ball is going ahead, and the Tenants' Association have raised the money to pay for it. Obviously the Tories are determined to attack every section of the working class in Wandsworth—especially the less organised ones who find it more difficult to defend themselves.

TOUGH

The 'Daily Telegraph' recently mentioned an unfortunate property investor, who had accrued debts of £10,292,602. He is doing his best to rectify the situation, though. He told a bankruptcy court in Worcestershire that he was paying it off at £5 a month. That means that the poor chap will be paying off his debts for 171,543 years. Justice can be very tough for the rich.

SAIL AWAY

Anyone for sailing? If you want to get away from things for a week or so you can now hire a luxurious yacht from Mr Nigel Broackes. It will cost you \$4,000 a day, but then Mr Broackes has just forked out £1 million for it ['Daily Mail', 16 May]. He can afford to because he's chairman of property and shipowning firm, Trafalgar House, which among many other things, owns the right-wing 'Daily Express'. Meanwhile, the 'Express' will no doubt continue to blame the ills of British capitalism onto "lazy" and "greedy" workers.

WHAT A WASTE

A handicapped man recently pleaded guilty to stealing a £2.50 bottle of wine. He was sent to jail for a month, and lost his job too ['Kent Messenger' 1 July]. A crime justly punished? Meanwhile, at Sotheby's a rich connoisseur squandered £665 on a bottle of Chateau d'yquem 1958 [an outstanding year for Sauternes, we're told!]. Quite legal, of course! But surely a monstrous travesty when, according to the latest figures [1976] analysed by the Child Poverty Action Group, there are also at least 14,870,000 people in this country living in or around the margins of poverty.

STEFAN HEYM- A SOCIALIST DISSIDENT

Stefan Heym was recently expelled from the German Democratic Republic's Writers' Union for publishing his book 'Collin' in West Germany without permission, and there is now speculation that he may be expelled from the country. This is the first of two articles on Heym's work.

Stefan Heym is one of the best socialist novelists writing today, yet his works are not as well known within the labour movement as they deserve to be.

A writer like Solzhenitsyn, who is essentially reactionary, will always be given much publicity in the press, while Heym gets little attention outside the literary press.

Though both have been labelled as 'dissidents', and both have great abilities as writers, Solzhenitsyn's outlook is that of a religious mystic longing to return to 'the good old days'. Heym takes the viewpoint of the working class, and is hopeful of its future triumphs over capitalism—and bureaucracy.

Stefan Heym was born in Chemnitz (now Karl-Marx Stadt), Germany, in 1913. During his schooldays he associated himself with the socialist movement and was thrown out of school for his radical opinions. He soon ran foul of the emerging Nazi party and was beaten up by a group of their thugs.

Just before the Nazi seizure of power in 1933 he fled to Prague and then on to the USA where he edited an anti-fascist German-language magazine. During the war he obtained a commission in the US Army, serving with propaganda companies in France and in Allied-occupied Germany.

He edited an army of occupation newspaper, but in 1945 he refused to write an anti-soviet editorial and was fired. Back in the States he continued writing but became increasingly disillusioned with American politics. Eventually, he returned his war medals to Eisenhower in protest at the McCarthy persecutions and went to live in East Germany (DDR).

For a while he was feted by the Stalinist government. After all, it was useful for the bureaucracy to have a good writer at their disposal who had first-hand knowledge of the persecutions of American left-wing writers. He might divert attention from the stifling of criticism that went on in the GDR.

However, his initial idealisation of the GDR state soon began to disappear and his criticisms became more marked. His literary column called 'plain talk' was closed down. His second historical novel 'Uncertain Friend', about Ferdinand Lassalle, was not allowed to be published in East Germany, though it soon appeared in the West.

Heym was publicly attacked by Honecker, now the GDR's leader and became

PART ONE

ostracised by the establishment. In 1973, however, there came a sudden reversal of policy. His historical and satirical books were to be published after all.

This has not marked the end of his problems and difficulties. His latest (and most critical) books, 'Five Days in June' and 'Collin' have not been published in the DDR. During March he was forbidden to leave East Germany to go to a writers' conference in the West, and more recently fined 9,000 Marks (£2,400) for publishing in the West without permission from the Bureau of Authors' Rights.

Criticism

The Bureau controls what books can be published in East Germany, and will not allow publication abroad unless a book has been printed in the DDR! So it is impossible for critical works to be produced without the risk of a heavy fine or up to two years in jail.

Most recently, Heym was expelled from the East German Writers' Union for 'anti-Communist agitation' and this aroused a storm of international protest.

Despite this persecution by the regime, not one of his books can be said to be 'anti-socialist'. They show a development of his ideas and increasing criticism of the Stalinist bureaucracies, but his basic beliefs in the power of the working class to create a better society still show through.

It is worth looking at some of his books in more detail to understand the development of his present ideals.

Heym's second novel, 'Crusaders', is closely based on his experiences with the US army in Europe. It follows the progress of a propaganda unit through France to the post-war occupation of Germany, and their awakening to the nature of the war that they have to fight. Heym says: "It was a necessary holy crusade, and at the same time it was a bloody mockery of its purpose..."

To the men in the unit the war is seen to be less of a fight for democracy and more of a battle between those who seek to make a profitable future for themselves after the war.

Throughout the book there are dozens of accurately depicted scenes—the French steel magnate doing deals with the SS and later US army



officers to protect his interests; the corruption and blackmarketeering in the US military machine; the Americans ready to send newly liberated Russian slave labourers back to the iron ore mines as 'free' men; the army top brass, fearful of allowing their propaganda units to make class appeals to German soldiers; and the American general, more concerned with glory-seeking personal publicity than military effectiveness.

Although 'Crusaders' became a best seller in the United States, only one of his other novels is set there. This was 'Goldsborough', based on his observations in a Pennsylvania town during a long miners' strike. It marked his final disillusionment with American politics, and shortly after publication he returned to East Germany.

From his writing, he appears to have had a very uncritical view of Russia, regarding it as an ideal socialist state. His uncritical stance was rewarded by the authorities in the DDR, and following the death of Bertold Brecht he was regarded as its leading literary figure.

He turned his attention to historical novels concerned with what he regards as his main interest, "the laws of revolution". 'The Lenz Papers' dealt with the failure of the revolution of 1848, 'Uncertain Friend', about Ferdinand Lassalle, was the first of his novels to encounter publication difficulties. However, his last historical novel, 'The King David Report', showed a new talent for satire which led into more serious problems with the authorities.

At first, the book appears to be a straightforward novel set in biblical times. Ostensibly it is about the compilation of part of the Old Testament, Samuel and Kings, particularly that where

King David forges the Kingdom of Israel from a dozen nomadic tribes.

The biblical account of this is heavily slanted to legitimise the rule of David's son Solomon, though here and there in the narrative different aspects poke through.

Heym takes this compilation to be the work of an editorial commission, with one 'Ethan of Ezrah' as scribe. In writing the report however, Ethan is forced to compromise an account of his discoveries with the need to retain the favour of King Solomon.

The novel therefore becomes a book about the role of a writer seeking truth in a dictatorship. It can also be read as a wry comment on the hacks who attempted to justify the rule of Stalin as a continuation of the methods of Lenin.

Not surprisingly, this book was too close to truth for the East German bureaucracy, so the first publication could only take place in West Germany!

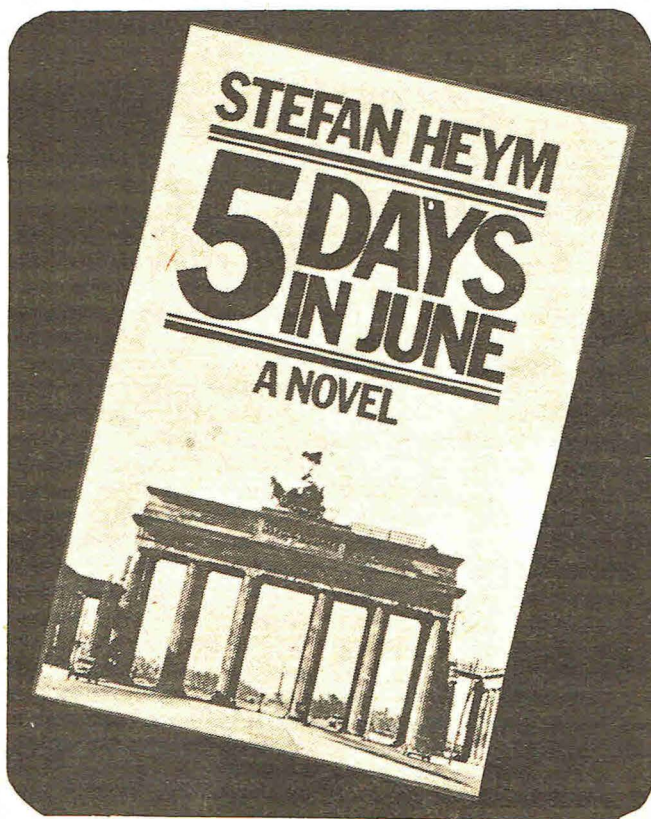
The most interesting of his works, however, 'The Queen against Defoe' and 'Five Days in June' show a development of his work and thought...

Part 2 next week.

Books by Stefan Heym

These three novels are in print: 'The Queen Against Defoe' (Hodder, £2.50, 1975), 'The King David Report' (Quartet, £1.95, 1977), 'Five Days in June' (Hodder, £4.95, 1977).

The following are out of print, but may be available through public libraries: 'The Glassenapps Case' (also called 'Hostages'), 'Crusaders', 'Eyes of Reason', 'Goldsborough', 'Shadows and Lights' (short stories), 'The Lenz Papers', 'Uncertain Friend'.



This summer marks the centenary of chocolate making at Cadbury's Bournville site in Birmingham. But not many of the workers are celebrating.

Cadbury's always used to be considered the model paternalistic firm, looking after the workers as 'one big family'. It built them houses, provided swimming pools and other amenities.

During the General Strike in 1926 it offered the workers a lump sum payment to tempt them back to work.

The factory hasn't changed much for a century. Nor has the machinery.

If Cadbury's ever did offer the workers any real benefits, it could certainly afford them—making profits over all these years with the same old museum pieces that pass for machines.

With little automation here, the women workers are still forced to do the most monotonous routine manual jobs.

A caramel chocolate from the 'Roses' selection has two lines on top. One worker spends all day drawing those lines.

In the cream egg plant, someone else fills their day knocking the eggs out of moulds with a five pound hammer—that's real modern efficiency. Another worker on the line has to pick the

Turkish delights out of their moulds with a fork, because each one sticks fast.

As for the fringe benefits, you can be disciplined for taking just one chocolate from a line that you don't work on yourself. The chocolate shop on the site, supposedly provided for our benefit, charges higher prices than the local supermarket.

Even the tea machines charge 6p a cup, yet the Cadbury's-Schweppes group makes the tea, the coffee and the chocolate.

The company has tried to put across the idea that there's a unity of interests between us and them. For decades, there has been a works council. It is only in the last ten years that it has been taken over by the unions.

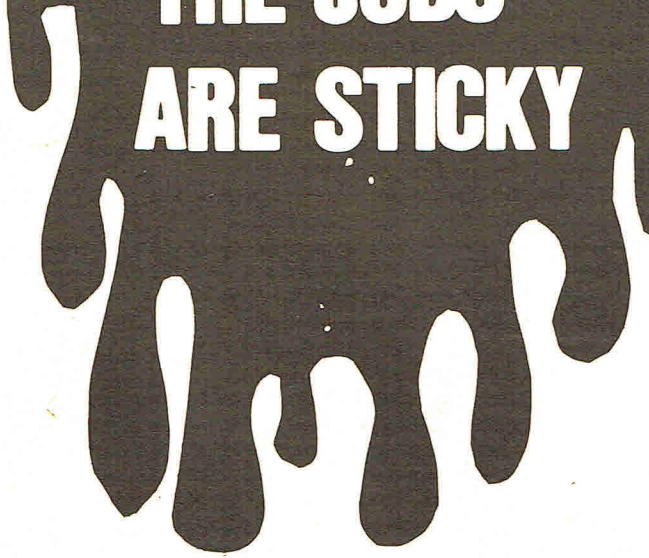
Unity of interest?

The impression was given that the workers were being consulted about management's plans. They even pay us an annual holiday bonus and profit supplement; we get a pound each for every million pounds of profit made at Bournville.

But there certainly won't be any unity of interest about

Cadbury

PROFITS ARE SWEET BUT THE JOBS ARE STICKY



management's latest plans.

At last they are having to bring the plant up to date—£20 million is to be invested at Bournville. The workers will

be no better off than with old, outdated machinery, however.

Management intend to cut the 9,000 workforce to 7,000

by 'natural wastage', they say. To make the maximum profit from the money they are now putting in, Cadbury's also want to introduce 168-hours continuous production, keeping the machine running twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week.

They want to bring in continental shifts, which would mean working four days on, four days off on two day shifts with two night shifts working the same pattern. We would be working a twelve-hour day, on average 42 hours per week.

Continental shifts

The majority of day production workers are women, most with families and children. How can they organise their homes to let them be out for 12 hours a day, or for working Saturdays or Sundays?

For having their lives messed about these day shift workers will get about £15 in shift allowance.

These new plans make up what the company calls its 'five year investment plan'. Stalin's five-year plan was more humane than this!

Not surprisingly, when the idea of going on continental shifts was put to the production workers, it was thrown out by a 2 to 1 majority in a ballot, and again at a mass meeting. This was despite the senior production shop stew-

ard's recommendation of acceptance.

