

Militant

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FIGHT TORIES' ANTI-UNION LAWS

Report from Wayne Jones
at TUC Conference
in Blackpool



TUC delegates vote against Tory anti-union legislation

Photo: MILITANT

Any attempts by the Tories to implement "their vicious and dirty measures" to shackle the hard-won rights of the trade union movement will be "vigorously resisted by a campaign mobilising the resources and membership of the entire trade union movement."

This was how composite motion 2 expressed the anger and determination of the 1,200 delegates to the 1979 Trade Union Congress to fight the Tories.

"If they won't listen, let them feel the weight of trade union strength". This was how Joe Wade of the NGA put it when he moved the motion and was greeted with loud cheers by the Congress.

Bro. Woods of UC ATT, seconding the motion, also received enthusiastic applause when he suggested that with the Tories having thrown down the gauntlet, pre-

TUC MUST BACK OPPOSITION WITH RESOLUTE ACTION

paring to go through with their policies irrespective of the representations from the TUC, the TUC should have pulled out of the talks altogether.

Many delegates cast their minds back to the 1970-74 government when Ted Heath was battered into submission. He was forced to learn the hard way, as Thatcher will be, that the gains won by the sacrifice and struggle of generations of trade unionists cannot be taken away by

Acts of Parliament. Repressive legislation will only harden the resolve of trade unionists.

Attempts to talk sweet reason to the Tories at a time when the capitalist system is in dire crisis, was recognised by the overwhelming majority of delegates as being completely utopian.

The only language the hard-headed bosses and their political representatives understand is the industrial muscle of the mighty trade union move-

ment.

Despite the widespread feeling of unity behind the TUC's intention to fight the Tories, however, nowhere have the trade union leaders advanced a programme on how to deal with these fundamental problems.

Even the Campaign for Social And Economic Advance launched at the Congress with a fanfare of publicity and colourful brochures under the slogan of 'Forward to the Eighties Not Back to the 30s' failed to come to grips with the problems.

Every active trade unionist will give support to a campaign which attempts to improve jobs and living standards, but the TUC campaign fails to explain the crisis of capitalism; the abject failure of the bosses to invest, or why the Tories are hell bent on smashing the power of the unions—that they must resort to

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ENGINEERING CLAIM

TWO DAY STRIKE SOLID

Confed members demand all-out strike

In the first of the two-day strikes, nearly two million workers came out in support of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Workers' claim.

Engineering workers are fighting for an £80 minimum skilled rate, an hour off the working week and a common settlement date.

Despite all the propaganda churned out by the Engineering Employers' Federation and the Tory press in their desperate attempts to mislead and demoralise our members, the employers have been forced to admit that the strike was "solid".

At British Leyland, where threats of lay-offs and redundancies were thrown in to intimidate

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workers, the so-called 'revolt' has largely fallen flat on its face.

All 16,000 engineering workers in the bus and truck division joined the strike. At Solihull, Longbridge and Castle Bromwich, though the press did their best to assure us that the strike was crumbling,

By Steve Davison
AUEW
Convenor Ander-
ton International
Bradford

production was halted.

These workers, who in the past earned well above the minimum rates, have seen their pay eroded over years of wage restraint. As one Leyland convenor pointed out: "This is the first time the claim for a national minimum rate will increase the wages of my members."

This claim must be won. The new minimum rate would force the intransigent employers to pay a decent wage. It would strengthen the hand of millions of our brothers working for a pittance in small sweat-shops up and down the country. They are looking to us to end their servitude and end the undercutting by backstreet bosses.

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ROTTERDAM

TUGBOATMEN AND DOCKERS DEFY COURTS

Court action against striking Rotterdam tugboatmen has rebounded on the bosses.

Verdicts against tugboat workers brought immediate solidarity action from the dockers, bringing the port's cargo-handling terminals to a standstill.

On Monday 27 August 16 striking tugboatmen

were ordered back to work by a Rotterdam court. They were the first group of over 500 tugboat people who went on strike the week before to be sued by their bosses.

The tugboat people are demanding a wage in-

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GLOOMY OUTLOOK FOR BRITISH ECONOMY

So gloomy are the prospects for the British economy, and so savage the Tories' deflationary measures, that even some of the 'monetarist' spokesmen of big business are beginning to express serious qualms about the government's economic policies.

"Faith in the government's economic policy,"

said the 'Financial Times' [7 August], "must be built on the hope that a currency and monetary squeeze will have its impact on inflation before it destroys the profitability of large parts of Britain's manufacturing industry. This is a gamble and the stakes are certainly higher than the government would wish".

Yet on 29 July, the Confederation of British

Industry had already claimed that their estimate of the real rate of return by industrial and manufacturing companies for 1979 was down to "3% at most". This, "on the evidence of past behaviour, is likely to be followed by a downturn in investment, with all that may mean for the future of jobs and living standards."

The gloomy predictions have now been reinforced by the latest Bulletin of the National Institute of Economic and Social Research.

The National Institute rejects the idea that the Tory Budget, though it has certainly given more to the rich, has increased the 'incentives' the Tories value so highly. It warns that the government's measure add up to a massive deflationary package which, together with the increase in oil prices, will push Britain even faster towards recession.

The National Institute has revised its estimates of growth downwards, and now expects only a 0.5% growth in real gross domes-

tic product for both 1979 and 1980. The volume of manufacturing investment will be 1% up this year, they expect, but 2½% down in 1980. Yet even with this downturn, they expect inflation to be 16% this year and (optimistically) 11.5% next year.

British capitalism is moving from 'stagflation' to 'slumpflation'. Inevitably these trends will mean a further increase in unemployment, and the Institute expects it will rise from 1.35 million at the end of this year to 1.6 million by late 1980.

These figures, produced by a body which still supports neo-Keynesian policies of 'demand management' and government spending to tide the economy over recession, have given even the most hardened monetarists pause for thought.

"These general doubts [about the Tories' measures] can be summed up in a phrase: the National Institute is sceptical about the operation of market forces."

And surely not without justification!

Despite the intervention of both Labour and Tory governments, to prop up 'lame ducks' and subsidise big business profits, it is the market forces that have predominated, not the policies of governments.

The National Institute itself shows that the share of the largest industrial companies in manufacturing output in the UK nearly doubled from 22% in 1949 to 41% in 1972. It is big business which has ruled the economy and it is they who are responsible for the dire crisis of the British economy—and the burden of misery and suffering now being thrown onto the working class.

The neo-Keynesian policies favoured by the National Institute—and by some of the left of the labour movement—would not provide a way out. The Keynesian policies of the post-war upswing have ended with the boom itself.

Through government spending, for instance, the

United States managed to come out of the 1974/75 recession faster than the European economies. But the acceleration of inflation, and the re-appearance of other crisis symptoms have meant that the US is now fast moving into a new downturn—which will have a severe effect on the whole world economy.

The Tory idea that a return to untrammelled market forces is a cure for all the problems of capitalism is a desperate pipe-dream. But the idea of the right-wing Labour leaders that manipulation of the market forces is an answer is equally futile.

Only the democratic ownership and control of the big monopolies, banks and finance houses as the basis for a democratic plan of production can open the way to the full use of productive resources and the further development of science and technique.

The alternative, as the 'Financial Times' half concedes, is "perverse cycles of boom, slump and inflation."

LABOUR PARTY DEMOCRACY

AN URGENT NECESSITY



AUEW President Duffy. Attacks on left in Party

Explaining the decision to recommend withdrawal for a motion from ASLEF supporting the proposals of the Labour Party NEC on party democracy, Len Murray said the TUC was "not entitled to comment on matters which are of internal significance to the Labour Party as such."

Yet if Len Murray is right and the TUC is not to involve itself in political matters concerning the Labour Party, why then did two trade union leaders, Terry Duffy, President of the AUEW, and Hector Smith, general secretary of Blastfurnacemen, take up so much room in the Tory press only two weeks ago to denounce those who favour the NEC proposals as 'wreckers'.

The NEC are proposing that they draw up the election manifesto, and that mandatory re-selection of MPs is discussed at this year's conference.

Duffy's and Smith's com-

ments were taken from a journal titled 'Labour and Trade Union Press Service'—the mouthpiece of the British Atlantic Organisation. The aim of this small group is apparently to promote better understanding between Americans and Britain. Who are these Americans who take such a close interest in the internal workings of the Labour Party? Who funds this mysterious 'Press Service'? What are its aims?

By
Eileen Short

But let us look at the comments made by Duffy and Smith.

Terry Duffy: "Millions did not vote Tory in May because the Labour Party was too moderate. The more extreme our programme the less chance of a Labour victory."

Herbert Smith: "The last election has shown quite clearly that the electorate was frightened of left wing influence in the party."

Yet, even as Jim Callaghan explained earlier in his call for 'unity', the numbers who voted Labour in May did not decrease but in fact increased, if only by a small margin.

At last year's annual conference, however, if Hugh Scanlon had not 'accidentally' cast the votes in the opposite direction to that which he had been mandated by his union, mandatory re-selection of MPs would now be Party policy. Are, then—according to Duffy—the majority of Labour Party members no more than 'trendy middle class zealots'?

Herbert Smith: "the manifesto (if the NEC proposals are carried out) would be a patchwork quilt of ill-assorted oddments from some political ragbag."

This hardly shows much respect for the rank and file of the Labour Party! Under the NEC proposals, the manifesto would be drawn up by the NEC, who are elected at the annual conference, and would mean a far greater chance of conference decisions reaching the election manifesto. Are democratically decided conference decisions only "ill-assorted oddments"?

The former Prime Minister, Jim Callaghan, also came out against the NEC in an earlier speech, saying that conference decisions were no more than "expressions of opinion!"

Rather than have a system where party members have the right of recall over their political representatives, he argued that comrades should 'trust in each other's good faith'.

But did not local Party members, and for that mat-

ter, Labour voters, put their good faith in former Labour MPs like George Brown, Ray Gunter, Dick Taverne, Christopher Mayhew, Richard Marsh and Reg Prentice?

Practical problems?

More than good faith is needed when dealing with Tories-in-disguise like Prentice, who, when finally removed as Labour representative in Parliament joined the Tory party within weeks!

In his speech Mr Callaghan said policies should be left to the parliamentary party, but

added: "...the parliamentary party cannot function satisfactorily unless it takes full account of the views expressed by party conference, and the Party conference must likewise take equal account of the practical problems facing the parliamentary party."

What notice did the PLP take of conference's decision of 1978 to drop the 5% wage limit?

What exactly are the practical problems facing the parliamentary party? Is it the fact that the majority of the PLP are opposed to the fundamental aims of the Party embodied in Clause 4 part 4? Or the fact that many Labour MPs are more concerned about the City, Fleet Street, and the tops of the civil service than the views of

the rank and file of the Party?

Or perhaps the fact that Labour governments are invariably faced with an economic crisis of capitalism which they see as an excuse for postponing socialist policies rather than—as the majority of Party members believe—the very reason they should be implemented?

If these are the 'practical problems' to which Callaghan was referring, they are all good reasons why re-selection is an urgent necessity.

Appeals to 'unity' and pleas 'not to wreck the Party' will not deflect rank and file Labour Party members from fighting for socialist policies and for measures of Party democracy to ensure that they are carried out under a future Labour government.

MILITANT DEFENCE FUND

We're Relying on You

"It is a scandal that John Golding should take this sort of legal action against a socialist paper," was the indignant comment of Dennis McShane, former president of the National Union of Journalists, when at the 'Nottingham Evening Post' picket last weekend he expressed his support for the 'Militant' Defence Campaign.

He backed up his views with a donation, as did Jake Eccleston, National President of the NUJ.

Like many other organisations and individuals in the labour movement, they showed in a practical way their disgust at the use of the law courts to decide differences within the ranks of the movement.

Many NUJ members find it odd that John Golding should appear as a sponsor of the

Campaign for Press Freedom—launched at a meeting at the TUC—whose aims include the creation of newspapers sympathetic to the labour movement and "a reduction in legal restrictions on freedom of publication."

Hanover Ward branch of Brighton Kemptown Labour Party have passed a resolution expressing their disgust at John Golding's action. They also donated £10 from branch funds to the Defence Fund together with £30.50 from a collection after the meeting.

Such financial backing is absolutely vital. Unless we have the means to fight this legal threat, costs and damages could seriously endanger our paper.

'Militant' has a devastating case, but it costs money to fight in the courts, and although the libel action will be vigorously defended, it would be foolish not to prepare for the enormous costs that could hit the paper.

Without the millions of the press barons behind the paper we support, 'Militant' has to rely on the donations of workers.

We are asking you and your

organisation, trade union branches, Labour Parties, etc., to rush off donations now. Follow the lead of former Clay Cross councillor John Dunn, who knows very well the possible costs of legal actions, who donated £2. A pensioner from Chesterfield gave £5 out of £12 arriving from that area. Jimmy Reid, an EETPU member from Chelmsford, gave £1.

Donations from POEU members and branches are, of course, particularly welcome. Kevin Pattison, the branch secretary of Leeds Internal POEU branch, has given £5 and D Knights a POEU member from Nottingham, £1.

The donations mentioned above and the others not mentioned show that the threat to our paper is recognised. The situation is urgent. We are asking all our readers who appreciate the service 'Militant' provides to the labour movement urgently to send their donations to: **Militant Defence Fund**, 5 Cremer House, Deptford Church Street, London SE8.

WHY WE ARE STANDING

We are seeking election to the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party in order to fight for socialist policies and greater party democracy.

Working people are now faced with a Tory government determined to take our standard of living back to that of the Victorian era. Mass unemployment the destruction of a viable health service, the slashing of social services and living standards, hang like a thundercloud over the heads of millions of working class families.

Socialist alternative

Now more than at any time since the 1920s, the labour movement must adopt and fight for a bold socialist alternative. Only this will defeat the Tories and capitalism. We are asking for the support of CLP delegates to aid the struggle to ensure the Labour Party adopts such a course. It is vital that we build a mass membership for the Labour Party firmly rooted in the workplaces, which has democratic control over the Party leader-

ship.

If elected, we are pledged to fight for the right of Constituency Labour Parties to have mandatory re-selection and the right to remove at any time parliamentary representatives as candidates, the election of the Party leader to take place annually at Party conference, for the NEC to decide the contents of all election manifestoes

based on conference policy, and the establishment of workplace branches of the Party.

These measures to democratise the Labour Party are essential if the leadership is to reflect the desires and aspirations of the rank-and-file membership.

But if they are to advance the cause of labour they must be linked with a socialist pro-

gramme.

We stand for a 35-hour week with no loss of pay and a £70 minimum wage.

We oppose all cuts in public expenditure and call for the restoration of all cuts and a massive programme of useful public works to create new jobs and provide much-needed facilities.

We stand for the implementation of Clause IV part 4 of the Party constitution, which concretely means the nationalisation, with minimum compen-

sation on the basis of need, of the 200 or so major monopolies which dominate the economy, to be run under workers' control and management.

Only in this way, with the introduction of a democratic, socialist plan of production, could the productive resources be used in the interests of working people.

These measures are, in

our opinion, the only alternative to the prospect of economic crisis and ever worsening conditions of life for working people offered by capitalism.

We ask all CLP delegates to advance the struggle for a mass, socialist, and democratically run Labour Party by supporting our election to the National Executive Committee.



Ray Apps

RAY APPS is a member of Brighton Kemptown CLP, and was on the NEC working party on re-selection and a signatory to the minority report providing for mandatory re-selection together with the right of CLPs to remove their MP as a candidate at any time. PAT WALL is a member of Shipley CLP and President of Bradford Trades Council

Photos: MILITANT



Pat Wall

LAMBETH WORKERS ON THE MARCH

Over a thousand Lambeth council workers participated in last Wednesday's successful march against further spending cuts, showing the way an effective fight could be organised.