The workers refused to be cowed by Cadbury's threats to take the new investment to another of its factories if the continental shifts are not accepted.

This so-called 'benevolent' management have totally ignored the democratic decisions of its workforce. On June 16th it started continental shifts despite the ballot, with 60 volunteers in the cream egg plant.

We accept that for really essential workers like nurses and firemen, unusual shifts are necessary. But are cream eggs so vital to society that the lives of Cadbury's workers have to be disrupted, working round the clock?

Throughout the Cadbury-Schweppes group this company with its 'workers' interests at heart' is on the offensive. They closed the Typhoo factory in Birmingham last year, and there have been jobs lost in the soft drinks division.

The company may want to look back 100 years, but we, the workers, must look ahead and build up our own strength, to show the management just how far they can go.

By Bill Murray
(APEX steward at Cadbury's) and **Graham Debenhams**

(TGWU senior steward fitting shop) (both in personal capacity)

ALAN SMITH'S - WHO RUNS THE FACTORY ?

"Send a letter to management accepting their resignation," said one worker at our factory.

We had just forced management to back down in a confrontation of their own making.

At the Alan Smith Group, Nottingham, we've just had our first strike and it only had to last one-and-a-half days. After years of some workers trying to get in the union—finally getting organised in April 1978—we beat management that quickly.

After many skirmishes, a confrontation was inevitable. But we have built up to only three non-union members on a shopfloor of 46. The loyalty of any waverers has been won by the benefits the union has gained over the year.

Improvements in wages, health and safety, and conditions have made good trade unionists of us all.

This shows how quickly workers' consciousness can develop.

But improvements for the workers have been aggravations for management. In negotiations they keep asking: "Who runs the factory—us or the union?" The foreman and lower management seem to be afraid of the shop stewards taking over their jobs.

They forced the issue by suspending one shop steward, Eric Burton, over the workings of a flexibility agreement on the spot, without any

consultations whatever, and apparently indefinitely.

In the week before they had threatened nine suspensions and had to retract them all. As one worker said—it was their new toy!

When the blokes spontaneously left their benches to discuss the latest suspension, the works manager clocked them all out! And so we could do nothing but walk out.

On the picket line we experienced the potential power of the union movement. The blokes were really enthused at turning away lorries and vans—and even a Rover 2000!

The mood of workers today was shown by lorry drivers, miners on pit buses, and working-class men and women on public transport waving at us and showing support—even when they didn't know the cause. Many of these workers, like the lorry drivers, must have become much more class conscious over last winter.

All the blokes saw at once the need to organise the strike, and if we'd been out longer the firm would have been at a complete standstill. They were determined this wasn't going to be another 'Evening Post'!

All management could do was to run to the AUEW district secretary!

"I am most disturbed,"

wrote the managing director, "at the attitude shown by the convenor, not only in this instance, but on past occasions. It is generally felt that confidence in this man is the subject of a big question mark...I therefore call on you as District Secretary of the AUEW to do something about advising the membership within the Alan Smith Group the correct line of procedure to take, as it is quite obvious that the officers here are not able to do so."

Just as the bosses, through the press, want to choose the Labour and trade union leaders they approve of, our gaffer wants to choose the shop stewards.

But for all the bosses' bluster, they gave in. The suspension was dropped and everyone but the suspended man was paid for our 1½-day stoppage. In the meeting at which the settlement was agreed a levy was agreed to make up Eric's loss of wages and he volunteered to give half of this to the 'Militant' Fighting Fund.

On the evening after the strike several of us went to a 'Militant' Readers' Meeting on the AUEW claim and discussed the strength we had felt in this dispute, and how this strength could be used to change society.

We could run our factory without its owners!

By Roy Bennet

(Convenor, Alan Smith Group, Nottingham)



TRAINEE TORY !

No, it's not an entrant for the 'upper class twit of the year' competition, but a leading Young Tory in debate with the Young Socialists at the Houses of Parliament [see report, page 4].

As managing director of a bakery, this aspiring representative of the ruling class got a sharp answer from the LPYS. If the bakers' strike last winter is anything to go by, he'll be experiencing as much opposition from his own workforce in years to come.

Photo: MILITANT

AILING HEALTH SERVICE...

Having bled the National Health Service dry the bosses now want to dismantle it altogether.

And the bosses' friends, the Tory Party, are all set to swing the axe into what was once the best and most comprehensive health service in the world.

They say there is no money for the NHS yet never before has it needed such a massive influx of capital.

The NHS was won by the labour movement. With its implementation the health of working people improved immensely, but now with the decline of capitalism and the resulting cutbacks in the health service, old diseases such as rickets have returned to the cities.

A report by the Office of Health Economics shows why the health service is so vital to the working class. Six million people a year use the health service, two thirds needing some form of surgical treatment.

A third of a million pensioners are in hospital and every year another quarter of a million need medical treatment at their home.

Cutbacks

There are 160,000 mental health patients to care for, and over half a million out-patients annually.

Yet the health service has been left to stagnate. In 1973, in real terms, £586 million went on capital expenditure for the NHS. By 1978 this figure had fallen to £395 million.

By 1981, under the Tories' 'standstill' policy it is predicted the figure will be only

Feature by Bob Wade

£399 million. An extra £4 million will not restore the ailing health service especially as it comes under more demands in the future.

The cutbacks have meant low wages for the ever decreasing number of hospital workers, staff shortages and the general run down of buildings and equipment—a third of all hospital buildings were built before the turn of the century!

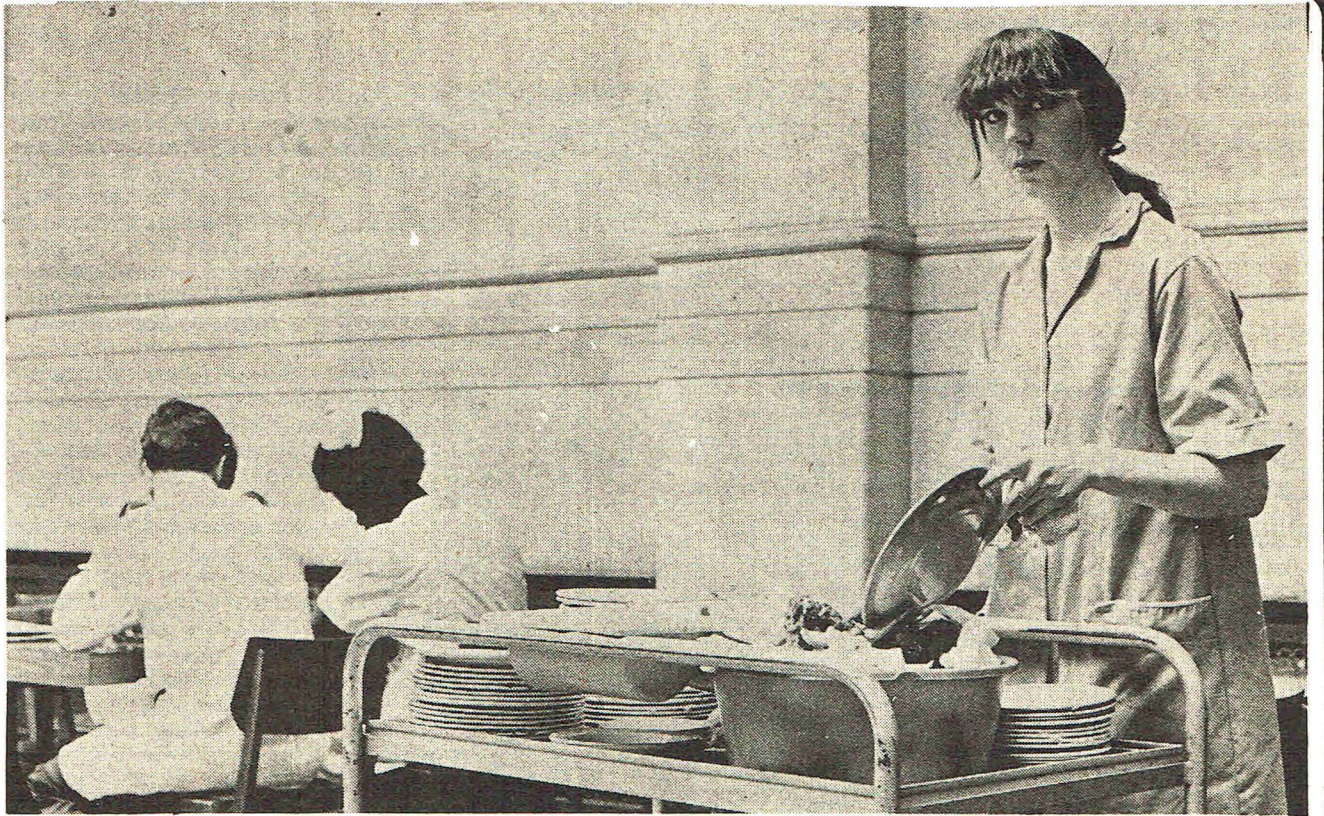
One such hospital is the Warley Mental Home in Brentwood, Essex. A worker there said, "The whole place is decrepit—plaster is falling from the walls, and there are cockroaches and rats under the floorboards."

"We're terribly short of staff—the nurses work longer and longer hours which makes them tired and short-tempered. The domestic staff and porters, also understaffed, try and make do the best they can, but how can you keep a place clean when you haven't got the proper equipment?"

"We improvise the best we can—such as using toilet brushes to clean the walls and skirting boards."

And where new equipment is brought in, it is usually at the expense of another area of the service, and it is left to the management to decide where to cut and where to put new equipment, usually with chaotic results.

One example of this came at a Stevenage hospital:



St Matthew's Hospital, Shoreditch, one of the East London hospitals under threat

Photo: MILITANT

NHS IN CRISIS

Technician Ruth Jennings said, "New equipment has been bought but no money is provided for staff to run it."

"At our hospital, a new Pulmonary Function laboratory was set up by a chest consultant, but management forgot to allow money for running costs, such as gases, paper or even the electricity to run the equipment. They also forgot the technician!"

"Consequently, our ECG department; one full time and one part-time technician, is expected to provide a service for this lab as well."

At the same time whole hospitals have been wiped off the map. Hospital workers have fought tooth and nail to stop closures, but such is the determination of the bosses that they are 'lucky' to win concessions.

Freedom of choice?

The contradictions of a health service in a declining capitalist society are well summed up in the new book 'Health in Danger: the Crisis in the NHS' by David Widgery.

He writes, "Tower Hamlets

heads the disease incidence statistics from TB to VD in the entire United Kingdom. The statistics show it to be a poor, crowded, old population, living in unfit dwellings, lacking cars, jobs, clean air, and mental good health."

Yet the three East London health districts by some macabre statistical mess-up face the sharpest fall in real health spending in the country.

"As a colleague told a recent meeting in Hackney called to protest over the proposed geriatrication of St Leonards Hospital: 'We have lost five hospitals already in East London and when the closure of St Leonards is said to be a further step in the right direction, words fail me!'"

Now the Tories are making noises in support of private health care and are attempting to stop phasing out of pay beds.

'Freedom of choice' under the Tories means freedom for pampered consultants to exploit the huge waiting lists. The choice is—go private, or wait for years.

If you're poor that's no choice at all. The result—in

the West Midlands alone 83,000 are waiting for some form of surgical operation.

Big business tolerated the NHS during the post war boom. A healthy working population is important for the bosses, but with unemployment so high there is an excess of labour and big business has less incentive to worry about the workers' health.

But more importantly, the NHS and other public services are too much of a dead weight to the capitalists. By cutting down on public spending, except defence, they are reducing the share of wealth going to working people.

Rationing by inconvenience

As Widgery says in his book, "The cuts are a code-word for a social counter-revolution; for a harsher, meaner, less caring health service which rations by inconvenience and is obliged to close down serviceable hospitals which with imagination and finance could find altered and important uses."

"The Welfare state itself is in question now judged, by Healy as well as Howe, in terms of its direct contribution to productive industry, which turns out to mean profit-producing industry."

This 'counter-revolution' must be stopped in its tracks by the labour and trade union movement, who won the welfare state in the first place.

But it is not just a question of playing a defensive role—workers should go on the attack armed with socialist policies. A free, comprehensive health service is as much a right to a working person as a home, job, decent wage and proper education.

We can't rely on the pot-luck attitude of the capitalists. They say we can only be healthy if the bosses' profits are healthy! We say that if the system can't afford us then we can't afford the system!

SHOULD NURSES GO ON STRIKE?
Militant NHS pamphlet, 3p
Obtainable from 'Militant',
1 Mentmore Terrace
London E8 3PN

.... AND ONLY PROFITS ARE HEALTHY

While the NHS is left to crumble away, the private drug companies are raking in the profits.

Last year four major drug monopolies, Ciba Geigy, Wellcome Holdings, Beecham and Glaxo, made between them massive pre-tax profits of £304 million.

The Tories have been quick to slash away 'wasteful' areas of the NHS. Yet there is a strange silence over the millions of pounds wasted on unproductive promotion of drugs.

In 1977 drugs firms spent more than £71 million on advertising—mostly rival companies trying to convince the workers that their product was the best even though it was the same drug!

The Tories have also been

silent over the millions big business extracts from the NHS—at least £37 million annually.

By Eileen Short

Labour MPs are now fighting the use of branding—this is where drug companies get doctors to use their drugs by filling out the prescription form with the brand name, instead of the medicinal description.

If 'branding' is stopped, pharmacists could supply the patient with the cheapest equivalent. As the magazine 'Medicine in Society' pointed out, "This would knock a hole in the costs to the NHS of

commonly prescribed drugs like the penicillins, Valium and Aldomet."

But these are not the only reasons the drug companies should be nationalised; the whole medical industry must be geared for need not profit.

While it is left to the capitalists, drugs will only be produced where there is a mass market, i.e. where the most profit can be made.

For example, Optrex, the lotion for 'tired eyes' has a 52 per cent profit margin—the bosses are not going to bother spending their millions researching into medicines for the few people with serious eye disorders, when they can make vast profits out of the masses of healthy people.

The minority of seriously ill people are dumped on the already reduced NHS.

More than 25,000 people

a year suffer from poisoning from the misuse of the drug Paracetamol—but of course big business doesn't take on the non-profit-making task of helping these people recover—that can be done by the NHS.

Research

While there are millions to be made out of the sick, can the capitalists be trusted to come up with a cure for common ailments?

Suppose researchers at Beechams, who made £138 million profit last year, discovered a cure for the common cold. Could the bosses be trusted to put the new drug onto the market knowing their massive profits could collapse?

In a socialist society the millions squandered on advertising and useless capitalist competition would be directed into meaningful research, not only looking for drugs

that minimise the effects of illnesses, but researching for actual cures to end sicknesses that have plagued mankind for centuries.

WORLD BOOKS

- Andrew Glyn—Capitalist Crisis. Tribune's 'alternative strategy' or socialist plan 70p (including p&p)
- Marx on economics £1
- Marx—Wage, Labour and Capital 15p
- Marx—Wages, Prices and Profit 15p
- Engels—The Wages System: articles from the Labour Standard 25p
- Oxford Militant Supporters—Key economic facts for socialists 15p
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Order from WORLD BOOKS
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PART TWO OF A THREE PART SERIES BY PETER TAAFFE

By the time of Mao's death in 1976, Chinese society was once again in a cul-de-sac.

Chairman Hua has recently revealed that the economy hardly grew at all in 1976. At the same time, imports of grain had risen to 12 million tons a year. Incredibly, it has also been revealed that consumption of grain has fallen to lower than the level of 1957!

One of the major reasons for this is undoubtedly the drought conditions which up to recently existed in certain key agricultural areas of China. But at the same time, the method of organisation of Chinese agriculture, and particularly the forced collectivisation of the land through the Communes have compounded the situation.

Mao never committed the same crimes and blunders as Stalin in carrying through this measure. Nevertheless, China possessed neither the cultural nor technical level at the time of collectivisation to ensure its successes. Massive communes were created on the basis of wooden ploughs in some areas.

Trotsky pointed out in his criticisms of Stalin's measures that the success of collectivization could only be guaranteed by persuasion, convincing the peasants of its advantages, which in turn was only possible by the mechanisation of agriculture. This implied a developed industry which could supply the collectives with modern agricultural machinery.

Modernisation

During the cultural revolution, the private plots of the peasants were outlawed in some areas. The discontent of the Chinese workers and peasants burst out in strikes and even uprisings in many cities and areas of China throughout the cultural revolution.

This surfaced again on the anniversary of the death of Chou En Lai in April 1976, in what came to be known as the Tien An Mien riots. 10,000 Peking workers and peasants gathered together in a mass demonstration to protest against the methods of the Mao wing of the bureaucracy. This was suppressed by Madame Chiang and her supporters, but paved the way for their downfall—and the coming to power of Deng Xiaoping.

There was then a complete somersault in policy—in the economy, in agriculture, and in Chinese society in general.

Deng, together with Hua, who had originally supported

Madame Mao and become one of her stooges but swung over to support Deng, launched a new version of the earlier 'great leap forward'. A campaign for the 'Four Modernisations' in science, industry, agriculture and defence was launched.

A massive industrialisation programme was initiated, involving the construction of 120 mammoth projects in



Poverty in Peking

steel, chemicals, railways, etc. which was to transform China into a modern economy.

Hua proclaimed that Chinese agriculture would be mechanised by 1980. The plan was heavily reliant on the import of modern technology from the capitalist west. With the onset of economic difficulties and a looming recession in the West, the capitalists have been only too eager to scramble for trade with this potential economic giant. Like vultures, one delegation after another has descended on China in the past three years.

It has been noticed in the West that China has immense reserves of coal, something like a tenth of the world's reserves of tin, and an estimated 7% of the world's reserves of iron. It is also not short of lead, zinc or nickel, and has enormous though as not yet fully explored prospects of oil.

Neighbouring Japan, which is acutely short of its own raw materials, jumped in first with a massive trade deal worth £10,000 million over ten years. In exchange for her coal and oil, China was to receive Japan's modern technology.

However, this dash for growth, with targets plucked from the air, soon proved to be completely beyond the limits of the Chinese economy. China could pay for the import of Western technology either through increased exports of mainly agricultural products or by massive borrowing from the capitalist West. Increased exports of

agriculture would entail a further squeezing of consumption, and at best a stagnation in the conditions of the Chinese masses.

On the other hand, astronomical sums would have to be borrowed from the capitalist West to finance this industrialisation programme. It would drag back the development of China in the same way as the massive repayments which Poland, and to a lesser extent, Russia, is forced to make to the West, harm the development of their economies.

On the other hand, a squeezing of consumption in order to increase exports, thereby acquiring the necessary foreign currency, to buy western capitalist technology, threatens to provoke tremendous popular resentment.

This followed a similar scene last week when peasants from outlying provinces marched through the streets proclaiming among other demands, 'Down With Starvation'. A Western visitor to Shanghai recently saw police firing on workers who were protesting that their pay was too low to buy enough food".

In the light of these developments, the bureaucracy have hesitated to squeeze living standards any further. It has become increasingly apparent, moreover, that the lion's share of Chinese resources in coal, oil, etc. will be required to supply the country's growing industries and modernisation programme. Consequently, the bureaucracy have been forced to abandon their original programme for modernisation.

Mass initiative

In a recent speech at the congress of the Chinese Communist Party, Hua ratified the postponement of the programme. Scaled-down targets for industry and agriculture were accepted. At the same time, wages and bonuses have been increased as well as the remuneration to the peasants.

This demonstrates that the real possibilities in a planned economy cannot be formulated or understood by a bureaucratic caste, separate from the masses. Only on the basis of a thorough-going discussion among the masses, who can add the necessary correctives, additions, etc., will it be possible to utilise all the resources in the economy and society on the basis of a realistic plan of production.

Without this discussion, and a reliance on mass initiative to implement the plans, the blunders, the bungling, and the mistakes which have characterised the policies of the Chinese bureaucracy over the past period, are inevitable.

Hungry peasants, demonstrating at the weekend in Peking called attention to China's immediate problems of feeding its huge population after two years of catastrophic drought. A Western visitor saw police firing on workers who were protesting their pay was too low to buy enough food.

ier Li gave to a visiting Australian delegation in 1977. He told the Australians that "500,000 tons of grain could be saved if every Chinese ate half a kilo less." ('Financial Times', 14 October 1977).

Yet, the living standards of the Chinese masses have hardly increased during the course of the last three to four years. Only recently have improvements been made because of growing discontent. 'The Times' Supplement pointed out: "In a remote mountain area, there is no oil for lamps, no firewood or coal, in some places there is not enough food." (29 September 1978).

The 'Financial Times' correspondent also reported in January of this year: "Hungry peasants, demonstrating at the weekend in Peking, called attention to China's immediate problems of feeding its huge population after two years of catastrophic drought.

Now in the place of the plans to turn to the West, a new watchword has been proclaimed by the Chinese regime: "Rely on your own resources". A certain amount of foreign technology will be imported and this will be coupled with an attempt to stimulate production by the introduction of incentives for managers, scientists, the intelligentsia and sections of skilled workers.

Corruption

As the 'Financial Times' remarked: "The primary development appears to be the recognition of a managers' role and of the need to reward him with money and status".

At the same time, numerous articles praising Yugoslavia's "self management" have appeared in the Chinese press. Yet at the beginning of the

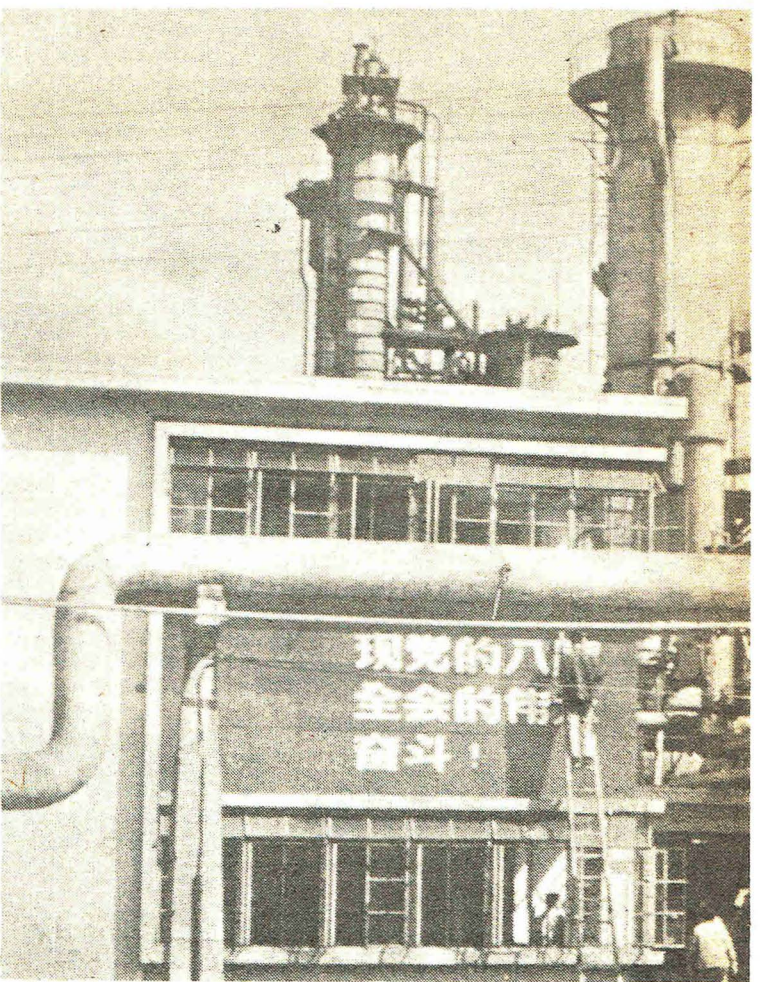
Sino-Soviet dispute the Chinese bureaucracy attacked Yugoslavia as a means of indirectly attacking the Russian bureaucracy. It singled out "self management" in Yugoslav factories as an indication of the "triumph of capitalism" in Yugoslavia.

The experimentation with these schemes by the Chinese bureaucracy shows just how far removed from real workers' democracy is the present regime in China. As with the capitalists in the West, these schemes are devised to tap the potential and initiative which resided in the Chinese workers and peasants. At best, it is a form of 'participation', analogous to similar schemes in the West.

The agricultural plans formulated two years ago have also been scaled down. The ludicrous target of 'mechanisation' by 1980 has been pushed to the indefinite future. However, the new orientation of the Chinese bureaucracy will undoubtedly give a big push to the development of industry and science.

But this will be at the cost of the widening of the gulf between the bureaucracy and the Chinese workers and peasants. Numerous and growing cases of corruption have been highlighted by the Chinese press during the last three years.

Last year, "Gluttony and drunkenness among officials have been severely criticised in China in recent weeks, and the construction of new restaurants and hotels in different parts of the country



A new factory in China—Western capitalists are eager to trade with this pot

have been banned" ('Times' 31 January 1978). A broadcast from a province in Eastern China recently said: "Big eating and drinking is a rotten bourgeois style and to spend funds on giving banquets and presenting gifts is disguised corruption. We must resolutely prohibit this."

But not withstanding these strictures against the more glaring abuses of the bureaucracy in June a provincial trade official of the Jeelen province's foreign trade bureau was dismissed for organising a "sumptuous 20-day binge that drained 26,000 yuan (£7,500) from the state coffers." (16 June 1979)

This worthy had disposed

of "one ton of wine, 60,000 cigarettes and 12 kilograms of high grade tea" in an attempt to get preferential treatment for his province's trade. This was the equivalent of a year's wages for 100 peasants!

A recent case featured in the Peking newspaper, 'People's Daily', really shows the scale of the corruption. A gang of embezzlers were arrested for "bribing scores of officials". The ringleader of the gang was a 58-year-old woman, who lavished furs, television sets, and other luxuries on associates and herself.

This gang embezzled a total of £161,000 from a fuel company in one of the

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Despite the attacks on the more extravagant examples of bureaucratic abuse, mismanagement and waste, these incidents show that an uncontrolled caste dominates Chinese society.

Opposition to the rule of the bureaucracy has been shown in recent demonstrations, strikes and to a certain extent in the posters displayed in Peking in the latter part of the last year, criticising different aspects of Chinese society.

Poster campaign

In January, "a demonstration marched towards Peking's Chuang nan Hai Compound, where China's leaders live, demanding food, and the right to work." (Guardian 15.1.79). At the same time "A demonstration by raggedly dressed people from throughout China, seeking redress from the country's leaders" took place.

Strikes of students and workers have also been reported from different parts of China. The 'Guardian' reported in December of last year that 50,000 students were on strike in South China "in a mass revolt against forced farm labour." The strikers protested that "local officials" had trampled on young farm workers' rights, and cheated and oppressed them. Some had worked as rubber tappers for nine years.