Manual, clerical, and Direct Works Department workers in NUPE, NALGO, the General and Municipal, the Electricians and Plumbers, and UCATT, joined forces to exert pressure on the Lambeth Labour Group.

They were demanding that the Group implement the policy recently decided by a special conference of delegates from the Borough's four Labour Parties not to carry out the cuts.

No ifs, No buts

Hundreds of other workers travelling to work saw the demo set off at 8 am from the Town Hall in Brixton on its way to Vauxhall. The march stopped en route at the Belgrave Hospital for Children at Kennington which is threatened with closure.

There were chants of "No ifs, no buts, stop the Tory cuts!", and the council workers handed over a letter of solidarity to the hospital workers.

This demonstration, organised at short notice, revealed the strong feelings among council workers and shows just what could be done if the trade unions and the Labour Group came together to organise a mass campaign against the cuts.

Up until now, the left leaders of Lambeth's Labour Group have been arguing that they have no alternative but to



Lambeth workers march on August 29th Photo: MILITANT

carry out the dictates of the Tory government.

A majority in the Lambeth Labour Parties, however have been arguing that the cuts should be resisted, and pressure or sanctions by the government must be fought by organising bold, mass opposition.

The march on the 29th will be the first of a series of meetings and demonstrations

by Lambeth workers, and there will be a lobby of the Labour Group when it meets on 14th September.

By

Clare Doyle
(Norwood CLP)

Year of crisis for school students FIGHT EDUCATION CUTS

With the autumn term beginning, hundreds of thousands of teenagers will be drifting back to school.

School is supposed to prepare young people for life. But they will only have been prepared for the coming year if they have read of the Victorian era.

In Merseyside, Glasgow and Newcastle they will see 50% of their friends who have just left school still out of work at Christmas. Increasingly they will see education becoming not a right but a privilege.

Those who cannot afford it, because the employers have kicked them out of work will be made to look like paupers existing on charity.

The Labour Party Young Socialists' branches have already begun campaigning out round the schools and technical colleges. We say that our education is for the benefit of the employer and society as a whole and thus we do not consider it a privilege but a right.

School students must be organised to defend themselves against the Tory onslaught. LPYS branches are organising meetings and issuing leaflets around the schools. School students need a political lead. The LPYS can give it to them and recruit thousands of members for the fightback against the Tories.

It has been estimated that the Tory cuts will mean 50,000 less teachers jobs next year—the Tories hypocritically complain about the low

standard of teaching but it seems they would prefer no teaching at all! This will mean intolerable overcrowding and more suffering through unemployment.

But even if a teacher is still there, what do they teach with! Most schools' allowances for buying materials will leave them with only two out of every three books that are needed. The answer of some headmasters and the chief education officer in Oxfordshire is that the parents must pay up to £10 per term (£1 a week) for books.

Plans are being laid to end free school meals and milk by introducing a voucher system whereby poorer families will be issued with tokens which they can use in school or outside. At 55p a day you can't even buy fish and chips so the Tories are to end the legal minimum standards for nutritional value.

A glimpse of the future is provided by Essex County Council which has already introduced a similar system in some schools. For the present cost of 30p a day, you can get a cup of soup, a hot dog and a milk shake!

The same council also want to charge fees for pre-school education and for lending library books. Requirements to provide transport will disappear meaning further hardship for working class families.

The struggles of school students for a decent education and rights at school must be seen to be part of the struggle of the working class as a whole. Even the present meagre education system was

won after years of struggle by the labour movement.

The employers were prepared in times of plenty for some of their booty to be used for education even if they could not pocket the gains of educational training immediately.

But now they wish to take back the 'rights' they conceded to maintain their collapsing system. Education, health and other services are under attack, because capitalism cannot now give the employers the profits they need and at the same time provide for the working people.

The LPYS demand the nationalisation of the top 200 monopolies, the banks and insurance companies in Britain so that we can end the bankrupt role of the profit system and plan production, and services in the interests of the workers.

With this alternative we can give trade unionists, students and school students a guide to the struggles to defend education. School students must fight alongside the labour movement.

School students meetings must be called upon to link up with the workers and teachers in the schools. The Trades Councils and Labour Parties must give a lead. Bring the school students into the LPYS and fight for an end to the cuts and the bankrupt system which dictates them.

By Kevin Ramage

(National Chairman
LPYS)

EAST MIDLANDS LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE

LABOUR MUST LEAD THE FIGHTBACK

More than ever before, the chill wind of the class struggle makes itself felt on the agenda of this year's East Midlands Regional Council of the Labour Party.

The threatened massacre of workers' jobs at Corby, the assault on trade unionism at the 'Nottingham Evening Post' and the debate on coal-mining in the Vale of Belvoir feature prominently.

This previously 'prosperous' area now has burning local examples of the issues facing the British working class. Four resolutions show the movement's anxiety for Corby steelworkers' jobs and call for the retention of steel-making there.

AUEW-TASS calls for: "i) no acceptance of redundancies, ii) blacking of brought in strip iii) immediate investment in new coke ovens and a continuous casting plant to bring the works up to a modern standard."

Leicester South CLP's

amendment to resolution 9 adds:

"i) That the BSC should make all its plans public as well as the minutes of the meetings between BSC and the TUC ISTC.

ii) That the books of the BSC should be open to the inspection of the trade unions and to see how management has spent the money.

iii) That the Trade Union and Labour movement should take over the running of the steel industry and institute a programme of work sharing with no loss of pay.

iv) That the fight to save the steelworks should be linked to the fight for a democratically run socialist plan of production as only this could in the long term guarantee the livelihood of all workers and the best use of all resources."

Together these make a fighting programme, which conference should support. The regional executive must commit itself to an active part in this campaign.

Corby steelworks needs a national campaign to save it and the rest of the steel industry. Already threats

hang over the Scunthorpe works—also in this region. For the capitalists these attacks are part of the 'de-industrialisation of Britain' they are embarking on. They get a better return on finance, speculation and export of capital—so whole towns and industries must be sacrificed to their profits.

The election of a Tory government has given them political representatives who enthusiastically take on such tasks. Resolutions not only discuss the likely effects of this government but why Labour lost the election.

A County Labour Party—Lincolnshire—expressed the anger of many of the rank and file the Labour government sticking to wage restraint despite the decisions of the TUC and Labour Party Conference, and against trade union action last winter. (resolution 32)

It considers that the leadership's insistence on this policy was "a major factor in the defeat of the Labour Party in the last election." It demands that "the Labour Party will never impose a wages policy

in isolation of other controls and in future, policy will be by consultation and agreement of the Annual Conference and the TUC."

Melton CLP clearly feels—rightly—that the "other controls"—presumably meaning over prices and profits—will be broken by the bosses if a Labour government tries to implement them in a capitalist economy. They propose amending the phrase to "unless under a planned socialist economy."

An important addition proposed by the TGWU, demands the election of Party leaders at Party conference. They suggest an "electoral college" though. Why not the whole conference?

Unfortunately the right wing will probably find an excuse for opposing the motion and try to misrepresent it as a personal attack because it proposes the censure of Jim Callaghan.

What is most important is to point out that it was because the last Labour government failed to break the power of capitalism and so ended up doing its dirty

work that the election was lost.

Above all a programme that would enable the next Labour government to show it really is different to the Tories must be spelt out. This must involve such reforms as reversing the cuts, ending unemployment and improving workers' living standards.

In the debate on unemployment, conference will be able to discuss how this can be done. Resolution 3 from Louth CLP puts two crucial demands—a minimum wage and a 35-hour week. Amendments propose the minimum wage be £80 or two-thirds of average earnings.

Mansfield CLP's amendment also puts the crucial point for this and all the other reforms we need today. Pointing to the employers' certain resistance, it calls on a future Labour government "to nationalise the top 200 major monopolies and banks with compensation on the basis of need only, and under workers' control and management."

Conference should adopt this programme as the first

vital step towards answering the problems raised on this year's agenda.

In the coming year, the Labour Party can and must, prove its ability to fight for workers in this region. The regional executive should no longer confine itself simply to organisational tasks but must lead a political battle against the Tories and their system.

It should be campaigning for all Labour Parties and trade unions to black the 'Nottingham Evening Post' and get a full turn-out on future pickets there. It should mobilise Labour Parties and trade unions to support Corby steelworkers.

It should play an active part in all workers' struggles in the region and put forward socialist answers to them. Through this we can recruit workers to the fight to sweep away capitalism.

By Tony Cross

(Nottingham East LPYS)

NOTTING HILL CARNIVAL

POLICE TRY TO DAMPEN SPIRITS

Carnival '79 has been heralded as huge success. The floats were more colourful, the costumes more elaborate and the bands, including some very famous names, more plentiful than ever.

There were also as usual, an abundance of stalls offering a wide variety of West Indian delicacies and Afro-Caribbean goods.

An air of gaiety prevailed throughout the two days of festivities, despite the rather low turnout—only 70-80,000 compared to more than a quarter of a million on previous occasions.

The police presence, for most of the time, was minimal compared to previous years and there were no visible incidents of either pick-pocketing or unruly behaviour. The fact that there were only

a few arrests on the Sunday (none connected with violence) and 14 on the Monday shows that the provocative overmanning of previous carnivals by the police was itself a crucial factor in the violence which followed then.

Our own stalls: run jointly by the PNP and the LPYS, were also a great success. More than 600 copies of the new PNP Youth paper 'Forward', were sold, alongside a mass of LPYS literature and books and pamphlets produced by 'Militant'.

For the fourth year running, unfortunately the police could not resist another display of brute force. As in previous years, the riot shields did not come out until the very end of the Carnival—they needed them apparently to clear the last remaining people off the streets.

This feeble excuse will not cut any ice among the black community, especially among

those who were present at the Carnival. Nor will it convince the thousands of white youth who attended the carnival and who saw for themselves that this attack was totally unprovoked and unnecessary.

Many people who left the carnival by about 10pm were flabbergasted to discover that fighting had actually flared at the very end. It seemed such a remote possibility given the peaceful and calm atmosphere that had characterised the rest of the day.

The only explanation for the violence is that the police actually deliberately attacked the carnival as an exercise in crowd control, and as part of a strategy to demoralize the black population, to render them impotent as a vital and potentially revolutionary section of the British working class.

By Bob Lee

(PNP Youth UK)

SUMMER CAMP SUCCESS

The South Wales Militant summer camp on the Gower peninsula was a huge success. Speakers included Osman Fernando of the LSSP [New Leadership] on Sri Lanka, Ed Bober on perspectives for Britain, Mick Brooks on socialism, utopian and scientific, and Alan Woods [left] with two talks on Trotsky, before and after the October revolution.



Labour Party Youth School

Like a red thread linking up the sessions at this year's Labour Party Youth School, the main talking point was the fight for democracy in the labour movement.

For Howard Linklater (Durham Mechanics), this was 'inevitable. Two years ago it was hardly discussed. After the policies of the last Labour government and the Tory election victory, there will be a major debate in the movement about recall, election of officials and so on.'

This was something Andrew Cleminson, a school student from Kent was also concerned about: "How do you explain the life-styles of labour leaders compared with the wages and conditions the people they represent exist on?"

From first hand experience, Chris Gladwyn (Staffordshire NUM) explained

the divisiveness of the Coal Board's productivity scheme: "A decent basic wage for everyone should be the call. The NUM should spearhead the campaign—though with the present leadership our union with its arm of muscle has a limp wrist."

This point was taken up by Paul Burnage (AUEW Convenor) who said with the strength of the trade unions today "the main question in coming years will be what is to be done with that strength".

In many of the sessions and often spilling over into the evening, debates and arguments centred upon what strategy and programme the Labour Party and trade unions should adopt. This was the theme of a public meeting at which Andrew Glyn (Oxford Labour Party) spoke.

He declared that on the basis of a programme which went only half-way 'Tribune' "commands the support of the majority of the left in the

movement", but "it underestimated the difficulties a socialist government would face in trying to make the capitalists do what they didn't want to do".

Moreover, their policies would not give the depth of control needed to set about socialist planning of the economy. A real fighting socialist alternative was needed.

This year's school with its lowest ever attendance was reason for Robert Broughton (Manchester AUEW) to press for the Labour Party Young Socialists to have a greater say in the running of the course. "Potentially it could attract a couple of hundred of trade union sponsored youth."

As the official youth section of the Party, the LPYS could play a major role in transforming the week-

By Leon Kaplan

(COHSE, Rotherham)

YOUNG SOCIALISTS HIT THE BEACHES

Holidays are usually seen as a time to relax and forget about the problems facing us for the rest of the year, but Torbay YS took the opportunity of the Sunday before August Bank Holiday to hold a day of action on Paignton beach.

YS members come from both Totnes and Plymouth to lend their support, and we spent a couple of hours giving out leaflets for the YS and selling copies of the 'Militant'.

At first people seemed to be more interested in sunbathing than in us, but as we stayed there people came up and were willing to discuss, showing a lot of interest in the YS and the way we were active in the area.

Eventually one of our YS members got up on the sea wall and spoke about the effects which the Tory policies were having, especially in an

area like Torbay where low wages, high unemployment and the lack of facilities for youth have always been present.

The recent 25% increase won by hotel and cafe workers for example, still only brought their pay up to an average of £40 a week.

Hotel prices are already high, but will be even higher next year so that people who have to save all year must sacrifice a bit more if they want to give their families a holiday.

By talking about local problems and linking them to the effects of the Tory cuts everywhere we attracted a crowd of about 100 or more.

The people there put forward their own views, both supporting and opposing us, and the YS took up all the points raised.

We made it clear that we

would fight the cuts with more than just words, and we put forward a socialist alternative as the only real answer to the problems facing us all. In all, we sold 30 papers and were given six names and addresses of young people who wanted to join the YS in their own area.

We felt that the day of action had been really successful, both in terms of being able to put across the ideas of socialism and winning support for the YS, and also by building up the confidence of everyone who took part.

It showed us that if we are willing to take the initiative and use the opportunities that come our way to put forward a socialist programme, then we will get a response from those who hear us.

By Fiona Macleod

(Torbay LPYS)

LEFT & RIGHT

THE OTHER LIFE

Crawling into work on Monday morning, most of us speculate every now and then about not having to work for a living. But until it's time to collect a pension, a worker's only alternative is fighting for survival on the dole.

There are people who never have to do a day's work and get along very nicely. It helps if, like 40 year old Rupert ['the Bear'] Deen, your grandfather made a fortune in oil. Rupert's 'job' as a Lloyd's underwriter entails a phone call or two after his leisurely morning bath and a couple of business lunches a week somewhere discreet like the Savoy.

He goes to the office "one or two days a week"—when he's 'in town'. And that isn't very often, with his busy annual schedule: May in St Tropez and Monte Carlo, back in June for Ascot and Wimbledon. Then Newmarket, the golf championship, grouse shooting on the glorious twelfth. Off again to St Tropez, then to Paris in October and back for the pheasant shooting.

The rest of the time—when he can see fit it in—it's foreign travel: Japan and the Khyber Pass rather than Blackpool. He doesn't object to roughing it in the great outdoors "so long as one has plenty of servants." He thinks it's "frightfully sordid" to talk about money, though he's not so discreet about squandering it. "I haven't denied myself much" he adds demurely.

He intends to hang on to his wealth, and the life that goes with it. "I don't think women should have the vote, nor most men for that matter." After visiting South Africa he thoroughly approves of apartheid: "We ought to have it here." He regards himself as "somewhere to the right of Hitler". And he approves of Mrs Thatcher's policies.

You'll be glad to hear that our dynamic man about town doesn't fancy being prime minister. He'd doubtless find himself a niche in the Tory Party if he did.

Perhaps with an eye to the future, he's decided that if he didn't have money he'd turn to butchery.

Next time someone tells you that 'them and us' is a thing of the past, send them to talk to Rupert.

SMITH'S NEW JOB

Who would you name as 'man of the year'? Even if you were the biggest investor in Zimbabwe, you'd think twice before agreeing with the Toastmasters International. Their Southern African section has awarded the title to Ian Smith, UDI leader and champion of the apartheid system. His qualifications? "Communication and leadership"!