Some of this fostering

time, he was prepared to lean on these layers, and on the peasants and working class, irritated by the ten years of grey uniformity of the cultural revolution, in order to strike a decisive blow against the remnants of the supporters of the 'Gang of Four', and the hard-line Stalinists who remained.

In the aftermath of Stalin's death Khrushchev had also been forced to adopt similar measures as a counter-weight to the open Stalinist wing of the bureaucracy. Khrushchev understood that it was necessary to introduce certain reforms from the top in order to prevent revolution from below.

Nevertheless, the poster campaign revealed the enormous discontent with the rule of the bureaucracy. Thousands gathered in Peking to support posters demanding "free speech". Some proclaimed "no KGB here". "Beware of plain-clothes police", indicating the growing opposition to the police.

Attacks on the despotism of Mao Tse-tung's regime were also made. Indeed, "The posters likened the previous reactionary government to the 'fascist' dictatorship of Tsar Nicholas II" ('The Times' 26 November 1978).

The de-mystification of Mao had obviously had the full backing of the Deng wing of the bureaucracy. Deng characterised Mao as "70% good, and 30% bad."

Some posters claimed that Mao had some of his speeches and poems written for him. The 30% "bad" no doubt referred to that period of the cultural revolution when Deng was removed from his position on two occasions.

However, many students and workers, using the new-found, if limited freedom, obviously went further than Deng and his supporters wanted. Some groups began to question the very existence of the bureaucracy itself. Autocratic rule by a privileged stratum of officials came in for criticism, and demands were made for its removal. One group around the "human rights alliance" clashed with the police in Peking when one of its posters "emphasised that they were Communists, but that in Marxist-Leninism there was no absolute condemnation of human rights, it was in the interests of anti-democratic forces to attack human rights, and against these forces we cannot but launch a counter-attack. Those opposed to human rights were afraid of losing their privileged position in Chinese society". ('Guardian' 5 April 1979).

Trotskyism

Some groups of workers and students have undoubtedly groped in the direction of genuine Marxist-Trotskyist conclusions. Some demands were made for the election of officials and the right of recall. Something similar also happened, in certain isolated cases, during the cultural revolution, when some groups of young workers moved towards the programme of Marxism and Trotskyism. That is for workers' democracy, and for a political revolution against the bureaucracy.

But, as soon as it became evident that the poster campaign was getting out of hand, Deng and his secret



While workers go short of food, a special reception for Nixon in 1972

During this period of liberalisation many workers and students using the new found, if limited freedom, obviously went further than Deng and his supporters wanted. Some groups want to question the very existence of the bureaucracy itself.

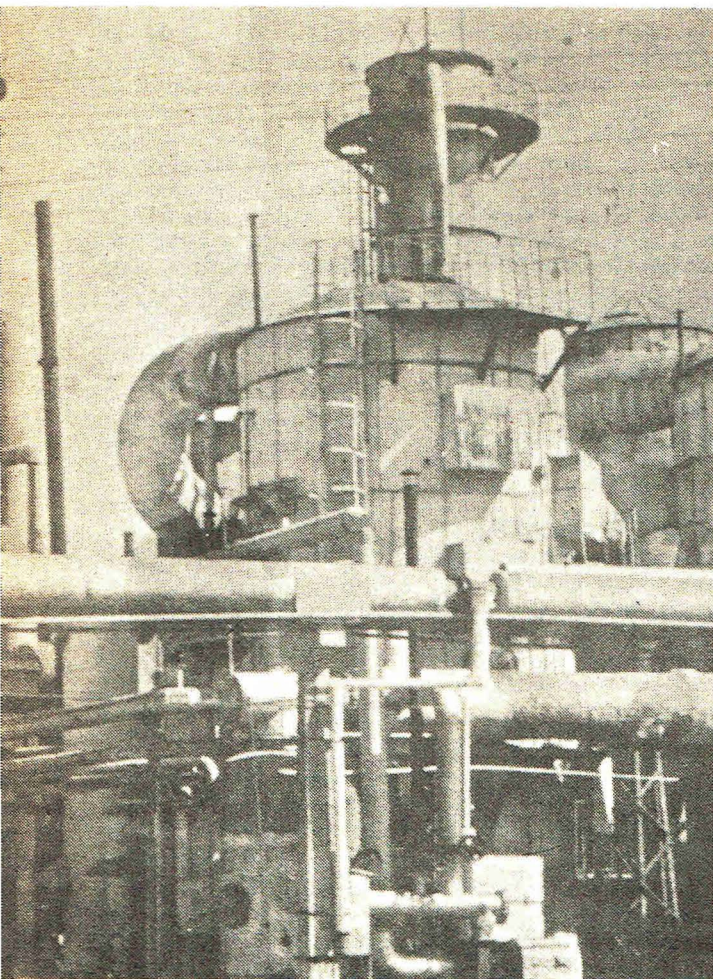
bureaucracy, of Trotskyism, was highlighted by a recent Amnesty International report on imprisonment in the People's Republic of China.

Zheng detained

It reported "that about 200 Trotskyists and sympathisers were arrested between the end of 1952 and the beginning of 1953, most of whom were never heard of again. Among them, was Zheng Chao Lin, a political theorist and linguist, who joined the CCP in the early 1920s and was expelled from it as a Trotskyist in 1929. He then became active in the Chinese Trotskyist movement, and was arrested by the Kuomintang in 1931.

"After his release, seven years later, he pursued his political work and historical studies while translating Marxist works into Chinese. He stayed in China when the People's Republic was established in 1949 and was arrested in Shanghai in 1952, reportedly for refusing to compromise with the CCP.

"Little has been heard about him since. However, he was said to be still detained in Shanghai in 1974. If he is alive, he is now about 78 years old."



Industrial economic giant

provinces of China "according to incomplete statistics, those who accepted their presents numbered more than 200, involving more than 90 units at the provincial prefectural and county levels, and in the army". ('People's Daily')

Contrast this extravagance and rottenness with the lot of the Chinese workers, whose average annual wage is about £200 (exclusive of bonus payments) while the peasant's income is estimated at about £107 a year. But these individual cases are merely the tip of the iceberg. Last October, the official 'People's Daily' denounced the growth of "graft, theft and speculation".

discontent was undoubtedly reflected in the outburst in Peking and other cities in China in October of last year. The poster campaign of that period raised demands for "freedom and democracy" from wide layers of students and even sections of the workers of Peking, Shanghai, and some other cities of China.

But at the same time this poster campaign was carefully controlled by the Deng wing of the bureaucracy. Deng realised that it was necessary to make concessions to the growing clamour of the intellectuals, scientists, artists and musicians, for "incentives" and freedoms to develop their talents. At the same



Young farm workers have held mass protests against conditions and low wages

police ruthlessly crushed all dissent. "Ultra-democracy" was denounced in the official Chinese press.

Moreover, a clear line of distinction was drawn between "permitted criticism" and that which was deemed "dangerous". The fear of the bureaucracy, of the Deng wing in particular, that students and workers engaged in this campaign, could embrace genuine ideas of workers' democracy, was shown in newspaper articles denouncing "Trotskyism".

Genuine Marxism

Some articles praised the Moscow trials of the 1930s. A front page article in the official 'People's Daily' stated that "The Soviet Trials of the 1930s" were correct,

and "the elimination of counter-revolutionaries, Trotskyists, spies, and hostile elements of all sorts were justified". This shows the bureaucracy's abiding fear that the masses should embrace the ideas of genuine Marxism. A further indication of the fear of the

Next week Peter Taaffe analyses the role of the Chinese leaders in international events.

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INDIA- RULING CLASS SHAKEN BY NATIONWIDE POLICE MUTINY

In the stormy 2½ years since the downfall of the emergency dictatorship of Mrs Gandhi, India has become accustomed to the sight of strikes, gheraos [mass pickets], occupations, and even pitched battles, involving thousands of workers. But even India has never since the days of the historic Mutiny of 1857 witnessed anything like the great police strike which has rolled all over the sub-continent from Kerala to Assam and from Kashmir to Tamil Nadu.

Fierce gun-battles have been fought between thousands of police strikers and troops called in to crush the strike. In Delhi, Gujarat and Bihar, there have been battles approaching the dimensions of civil war.

Police have been used by the capitalists as cheap mercenaries to do their dirty work in strike after strike. Tens of thousands have been killed in police massacres of striking workers, in violent repression of insurgent "outcaste" farm labourers, in the carnage of communal riots and pogroms, etc.

Now the ranks of the low-paid policemen have become infected with the spirit of revolt affecting all strata of the exploited.

They are not prepared to incur the odium of scabs and murderers for an average wage of £21 a month, with a 10-hour day, a seven-day

By Roger Silverman

week, constant regimentation and paramilitary discipline, accommodation in barrack dormitories with practically no facilities for family life... and the hatred of the masses too!

Naturally the police suffer from the burden of backward prejudices, driven into the police force by wretched conditions in their primitive villages, bribed with a secure job, drilled, brainwashed and flattered as custodians of "law and order". But in taking the road of strike action they have identified themselves as members of the working class.

Consciousness of the brutal realities of class oppression has dawned on them as they stood on the picket line staring into the muzzles of the soldiers' rifles, and they seized their armouries to fight for their lives. One step



abad to Trivandrum joined the mutineers!

The massacre at Bokaro led to solidarity strikes all over India, including 100 guards at the Atomic Energy Plant near Madras. In Madras itself, hundreds of police wore black badges in sympathy and an infantry battalion was called in.

But how long can troops be used where the police have mutinied? The new wage rises give the police higher pay than the soldiers. India has the fourth largest standing army in the world, with a million soldiers. In panic the government has granted minor [even insulting] concessions to the troops.

What forces will it have at its disposal when the army joins the revolt, as it must?

In Delhi, Gujarat and Bihar there have been battles approaching the dimensions of civil war

behind the workers in industry and on the farms, they have matched their courage and resolution in action.

Discontent had become so intense that one trivial incident—paradoxically in India's most prosperous and stable state, the Punjab—was enough to spark off the explosion that left the Indian state machine in ruins. The strike flared up after the victimisation of one constable for failing to salute a superior officer.

Spark from Punjab

Within days the entire Punjabi police force was on strike. The state authorities put 2,000 policemen under arrest and sent in the paramilitary Border Security Force and troops to occupy three police armouries.

At the same time they offered a substantial wage increase, to more than £30 a month, in an effort to buy the strikers off before the situation got out of hand. The strikers stayed out demanding better hours and conditions and "an end to political interference."

The rapid concessions to the Punjabi police, far from isolating them, inspired the great strike wave that spread throughout India.

Policemen marched and struck in Haryana, Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, Orissa, Pondicherry, Assam, Mizoram; in West Bengal, with its CPI (Marxist)-led government, and in Madhya Pradesh where the ultra-reactionary Jana Sangh dominates a corrupt gangster regime, and where the policemen earn only £10 a month.

In Gujarat, the arrest of the police union leader provoked 7,000 jawans (low-ranking police) to storm the police headquarters, smash up the furniture and telephone ex-

change, and force his release. Traffic constables left their posts. A Minister's car was set on fire, the Deputy Inspector-General of Police and his assistant were manhandled, and a "loyal" inspector was beaten up. But most of the officers followed the jawans' lead and joined the strike.

Several police stations were manned by troops, and on 1st

murder!) On the same day, three policemen were killed when 600 troops armed with rifles and automatics attacked 2,000 police strikers and seized the Jharoda Kalan barracks in Delhi.

What is most significant about these events is that in both cases it was no longer the ordinary police but special

In India the police have demonstrated their unreliability as tools of the ruling class at a far earlier stage than in the Iranian revolution

June the army opened fire on a crowd of 5,000 police strikers.

Even these fantastic events were surpassed three weeks later, when full-scale armed battles took place simultan-

ously in India's capital city Delhi and in the steel city of Bokaro in Bihar, the poorest and most turbulent state in India.



The enthusiasm at Janata coming to office [above] has long disappeared

ously in India's capital city Delhi and in the steel city of Bokaro in Bihar, the poorest and most turbulent state in India.

According to official estimates, nineteen policemen and two soldiers were killed, and over 100 wounded, when troops stormed a police barracks in Bokaro. (Several police headquarters, smash up the furniture and telephone ex-

At least half of the 900,000 ordinary police have had their first blood in strike action. Then, called in originally as strikebreakers, 75,000 CRP and 40,000 CISF have become disaffected. In Gujarat, the State Reserve Police were not even enlisted because "their loyalties were in question!"

Four hundred armed police specially flown in from Hyder-

"Militant" has been the only tendency to draw attention to the pre-revolutionary situation building up in India, the world's biggest capitalist country. Some critics of our analysis have protested that "the bourgeois state with its three repressive arms—the military, bureaucracy and judiciary—has been kept intact...There has been no disintegration of the state power itself."

On the contrary! The vast apparatus of the Indian state is crumbling before our very eyes.