Will the white dictators of southern Africa take the hint? If they're looking for new jobs there'll be plenty of opportunities to toast the fall of their racist regimes.

'PETALS OF BLOOD'

Ngugi wa Thiong'o, author of 'Petals of Blood', is a leading Kenyan writer and playwright. Until his arrest in December 1977, he was head of the department of literature at Nairobi University, and regarded as a distinguished literary figure.

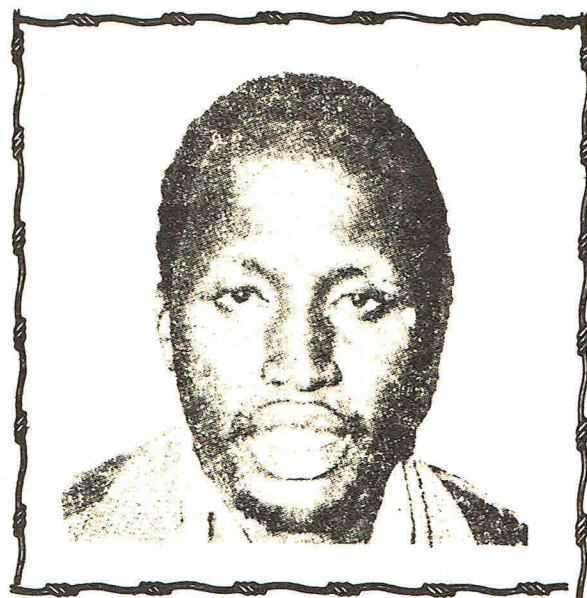
He was detained in a maximum security prison for a year, "for the possession of Chinese and other Communist literature banned Kenya." In fact his arrest was seen as a retaliation against his latest play: "I'll marry when I choose".

The play, linked to an adult literacy scheme in Limuru, Ngugi's home village, was acted by the peasants and workers themselves. It used the local language and songs to reflect the lives and exploi-

tation of the villagers.

"Nairobi's privileged classes" Ngugi explained after his release, "live in a world where their cultural alternatives range from French and German theatre to a National Theatre which puts on Oklahoma, Carmen, The King and I. Our rural people can choose between the bar and the church."

Such is the fragile balance on which Kenya's new rulers rest, unable to meet the aspiration of the masses who fought to break the grip of imperialism and put them in power. They feel their stability shaken by the modest gesture of an academic and writer to raise the villagers from illiteracy and restore the national languages.



'Petals of Blood' traces the careers of its four main characters up to their arrest after the killing of the directors of a foreign-owned brewery.

As their confessions lead us back into the past we come up against the true subject of the novel: the continuous struggle of Kenyan workers and peasants against all the forms of their exploitation.

'Petals of Blood' is a serious description of neo-colonial society, not a whodunnit. In the same way, the fate of the brewery directors is not just a petty crime, but a warning of what awaits the whole ruling class as the workers begin to organise.

Mau Mau

Unlike some modern African literature, this novel does not preach 'back to the soil' philosophies or a retreat into the 'ways of our forefathers'.

The agonizing process of cultural expropriation is shown: how the ancient rites and ceremonies disappear overnight in the wake of motels, saunas, shanty towns and brothels. Ngugi does not moralise: he merely points out how these 'benefits' have come about as a result of the capitalist system itself. And, as one of the characters says, it does not make any difference to those who are exploited whether capitalism has a white or a black skin.

The Mau Mau rebellion shows starkly the direction in which Kenyan society is moving. We see the heroism and suffering of the people, but also how national liberation only led to a native ruling class replacing the British and grinding down the population as much as ever.

Crumbling society

Thus, one small nation reflects the impasse faced by the entire 'Third World', hamstrung by imperialism.

The four main characters in the story react in different ways under pressure of a society at the end of its tether.

Mumira, the narrator for much of the book, is a headmaster who becomes embittered and ends up as a



religious fanatic. Wanja is a barmaid whose 'eat or be eaten' attitude to life leads her to the ownership of a brothel.

Abdulla, the storekeeper is a crippled hero from the guerrilla war, now cast aside. Finally there is Karega, the trade union leader with whom the novel closes.

Following the four characters, the novel records the full spectrum of oppression: a drought which drives farmers and herdsmen to trek to Nairobi in the naive belief that their pleas will be heard; the graft and corruption of big business; the rotten sham of so-called 'democracy'; peasants driven from the land and reduced to propertyless wage-slaves, and the first stirrings of the new working class in the factories.

Most amazing of all is the determination to continue the fight, which survives all suffering. There is no room for cynicism or despair.

Bloodthirsty gods

The closing pages focus on Karega, recovering in prison after being tortured and

beaten by police. A visitor arrives to tell him that the entire workforce of the town is going to stage a demonstration for his release.

Another giant step forward has been taken. Another revolution is about to flower, one which will be led by the workers. Karega starts to think...

"Her voice only agitated further images...Imperialism: capitalism: landlords: earthworms. A system that bred hordes of round-bellied jiggers and bedbugs with parasitism and cannibalism as the highest goals in society.

"This system...had hounded his mother to her grave. These parasites would always demand blood from the working masses...Tomorrow it would be the workers and peasants leading the struggle and seizing power to overturn the system of all its preying

bloodthirsty gods...

"You'll come back, she said again in a quiet affirmation of faith in eventual triumph.

"Tomorrow...tomorrow," he murmured to himself. "Tomorrow..." and he knew he was no longer alone."

'Petals of Blood'
is no. 188
in the African
Writers Series
Published by
Heinemann
£1.25

'PETALS OF BLOOD'
by Ngugi wa Thiong'o
A review by John Goodby
[Central Hull LPYS]

JIMMY KELLY DEATH - AN ISOLATED INCIDENT?

There can now be little doubt that Merseyside police were involved in the brutal killing of 53-year-old Huyton worker Jimmy Kelly.

Anger is now building up on Merseyside. The Kelly family have formed an "action committee", and have become increasingly vocal to gain public support for an enquiry into the death.

However, it seems that Kelly's death "...was not an isolated incident, but marked the violent end of a bloody and eventful week at Huyton police station." ('New Statesman', 24.8.79).

The allegations of police brutality, reported in the 'New Statesman' come from more than 25 people who were held in police custody or who witnessed arrests and can be supported by examining the medical records at Whiston Hospital for the five days ending 20 June.

Reports of torture

These make up a fearful catalogue of savagery:

"One prisoner left the cells with a fractured thumb. Another had a damaged kidney. Two prisoners say their noses were broken. Another—a 54-year-old man—says he was beaten about the face with a wet, knotted towel.

"An 18-year-old youth arrested the following night says he was lashed with a knotted towel while tied face down on

By
Steve Higham
(LPYS North West
Regional Committee)

a cell bench. The same youth says he was touched three times on the calf with a burning cigarette.

"Another prisoner claims hot ash was flicked onto an open scalp wound and a cigarette placed against his head and chest. All complain they were repeatedly kicked and punched by groups of CID and uniformed officers.

"John Bishop, a 23-year-old labourer, says he was set upon by a group of uniformed and CID men: 'They just said "Him!" as I got out of the van. One punched me in the belly and I went down. I curled up into a ball. There were six of them booting hell out of me.'

"There was a young kid with his mouth cut who could hardly walk," says Pishop. This was probably Peter Jeonney, 18, arrested at the Eagle and Child pub earlier.

"Police converged on the pub when it became known that two officers had been attacked and left lying on the ground outside. Richard Crockett, a 17-year-old apprentice bricklayer claims he saw the police officer go up to Jeonney and punch him.

"Jeonney fell to the ground and several witnesses say they clearly saw him being kicked by a group of officers. Then

he was pulled up and he says: A uniformed officer hit me right in the nose. It lifted me back onto my feet.'

"His father saw the police van with his son inside. 'I saw one fellow punching Peter around the face,' says James Jeonney. 'One raised a baton and hit Peter with it. It was a helluva blow. I heard Peter scream.'

"In the cells of Huyton Peter Jeonney says he was visited by two CID officers and two uniformed men who tied his arms and legs to the cell bench with his shoe laces.

"I was face down. They hit me with a knotted towel and were laughing. The one with the towel was in uniform and had blue sunglasses on. He was ugly.

"They took my pants down and burnt me about three times on the leg with a cigarette. I was screaming.'

"Jeonney was taken to Whiston Hospital where his arm was put into a sling and his facial and nasal bones X-rayed. A lawyer who saw Jeonney two days later said: 'It's the worst beating I've ever seen'."

These allegations cast new

light on Kelly's death on June 21. He was also an occasional drinker at the Eagle and Child pub.

Witnesses had seen Kelly brutally kicked and punched by two police officers shortly before his death through heart failure. Yet, the first post mortem by a home office pathologist claimed to find no serious injuries and a second independent one, ordered by the Kelly family, was "abruptly terminated when the coroner impounded the body."

However, a third post-mortem confirms that Kelly's jaw was fractured in two places, that a vertebra was crushed and that 36 bruises covered the upper half of his body. The same weight of evidence would have had any worker charged with murder within 24 hours.

The labour movement, particularly locally, the Liverpool Trades Council, the District Labour Party and LPYS branches cannot afford to simply regard these allegations as isolated examples and must demand a full and independent inquiry into the Jimmy Kelly case and that of



Blair Peach—clubbed to death during the Southall anti-fascist demonstration. The death toll of workers dying after incidents with the police is rising

others, linked for the call for a labour movement inquiry into the role of the police.

How long has such organised violence been tolerated by the officer ranks and the authorities? In how many

other areas is such brutality tolerated? How many other workers have been subject to such gruesome behaviour? The Labour Party and trade unions must demand answers to such questions.

POLICE VIOLENCE GROWING

By **Bob Wade**

Kevin Gately, Liddle towers, Blair Peach, Jimmy Kelly and now Swarn Singh Grewal—the toll of workers who have died after incidents involving the police is growing.

As in previous cases, the police are again attempting to cover up the latest cases of Kelly and Grewal.

Kevin Gately and Blair Peach both died during anti-fascist demonstrations, at Red Lion Square and Southall, when in their efforts to protect the fascists police charged demonstrators. Both died from head injuries.

Towers, Kelly and Grewal died while in police custody after being arrested late at night. All were reported to have many injuries indicating that they were severely beaten.

And for all these deaths not one policeman has been publicly made accountable. In the latest case, a police surgeon said that 40-year-old Grewal 'choked on his own vomit' which was the cause of death.

But when his wife was finally allowed to see his body after being refused for eight days after his death, she saw there were still signs of heavy bruising on his head, leg and arm.

Once again the official cover-up machine went into operation.

The deaths are not isolated incidents of concern for the labour movement. Serious injuries and beatings at the hands of the police—especially the SPG—are now an all too regular occurrence.

Brutal

Everyone who has been on a mass picket or anti-fascist demonstration knows only too well the indiscriminate and brutal way the police lash out.

Recently there have been reports of a number of police attacks on workers' social centres and pubs. In Kirkby, Michael Cavanagh, 18, is lying seriously ill in hospital, having had his spleen and a kidney removed after a beating he received from the

shoot first and ask questions afterwards.

And it is not just the physical power they have but also the legal powers. The Prevention of Terrorism Act was introduced supposedly to combat terrorism. Yet in Liverpool alone already more than 1,000 people have been detained under the PTA. Many of them are active trade unionists. Are the police telling us that the Provos or other groups have 1,000 members in one city alone?

The infamous use of 'sus' and drug laws give the police the excuse to harass and detain black and white youth alike.

Of course, when the representatives of the law kill or maim one of their victims, and they are faced by public outcry to hold an enquiry, they make certain that proceedings are kept firmly in their own hands. A good example of an inquiry carried out by the state was in 1974 into the death of Kevin Gately.

The inquiry committee, headed by Lord Justice Scarman, ended up blaming the demonstrators and saying it was their fault! More recently, the murderer of Blair Peach has apparently not yet been discovered.

But then how can the police, especially the Metropolitan police, be trusted with upholding justice? At present this year a staggering 68 officers—more than at any time in the force's history—are suspended from duty for serious breaches of discipline and corruption!

Together with supporting moves for enquiries by the labour movement into the deaths of workers who die at the hands of the police, trade unionists and LP members should demand a labour movement enquiry into the role of the police: the deaths, beatings, increasing use of arms and the operation of repressive laws.

TORY PAYMASTER

A young activist who tried to raise the case of Blair Peach with the Prime Minister when she visited Southall recently was assaulted by employers' thugs as he was escorted out.

The incident happened as Thatcher visited one of her major paymasters, Taylor Woodrow, the giant construction firm.

Thatcher was being rushed through an exhibition on wind power, having spent several minutes longer than planned on the nuclear energy section, where the firm has high hopes of future work, at Taylor Woodrow's new laboratories in Southall.

A young man tried to ask her about the death of Blair Peach which happened in April at a site just two miles away. He was immediately set upon by Taylor Woodrow security men and staff and rushed out of the building.

Sir Frank Taylor, the 74-year-old head of the company, had shown his idolisation for the Tory leader in his welcoming speech a few

minutes earlier when Thatcher had made her entrance to the sounds of "Land of Hope and Glory":

"We in Taylor Woodrow will do all we can to assist you to carry through the manifesto policies, impressed as we are by your unique personal courage and leadership.

"How wonderful it is to find a young lady who one knows will keep her word," he continued. "The first fight [the election] is won. Now we must finish the war."

And in case nobody can work out which war Sir Frank is talking about, his firm made profits of nearly £24 millions last year, and gave tens of thousands of pounds to the Tory Party to defend its interests. He is also a leading member of the right-wing Aims of Industry and "Freedom Association".

Ask the tenants of Ronan Point, which collapsed over ten years ago, built by Taylor Woodrow in the years when the government gave vast sums to encourage local authorities to build tower blocks. The large builders rushed into the game with hastily assembled kits, added on more storeys, and made a

killing, in more ways than one.

The bill for making their jerry-built system stand up is still being paid. Hillingdon recently announced that it would need to spend £20 millions on its blocks to make them habitable.

Ask the building workers, under-paid, working under such dangerous conditions that the Health and Safety Executive has to issue a separate report on them, and facing the dole queue because of the cuts and the running down of council direct works departments.

Thatcher know that to survive she must do her paymasters' bidding. So she made time in her busy day to go and support Taylor Woodrow, travelling all the way out to Southall from Downing Street.

Who knows, maybe the name of the place may have reminded her about something...like the death of Blair Peach at the hands of the SPG.

By
a Militant reporter

INEQUALITY - PRESS SEIZE ON LABOUR GOVERNMENTS FAILURES

Photo: MILITANT

Leicester's evening paper, the 'Leicester Mercury', recently ran an article entitled: "How the rich became richer under Labour."

By
Don Finlay
(Leicester South CLP)

It quoted from the latest report from the Royal Commission on the Distribution of Income and Wealth which clearly showed that the years from 1974 to 1976 [the latest figures] were years of plenty for the rich.

At the top of the scale, when Healey became chancellor in 1974, the top 1% of the population owned 22.5% of the nation's personal wealth. By 1975, this had increased to 23.5%, and by 1976 to 24.9%.

Oh well, perhaps Jim and Denis were doing a good job for the lowest income groups. Remember we were all exhorted to tighten our belts over the past five years and if there were mutterings of discontent, then we were accused of possessing one of the seven deadly sins, that of greed.

Widening gap

Unfortunately the empty boasts of the right-wing leadership that the poor were benefiting under Labour due to its income policy are not borne out by the facts. Between 1975 and 1976 the share of wealth held by the bottom 50% of the population declined from 6.7% to 5.6%.

Goodness knows what the figures would be for the following years except for the fact that the division between the rich, propertied class and the working class must have grown much wider.

Will this division grow even larger under a Tory government? The first three months of Thatcher's government give a clear indication of what the working class will be facing in the future.

In fact, it will be even more difficult to calculate the statistics in the future since the Conservative government has proposed the winding up of this Royal Commission. Obviously the Tory government will now only release those statistics which they regard as favourable. 1984 comes one step closer!

Commenting on the above

statistics, the 'Leicester Mercury' gloats that "the famous threat by Denis Healey to soak the rich until the pips squeak turned out to be an empty boast for those at the very top of the scale. For instead of squeaking, they were more likely to have been squealing with delight all the way to the bank."

Does this mean that the press are suddenly printing comments which the 'Militant' has been saying for ages? Are they changing their line in order to sell more papers on the emerging anti-Thatcher mood?

Not in the least. The role of the capitalist press is quite clear. They are attempting to deflect forthcoming criticisms of the anti-working class Tory policies by showing how the last Labour government failed to carry out its policies.

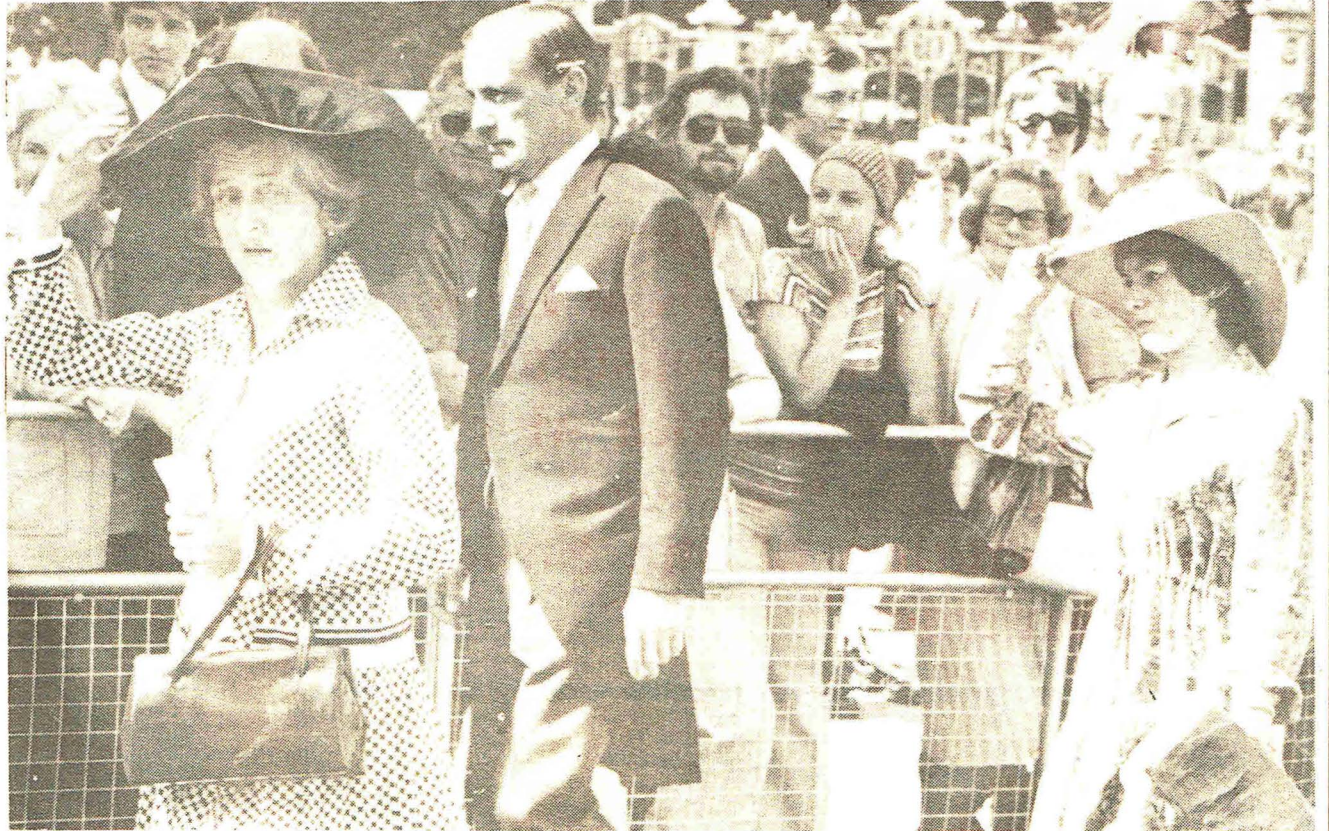
So, if the Labour government failed to deliver the "promised" goods to working people then why should we be afraid of a Conservative government? In other words, "put your trust in the Conservatives since Labour only let you (i.e. the working class) down."

Press smears

Apart from the usual hysterical praise for the Tory policy of 'trade union reform', in the same edition of the 'Leicester Mercury', they also carried a small article on corruption in the trade unions.

It related to the former top official of the American Teamsters' Union who was sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment on the charge of extorting thousands of dollars from an international shipping firm and being involved in racketeering.

The rationale for such statements is evident—that is, discrediting the traditional organisations of the labour



The Royal Garden Party set get richer—while the rest of us look on

movement in the eyes of the masses by the actions of its leadership. It is also convenient while clamouring for attacks on the movement to

portray trade unionists as either lazy, greedy or corrupt.

Apart from the need to nationalise the press, the most vital point is the need for

accountability of all leaders of the labour and trade union movement. If they carried out working class policies and lived the lives of workers on

workers' wages, the smears of the press would be totally ineffective.

A TALE OF TWO CAFES

It was raining. As I had a good distance to walk to get home I decided to go into a café until the rain had stopped. I looked at the menu. Tea—12p, coffee—18p. Pulling the change from my pocket I rapidly began to count it.

Just then, I noticed a copy of 'Readers Digest' which a previous customer had left behind. I began to leaf through the pages until I discovered an article on the exclusive Paris restaurant of Maxim's.

It was the headline which first caught my eye: 'Step Into The Champagne-Popping Elegance of the World's Most Famous Restaurant.'

Try as I would my imagination had great difficulty in doing just that. It wasn't easy to visualise a place with gilt and velvet decor, burnished brass and mirrored walls, red plush banquettes and stained glass roof patterned with oranges, lemons and foliage.

Nor could I imagine 70 tables set with Serres china, Baccarat glass, baroque silverware and each with a pink rose. It made me wonder why Aristotle Onassis once glibly referred to the place as his 'canteen'.

Maxim's is described as 'devastatingly expensive' and the 'stylish haven of the world's Most Important People'.

Royal regulars

Certainly the regular customers are not people you would run into every day at the supermarket. They include the Rothschilds, Melons, Vanderbilts, the Aga Khan, Elizabeth Taylor, Princess Caroline of Monaco, Prince Rainier and Princess Grace.

The Duke and Duchess of Windsor were often to be found at table 16—the Royal

Table—surrounded by American millionaires, British lords and a selection of sultans and princes. Definitely not what could be called ordinary people.

But then most ordinary people would probably be put off by the price list. A bottle of wine can cost as much as £165.

Not everyone, however, is deterred by even these charges as the restaurant manages to sell an average of 20,000 bottles of champagne in a year. A relatively modest dinner for two will cost about £75—with room for 200 [and Maxim's is fully booked daily!] it gives an idea how much cash the ruling class have got to splash out!

Private parties

But it is the private parties which bring in the most revenue. A Texas friend of

Princess Caroline's mother wined and dined 200 guests. The bill was a mere £19,000—and that didn't include the flowers and the three orchestras flown over from the United States!

By now my imagination was in full swing. Guests in ermine, sable and mink gowns by Dior and Saint Laurent; served Russian caviare on silver platters and vintage Bordeaux wines at £75 per bottle when my thoughts were abruptly interrupted.

A waitress had come down to my table and asked politely if I wanted anything. I glanced at the change which was still in my hand. 'A cup of tea, please,' I replied.

By Benny Adams

(Northern Ireland Labour & Trade Union Group)

TECHNOLOGY-FOR BOSSES, OR FOR WORKERS?

Like many other industries, the introduction of micro-chip technology in the banks and finance houses will be a major concern for the office floor workers.

Although new technology and its effects are being discussed within the Banking unions, many aspects have yet to be realised.

One of the projects already being tested is what is called 'point of sale'. This is basically the method whereby when goods are purchased at a shop your account is debited, and the shop's account is credited then and there.

An application of this scheme is being pressed for by BP—petrol pumps would be able to debit your account as you purchase petrol. This is in line with schemes already in operation in Sweden, Denmark, Japan and the US.

It is the next logical step from credit cards and is one of the reasons for the increase in the number of cards now available at the multiple chain stores. My own bank, the Co-operative Bank, is ideally placed to introduce this system, as it has access to a network of shops, and a pilot exercise is already in operation, with hopes of expansion in the Autumn.

There are many dangers in this technology both for bank clerks, shop workers and customers. The operation cuts out the transmission of cheques and credits—that means curtailing jobs in shops and banks. The process also enables the major banks to achieve their aim of reducing the branch network a process already started. The future would see large branches to cover a large area, and this is not so far away as all that.

Another aspect would be the increased monopolisation by the banks—small shops will again be squeezed out if not linked to the bank computer. Shops and other

businesses would be drawn closer to the banks.

The amount of information held by the central computer would be immense. This could be a danger to the labour movement—the bosses would have a whole wealth of information which could be used against individual workers. One more reason why the banks should be in the control of the working class!

The system of 'in store banking' has evolved both with the Co-op and the Lewis chain stores. Lloyds Cash-point machines are already in some major stores. Unless we wake up to these developments redundancies on a

major scale will hit both bank clerks and shop staff.

Our members also face the health hazards of using the VDUs which damage eyesight, and the monotony of the work can increase the stress suffered.

The fight must be taken up for a shorter working week, increased holidays, and better working conditions. Although this policy has been adopted by the union it must be campaigned upon, otherwise the benefits will merely serve to increase further the massive profits of the banks.

The only way the fears that new technology will mean further problems for the

workers can be allayed, is if the labour movement take over the major banks under workers' control. Let the benefits of all technology be used to better our lives, not ruin them.

By Colin Holland

(Co-op Bank Ltd, Institutional Committee, Banking Insurance and Finance Union, in personal capacity)

40 YEARS AGO: THE

On 23 August 1939, the Stalin-Hitler pact was signed. In the words of Leon Trotsky, this constituted "an extra gauge with which to measure the degree of degeneration of the Soviet bureaucracy."

**By
Rob
Sewell**

Forty years ago this week was witnessed one of the tragic ironies of history: the signing of the Stalin-Hitler Pact.

This agreement between Stalinist Russia and Nazi Germany was the diplomatic culmination of a decade of European revolution and counter-revolution. It marked a watershed in the cynicism and double-dealing of inter-war diplomacy. Despite the illusions of Stalin, the 'non-aggression' Pact fell to pieces with the Nazi invasion of the USSR in early 1941.

In order to understand the significance of the Stalin-Hitler agreement of August 1939 and the consequences for the European working class, it is necessary to sketch the European turmoil since the Nazi victory.

The triumph of fascist reaction in Germany was a decisive defeat for the labour movement internationally. It prepared the ground for an inevitable world war and all the barbarism and hell that accompanied it.

It was Leon Trotsky and his small number of followers who strained every nerve and muscle to press for a United Front policy for the German working class. Only that combined strength of organised labour could have smashed the Hitler gangs.

Yet the German workers were paralysed by the insane policies of their leaders—particularly the Communist Party. Their absurd ultra-left stance in denouncing social democratic workers as 'social fascists' split the working class down the middle. Later Hitler could boast that he came to power without a window being broken!

Even after this terrible debacle, when the working class was being atomised, the Stalinists heralded their insane position as absolutely correct; and exclaimed that after Hitler it would be their turn!

The capitalist class internationally welcomed the Nazi butchers who began their systematic liquidation of socialists, communists, and trade unionists. Hitler was seen as a bulwark against the socialist revolution.

The victory of the Nazis also struck a blow at the moral stamina

of the Russian workers. For over a decade the isolation of the Revolution in a backward country had sapped the strength of the Russian workers.

A bureaucratic elite had crystallised in the state apparatus. At each defeat of the international proletariat, the bureaucratic caste climbed further upon the backs of the masses. The millions of privileged officials in the state, party and unions, constituted an enormous tumour on the young workers' state. Political power slipped from the workers' hands.

Bloody purges

By 1934, the bureaucracy was ruthlessly consolidating its privileged position under the 'god-head' Stalin. To carry this through, a 'one sided civil war' had to be conducted to wipe out any physical connection with October. The Purge Trials of 1936-38 drew a 'river of blood' between the regimes of Lenin and Stalin.

All 'old Bolsheviks' were framed as 'fascist spies' and 'murderers in the pay of Nazi Germany. All but one or two of the Central Committee members of 1917 who were still alive were systematically liquidated by the Stalinist political counter-revolution.

Out of the 139 members and candidates of the CC at the 17th Party Congress in 1934, 98 or 70% were arrested and shot! Of the 1,966 delegates at the Congress, 1,108 were arrested on charges of counter-revolutionary activities! And this was after the earlier expulsions of both the Left Opposition, led by Trotsky, and the Right Opposition of Bukharin.

The outbreak of the Spanish civil war in July 1936 raised the hopes of the European working class. A successful revolution in Spain would alter the whole class balance of forces, undermining reaction in Germany and Italy.

This situation was looked upon with absolute panic not only by the bourgeois, but also by the bureaucracy in Russia. A healthy workers' state in Europe would rekindle the spirit of the Soviet masses and lead to the overthrow of the bureaucracy.

For the Stalinist bureaucracy, the Spanish revolution had to be derailed at all costs. Through manipulation of the Spanish Republic's military supplies, and by establishing direct control through the Russian military advisers and GPU agents, Stalin imposed a dictatorship on the Republican side—strangling the movement and initiative of the workers.

It was no accident that the Moscow trials opened at this time,

provoked in part by the ripples of opposition in Russia to the Stalinists' fatal policies in Spain.

Stalin, from the very beginning, frightened by Hitler, sought a continued understanding with Germany. However, from 1934, after Hitler's could-shouldered approach towards such a deal, Stalin turned towards an agreement with the western democracies.

"From ultra-leftism to opportunism...From social fascism to the People's Front..." Stalin sought alliances with every bourgeois democrat he could find. It was to prove his "responsibility" that Stalin made sure that the Spanish struggle was limited to "democratic aims", postponing the social revolution—and thus aborting the revolution.

He distanced himself from the idea of revolution as far as possible. In an interview with Roy Howard in 1936, he made this point absolutely clear:

Howard: Does this statement of yours mean that the Soviet Union has to any degree abandoned its plans and intentions to bring about a world revolution?

Stalin: We never had any such plans or intentions.

Howard: You appreciate, no doubt Mr Stalin, that much of the world has for long entertained a different impression?

Stalin: This is a product of misunderstanding.

Howard: A tragic misunderstanding?

Stalin: No, comic. Or perhaps tragic-comic...

('Communist International' March-April, 1936)

In 1933-34, it wasn't in Hitler's interests to make a deal with Stalin, as he had to maintain a 'friendly neutrality' with Britain. After all, it was with the assistance of the British government that the Nazis were able to rearm. That consideration had exhausted itself by 1939.

Stalin's aim was to maintain the status quo and prevent war at all costs. The purges themselves had their own macabre logic. By 1938 the Red Army had been decapitated. By then up to 35,000 officers, 90% of the generals and 80% of all the colonels had been liquidated. Three marshals, 13 army commanders, 57 corp commanders, and 110 divisional commanders had been exterminated. Civil war heroes like Tukhachevsky were shot as spies and wreckers.

By 1939, the scene had been set for a new relationship of forces. However much Stalin tried, he could not get his 'collective security' agreement from the democracies. At the same time he saw the increasing might of German militarism.