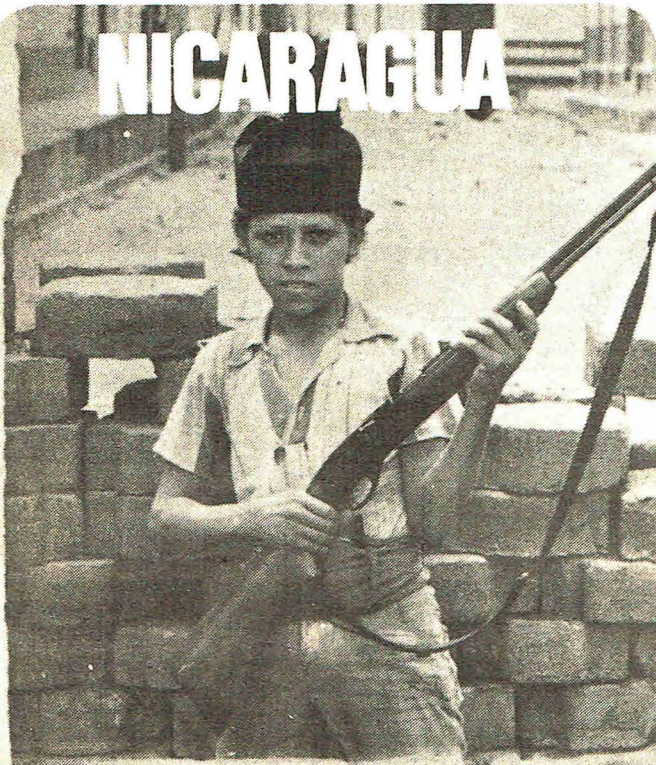
The ratio of military and paramilitary forces to the male population aged 20 to 50 has swollen from 40:1 in 1947 to 10:1 in 1979. That is precisely why the army and police can no longer stay insulated against the militant mood of the workers and poor peasants.

As the ruling Janata Party disintegrates into squabbling factions and the traditional bourgeois party, Congress, degenerates further into rival cliques, so the rotten structure of the capitalist state machine is falling to pieces like in Iran a few months ago.

An army, or a police force even more so, will normally not revolt until the very last days of a regime; it begins to waver only when faced with a united and resolute mass movement. That was the case in Iran.

But in India today the police have demonstrated their unreliability as tools of the ruling class at a far earlier stage of the revolution. The authorities have disbanded several battalions and discharged thousands of policemen. The same will inevitably be true of the army.

The great police revolt will further embolden the Indian working class to even more determined action in fulfilling its historic mission to change society.



The struggle in Nicaragua now is essentially about what kind of regime will follow the Somoza dictatorship. The opposition Sandinista movement [FSLN] now control 27 towns and cities, including five regional centres. It is only a matter of time before the capital, Managua, falls.

Over the last month the American government has been desperately trying to ensure that power goes to the right hands. Senator Kennedy called for "any measure including military [to prevent] the installation of a Marxist regime in Nicaragua."

American imperialism is worried that the example of a popular overthrow of a dic-

tatorship could be copied elsewhere in Central America. So they are trying to ensure that the business elements within the Sandinista Popular Front get power and exclude the two main left-wing groups.

The struggle in Nicaragua will continue as the classes polarise with the overthrow of Somoza.

No longer can American imperialism totally dictate events in its own backyard. In this year alone the Caribbean and Central America have been shaken by major revolts in Grenada, Dominica, Nicaragua and El Salvador. More will follow.

INTERNATIONAL YOUTH CONGRESS

Need for fighting socialist approach

At the end of June, 123 delegates from 32 countries gathered in Frankfurt for the biennial congress of the International Union of Socialist Youth. The delegates met against the background of ever increasing problems for the youth of all the capitalist countries.

Out of 300 million unemployed in the capitalist world, over 40% are under 26. In the OECD countries, the most developed, there are 7 million unemployed youth. The youth are being made into a vast international reserve army of labour, condemned to rot on the streets until the employers can make a profit out of their labour.

At the same time since the last congress in 1977, hundreds of thousands of working class youth have been in-

By Phil Frampton
(Chairman LPYS)

involved in heroic struggles against the bloody dictatorships under which they suffer.

But reflecting the bankrupt right-wing leadership of IUSY, the General Secretary's report had not a mention of the self-sacrificing youth and the magnificent strike actions in Brazil, Chile, Argentina etc.

The British LPYS delegates pointed to the Iranian revolution and its great significance, illustrating how the Shah backed by the fourth largest army in the world and the brutal terror of his secret police was unable to withstand the sustained revolutionary movements of a tiny working class.

The Iranian workers have shaken the ruling classes of five continents but in vain could they try to shake the IUSY leadership.

A similar fate met the struggle of the European workers for a 35-hour week. A proposition put forward by the French YS for a campaign for a 35-hour week was heavily defeated by even the vast majority of European delegates.

Unexpectedly, despite this demand being put forward by the British Labour Party and TUC, the National Organisation of Labour Students voted against.

In the four hours of political discussion to which delegates were treated in the three days, IUSY was unable to arrive at any serious strategy for united struggle of the world's youth against oppression. As if to appease the 11 visitors from the Stalinist bloc, the congress voted to reject an LPYS call to support a struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracies and a fight for workers' democracy.

Once again the NOLS delegates voted against, apparently forgetting the cam-



LPYS National Committee at 1978 LPYS Conference

paign they claim to be waging in Britain. The reward for this opportunism came when Hilary Barnard of NOLS was made president of IUSY as a compromise choice of "left" and right.

It remains to be seen whether Barnard can lead IUSY out of its present irrelevance to all youth except budding careerists. IUSY is now saddled with a right-wing leadership and a programme which recommends the impoverished "Third World" to self-reliance, refuses to give a lead on unemployment and

turns its back on the workers struggling against the Moscow and Peking bureaucracies.

The leadership also have the job of breaking IUSY's virtual isolation to Western Europe. However, this can only be done by adopting a policy which can unite the youth of the world in struggle.

It is vital that IUSY returns to the approach of Liebknecht, one of its founders. At this conference only the British LPYS, supported by the Dutch and Flemish YS, called for fundamental social

change in the capitalist world and for workers' democracy in the Stalinist countries.

The immediate necessity is for the member organisations to link up around a campaign for a 35-hour week, a guaranteed job for all school leavers, a minimum wage for all; for the overthrow of capitalism and Stalinism to secure a socialist world order in which to establish an international plan of production and an end to the threat of starvation and nuclear war.

SOUTH AFRICA IS APARTHEID SLOWLY DISAPPEARING?

In the last two months businessmen, opposition politicians and the entire South African capitalist press have been cautiously heralding "the end of apartheid" in the light of the regime's acceptance of

the report of the Wiehahn Commission.

Koornhof, Minister of Co-operation and Development, proclaimed last month in a visit to America, "Apartheid as you came to know it in the USA is dying and dead."

This has been accepted by the international capitalist press who have acclaimed the changes as being "steps in the right direction towards the elimination of apartheid."

But 'Militant' pointed out (11 May 1979) the Wiehahn report proposes changes only in the way that the system of exploitation and oppression is organised, nothing more.

The changes have been introduced for two main reasons. Firstly, the crisis of profitability for the ruling class has forced them to take steps to raise the productivity of labour through further mechanisation. They see the urgent need to employ cheap African labour in more skilled operative categories previously held exclusively by whites through legally enforced job reservation and racially exclusive "closed shops".

Sections of the white workers, seeing their relatively privileged positions being undermined, have already reacted in a right-wing manner to the proposed legislation.

Secondly, there are clear political dimensions to the proposed changes. Imperialism well understands that revolution in southern Africa is gaining momentum almost daily.

Yesterday—Mozambique and Angola,

today—Zimbabwe, tomorrow—South Africa itself.

Realising that pure repression has served to harden and strengthen the resistance of the masses (e.g. the heroic and successful defiance of the Crossroads "squatters" in Cape Town) pressure is being exerted on the apartheid regime to move in the direction of internal reforms. In this way it is hoped the lid will be kept on the simmering cauldron of revolt.

This is not to say that the regime has any intention of softening repression or of changing course from its dictatorial methods. These will certainly continue. Their stated aim is "the establishment of a black middle class" which they conceive of as a buffer between them and the black workers.

In reality what their strategy amounts to is an attempt to further divide and compartmentalise the working class; in particular, to divide the African workers who have certain limited rights to remain in urban areas ("section ten" blacks) from the "migrant" contract workers.

Divide and rule

In the case of the former to allow certain limited concessions such as home-ownership rights, job preference over the "migrants" and the right to join a State-registered trade union. For the "migrants" (which includes all black mineworkers, dock-workers, and a large section of industrial workers) repression and rigid control will be intensified.

An attempt will be made to portray this section of the working class as non-South Africans, i.e. citizens of the puppet Bantustans. Also, they are to be forbidden trade union rights.

Despite all the regime's attempts to break the organisations of African workers, including the murder and banning of trade union leaders, African workers have increasingly continued to organise themselves in trade unions.

The "problem" facing the regime and which the Wiehahn commission acknowledged was that "A prohibition would undoubtedly have the effect of driving Black trade unionism underground and uniting Black workers not only against the authorities but, more important, also against the system of free enterprise in South Africa." (page 20).

The commission was unanimous in

recommending that trade unions should be registered with State authorities—in fact, placed in a State-controlled straight-jacket. The government has agreed to give trade union rights just to urban workers.

Far from extending trade union rights, the Wiehahn Commission represents a determined attack on the African workers and their right to organise. If the regime succeeds in this scheme, the trade union movement will be further divided and any independent form of organisation will be ruthlessly stamped upon.

These manoeuvres are completely in line with the over-all programme of bottling up the crisis of apartheid in the reserves while attempting to give the African middle class a field of operation and influence over the African workers in the towns.

But capitalism has brought into being its own grave-digger in South Africa—the black proletariat. The fear of the regime for this mighty force is perfectly shown up by these new machinations.

That they are able to twist and turn in this way is attributable solely to the absence of a revolutionary leadership rooted in the working class and capable of mass resistance to these divide and rule tactics. But the objective basis for the unity of the working class is present in all essentials in South Africa.

That unity galvanised in action with a Marxist leadership will ensure once and for all the overthrow of the political and economic order in South Africa and the creation of a socialist workers' state.

By Jim Phillips

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No trade union rights for migrant workers in new proposals

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DEFEATING RACIALIST IDEAS

Dear Comrades

During a recent discussion at work concerning immigration, I saw how prejudiced some people still are.

The mood of the discussion was filled with racist statements, blaming the 'coloureds' for the social ills which have been inflicted on this country.

I, being young, was considered inexperienced to life's realities, because I was prepared to stand by my views. For this they viewed me as a 'do-gooder' or 'brainwashed'

because I differed from their way of thinking.

When I came to work the next day armed with facts concerning immigration, not one of these people who had argued ferociously with me would read the literature, all dismissing it as propaganda of leftist origin.

The disturbing fact is I would not regard these people as real racials...but I found I could not get angry at them because they don't even know what's going on. The new

generation understand it but how do you relate to this sense of hopelessness?

There is an alternative, to disband this way of inbuilt thinking which will defeat all the prejudices of the past, and this is to bring about the socialist transformation of society which will overthrow racialism for ever.

Best wishes
Peter Gunn
Chairman, Salford LPYS

The Grim Reaper at Cammell Laird

Dear Comrades

Only shortly after the Cammell Lairds lagers and joiners ancillaries returned to work ('Militant' 462), the platers and shipwrights walked out.

They have had a long-standing argument about anomalies in conditions' allowances. Over the years odd allowances have been won here and there with expedience being the only common factor. Frustrated at the unfairness of their payment the man took action. A national standard of allowances is expected to be included in the next annual agreement, but in the meantime the anomalies remain.

In the background all the time is the threat of redundancies. The visit by Keith Joseph on June 22nd was treated with as much enthusiasm as a visit by the Grim Reaper. In the course of his visit he was heard to say that 'The new construction hall is very impressive and it is sad it is not fully utilised.'

Under the rule of Keith Joseph and his ilk the hall will never be fully utilised.

J Shepherd
GMWU
Cammell Laird

Price rises build up anger

Dear Comrades

Recently, in a queue at my local hospital someone mentioned the gigantic rise in food prices. This provoked an explosion of clear hatred for the Tory government. Patients wanted to express utter amazement at how anyone could be expected to live with the price of food.

An older woman said about the sugar and butter increases, that they had not gone up a few pence as in today's currency but related it to the old £s, shillings and pence. This made everyone think.

I was flabbergasted to discover that for some people two wages coming into the house still meant that they were receiving £55 to £65 a week.

Very shortly these people will be asking why are there rises, and what can we do to stop prices rising. If we are there we can give precise answers to their questions.

One thing that comrades should think about, there are usually articles in our paper that can be re-printed in your local Tory rag, with a little bit of modification. One example of this is the EEC article from the issue of 18 May.

I sent it off to my local comic and it was printed. I'll send another off now saying how right I was regarding food prices. A lot of people read the letters page, so in time they will start thinking "he/she is right, I'll do something about this".

My local rag prints the full name and address so no doubt sometime, someone will write and agree with me.

Then I'll pounce and they'll become 'Militant' supporters! Comrades ought to think about sending letters to their local rags, they may take a while getting some printed but it's worth it if it's a good article.

Yours fraternally
Anthony Tynan
NUM South Wales

Incentives

Dear Comrades

The recent tax cuts as I understand it were given to boost production. Then why don't the managers, directors, chairmen, etc, get on with it?

Don't expect workers like me on £50 flat (we only got 3%) to help. After all VAT was almost doubled. So were dentist and prescription charges.

Yours fraternally
Vincent Leon
Norwood Labour Party

Labour Party will support trade unionists

Dear Comrades

The statement of Mrs Thatcher in the House of Commons that she has an "absolute mandate" in relation to trade union reform, fills us with foreboding.

The Tory Party has elected someone who appears incapable of understanding the every-day problems of ordinary people. The coming winter is destined to be one of acute conflict and strife.

The myth, often perpetrated, that trade unionists like nothing better than to strike or 'hold the country to ransom', flies in the face of official statistics of days lost through strikes, both official and unofficial.