The expansion of German capit-

alism led previously to a conflict with the world powers, particularly Britain. None of the problems of Germany were solved by the world war; on the contrary, they had dramatically worsened. German capitalism was now—without colonies—hemmed in by the Versailles Treaty. The only salvation for her was a new re-division of the world. It was precisely this that lay behind Hitler's frantic efforts at re-arming.

At this stage, to attack Poland and conduct a war against Britain and France, the Führer needed the 'neutrality' of Russia. A deal with Stalin would also provide him with badly needed raw materials. He had no doubt on this score as fascist Italy in its earlier attack on Ethiopia had been able to utilise Russian oil...

On 23 August 1939, the Stalin-Hitler Pact was signed. In the words of Trotsky, this constituted "an extra gauge with which to measure the degree of degeneration of the Soviet bureaucracy."

The Stalin regime grovelled before the Führer. A Nazi diplomat, Henche, records the toasts at a Moscow banquet on 24th August 1939:

"Toasts: In the course of the conversation, Herr Stalin spontaneously proposed to the Führer, as follows: 'I know how much the German nation loves its Führer; I should therefore like to drink to his health!'"

Incidentally the main charge levelled at Trotsky and his supporters in the purge trials was their attempt to overthrow Stalin and come to an agreement with the fascist powers!

To appease the Nazis, all anti-fascist propaganda was stopped in the USSR by Stalin. A directive was also sent out to the sections of the Comintern demanding a softening of their propaganda against German fascism. From now on Anglo-French imperialism was to be seen as the main aggressor.

"It was not Germany who attacked Britain and France, but Britain and France who attacked Germany...The British and French governments had brusquely rejected the German proposals and the USSR's efforts for a settlement; that was the truth." (Stalin, 'Pravda', 30th November 1939)

In the terms of the Pact, both Stalin and Hitler would occupy and divide up Poland. This was made easier for Stalin as in 1938 he had dissolved the CP! The leadership were accused of being "agents of Polish fascism" and the majority in exile were shot by Stalin's secret police, the GPU. Russia would also occupy certain Baltic states as a buffer zone.

On the successful entry of fascist forces into Poland, Molotov, the Russian Foreign Affairs Minister, sent the following telegram to the Nazi ambassador:

"I have received your communication regarding the entry of German troops into Warsaw. Please convey my congratulations and greetings to the German Reich Government. Molotov."

As had been hoped by the Nazi government, lucrative trade deals were now possible with Russia. On 10th February 1940, an agreement was signed. This allowed for the supply to Germany of 900,000 tons of mineral oil, 100,000 tons of scrap iron, 500,000 tons of iron ore, together with large quantities of manganese, platinum and other materials.

All were put to god use in the conquest of Europe by the nazis—paving the way for an attack on the USSR itself.



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As Hitler occupied Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Belgium, Denmark, Norway, Holland, Greece and France, so Stalin obliged him with the expulsion of these country's ambassadors from Moscow! There was no depths to which Stalin would not grovel.

The German Stalinists were busy re-enforcing the pact as a move towards socialism!

"Many workers who wish for socialism welcome the pact all the more because it strengthens their friendship with the great land of socialism...not only communists but also many social democratic and National Socialist workers regard it as their task not in any circumstances to permit a breach of the Pact."—Walter Ulbricht, 2 February 1940.

The Kremlin diplomacy of 1939 was based on the preservation of the bureaucracy. They feared war and their own working class. The status quo had to be maintained at all costs. The Stalin-Hitler Pact was seen as a way out...at the expense of the masses.

The diplomacy of a workers' state cannot rule out temporary agreements with imperialist states, especially an isolated state surrounded by hostile class forces.

For instance, the Treaty of

STALIN - HITLER PACT



Stalin's ambassador Molotov discusses with Hitler [above], Berlin, November 1940. The Pact gave Hitler time, politically disarmed large sections of workers internationally, and provoked splits in the European communist parties.

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and the status quo ruled supreme. His replacement by Molotov suited the turns and twists of the bureaucracy and their Pact with Hitler.

Armed with the resources of Europe, Hitler prepared his attack upon the USSR. The Pact paid off completely for the fascist regime.

All the intelligence reports reaching Stalin of the hectic preparations for the Nazi attack were cast aside. Stalin really believed in the 'sanctity' of his agreement with Hitler. Under no circumstances could any suspicions be placed upon the character of the Führer. Right up until the last minute he refused to believe anything!

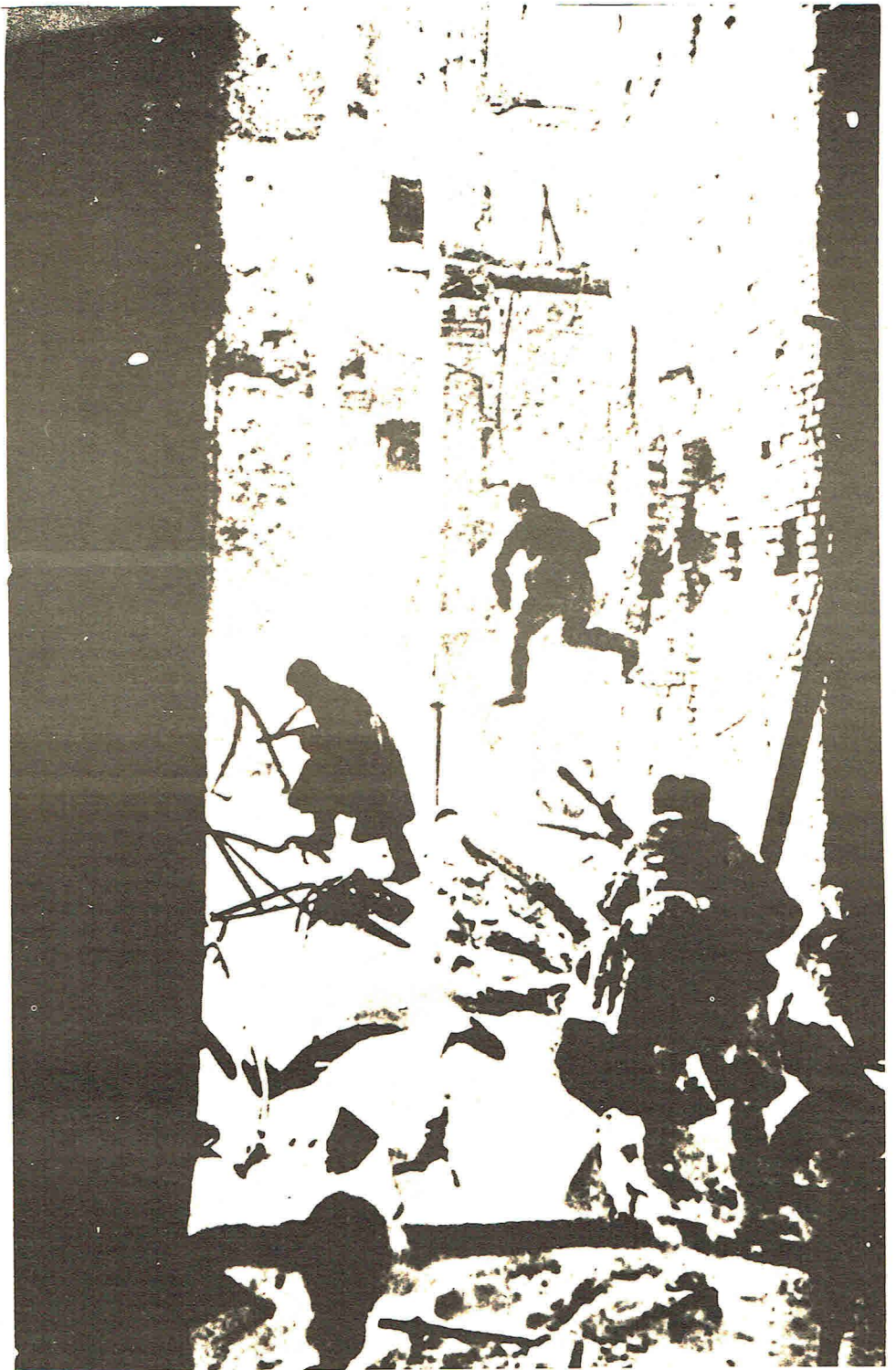
A statement appeared in the British Communist Party press a few hours before the invasion: "Even before the arrival of Sir Stafford Cripps... British and in general the foreign press, began an intense dissemination of rumours on the 'proximity of war between the USSR and Germany'... Despite the obvious non-sensical character of these rumours, responsible Moscow quarters have still found it necessary, in view of these rumours, to authorise 'Tass' to state that these rumours constitute clumsily concocted propaganda by forces hostile to the USSR and to Germany and interested in the further extension and unleashing of war." ("World News and Views", 21 June 1941)

By this time, the Germans had amassed an enormous amount of equipment on the Russian border: 190 equipped divisions, 3,500,000 tanks, around 4,000 planes and 50,000 guns and mortars...

As Krushchev admitted in 1956: "When the fascist armies had actually invaded Soviet territory and military operations began Moscow issued the order that the German flag was not to be returned. Why? It was because Stalin, despite evident facts, thought that the war had not yet started..."

"The following fact is also known: on the eve of the invasion of the Soviet Union by the Hitlerite army,

Right: Russian troops fighting in the devastated streets of Stalingrad, October 1942



a certain German citizen crossed our border and stated that the German armies had received orders to start the offensive against the Soviet Union on the night of June 22nd at 3 o'clock. Stalin was informed about this immediately but even this warning was ignored."

This total lack of preparedness led to a whole series of serious defeats for the USSR. From June to September, the Red Army was forced to retreat hundreds of kilometres. More than three million Russian soldiers were killed or taken prisoner. By comparison, German losses to the end of September numbered a mere 500,000. This at a time when Russia had a greater fire-power than Germany!

Stalin panicked... nothing was left of the "non-aggression" pact with Hitler. The Red Army was retreating in disarray under the well-prepared impact of the German military. In utter despair, Stalin locked himself away at this decisive moment, after stating "everything that Lenin has built is lost!"

The legends later created of Generalissimo Stalin's heroic role in the war—"the most inspired strategist since Alexander the Great" and so on—is utter fabrication! After recovering his nerve, he made one mistake after another, sacrificing the lives of whole divisions.

The 'world war' was in effect a war between Stalinist Russia and

Nazi Germany. Yet despite all the crimes of Stalin, the masses rallied to the defence of the gains of the Revolution—something that Hitler and the Western powers failed to understand.

Faced with the barbarism of Hitler's Nazi rule, even the totalitarian bureaucracy of Stalin was preferable.

But the Allied strategists reckoned without the enormous resilience of Russia's centrally planned economy. Despite the terrible mismanagement and waste caused by the bureaucracy, the soviet economy managed to increase production and sustain the enormous burden of war.

The plans and perspectives of the imperialists completely back-fired. Anglo-American imperialism hoped for the mutual exhaustion of both Germany and Russia, or the victory at least of a weakened Germany. They then planned to step in and impose their terms.

The victory of the Red Army, in Eastern Europe, however, shook the imperialists, who launched the Second Front to halt the rapid advance of the Red Army across central Europe.

A whole new balance of forces opened up after the war. The establishment of puppet "People's Democracies" in central Europe, the revolutionary wave, and the victory of Mao's peasant armies, led

to the strengthening of Stalinism for a whole period.

Today, however, the Stalinist monolith has been completely shattered. The bureaucracies have become absolute fetters on further development. Political revolution has become the bureaucracies' nightmare as they clutch to their detente plans with the imperialists.

That political revolution, unmistakably prefigured by the Hungarian uprising in 1956, would mean the complete destruction of the bureaucracy with its grotesque privileges and totalitarian power—and a return to the original workers' democracy of the October revolution.

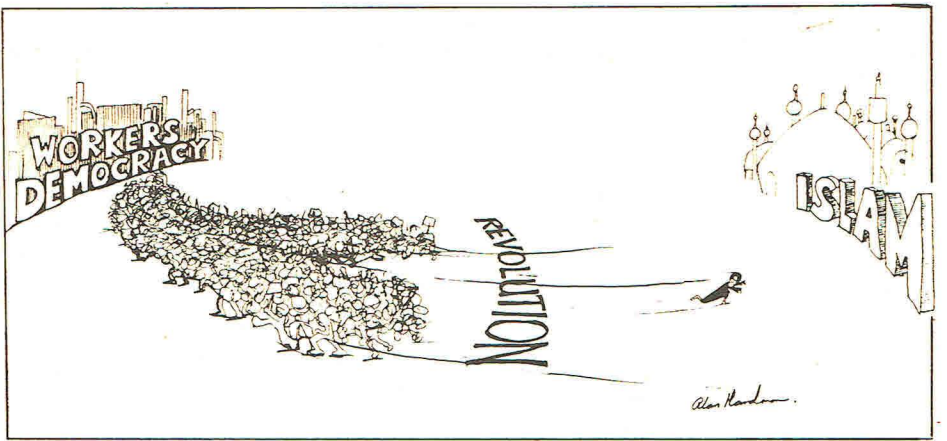
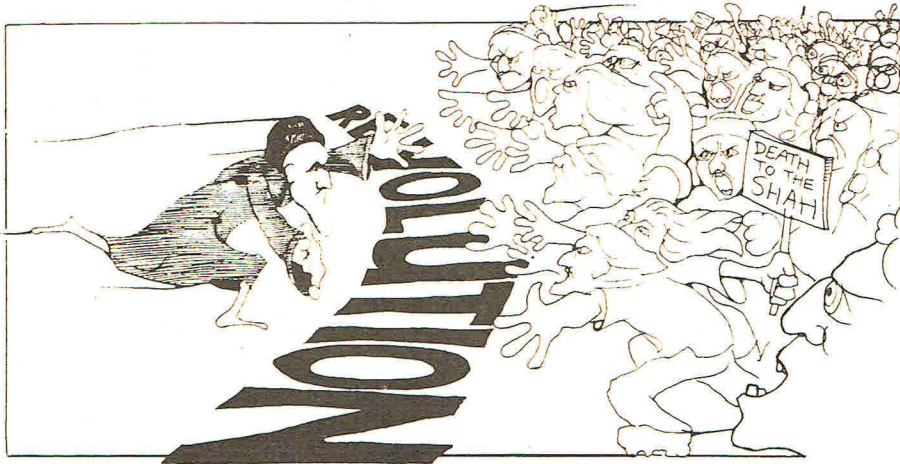
New Hungary's are on the order of the day which will rid the working class, East and West, of the grotesque regimes of Stalinism together with the overthrow of capitalism in the advanced countries.

REVOLUTION BETRAYED

By Leon Trotsky

Price £1.75 plus 25p post and packing. From World Books, 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN

KHOMEINI FEARS POWER OF WORKERS



In response to increasing opposition from the working class, national minorities and liberal bourgeoisie, Ayatollah Khomeini has mobilised his forces to strike at all resistance to the rule of his unelected Central Revolutionary Islamic Council.

In the past weeks, Khomeini has been preparing the way for a clamp down on all possible centres of opposition as a prelude to consolidating his own authoritarian regime. While blows have been struck at capitalism, through the massive nationalisations, reactionary laws have been prepared as well.

Harassment of opposition forces and press censorship was stepped up during the elections (held on 3 August) for the 73-member Council of Examiners formed to approve Khomeini's new constitution. The election itself accentuated the political crisis.

"The manner in which these (elections) were organised was so evidently unfair," reports Fred Halliday ('Irish Times', 22 August 1979) that most opposition parties, including that led by the influential Ayatollah Shariat-Shanaiat-Nadar, boycotted them, and the press, such as Ayandegan [the paper of the National Democratic Front, whose circulation rose to over 100,000 after Khomeini's previous, unsuccessful attempt to suppress it], gave

prominent coverage to the protests.

"The small number of seats ensured that few dissident candidates got in, and in some towns religious leaders pronounced 'Fetwas', or Islamic injunctions, telling the people which way to vote. Illiterate voters—over 70% of the total—were sometimes given ballot papers already marked up with the names of pro-Khomeini candidates."

Fortified by this successful result, Khomeini stepped up his assault on the left.

Less than a week after the elections, Khomeini complained that all he was hearing was about "strike after strike, sit-in after sit-in, protest march after protest march, lie after lie."

The speech signalled further moves against newspapers critical of the government, the attempted breaking up of a rally of the liberal National Democratic Front and attacks on the offices of left-wing organisations.

Repressive measures

Khomeini has been leaning on his Revolutionary Islamic Militia and the muslim zealots—the Hezbollahis, the 'Party of God' followers—in an attempt to crush all opposition and bolster up his popularity. The Ayatollah has pressed home this attack with speeches denouncing opposition to "God and his representatives", i.e. to Khomeini's clique.

"Let no one expect", Khomeini declared, "that the corrupt, and the American or non-American Left will be able to reappear in this country. We can when we want, in a few hours, throw them into the dustbin of death."

Later, he spoke of condemning all opposing political parties "to death at the

gallows. There is only one party—the party of God." Declaring himself the supreme army commander, Khomeini gave the armed forces 24 hours to crush the Kurdish rebellion in Paveh and Sanandaj.

At the same time, 26 newspapers and magazines were closed down: the Fedayeen-E-Khalq, Tudeh ('Communist') Party—which supports Khomeini's policies and which previously endorsed the closure of 'Ayandegan'—and National Democratic Front offices closed down and everyone except armed forces personnel and Revolutionary Islamic Guards were banned from possessing guns.

Khomeini's ministers are claiming that the left played no part in the overthrow of the Shah and that they are now working to overthrow the revolution. All opponents are denounced as 'plotters' and 'traitors'—propaganda intended in many cases to justify their violent elimination.

Like fanatical ruling cliques at other times in history, Khomeini's religious coterie have the illusion that because they found themselves—by an accident of history—at the head of a revolutionary flood tide, they are themselves providing the driving force.

Khomeini and his mullahs are trying to exorcise the role of Iran's young, but vigorous working class—which provided the decisive forces for the movement against the Shah.

Whether Khomeini likes it or not, it was the massive strikes in the oil fields, transport, and other sectors which ensured that ruthless measures were taken against the old regime, and forced Khomeini's government to carry out nationalisations.

Khomeini's appeals to the workers—alongside his denunciations of the left—indicates that he still fears their

independent power. Wages in the oil fields have been doubled since the revolution, and reporters recently noted that although it was Ramadhan, when devout Muslims fast during the day, the canteens there continued to serve lunch.

Many of the workers' committees formed during the revolution have come under the influence of Khomeini's loyal revolutionary committees, or akhunds. There has been little or no linking up as yet of the workers' committees in a wider trade union organisation.

With the considerable popular support that Khomeini still enjoys—support conditioned by the overwhelming cultural backwardness of Iranian society—and in the absence of even a semi-mass party based on Marxism and capable of giving a clear lead, the working class for the moment remains in the background.

But we may be sure that the workers are watching and waiting for Khomeini's regime to be tested by events. Popular support generated by the circumstances of the revolution is not the same as a firm social basis capable of ensuring the government's survival.

The merchants of the bazaar, who played an important part in putting Khomeini into power, are already complaining about the government's economic inefficiency. The 'Islamic economics' preached by the government, may well appeal to the merchant's class prejudices, but they have no chance of securing prosperity.

Economic problems

The modern industrial set-up built up under the Shah

was shattered when his regime was swept away. Even with the Ayatollah's patronage, the bazaar merchants cannot step into the shoes of the former big-business consortiums and state-sponsored enterprises.

Industry is believed to be running at only 40% of pre-revolutionary levels, and unemployment is rising—with a quarter of the eleven-million-strong labour force thought to be jobless.

Inflation is running at over 30%, some services are collapsing, and shortages in the shops are becoming more frequent.

Although there has been a rise in oil revenue (OPEC price rises have more than compensated for the 30% fall in output), large amounts are thought to be lying around unspent because of the government's paralysis.

In this crisis, the idea of unity between the classes preached by 'Islamic economics' is only a pious dream.

The social demands of the working class, who made most of the real sacrifices in the struggle against the Shah, remain unsatisfied. Discontent with the meagre material benefits of the new regime, among the peasantry as well as the workers, will be amplified by the renewed suppression of all forms of democratic expression under Khomeini's religious dictatorship.

The resistance of the minorities to continued domination from the traditional seat of Persian imperial power will guarantee bloody strife and turmoil until national demands are met, especially as the non-Persian nationalities make up around half the population.

At the moment, the future of Khomeini's regime remains in the balance. Events as yet have not decisively determined whether Iran can

continue on the capitalist road or not.

Capitalism in decay

Clearly, capitalism can survive in Iran only on the basis of the most ferocious reaction. But it is not certain that, however virulent the dictatorship, capitalism can be preserved anyway, because of the utter decay of indigenous capitalism and the weakness of imperialism internationally.

But if Khomeini, or a more radical replacement for Khomeini, is pushed—just in order to maintain a basis for their own power—to lean on the mass movement to smash completely the remnants of landlordism and capitalism in Iran, it would inevitably be in the distorted form of a bonapartist development comparable to Ethiopia.

This would be a step forward compared to capitalism and landlordism—but could only be a grotesque caricature of socialism.

Only the working class, with a clear Marxist programme and an orientation to the international development of the revolution, can provide an alternative. This, as the events in Iran have already shown, needs above all a mass workers' party capable of guiding the workers and other toiling masses with conscious socialist strategy and tactics.

By
Bob Labi

NUCLEAR POWER QUESTIONED

Suffering a crisis of credibility the big American energy corporations are desperately trying to persuade people that all is satisfactory.

The corporations have tried to get their own staff to do PR for the firm. The 'New York Times' recently reported what happened after one firm, Consolidated Edison of New York, had given a slick video show to some of its employees.

A burly mechanic in the front row was the first to speak. "This is bull. Let me

tell you something: When I was in 'Nam, they gave us horse pills saying it was for malaria. Now we find out that we were just guinea pigs to see how many of us could get the runs and still shoot a gun.

"Right here in New York the army was pumping all kinds of junk into the subways (tubes) to see how many people would get sick.

"Nothing doing, I believed them then, but I'm not going to believe you guys now."

The educational process had gotten off to a shaky start.

The general manager adopted a sympathetic tone and assured the men that he too was at one time a sceptic.

Then the lone black employee in the room spoke: "How do you think I'm going to tell this stuff on the street? You don't know. You guys sit in an office all day. When we're down in the South [Bronx] my own people throw bottles at us.

"How am I supposed to tell someone about nuclear energy when they've got a stick in one hand and a turn off notice [shut off electricity] in the other?"

There was laughter and more general dissatisfaction. The employees were reacting with the same suspicion and outright hostility as might ordinary passers-by.

One man maintained that

heavy investments in non-nuclear power sources were preferable to taking even the slimmest risks of an irreversible catastrophe. The manager said that research projects awarded by Uncle Sam had "proven" these sources impractical.

Someone pointed out that the contracts were routinely awarded to utilities, and companies and others in whose interest it is to make these alternative energies as impractical as possible.

The Vietnam veteran raised his voice again: "Sure, more nukes, right? How'd you like to live near one? Thsoe folks next to Three Mile Island can't give their houses away."

The question of wastes and where to put them came up. The general manager said that they are hauled to Federal repositories at remote sites and buried a mile underground in inert salt beds. "Where are these holes?" someone asked.

"In this area of the country, all spent uranium is carted to South Carolina," was the quick reply.

"Oh no!" the black worker groaned. "My mother and father are still down there! They don't know nothing about that..." That brought the roof down.

The governor of South Carolina is now in deep trouble with South Carolinians

because the radioactive stuff is bubbling up.

The beleaguered general manager quickly fielded a few more questions anxious to end what must have been a truly uncomfortable session. Looking at his watch his parting comments smacked just a shade of desperation.

"You fellow are sure a tough bunch, and there are equally rough times ahead; and we'll need each and every one of you to help us keep the company afloat."

From
Betty Traun
in New York

PALESTINIANS - SOCIALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM ARE THE KEY

In a recent letter to 'The Guardian' former Labour MP Eric Moonman wrote: "... in so far as the rights of the non-Jewish minorities [Arabs] have been prejudiced...this happened because the Arabs rejected the UN partition plan and tried to destroy the newly born Jewish state in a concerted attack."

This statement is just one indication of the extent to which the Palestinian problem has been ignored or, more to the point, distorted, not only by the representatives of British capitalism, especially the press, but also by the strong pro-zionist current in the labour movement.

As a partial antidote to the zionist line, socialists should read 'Palestinians: From Peasants to Revolutionaries' by Rosemary Sayigh, which, despite its limitations, describes the origins of the Palestinian refugee problem from the standpoint of refugees now living in Lebanon.

In contrast to the impression painted by Eric Moonman, the civil war of 1948 came as a huge and unexpected shock to most Palestinians. Sayigh describes in detail the life in the Palestinian villages and shows how the war found them badly prepared, badly organised, badly armed and badly led compared to the zionists. When the war came they didn't really know what hit them.

The overwhelming majority of the refugees fled, not because it was Arab policy broadcast from Jordan (another zionist myth—most villages didn't even have radios) but quite simply because they wanted to escape the fighting in which the final death toll reached 15,000. There cannot be any doubt, either, that their flight was speeded by atrocities. At the village of Deir Yassin over 250 Arab men, women and children were murdered. The author makes the very valid point that it is proof of the distortion and double-standards of the zionist establishment to have the Palestinian fedayeen labelled as 'terrorists' when the leader of the organisation responsible for the Deir Yassin murders is today the Israeli Prime Minister, Menachem Begin.

Exodus was involuntary

The main strength of the book lies in the fact that it is based on interviews with Arabs who were personally involved in the war of 1948 and the subsequent flight, so that the facts and figures and the cold political analysis are greatly reinforced by more personal accounts.

One peasant, described how, in the confused evacuation of his village when under attack by the zionist forces, his three-year old



Palestinian refugees flee from the shanty towns which housed them in Beirut during the civil war in Lebanon

daughter was lost. He eventually found her next morning begging for food in a nearby village: "I came up behind her and clasped her in my arms, and I couldn't speak for tears. There she was, not with her father and mother, not in her house, not in anyone's house, alone and hungry. In twelve hours we had been changed from dignity to humiliation."

to the myth of the 'voluntary' exodus, quite apart from the fact that many Arabs were driven to the cease fire lines after the battles (soon to become the borders of Israel) and simply dumped over the other side.

The book clearly shows that the plans of the zionist leaders included the clearing of the land and the villages to make way for Jewish refugees from

Some of the Palestinians displaced in 1948 and 1967 have since found homes or employment in other Arab states, especially in Egypt and in the Gulf states, but the majority still live in the areas occupied by Israel or around its borders. The refugee life, with many Palestinians still in camps after more than a generation, has left the Palestinians with little or no hope for the future, second-class citizens for year after year. Not surprisingly, this bitter existence has provided the foundation for the fedayeen movement.

Guerrilla groups

The organisation and arming of the Palestinians into the various guerrilla groups was also heavily influenced by the rising tide of the colonial revolution in the 1960s: Nasserism, the Algerian revolution, the Baathist revolutions in Iraq and Syria, and the social unrest in Lebanon.

To begin with, there were many different militias—some estimates put the figure as high as 44 different groups—but these gradually amalgamated to the half dozen or so of today. The largest of the guerrilla groups, Fatah, became strong enough to take over the Palestinian Liberation Organisation.

Originally set up by the Arab States, it now forms an umbrella over most Palestinian organisations.

Rosemary Sayigh's book describes the Palestinian life before 1948, then the war and the 'uprooting', and the later development of the Palestine Resistance Movement in the camps in Lebanon. This is very useful, of course, but these are the limits of the book, set by the author's objectives. For a political analysis of the Palestine resistance movement, for critical analysis of the Palestinian leadership, and for a programme and perspective to deal with present-day Israel, readers will have to look elsewhere. The hints and half-hints in this book do not add up to a consistent viewpoint.

Betrayal by leaders

Time after time, the Palestinian workers and peasants have been betrayed by their 'leaders' and by the leaders of the Arab states—and this is well documented by Sayigh.

As the book makes clear, far more fedayeen have been killed in action against Arab states than against Israel. But the author does not draw the necessary conclusions. The Palestinian struggle, if it is ever to achieve any success,

By
John Pickard

must be aimed against the corrupt and reactionary Arab regimes as much as against zionism.

There are not 'different degrees' of enmity. The Arab regimes are as much an obstacle to the fulfillment of Palestinian aspirations as zionism itself. But these conclusions have not been clearly drawn by the leadership of the Palestinian movement today. Despite the catalogue of betrayals, the PLO still leans for its diplomatic and financial support on the very regimes that will stab it in the back a moment later.

Social emancipation

The PLO has failed and will continue to fail in its aims as long as its policy and programme are based on wheeling and dealing with the Arab powers. On the other hand, the Palestinian masses if led in the spirit of internationalism, could play an enormous role in the struggle for socialism throughout the Arab states of the Middle East. Social emancipation is part and parcel of the struggle for the national emancipation of the Palestinian masses, and the social emancipation of Palestinians cannot be separate from that of other Arabs in the area.

But if an internationalist and a socialist outlook are necessary in relation to the reactionary Arab states, it is even more the case where Israel itself is concerned. Rosemary Sayigh's book says almost nothing about present day Israel. Yet here, the policies of the PLO have been just as disastrous.

The policy of individual terrorism and attacks against Jews in Israel and overseas will only harden support for zionism inside and outside Israel.

On the other hand, the social and economic contradictions within Israel itself have created a greater degree of questioning and opposition to zionism than ever before. Without exaggerating the strength of the anti-zionist opposition today, there cannot be any doubt that it is growing among Jewish workers as well as Arabs.

For the Palestinian movement to move in the direction of socialism and real internationalism, would be to drive a real wedge between the Jewish workers and zionism and open the door for the first time for a solution to the Palestinian issue.

**Palestinians:
From Peasants
To Revolutionaries
By Rosemary Sayigh
Published by
Zed Press
Hardback: £7.50
Paperback: £2.95**



The PLO's present policies inevitably lead to failure to solve problems of the Palestinian people

The peasants interviewed overwhelmingly believed that their exile would be temporary. After the battles, no matter who won, they expected to be able to return. The fact that they were not allowed to return gives the lie

Europe. Indeed how can zionists today expect us to believe otherwise when the Israeli state quite openly confiscates Arab land and property for Jewish settlements, in a direct continuation of the policies of 1948?

LETTERS

LP enquiry—should we support it?

Dear Comrades

Your assumption that conference resolutions calling for an enquiry into party democracy are automatically 'right-wing' is trivial and inaccurate. We have an ideal opportunity during the next year to examine many different aspects of party organisation and structure, turning over stones and prodding sacred cows in the hope that undemocratic customs and traditions in the Party can be exposed and rooted out.

Taunton CLP is well aware that re-selection has a high priority in the order of reform (we were one of the original movers of the re-selection motion in 1976) but it is highly arrogant to assume that the involvement of all sections of the Party in a wide-ranging enquiry will not produce equally important constitutional changes.

There will be a further spin-off from such an enquiry. Many comrades in the Party have not had the opportunity to study all the arguments related to issues such as re-selection, election of Party Leader and drafting of the Manifesto.

If you believe as we do that the case for reform in the Party is strong, you should welcome the opportunity for a programme of discussion and education with the objective of building up an unstoppable demand for action at the 1980 conference.

Yours fraternally
Jon Gray
Chairman, Taunton
Constituency Labour Party

Send your views and comments on the issues that affect you to 'Militant', 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN

THE EARLY SOCIALISTS— A NEW WORLD HAS TO BE FOUGHT FOR

Dear Comrades

Geoff Ludden's criticism of my article on the French Revolution (letters, 'Militant' 468) basically raises two points. Firstly that Babeuf was not the first modern socialist, because during the English Civil War groups such as the Diggers, led by Gerald Winstanley, had the same ideals and the same approach 150 years before Babeuf.