No trade unionist enjoys losing money, and for someone to forego a day's pay indicates a deeply held grievance which has finally been expressed in a withdrawal of labour.

If Mrs Thatcher persists in her determination to confront a movement representing over 50% of the working population then this Labour Party will do everything in its power to resist what is quite clearly an attempt to disarm the trade union movement before an attack is made on its living standards.

As the political wing of the labour movement we will give unqualified support to our colleagues in the trade unions in their efforts to resist the attacks of someone who is living up to the nickname of the 'Iron Lady'.

Yours fraternally
Hugh Henry [Chairman]
Moira Winter [Secretary]
West Renfrewshire CLP

"Don't forget the grass roots"

Dear Comrades

A recent letter in the 'Uxbridge and Hillingdon Gazette' produced a more interesting and accurate insight into the events of Hayes Labour Party than has been indicated by the popular press.

It reads: 'Sandelson should get closer to the grass roots'.

"During the election campaign, I worked for Labour in an unofficial capacity in Barnhill Ward. In charge of operations was a young dedicated socialist, whose work rate amazed me. He was on the left of the party and

apparently is one of those Hayes MP Mr N Sandelson wants to rid the party of. If so, he could not render the party a greater dis-service. These young workers are the life of the party. Missing they may be from official dinners and so on but they are always on the doorstep at election time and in between.

"These are the young beavers who got Neville Sandelson to Westminster and he should not forget it too quickly.

"indeed he should be grateful that he has in his ranks in Barnhill, young men with such dedication and enthusi-

asm. "Should Mr Sandelson visit Barnhill a bit more often, he will see for himself why the grass roots are so dissatisfied with his tenure. Perhaps then, he will realise that they can't all be out of step, and it is only himself who is.

"Don't forget the grass roots of your party, Mr Sandelson. Come down off your high horse and feel what they feel. These are the real supporters of Labour. Desmond Gleason"

Yours fraternally
Liz Curry
Uxbridge LPYS

ASK A POLICEMAN

Dear Readers

I had to leave the recent debate between London LP Young Socialists and Young Tories at the House of Commons early. On my way out of the 'Chambers of Power' I met a few YS members in the corridor who had arrived late and hoped to get in. They asked me if there was still room upstairs, and I replied that I thought there was plenty of room.

A policeman, overhearing us said:

"There is no further admission."

"Don't be silly" I replied, "I've just walked out, so have some others, there must be more room, at least for one more."

"There is no further admission. I have my orders" he said stubbornly.

The other YS members agreed with me, so the copper lost his temper. "Who's running this show?", he asked one of the comrades, "me or him?" (pointing in my direction!)

We tried another approach.

"Can I give him a message to take upstairs for somebody?" asked another comrade. "He's only jut come out, you could let him take a message back up, couldn't you?"

The policeman obviously didn't like me at all. "I don't know if he's going to be allowed back in again yet" he replied. "I have my orders. Now go and conduct your business in the Lobby outside."

Out in the Lobby they gave me a note to take back. Very politely I returned and asked if I could go back in, I'd only just left, etc.

"There is no further admission", he said, refusing to look me in the eye, staring way above my head, to the sky.

What a waste of time. Why couldn't he have told us that in the first place? Would it have made any difference if I'd been a Tory?

Yours fraternally
Mike Levene
Coventry SE Labour Party

MILITANT'S PROGRAMME— A real alternative to capitalism

Dear Comrades

It's Pete Willsman [Letters 13 July] who misses the point of Peter Lush's reply to his letter not the other way round. Again his arguments are all in terms of 'swings' and 'electoral advantages' and not political.

He fails to take up Peter Lush's challenge of 'What are his political criticisms of Militant's programme'. Instead he covers up by making snide comments that the "chances of publication of a long letter in Militant are very slight".

Willsman claims that he did not imply that Labour's defeat was due to the fact that some candidates fought on a Left wing programme.

But that was exactly what he was guilty of, by juggling around with figures and swings trying to insinuate that the result in Croydon Central was a bad one compared with seats like Croydon NW and Croydon NE where a right-wing campaign was waged.

Yet if he bothered to examine his own swingometer, which he believes so important, then he would discover that the result in Croydon was a "fairly good one" compared with results in the rest of London. The swing

in Croydon Central was 7.7%, which is exactly the same as the swing against Labour based on all votes cast in London.

But in Croydon Central the Labour vote maintained itself to a bigger degree than the London average. In Croydon Central the Labour vote fell by 8.5% compared to an average 10.8% fall in the rest of London. And if you take the points made by Peter Lush about the composition of the area, in no way can the result be described as disastrous.

Willsman never says what his political views are but we can only presume from his statement that "There are Left wing programmes and Left wing programmes" and his remarks about Barbara Castle that he roughly aligns himself with 'Tribune'. "The working class can't relate to Militant's programme" he gleefully announces after examining the voting figures.

But we can see what a mess his arguments get into. The swing in Croydon Central was 7.7% yet if we look at constituencies in London where there were 'Tribune' candidates standing the swing was 10.6% in Vauxhall, 9.7% in Hackney North, 14.1% in

Bethnal Green & Bow, and 9.2% in Wood Green—Willsman's own constituency.

We wouldn't be as impertinent as Willsman in proclaiming that this in itself proves that 'Tribune' can't relate to the working class. What all these results did reflect was the disastrous record of the Labour government and the right wing campaign nationally.

The failure of the Tribunites, who are in a far stronger position in the Labour Party than Militant, to campaign for an alternative programme did nothing to offset this.

But what was this programme in Croydon Central that Willsman claims was so disastrous? It was essentially a programme explaining the class nature of the Tory party and the threat they pose to working people, and putting forward an alternative based on Labour Party and TUC conference decisions of opposition to wage restraint, a minimum wage, a 35-hour week, expansion of public services etc, and highlighting Clause IV of the Labour Party's constitution.

Perhaps the TUC and Labour Party conference decisions are 'electorally unpop-

ular' and 'can't be related to the working class'. Because that's what Willsman is saying.

The job of socialists is to tell the truth and patiently explain the ideas of socialism to the workers. If the founders of the Labour Party had taken heed of Willsman's arguments and only put forward a programme that was 'electorally popular' [i.e. acceptable to the capitalists, their press, media etc.] there would never have been a Labour Party formed in the first place.

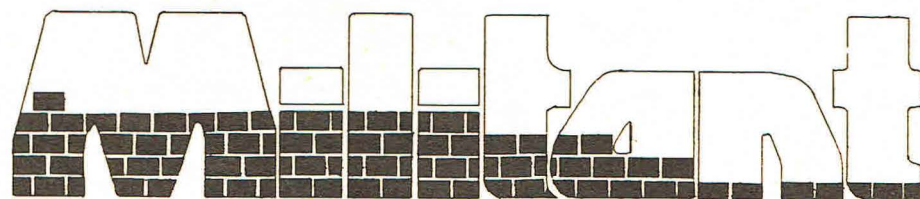
We are convinced that if Militant's programme had been campaigned on by the movement as a whole, then a tremendous victory would have been Labour's reward.

Militant's programme is not a magical incantation but it's a programme that is based on the needs and day to day experience of the working class. And the campaign in Croydon Central proved it is a programme that the working class will enthusiastically take up despite the prevailing national mood.

Yours fraternally
John Bulaitis
LPYS National Committee [London]

THERE'S NO TIME LIKE NOW

Build



Area	Target		Proportion of target received	Received
	52 wks	39 wks		
Eastern	4,700	3,525		1,688
Hants & IOW	3,100	2,325		1,404
Humberside	2,600	1,500		880
London North	9,500	7,125		3,320
London South	3,900	2,925		2,155
Manchester & Dist.	4,500	3,375		1,513
Merseyside	5,000	3,750		1,668
Midlands East	3,300	2,475		1,654
Midlands West	9,000	6,750		3,869
Northern	5,500	4,125		1,989
Scotland East	2,900	2,175		872
Scotland West	4,500	3,375		1,382
South East	4,500	3,375		2,002
South West	3,100	2,325		1,464
Wales East	2,600	1,950		908
Wales West	3,400	2,550		862
Yorkshire	6,800	5,100		2,450
Others	6,700	5,025		6,212
Total	85,000	63,750		36,291

Progress towards year's target ■■■■■ Progress towards October 6th target ■■■■■

TARGET FOR THE YEAR - £85,000 TARGET FOR OCT. 6th - £63,750

In just two years, 1974 to 1976, the richest one per cent of Britain's population increased their share of wealth from 22.5% to 24.9%—a quarter of all wealth in the country.

The whole 'bottom' half of the population, however, couldn't even get that between them! [24.5% in 1976—just 0.8% more than in 1949!]

These are the findings of the Royal (!) Commission on the distribution of income and wealth. The conclusions for every member of the labour movement are clear—nothing will change as long as the tiny minority of the rich maintains control of society.

Things can only get worse as their faithful Parliamentary representatives—the Tories—hammer away at every hard won right and standard of the working man and woman. 'Militant' is fuelling the fight back every week with its analysis, information and programme.

As one of the virtually

property-less 50% of the population we ask you to fight with us to change society but also to part with whatever spare cash you do get!

A POEU member has pointed out that all his colleagues have received a 16% pay rise and should be reminded about donations to 'Militant'.

"Tory tax rebates" have begun to be paid too and should be "mopped up" with special appeal sheets etc.

Trade union expenses should be another source of income for 'Militant'—"from the labour movement to the labour movement" as the special appeal to CPSA SEC members put it (and got

By Clare Doyle

£60—see below).

If you haven't got the £5 collect up the pennies. One supporter in Marylebone handed over £8.78 worth last week! We welcome the £3.50 from a meeting in Folkestone—"not a lot of money but most of those attending were school students".

Then, as a last resort, you can always do odd jobs to raise cash to build 'Militant'. One supporter in the North has formed the "Militant Window Cleaners Incorporated (Murton & Seaham)" to make £5 for us.

He sent it with the message "Through 'Militant' I've read the theory—hope this helps a little towards putting the theory into practice."

And that must be the motive behind every one of this week's donations that have totalled £885.

Many thanks to every contributor—including those listed below—but we need a much bigger share of your wealth to reach our next target for the Fighting Fund. £63,750 by October 6th means over £2,000 a week! See what you can do!

CPSA DHSS Section Exec-

**THIS WEEK: £885
OVER £2,000
PER WEEK
NEEDED BY
OCTOBER 6th**

utive members £60.22 includes: K Roddy £15, plus £10s from M Trodd, D Spagnol and B Fuge. CPSA supporters in Newcastle DHSS (including D Purvis' £5) £18. UPW Conference expenses (J Johnson, Ealing LP) £16.70; GEC workers (Manchester) £10; Bootle LP YS £1.59; Bristol SE LPYS £2.15; Cardiff N LPYS "saved conference deposits" £17; Bracknell LPYS £10.

Militant Readers' Meetings in: Manchester £11; Leicester (on India) £28.77; Glasgow (on Ireland) £7.50.

Union expenses (Leeds) £22; union expenses (S London) £21; interpreter's fees (M Levene) £16; TGWU conference delegates/visitors, including £5 from P Duffy: £49.75 (after expenses).

£67 South London supporter; £44 back pay of social worker; £20 reader in Kingston; £19 TV expenses; £10 delegate to NUM conference (anon); £10 Lewisham supporter; £5.10 R Hartill, Bristol S LPYS; £5—A Hughes (POMSA, Merseyside); Anon (Canterbury); Teacher; Bolton reader.

£4 D O'Flynn (AUEW Ford's, Dagenham); £3.80 S Donnelly (Leyton CLP); £2.90 T Patel (Feltham YS); £2 Wobeyes (Hackney); Jo and George (Hackney); school student (Southgate).

£1 from J Locke (E London); D Leftwich (N W London); C Onions (IRSF Merseyside); M Starr (Bristol S LPYS); S Mitchell (Bristol S E LPYS); L Evans (unemployed, Cardiff North LPYS).

Bradford jumble sale £58.52; students' summer jobs (Manchester) £20; "Lumberjacking", "bar tips" (Spennymoor) £5; fares box (S London) £1; guessing the half-year total (London) £5.80; sandwiches (W London) £1.50; plants and garden produce (Peterborough) £11; donated golf clubs (Poole) £10; Leeds South social £4.30; Russian stamps (Leeds) £1.

These are just a few examples that could prompt you to make a contribution. No time like this week!

GREET LABOUR'S CONFERENCE

We invite you to place fraternal greetings to delegates attending the 1979 Labour Party Conference in 'Militant'.

This year's conference will be one of the most important ever. Make sure your trade union branch, shop stewards' committee, Labour Party or LPYS branch sends its greetings through our paper, which gets very wide circulation at Conference.

The closing date for copy is Tuesday 18th September.

Rates for greetings:

Semi-display: £4 for 6 column centimetres [maximum 25 words]; £2 for 3 column centimetres [maximum 15 words].

Display: £7 one-sixteenth of a page; £14 one-eighth of a page.

THE 35-HOUR WEEK

The fight against unemployment?—A 'Militant' pamphlet. 25p including postage.

From World Books, 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN

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.

MILITANT MEETINGS

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

SEAHAM Marxist Discussion Group. 'The State and Revolution' (Lenin). Thursday 2nd August, 7.30 pm. 6 William Johnson Street, Murton.