Winstanley professed and practised communistic ideals. But what marks Babeuf and his movement off is the question of state power.

Winstanley, like communist religious groups before him, believed in the gradual spreading of communes by example. Communes were established on common wasteland, previously used for grazing cattle.

The Diggers hoped to use the common land for food cultivation and illustrate what common ownership could achieve. The 'colony' on St George's Hill in Surrey, was

to be followed by others on Hampstead and Hounslow Heath.

It's rather like the idea put forward by some 'Tribune' supporters in the Labour Party today, that you can whittle away the power of the capitalist state bit by bit through piecemeal nationalisation.

Babeuf recognised that the old order would not give way like that. He organised for its downfall. Despite their highly conspiratorial manner and failure to build a mass movement, Babeuf and his Conspiracy of Equals saw that it was no use preaching for a new world—it had to be fought for.

His approach to realising the aspirations of the Diggers and others for a classless society marks Babeuf off from the utopian forerunners of the socialist movement.

The other point raised by Comrade Ludden does not flow from the first, nor is it in my article. Namely that "Communism and Socialism

are foreign to this country [and were] introduced by emigrés in the nineteenth century."

The struggle of British working people goes back centuries, pre-dating Winstanley and the Peasant Revolts of the 14th century. Socialism and Marxism are not alien to British or other workers but flow from the struggle of the working class.

On Comrade Ludden's closing remarks I am in total agreement. Socialists should recall not only Babeuf, but also the Diggers and other early fighters for a classless society. Not as an academic act of homage, but to learn from their experiences the lessons we can apply to our struggles today.

In this vein could I plug a new pamphlet published by West London Militant Supporters on the English Civil War, price 40p.

Fraternally
Jim Chrystie

Left and right in youth international

Dear Editor

As delegates to the 13th Congress of IUSY, we would like to clear up some of the inaccuracies apparent in Phil Frampton's article ('Militant' 465) which made us wonder if we had attended the same congress.

Firstly, a few factual points. Frampton referred to the defeat of the French YS amendment calling for a 35-hour week. The reason for this is very simple.

The demand was already included in the document emanating from the recent

seminar on youth unemployment and was supported in the main motion. In other words, the amendment fell because it was superfluous and not because of the so-called right wing leadership of IUSY.

Frampton also accused NOLS of forgetting its campaigning work on Eastern Europe. What he forgot to say was that the NOLS delegates did support the struggles in Eastern Europe, in an earlier motion, and that the motion supported by the LPYS fell right outside our policy as it

was not placed in the framework of detente and had been moved for clearly anti-communist reasons.

It is sad that the LPYS confines its Eastern European solidarity work to misplaced posturing when it has done nothing over the recent cases of Bahro and Sabata. NOLS has worked consistently for both the Eastern European Solidarity campaign and the Committee to Defend Czech Socialists.

We should be clear on who the left and right within IUSY are when talking about the

Dear Comrades

The vicious attacks on the living standards of the working class of this country by the most reactionary government since the 1930s have already started.

Prices have gone up: food, fares, petrol, everything. At the same time our public services are being sacrificed to the sacred gods of monetarism and big business.

Crimes are going unpunished—the murder of a New Zealand school teacher in Southall recently is a good example.

On energy, this government says that market forces should operate—in other words that the oil multinationals should be allowed to make short term profits, without any thought for future energy policy.

Their only alternative is nuclear power—to please the warlords who dominate the upper echelons of the armed services. Under what other economic system would public transport be cut at a time like this?

Of course there is an alternative way. If the means of production and distribution were under the democratic control of the working class, then it would be possible to develop a sensible energy policy.

Coal is an obvious starting point, and it has been estimated that we have 400 years' supply remaining. Wind, wave, solar and hydro-electric power could be developed.

Public transport would become more efficient. New railway links could be started. For example, the costs of the Picadilly-Victoria link in Manchester are at the present time too high. But since a great share of these 'costs' are interest charges to capitalists, the equation would be different under socialism.

Let's get moving. Remember, we did not elect Margaret Hilda Thatcher—Saatchi & Saatchi, Jim Callaghan and the press barons did.

Yours fraternally
Jeff Cousins
SCPS

Genuine internationalism, not witch-hunt, demands retiring LPYS chairman

Dear Comrades

Nigel Stanley and Wendy Faulkner's letter is a blatant attempt to cover over all the inadequacies of the International Union of Socialist Youth [IUSY] and its Congress.

They argue that little has changed in the political composition of the IUSY leadership since the 1977 Congress. Yet only at this congress, they assert has a start been made in shifting IUSY away from careerist domination of the leadership.

What has changed the attitude of the 'budding diplomats' of this so-called 'left' leadership which organised no campaigns, confining themselves to academic seminars and a congress in a luxury 4-star hotel? The real change for NOLS is that their candidate, Hilary Barnard, was made President and NOLS, ever adaptable, find

themselves in a right-wing dominated leadership which they now call 'left'.

Would Hilary Barnard have been 'elected' if he had shown himself to be clearly opposed to Stalinism? Or if he had attacked the disastrous right-wing leadership of the Swedish youth [SSU]? Unwilling to upset anybody except the most isolated right wingers, NOLS kept their heads down for most of the Congress.

Wendy Faulkner elsewhere attributes Barnard's success to the fact that NOLS are not identified with any tendency in IUSY—not even the left! This probably explains why at the congress Hilary, when seeking our votes, refused to accept our demand that he issue a written manifesto declaring his politics.

The letter fails to explain why the right wing voted for the NOLS candidate and why

NOLS voted for the 'right-wing' Italian YS member to join the IUSY leadership.

The NOLS leadership have often had problems distinguishing between left and right. In the 1979 British general election, Labour Student declared Labour's manifesto to be 'bold and radical'.

When the LPYS stood for the bureau against the JRA [Argentinian youth group] NOLS abstained. Yet the JRA were unable to deny an accusation that they are so acceptable to the anti-working class military dictatorship of Videla, that they are allowed to operate legally while thousands of workers lie in their graves or in prison. NOLS might have wished to vote against, but wouldn't that have upset the deals agreed to get Hilary elected?

The socialist internationalism of which these people talk

success of Hilary Barnard's candidature for President.

The right have for the last two years been a minority in IUSY. They include the French YS who, for example, have an almost totally reformist and electoralist stance on the EEC and who supported the most right-wing candidate sported for the President, from the Italian YS.

In short, Phil Frampton's article did little to increase readers' understanding of socialist internationalism in practice. The LPYS have a legitimate and unique brand

of politics within IUSY. However, just because those politics are not shared by any other member of IUSY, it is incorrect to conclude that IUSY is right wing.

We believe that the Congress was a start in shifting the concerns of IUSY away from the budding junior diplomats and towards constructive campaigning.

Yours
Wendy Faulkner
Nigel Stanley

is no different from that of the jet-setting wheeler dealing diplomats of the past.

What internationalism lies in NOLS' demand for immigration controls and import controls? They have consistently held the position of exporting British workers' problems to other workers. A socialist internationalism cannot be built on the basis of setting worker against worker.

Stanley and NOLS' understanding of internationalism can perhaps be better understood if the reader is referred to 'Today', a paper produced by the SSU at their summer camp in July. Quoting Doug Fisher of the NOLS national committee majority, NOLS, with a paper membership of less than 5,000 suddenly claims 6,000 and is bigger than the LPYS!

His main attack, however, is on the LPYS majority. He talks of secret organisations

controlling it, using all the old witch-hunt talk of the extreme right and the bosses' press in their attempts to hound the Marxists out of the Labour Party.

The report goes on to quote Fisher slandering the LPYS. Views "which don't agree with the LPYS are not brought out, even at the LPYS conference," he says! Surely Nigel, who was called to speak more than almost anyone else at the 1979 conference, will refute this lie.

Fisher finally calls for "NOLS and the SSU to increase their co-operation... especially on certain questions." We hope that the NOLS leadership will show their internationalism by refuting this disgraceful attempt to establish an international witch-hunt.

Fraternally
Phil Frampton
1978-79 National
Chairman, LPYS

BRING BACK THE SUNSHINE

The holiday period has meant a well deserved break for workers. The luckiest amongst us have even experienced that rarest of things, sunshine.

But come September, and the return to activity of trade unions and Labour Parties, the future under this Tory government offers very little sunshine indeed.

Almost every day the press announces fresh closures or threats of closures from ship-yards to car factories and super steel-works built in the 1960s!

Yet there's money somewhere all right—mainly in luxury hotels, it seems. Lomrho, the multi-national whose activities were once described by Ted Heath as 'the unacceptable face of capitalism', will pay £36m for hotels abroad to one Daniel K Ludwig whose personal fortune has been estimated at anything up to £4,000,000,000.

In order to fully analyse the destruction of industry and put forward our programme and policies to counter it we need your help to the tune of £3,767 on average each week to reach the October 6th Fighting Fund target of £63,750.

Not having a range of hotels on tropical islands with staff paid at subsistence wages to fall back on, we can only ask you, our readers and supporters, for the necessary.

Top of the list this week must be £230 collected at the Militant Summer Camp in West Wales, with a further £52 promised (in writing)—rush this cash to us before it slips through your fingers elsewhere, comrades.

The larger individual don-

By
Steve Cawley

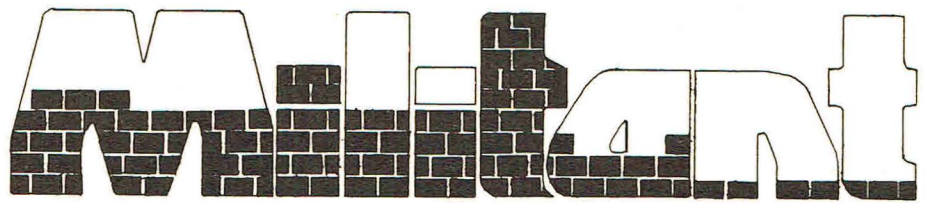
ations this week included £60 from Helen (no surname) in Portsmouth with the message that she 'sold some things she didn't want any more', £30 from an Oldham reader and teachers' backpay of £21 (S London), £20 Bridgend, Wales, and £10 Portsmouth, again!

Two Bristol supporters, W Coombes and T Lucas (T&G shop steward) sent £16.80 and £14 respectively, while £9.70 came from G Peakin (vice-President, Greenwich CLP) and £6.40 from Hendon LP member. Thanks for donations of between £3 and £5 from R Hartill (Bristol), K McKay (Barrhead), Wobeyes (E London), T Simon (Yeovil) and G Holyhead (West Bridgend LPYS).

J Gardner's letter from Belfast enclosed £2 with the comment 'It is only through hard work and financial contributions that the ideas of the Militant will spread and gain widespread acceptance among the working class'. Four readers, B Rayner (Hendon S LPYS), S Marchini (EETPU, London), R Duncan (Banff) and Cllr J Walker (S London) sent us between £1 and £2.

Amongst the £1s were K Brown (Midlothian), P Fagan and E Evans (both Hayes LP), UPW member (London), G Dawkins (Eastleigh LPYS), Cllr G Milburn (Rotherham

Build



Area	Target '52 wks	Target '39 wks	Proportion of target received	Received
Eastern	4,700	3,525		2,039
Hants & IOW	3,100	2,325		1,892
Humberside	2,000	1,500		1,114
London North	9,500	7,125		4,300
London South	3,900	2,925		2,465
Manchester & Dist.	4,500	3,375		1,707
Merseyside	5,000	3,750		2,003
Midlands East	3,300	2,475		1,852
Midlands West	9,000	6,750		4,733
Northern	5,500	4,125		2,480
Scotland East	2,900	2,175		968
Scotland West	4,500	3,375		1,507
South East	4,500	3,375		2,654
South West	3,100	2,325		1,770
Wales East	2,600	1,950		992
Wales West	3,400	2,550		1,334
Yorkshire	6,800	5,100		2,799
Others	6,700	5,025		8,303
Total	85,000	63,750		44,912

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

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

TGWU), J MacNamara (NUR Bristol) and G Holloway (Nottingham LPYS).

A Marxist Discussion Group in Yorkshire raised £19.20 for us, and £10s from a Readers' Meeting in Chester -le-Street and an Industrial Forum in Birmingham (on the Confed claim) were very welcome. Tyneside supporters discussed the perspectives for Nicaragua then donated £2.25 surplus, and a joint meeting of Sedgefield/Spenmoor LPYSs collected £3.50.

A number of supporters in Oldham forwarded £36.30 and from collection of pennies, badges, sale of food and so on from Stockport we had £16.20. Some Birmingham

This Week only £992

readers also sent us £33.40 but they didn't say how they collected it.

Plenty of ideas for fund-raising in this column however: the most successful this week were the magnificent £83.30 from a bottle stall at Thamesmead Show and £44.05 which J Burke of Birmingham organised from a 'sponsored sit-up' at the South Wales camp.

£22 was made at a Rothe, ham social and £20 from Isle of Wight Ice Cream sales. Record sales in Liverpool and Swansea left us £13.50 better off, and £6.46 came from Canterbury readers' teas. Quite a few fivers came from 'odd jobs' this week, for example a TUC delegate from Stoke on Trent, D Scott (AUEW/TASS) stripped wallpaper, helped by J Scott (ASTMS).

Other fivers included those from typewriter sales (Leeds), badges (Tyneside), and fares saved (London). Disco transport (Scotland), various games of pure skill(?) like Spot-the-Ball, sales of books, raffle commission, and piles of ½ps round up the variety.

By the way coppers do mount up quickly, but if you can, please pay them into your bank and send us a cheque or postal order, instead.

It's always hard to get back 'into the swing' after a holiday but you soon find that you're able to tackle the same problems with new energy and vigour.

We're confident that if our readers respond in a practical way to the task of reaching the Fighting Fund Target in the same way as those of our supporters in South London, we can achieve the £3,767 average per week needed.

But this will only happen if every reader helps us. Send us your donation to-day to show your holiday's over!

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.

RHONDDA Militant Public Meeting 'A Socialist Programme for Labour'. Speaker: Tony Saunois (Labour Party NEC member, personal capacity). Star Hotel pub, Ystrad. 7.15 pm, Thursday 20th September.

BRIDGEND Trade Union Discussion Group. Thursday September 13th, 7.30 pm. 'Is Russia Socialist?' At the Ship Hotel, Duncraven Place, Bridgend, Mid Glamorgan. For further details, ring Alun Morgan, Bridgend 63284

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 18 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.

WESTMINSTER SOUTH LPYS Social Saturday 8th September, 8 pm. 50p. Food and music. Bring bottle. 2 Denbigh Place, S.W.1. All welcome.

BROMLEY Marxist Discussion Group 'Wages, Price and Profit'. Monday September 10th, 7.30 pm. Venue: 10 Wynbourne Court, Croydon Road, Penge, S.E.20

RHONDDA Militant Discussion Group. Every second Tuesday, Star Hotel pub, Ystrad. For further details, contact Tonypany 435574

'MILITANT' ON IRELAND

A second enlarged edition of this pamphlet carrying important articles from the 'Militant' and 'Militant Irish Monthly' dealing with events in Ireland over the past ten years. Essential reading for anyone interested in Irish politics. Price 40p each P&P extra 10 or more, post free Obtainable from Militant Irish Monthly c/o 18 Donegall Street, Belfast

SOCIALIST SONGBOOK (New printing). Only 40p Single copies post paid 50p. Bulk orders for 30p each plus postage. From Bryan Beckingham 62 Haverstock Rd Bristol

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

LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE Militant Readers' Meeting. 'A Socialist Programme for Labour'. Hear: Terry Fields (Fire Brigades Union EC, personal capacity); Ray Apps (Brighton Kempton CLP and NEC candidate); Ted Grant (Militant Editorial Board, Chairman); Tony Saunois (Labour Party NEC, personal capacity).