CLASSIFIED

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

SOUTH WALES MILITANT SUMMER CAMP

August Bank Holiday 1979, August 24th-27th Horton, near Swansea
EXCELLENT COURSES ON MARXISM [Details to be announced next week]
PLENTY OF SOCIAL ACTIVITY!
Cost £6.50 per head. Under-fives free; 6-12 £2 [costs include snacks]
Write to Rob Sewell, 99 Penderry Road, Penlan, Swansea for programme
BOOK NOW! Cheques etc. payable to "R Sewell"
As always, we guarantee the weather!!

LPYS CONFERENCE Militant Readers' Meeting

'Britain's crisis—a socialist programme for Labour' Speaker: Ted Grant [political editor, 'Militant']
Venue: Bracelands Campsite, Coleford, near Gloucester Sunday 29th July, 6.00 pm
A collection will be taken for the 'Militant' Fighting Fund. Make sure your LPYS branch makes a contribution

TRANSPORT AND GENERAL WORKERS UNION CONFERENCE

THE FLY IN THE TORY OINTMENT

The Transport and General Workers' Union will not sit idly by while Thatcher and Co. attempt to introduce vicious anti-trade union legislation.

That was the main message to emerge from the T&GWU's Biennial Delegates' Conference.

Harry Urwin, the union's retiring deputy general-secretary, attacked the Tory threat to the unions as "part of their hard-nosed policies for shifting wealth away from the working people to the privileged."

"There is one fly in the ointment", he said. "The opposition in Parliament isn't strong enough. But there is a strong trade union movement in Britain today."

Harry Urwin showed that though the new Tory measures were different from Heath's Industrial Relations Act, the objective remains the same.

The emergency motion submitted by the General Executive Council called upon the TUC "to mobilise maximum trade union resistance against those measures and pledged full support for the strongest possible defence of basic trade union rights."

This was passed almost unanimously. One lone delegate demanded to speak against, after the vote had been taken!

At first the chairman was about to let him speak in order to demonstrate his utter



Conference delegates overwhelmingly voted to oppose the Tory anti-union measures

Photo: Andrew Wiard (Report)

isolation. But the delegates refused to give him a hearing, showing their intense anger on this issue.

It was clear that while looking to the TUC and their own full-time officials to organise general opposition and galvanise the energies of the whole working class, delegates were prepared to act independently if necessary to defend any workers victimised, fined or imprisoned through these measures.

On pay policy, only a handful of delegates dared to brave the wrath of conference and either speak or vote in favour of any form of wage restraint, now or in the future. One or two argued

that the Executive should have powers to adapt to changing circumstances and embrace an incomes policy later, if they thought it necessary.

Pay restraint

These pleas fell on deaf ears. Thatcher was warned that the union will fight any attempts at wage freeze or incomes policy.

In summing up the debate, Moss Evans reiterated that "free, unfettered collective bargaining is going to be the best means of defence against the provocations of the Tory government."

However, while uncompromising on any future incomes policy, Evans still tried to justify the support given to wage restraint under the Labour government.

He also called for caution in drawing up claims. It is possible that the leaders of the union may try to develop this theme further as struggles on wages unfold, attempting to dampen down militancy by saying some claims are 'foolish' or 'irresponsible'.

It seemed this time that the whole union was marching in one direction, in clear contrast to the last Biennial conference when there was a sharp polarisation between the leadership and the dele-

gates over pay policy.

But the idea of free collective bargaining was actually used to defeat—by only 100 votes—a resolution on the index-linking of wages to rises in the cost of living. Such a policy, it was argued, would tie the hands of negotiators and thereby undermine free collective bargaining!

This amazing logic will not hold sway for long given the growing support for this idea in the union in the face of escalating inflation.

On Labour Party democracy it was made quite clear, with an almost unanimous vote, that the union would support re-selection of MPs at

the forthcoming Labour Party conference.

Alex Kitson poured scorn on those MPs who 'agree' with Labour Party and union policies in selection meetings and then turn full circle once selected.

In the debate Bob Ashworth, 'Militant' supporter from Rover, Solihull, pointed to the democratic checks which exist on shop stewards—and demanded the same democratic accountability at all levels of the movement.

Democracy will be an important issue for the Transport and General Workers' Union itself in the run up to next year's six-yearly rules' revision conference. Only the general secretary faces an election and throughout the union the demand is growing for the election of officials.

To ensure that the leadership remains in tune with the aspirations of the members, this step forward is indispensable.

Over 250 copies of 'Militant' were sold during the conference and Militant's public meeting, with over 30 delegates and visitors, provided an excellent discussion on the broad political and industrial issues.

Over £60 was collected at the meeting, and other donations were also given during the week in aid of the Militant fighting fund.

By Brian Ingham

(Industrial correspondent)

FIRMIN'S WORKERS STAND FIRM

After four weeks of industrial action at Firmins, Birmingham—deadlock. Talks between the National Brass Association and our union, the National Society of Metal Mechanics, have so far failed to produce any sensible terms for a return to work.

Management have been attempting to undermine the workers' solidarity. Letters have been sent to all the workforce, at home, claiming that several strikers have asked if they can come back to work.

A truer reflection of the situation is a personal visit by one of the foremen to a worker at home, in an attempt to entice her back to work.

Most of us have treated these letters with contempt. With Firmins' profits of £400,000 last year (£2,666.66 per worker, £51.28 made for them by each worker every week) they have plenty to squander on note-paper.

Management are using any tactic to get their money-making machinery (us) back into operation.

We must not allow the management to undermine our union. We must return together, victorious, with our convenor, workforce and union intact.

By Flo Wardle

(NSMM strike committee, Firmins)

NUJ FIGHT MAXWELL

Over forty NUJ members at Pergamon Press, Oxford, are on indefinite strike against the unfair dismissal and victimisation of two union members from the Marketing Department on 8 June.

Although one of those dismissed has since been reinstated, the workers are determined to stand up for their trade union rights and working conditions.

One union member on the picket line expressed the general feeling: "I don't care if I never work for that b***** ever again. I want to see workers' rights upheld, and that justice is done."

Pergamon is owned by millionaire and former Labour MP Robert Maxwell. His record of low wages, poor conditions and arbitrary hiring and firing rivals that of the worst rogue employers. Amazingly, Maxwell has recently had the gall to try for a safe Labour seat (Kettering).

Maxwell appears to treat Pergamon as little more than a hobby, which scandalously threatens the livelihood of workers and the credibility of the labour movement.

An Oxford Labour Party member

GLEN NEWSPAPERS TAKE TO THE COURTS

Eight of the striking journalists fighting in defence of their closed shop at Greater London and Essex Newspapers in East London have been served High Court libel writs.

All the strikers, in their third week outside the gates, have been sent letters threatening them with instant dismissal if they take part in producing leaflets which management consider defamatory!

Similar writs have been served on two journalists at

Report by Bob Wade (NUJ)

the Camden and Hornsey journal, where the closed shop is also under attack. The Newspaper Society, the organisation which represents the local newspaper bosses, seem to be trying a new method of attack on the unions.

GLEN newspapers have an anti-union attitude and it is vital the NUJ win this battle—as one of the chapel officials said "If we lose this one we've had it".

SOGAT and the NGA which represent print workers, and the postmen's union, the UPW, are supporting the strike. All messages of support and donations should be sent to the strike headquarters c/o London Tenants Federation, 17 Victoria Park Road, London E2.

CADBURY'S BITTEN OFF TOO MUCH

"The best 15p I've spent, it's the first time the truth's been told" was the reaction of one Cadbury's worker to the article in last week's 'Militant' on the strike at Bourneville, Birmingham.

"I'm waiting for next week's issue" said another T&GWU member on the picket line.

Cadbury's management have bitten off more than they can chew, taking on the combined force of the T&GWU and USDAW. Negotiations are continuing though no satisfactory settlement has been reached yet.

The T&GWU has now made the dispute official. Cadbury's workers will be looking to the T&GWU to escalate the dispute to other Cadbury plants to put pressure on the company for a speedy return to work.

Now that the unions' muscles have been flexed, it is important to use this strength not just to throw out continental shifts, but to resist job cuts and ensure that all Cadbury workers benefit from the investment of the profits they have created.

By Simon Heather (Selly Oak Labour Party)

CHRYSLER- NAMES CHANGE- BOSSES DON'T

Last Tuesday 3,400 production workers from Chrysler's Stoke plant in Coventry joined the 2,000 men already on strike at the Ryton plant.

As yet management have not budged from their derisory 5½% pay offer.

The men are determined to stay out until they get an increase of 20% on basic rates. Both plants are being picketed around the clock.

Management's dirty tricks department swung into action quickly.

The Stoke plant was emptied of vehicles before the

By Phil Luker

(Coventry Labour Party) talked to Chrysler pickets

strike began. Some were transferred to a nearby freightliner depot for transportation; however members of the NUR in a marvellous show of solidarity have refused to handle them.

Others were transferred to a countryside aerodrome nearly 30 miles from Coventry.

Again, there was no joy for management. The aerodrome

was surrounded by flying pickets and AUEW members working there have blacked the vehicles.

At the Ryton plant the strikers picketed from inside the gates, locking out management. Eventually a High Court ruling forced them to come outside and on Friday morning pickets were attacked by police, who cleared a way for managers to enter the factory.

These kind of tactics will not intimidate the workers. On the contrary, this will only increase their determination to fight for their full claim.

MILITANT trade union pamphlet

'A Fighting Programme for Printworkers'

15p and 10p (P&P), from World Books, 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN

MINERS HALT DEEP DUFFRYN CLOSURE

The National Coal Board have announced that a new face development can go ahead at the Deep Duffryn colliery in the Cynon Valley, South Wales. The NCB have bowed to the pressure from the rank and file of the miners' union.

The recent NUM conference made it clear that they would face a strike not only throughout South Wales, but nationally, if they tried to close the pit.

At the union's national executive meeting on Thursday 12th, a letter from the NCB's industrial relations spokesmen was read out. The reprieve was agreed—with conditions.

"The Board are prepared to undertake the development of the V45 face on the understanding that the face can be developed and made operational in the 6 week period that the union has asserted is the time required to complete the task", Shepherd wrote. "...Having taken the decision to develop the V45 face, the future of Deep

By Anthony Tynan

(South Wales NUM)

Duffryn will be entirely dependent on the colliery becoming profitable when the face is in production.

"If at the end of [3 months] the colliery continues to be non-profitable or thereafter becomes unprofitable (the position will be reviewed at three-monthly intervals) discussions will begin for the transfer of men to other collieries and the colliery will close."

Before the new face can be reached however, the miners will have to get past a major geological fault.

Peter Evans of Deep Duffryn said "We must be sure

PHOTO:
South Wales miners
collecting signatures for the
'Save Deep Duffryn'
campaign

that when we take on this trial period, the Board are going to give us what is needed for modern coal getting and not just enough facilities to avoid a direct confrontation.

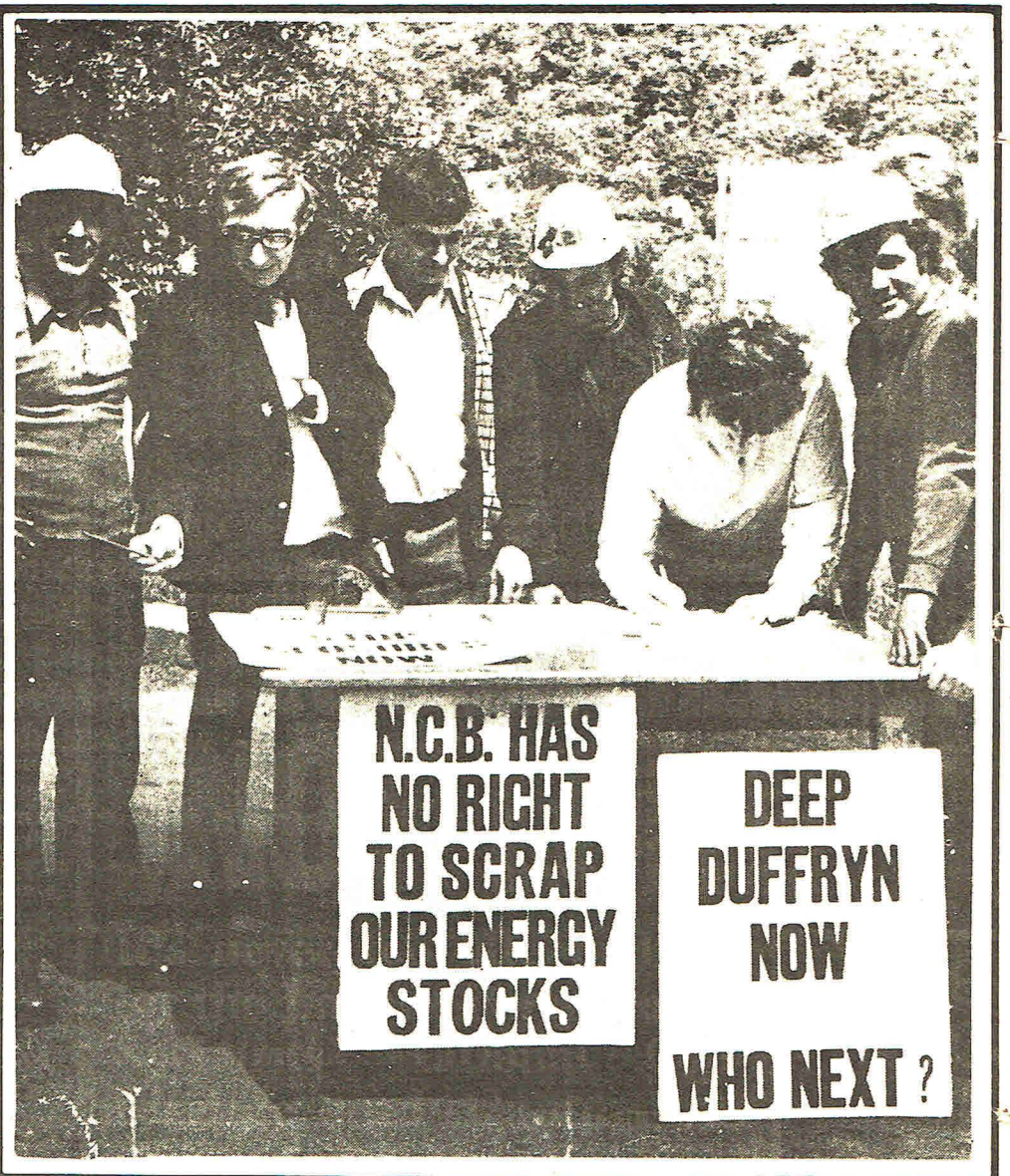
"The men will be under greater pressure to prove themselves and their case, it will be against the odds, but it can be done."

We have won a great victory—but it is only the first. We must take a warning from the tactics of the nationalised British Steel Corporation management.

The Bilston and Shotton steelworks were also reprimed, under pressure from the unions. Now, with the Tories back in office, management feel that their hand is strengthened and the proposed closures are back on the drawing board.

Steel workers, and miners, may put their hearts and souls into making the job 'profitable'. But they do not control modernisation or retooling—the vital investment that determines how efficient industry is.

Keith Joseph says the Tories will end 'subsidies'. Never a word of protest at the giant unseen subsidies private



profiteers cream off from the nationalised industries every day through cheap supplies, exclusive contracts and other 'concessions'.

The Tories plans would in fact cut the life-line of reinvestment, without which no industry can survive.

We can lift our heads in

pride at what we have achieved so far. We have taken up the lessons of the 1972 and '74 strikes: using the full force of our united strength to grasp the thin end of the Tory knife. But we must be vigilant.

We must keep up the pressure. We must extend the

campaign, to demand control over investment, planning and co-ordination of all the fuel industries, as integrated nationalised industries under democratic workers' management.

That is the real answer to the Tory wreckers.

Holset's Engineering: We need a real increase

At Holset's Engineering, Turnbridge, Huddersfield, we have been negotiating the 1979 wage claim.

When our current agreement runs out on 1st August this year we are claiming a £25 increase across the board, common conditions with the staff, a 35-hour week, (we already work 37½ hours) more holidays, a better sick pay scheme, early retirement—at 64 for men and 59 for women—and time off for medical appointments.

After several meetings with the negotiating committee which represents 1,100 manual workers at Huddersfield and Halifax factories, the company offered a 15½% increase. This was conditional upon going back to fixed holidays and the acceptance of a third shift.

When it was put to the membership, the shop stewards' committee recommended rejection and an immediate strike. This was carried by all except a dozen.

Last year we accepted about 7% after a week's strike when settlements nationally averaged 14-16%. The membership are not prepared to fall further behind pay rates of other companies.

At present a skilled man gets £84.19 for 37½ hours. We think we have got to get a real increase for all our members. Inflation and the drop in living standards our members are already putting up with can no longer be tolerated.

We are no longer fettered by pay restraint; let us show that we deserve the trust our members put in us, for the full claim.

By T Swinbank

(AUEW shop steward,
Holset's Engineering)

L&P PLASTICS LOCKOUT

Following management's rejection of a 20% pay demand 75-80 AUEW members, virtually 100% of the workforce, are on official strike at 'L and P Plastics', Margate.

When the claim was originally submitted it was dismissed out of hand and a work to rule took place. But on the first day, after refusing to do extra work, the management told the workers to clock off and there was a lock-out.

This is L and P's first major dispute but the reaction of the workers has been very quick! The non union

men immediately joined the AUEW and a 24-hour picket was effectively arranged.

Morale is high at the moment and support may be forthcoming from nearby factories. With shift allowance virtually unchanged for five years, even though new machinery has been recently installed, this is a dispute that needs to be fully won.

By Peter Harris

(Thanet East Labour
Party)

Confed forms national shop stewards co-ordinating committee

ENGINEERING STEWARDS LINK UP FOR BATTLE

A Sheffield conference of over 250 shop stewards and union officials from the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering unions took a decision to form a national shop stewards' movement.

The Chairman, Len Crosley, vice-chairman of No. 28 Confed district (Sheffield), in his opening remarks, called on conference to give full backing to the Confed decision to support the AUEW national claim.

He explained that the meeting had been organised to back up the slender Broad Left majority on the AUEW's National Committee, which had already rejected a very poor settlement. The aim of the conference was to prepare the shop stewards and membership for action to prevent the leadership from backing down.

Derek Simpson (Convenor Edgar Allen Balfour Joint Shop Stewards' Committee) speaking on behalf of the No 28 Confed, rejected AUEW

general secretary John Boyd's claim that there was no support in the country for the national claim. The employers are organised nationally and the only way that a high basic rate and 35-hour week for all could be won was on a national basis.

National action vital

The biggest weakness so far had been the lack of involvement of the shop stewards. He proposed to the meeting that a national shop stewards' co-ordinating committee be formed immediately to assist in winning the claim and to strengthen the unions for the future.

Every speaker in the debate supported this proposition.

A number pointed out that the AUEW's national claim had been watered down, in relation to the 35-hour week. Delegates felt that none the less the membership would support the claim as it stood, even those who had least to gain, out of loyalty to the union and their local leaders.

Ken Brett (AUEW assistant general secretary, spelt out what was at stake: the national committee's policy

for £100 a week for skilled engineers to form the basis of the 1980 wage claim was a pipe-dream if the £80 rate was not won this year.

The decision to establish the national shop stewards' structure was unanimous. The method of electing the Co-ordinating committee, with delegates from local Broad Left organisations could pose problems though. The BL is at the moment in decline in all but a few towns in the country.

However, the ground seems fertile for such a movement, basing itself on a fighting programme.

Strategy and programme

The moves by some sections of the membership to organise independently of the union structure and the idea of using this movement purely as an electoral machine for the Broad Left were out of tune with the mood of the conference.

The lack of a policy statement presented to conference from the organisers meant that there was no central theme to the policy or

political discussion.

A political programme and clear strategy will be absolutely essential to build up a national shop stewards' movement with real impact in the trade union movement.

As Bob Wright, the other AUEW assistant general secretary said, the labour movement is beginning to throw off the shackles of four years of Tory policies operated by the Labour government. The engineers could give a lead to the organised workers in fighting the Tories and the employers through the struggle to win the claim.

The importance of a national shop stewards' movement to assist this process was enormous. It could inject real activity behind the claim and at the same time prepare a fightback in the union against the right wing leadership.

By Steve Davies

(AUEW convenor
Anderton International,
Bradford)

TOLPUDDLE:

DEFEND TRADE UNION RIGHTS

Tolpuddle has a unique place in the history of the trade union movement. The return of a vicious Tory government gives new significance to the celebrations this Sunday [July 22nd], particularly now that the government have given notice of another attempt to shackle the unions.

Jim Callaghan recently said that Labour leaders will not support industrial action against the Tories. This is an indication not only of how far Jim and too many of the other Labour leaders have got from the rank and file. It is also a sign of how ignorant they are of our past.

Without the struggles of people like the Tolpuddle Martyrs there would be no trade union rights today, no Labour Party, there would have been no Labour governments!

In fact of course, the last Labour government was elected on the basis of the tremendous battles of the miners and other trade unionists against the Industrial Relations Act.

The present strength of our movement means that the

By Brian Beckingham
(Bristol South-East Labour Party)

deportation of trade unionists would be impossible. But this government will try desperately to cut down on trade union rights we have had to fight for.

Our reply must be no less—in fact much more—than the struggle for the repeal of the sentence on the Tolpuddle Six in 1834. We will see in the coming months and years massive industrial battles to defend our living standards from this rich man's government.

We have to change our movement so we get socialist policies and leaders.

Now is the time to press for mandatory re-selection over MPs, and union leaders to be under recall of the members and on the same wage as the members. We must further democratise our own movement so that no repetition of past failures can occur. For the election of the Party leader annually at LP conference. For the election of the union officials annually at



Agricultural workers lobby Wages Board last winter for a living wage
Photo: MILITANT

their conference.

Now is the time to fight for a clear socialist policy to solve our problems—the policies that the TU movement is struggling for: 35-hour week with no loss of pay, a £70 minimum wage tied to the cost of living, for a socialist planned economy to end the poverty and misery of capital-

ism.

Come to Tolpuddle in a demonstration against the Tory onslaught and fight in the LP and TUs for alternative policies and leaders that can implement these policies—that is the lesson of the Tolpuddle martyrs for us in 1979.

How much have things changed since 1834?

Industrial workers may feel the days of Tolpuddle are a long way back in history. But for farmworkers, low wages, long hours and anti-union landowners are as much a reality in 1979 as they were in 1834.

Agricultural labourers are still among the worst paid workers: the most notorious area being the market-gardening farms which rely on casual labour.

When the crops are grown and ready to be picked in the summer—and when there is no shortage of labour with school leavers and students looking for work—these farms then take on 'casual labour'.

Kevin McMullen who worked at a market farm near Billericay, Essex, described the appallingly low wages:

"The rate then was 77 pence an hour with an extra 10p for every year of your age from 16 upwards. One week I worked a total of 52½ hours and I only brought home £40!

By Nick Toms
(Brentwood LPYS)

"And this wasn't a bad rate compared to some other farms in the area—one place in Pilgrim Hatch pays only 68p an hour.

"The hours are very long—from 7.30 am to 5 pm—and often you're told to do overtime, which sometimes you don't even get paid for! Seven-day weeks are common too.—if you refuse to do them you can be sacked.

"The owners will let you off doing overtime if you have a very good reason; it's like being back at infants' school."

Although the farm owners advertise the job as casual labour, as Kevin explained, you still have to work a week in hand.

"People take the job because they think it'll be nice to work outside for the summer. But after working in an open field picking fruit and vegetables all day, especially in this recent heat-wave, you end up crying out for a bit of shade.

"And you only get an hour's break all day, which is often cut to half an hour".

He said the majority of the labourers were aged 16. "They are nearly all school leavers. This is the first full-time job they've ever had and they don't realise how exploited they are—they've got nothing to compare it to.

Sacked

"Some students get work there during the summer to try and make up their grants, but the owners tend to look on them as 'trouble makers'. That's because they don't usually put up with being ripped off.

"But they usually get sacked if they make a fuss. One bloke was sacked last week under the pretext that he'd damaged some crops—

he'd sat on about nine strawberries in a field of thousands!"

Kevin explained they didn't have a union at the farm. "It's like any small group of workers—the whole working relationship with management is personalised because of the few numbers.

"And if we started a union we'd be sacked. There's plenty of other people on the dole who'd be glad of the job, even with its low wages.

"The management are always making implied threats about getting you sacked if they want you to do something which you shouldn't really have to do. That's how they make you do so much overtime, and also why the labourers are cautious about joining a union.

"I don't think the position of the farm workers has changed drastically since the Tolpuddle event. We're still low-paid, work long hours, and are tied to the farm because of mass unemployment.

"And they still put trade unionists in prison, don't they."

STEEL JOBS AXED CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE

BSC that steel-making would continue here until at least 1982. So much for promises!

We have been told that negotiations will begin after the two-week holiday shut-down starting next week. By then we will be over the shock. Already

there is talk of forming a defence committee similar to the one at Corby.

In Shotton and the surrounding area there is unhesitating opposition to this massacre. Local councils have written to BSC demanding that the jobs are saved.

It is up to us to lead the fight. We have no choice. Where are we supposed to go for work...Bilston? Merseyside?

We must establish real, grass-roots contact with our brothers at Corby to co-ordinate a united fight. No steel worker can afford to stick his head in the sand: those not under

threat at the moment have no guarantee they won't be next.

We must respond as the miners did: With a national strike of the plans are not withdrawn! We must explain to every trade unionist what the Tories plan to do to working people, and draw them behind us in our fight.

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INDIA: JANATA GOVERNMENT FALLS

Just two-and-a-half years after winning a massive parliamentary majority, the Janata government disintegrated this week.

Fourteen ministers resigned and forced prime minister Desai to quit one day before his government faced certain defeat in a no-confidence vote.

The ramshackle capitalist coalition of Janata has split into its separate parts. Each leader is now trying to manoeuvre and fix up deals with opposition capitalist parties, in an attempt to grab the premiership.

Janata was created to oppose the dictatorial rule of Indira Gandhi, and was united only against her rule. Janata promised to end poverty within ten years, but the problems facing the Indian masses are no nearer any solution.

Revolt from below grew as the poor got poorer, strikers were attacked, 'untouchables' viciously persecuted and hundreds of Moslems killed by

thugs from the Fascist RSS wing of the Jan Sangh (one of the governing parties).

The leaders of Janata saw how desperate their position had become when the ordinary police, and then the paramilitary police, went on strike. The split in the ruling faction of Indian society is a reflection of growing, potentially revolutionary, pressure from below.

A new coalition (excluding Jan Sangh) will probably be formed. But what solutions will it have?

The Indian economy is in a desperate state. Prices alone have risen by 10% in the last six months.

There is not simply a parliamentary crisis in India, a temporary difficulty brought about by Desai's style of leadership.

Janata's fall reflects a deep crisis in the social system, and in the next few years India will be shaken as never before as the sub-continent moves into revolution.

[Background to the crisis, page 10]



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