6.30 pm, Tuesday 2nd October, at Christchurch Hall, Bedford Place (off Western Road), Brighton.

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'FORWARD' just published. 6p. New paper of PNP Youth (UK). Send your orders with payment to PNP, 446 Uxbridge Road, W.12.

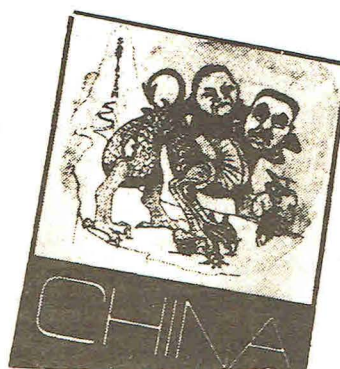
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By Peter Taaffe

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FULL BLACKING NEEDED TO BRING 'POST' TO HEEL

Nearly 2,000 trade unionists marched through Nottingham last Saturday. The demonstration, demanding the reinstatement of 28 sacked journalists at the Nottingham Evening Post, was a massive show of strength by print workers.

Later in the day, 600 of the demonstrators mounted a mass picket to halt the 'Evening Post' delivery vans. But a massive police turnout rallied to the Post bosses' assistance.

Before the demonstration set off, the organisers, Nottingham Trades Council, were read the 1936 Public Order Act by the chief of police. Then, despite the determination of the pickets, over 500 police, wearing riot shields and shippads and assisted by remote control

TV, succeeded in clearing the road so that the scab vans could pass.

The mass pickets undoubtedly step up the pressure on the NEP, as well as publicising the dispute and widening trade union support. By themselves they are not enough, however.

The leadership of the NGA, the printers' union, must call out their members still working at the Post.

On Saturday there was the ludicrous situation of NGA members responding to their union's call and playing a very effective role during the picket—trying to stop the distribution of newspapers which their brothers in the Post NGA chapel had just produced with full backing from the union leadership!

The NGA leadership believe that leaving members still working in the Post, will

make it easier to take the dispute to arbitration.

At Grunwick ACAS, the arbitration service, came out in favour of union recognition. Did George Ward take a blind bit of notice? Union-basher Pole Carew, the proprietor of the NEP, is even less likely to concede willingly.

The leadership have also dropped the blacking of adverts after legal intimidation by the class-biased courts. A firm stand would have rallied support from other trade unions against blatant anti-trade union attack.

The NEP dispute is a test case which print workers cannot afford to lose.

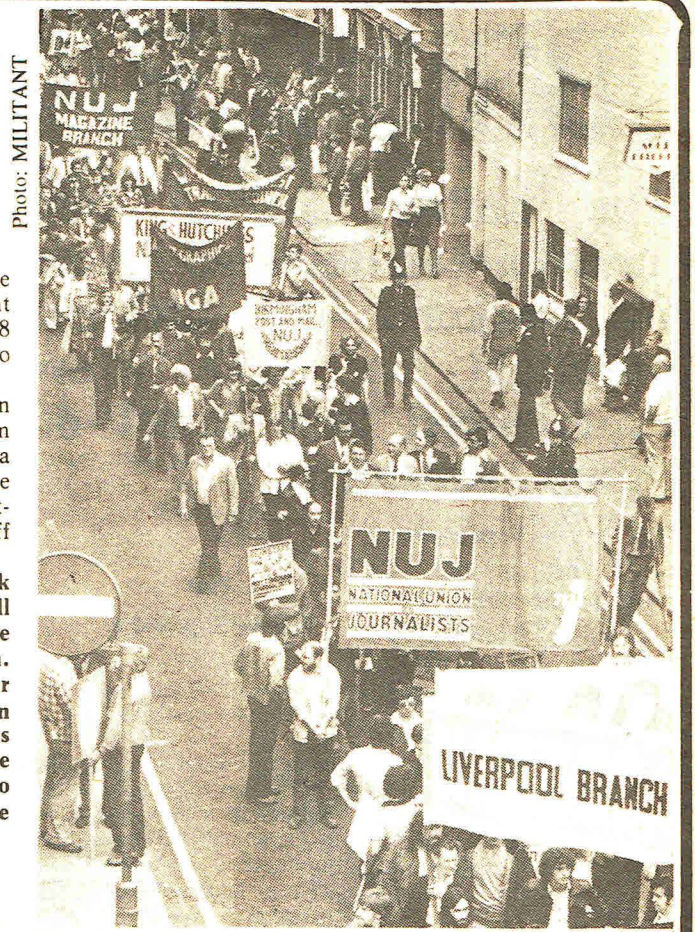
Over the past six years Pole Carew has consistently worked to undermine the unions so that new technology can be pushed through—since 1973 the number of printworkers on the NEP has been cut from

150 to 40. Early this year he launched another onslaught on the unions, sacking 28 NUJ members who dared to join in a national strike.

An initiative has been taken by the Nottingham Trades Council in calling a conference of all local trade unions, and organising action, such as cutting off services, against the Post.

The TUC must now back this campaign, using its full muscle to mount an effective show of trade union strength. It is the power of the labour movement, rather than toothless bodies such as ACAS, which will force the print industry bosses to recognise workers' trade union rights.

By Bob Wade
(NUJ SW Essex Branch)



Two thousand trade unionists marched through Nottingham on Saturday—their support must be put to use!

PAY JUSTICE for magistrates' courts

"We used to be the dog that couldn't bark, but now we're going to bite".

This is how one of the justice's clerks at Bow Street court summed up their position after four days of strike action.

Although a section of the civil service and largely organised in the civil service union CPSA, these workers have been denied any form of independent negotiating machinery. Their wages are not even linked to the rest of the civil service.

For many of these court-

room workers the issue of negotiating rights is just as important as the wage claim they have submitted—which has been rejected. They realise that such an elementary trade union right is vital if they are to defend or improve their lot.

In most areas of the Inner London Magistrate's Courts Service the strike has been nearly 100% solid. All 26 union members out of a total of 30 are out at Bow Street and the majority of them, are on the picket line.

In solidarity Post Office

UPW members have refused to cross the line, and help has also come from Customs and Excise staff and SCPS members. Even two typists whose wages are negotiated separately came out in sympathy.

Management saw fit to bring in two agency typists (from Keystone) who have been crossing the picket line—a source of considerable discontent.

These workers must be supported. Solidarity action must be maintained and intensified.

By Julian McKittrick

BDH POOLE MORALE HIGH

Production and packaging workers at the two British Drug Houses (BDH) factories in Poole, have now been on strike for three weeks.

Wage claims of up to 43% have been submitted to the chemical industries association (employers' side) by the Transport and General Workers' Union. Management have so far not even agreed to discuss the claims.

All 250 manual workers came out on strike as soon as a union ultimatum expired.

Reported plans to axe assembly operations at BL's Standard Triumph plant at Canley, Coventry, could cost up to 5,000 jobs.

Management are looking for ways of cutting capacity within the Jaguar/Rover/Triumph division, as part of an overall reduction of 50,000 jobs throughout Leyland cars. Already one assembly track at the Rover plant in Solihull is standing idle.

Under the 1976 Leyland Corporate Plan, car assembly at Canley was to be phased

ANDREW DINKENOR SPOKE TO PICKETS

The solidarity of the action has led to high morale.

BDH management wants negotiations to proceed from January to January for their 'convenience', as a number of smaller unions in the factories negotiate then.

Many workers explained that by next January a really massive award would be needed. There may be a Tory wage freeze before then, and BDH would be isolated from the national negotiating strength of chemical workers.

FIRMIN

After nine weeks a return-to-work package was sold by officials of the National Society of Metal Mechanics at a mass meeting of Firmins workers.

Control of the mass meeting, held on 21st August, was taken out of the hands of the strike committee. The president of the NSMM chaired the meeting and the regional organiser reported on the discussions with management the previous day.

They proposed that Chris Davies (senior steward) be suspended on full pay for four weeks. No reason was given

for his suspension.

Further negotiations were to take place between NSMM officials and management on 10th September, and strikers were to return to work the following day.

The strike committee was completely opposed to these proposals and issued an emergency bulletin saying so. This called for the foremen to be called out on strike immediately, more effective picketing, a fresh appeal for finance and a mass demonstration.

With the president in control of the meeting, how-

ever, (his first direct involvement with the workers during the strike), the officials' terms were railroaded through by a reported 53 in favour, 34 against. There was, to put it mildly, anger and bitterness at the end of the meeting.

On the first day back at work, foremen and management were as nice as pie, helping to clear up.

By the third day, shop stewards had to get permission to gain access to other shops. This is a blatant attempt to restrict communication. Tea machine prices had also been pushed up by

60%—from 5p to 8p.

Chris Davies, on receiving his first wage packet since the dispute started, found that his money included holiday pay for next year. If ever a clear indication of management's intentions was needed, this was it. They feel they have scored a victory, and they're openly clearing the books, ready for the sack.

The first battle may have been lost, but unless reinstatement is won the war will continue.

are largely dependent on employment at the Canley plant. Coventry, in the past described as a 'boom city', could become a gloom city if the car industry is allowed to collapse. Uncertainty about the future has been heightened by Leyland management leaking their plans to the press, without any discussion with the trade unions. The Participation Committee have been kept in the dark.

So much for all the promises of giving workers a say! Participation has been a facade to lull and fool us—management ignore it whenever it suits them.

Canley shop stewards must now begin a serious campaign to mobilise support and cut across any demoralisation in the fight against all redundancies. We can't afford the alternative.

By Pete Skerrett
(Chairman, Coventry AUEW junior workers' committee, Canley worker)

ITV - THE REAL NEWS

"A load of cobblers," was the compliment paid by one NATTKE striker to an article in the 'Birmingham Evening Mail' on the ATV dispute.

The article ignored the fact that the 700 National Association of Theatrical, Television and Kine Employees members had been suspended and locked out (i.e. they were not on strike), and claimed that scene-hands earn between £6,000 and £10,000 a year.

The actual wage rate is £4,100 basic; no-one earns above £6,200. No mention was made about the hours worked—a 10-day fortnight, so that in one week you can work 60 hours and 20 the next.

The average is 76 hours in any fortnight, sometimes from 7.00 am, and including Saturdays and Sundays. There is no overtime pay for this; the magnificent sum of £89 is paid per year for unsocial hours, which gives management the right to a 24-hour call out.

Management are now having to do a round the clock rota to man the building. They are looking a bit green round the gills.

In contrast, the lock out by ATV has united and strengthened the union's resolve. They are ready for a long stoppage if necessary.

The ITV companies' strategy is an attempt to soften up the unions so that the Electronic News Gathering equipment (ENG) and the fourth channel can be introduced with reduced manning levels. Even with a more than 15-fold increase in share values in the last four years and a profit increase of 189%, management mandarins are still not happy.

ACTT, NATTKE, EETPU, and NUJ members maintaining a twenty-four hour picket in Birmingham are confident that they will beat ITV's offensive and force them to back down on the suspensions.

NATTKE and ACTT pickets at ATV, Birmingham spoke to Brian Debus [Erdington Labour Party]

ROUND ONE ENDS

By Brian Debus

CONFED
CLAIM:

'ALL OUT ACTION IS THE ONLY WAY'

LONGBRIDGE REBELLION -

TORY PRESS HAVE TO EAT THEIR WORDS

The much-publicised 'back-to-work' march at Longbridge last Monday attracted the grand total of about 60 workers.

The press had publicly anticipated 1,000 or more defying the union's strike call.

To this pitiful number must be added almost as many photographers and journalists, hoping for some incident to blow up on the next day's front pages.

One photographer, dissatisfied with the lack of confrontation, tried to provoke something. He was seen digging a picket in the ribs.

At the end of the day, however, the 'Birmingham Evening Mail', which beforehand couldn't give enough space to the rebels, had to admit in its headline "Leyland rebel march flops."

The marchers were met by 20 pickets on the gate they intended to go through. There must have been nearly 100 pickets all round the factory, even though no call had been put out for workers to turn up.

We let the marchers through; after all the factory was closed, nothing was switched on, they couldn't work and they weren't getting

paid. So this 'silent majority' marched in one gate, through the factory and back out of another gate.

The demonstration must have lasted all of ten minutes. The fact that so few workers joined this unofficial march demonstrates yet again the tremendous loyalty the overwhelming majority of workers have to their union, even though in all honesty the strike now, after the one- and two-day stoppages, has only lukewarm support.

These rebels would not have had any chance to give their action justification, with complaints about union democracy and the rank and file not being consulted, if the Confed leaders had really prepared and organised the strike from the start.

If they had called for mass meetings throughout the industry to fully explain the issues and build up support, they would have got the backing of the members and the ground would have been cut completely from underneath the "we want to work" brigade.

By Bob Geoghegan
(T&GWU, Longbridge)



Engineers march in Birmingham on August 20th

Photo: D Swingler

GRAB THE BULL BY THE HORNS- Say Birmingham stewards

In Birmingham, among the most active workers in the Confed, the stewards and convenors, there is a clear mood now for an all-out strike.

At a meeting of over 1,000 T&GWU stewards on 3rd

September, speakers from the floor warned "we will have to win this claim because it will set the pace for all our coming local negotiations."

At the same time there was genuine criticism of the lack of a campaign from the top to

prepare the members, generating enthusiasm for the strikes. There was criticism too of the organisation of the strikes.

The tactic of two-day strikes stretching over a long period will finally only wear

out and demoralise the members. Some stewards even suggested going back to one day of action a week to save the members' pockets and prevent a loss of support.

The majority, however, firmly believed that to win the claim, all-out action was the only way. As one convenor put it, "If you want to kill a bull, don't grab him by the tail but by the horns."

Stewards from the smaller plants explained that the members were looking to the larger factories to hold out. "If we win, then the trade union organisation of small plants will be strengthened," said one. "If we lose, the bosses will try to destroy our shop stewards' organisation."

The most telling point was made by a 'moderate' convenor from British Leyland. He pointed out, "This is the first time the claim for a national minimum rate will increase the wages of my members. Because of years of wage restraint car industry wages have fallen dramatically."

As Bob Ashworth, senior steward production workers, Rover Solihull, said: "The lesson of this strike is that the official trade union movement has at its disposal the loyalty of millions. This power must be used to fight back against the bosses and their Tory government."

Shop stewards in the industry must put every pressure on the Confed executive to ensure that this strike is brought to a swift, successful conclusion with all-out national action.

By Bill Mullins
(T&GWU Senior Steward,
Rover Solihull)

SHEFFIELD - ROTHERHAM

Prior to the first two-day strike, at a well-attended meeting of 2-300 shop stewards in the Sheffield-Rotherham area, one of the key engineering areas, a motion was passed with just two votes against calling for an all-out national strike.

As the strike began, any 'back-to-work' move in the main fizzled out. Only one plant of any sizeable impor-

tance worked normally.

Generally, the strike is snowballing. In one private steel plant, the current dispute has closed the plant through industrial action for the first time since 1780!

Reports indicate that a question mark hangs over firms who claim they are settling. One private steel firm in Sheffield declared that they were leaving the EEF

and meeting the claim. The AUEW district committee refused to exempt them from the strike action however, as the firm was in fact only willing to meet the new minimum wage rates. They were not ready to reduce hours or introduce a common settlement date.

Coventry

Coventry last week had its share of scare stories about workers revolting against the strike action.

At Rolls Royce, protests from the shop floor demanded that a mass meeting was held. Union members were quite rightly insisting that they had a right to hear the full facts. A mass meeting was eventually held and the factory came out.

Most factories, particularly the bigger ones, were solid in the first two-day strike. Only two major firms, including Dunlop, broke the strike.

Many have come out in loyalty to the union rather than enthusiasm for the claim, however. A major campaign is urgently needed, especially among higher-paid workers already on more than £80 a week, to explain the importance of winning this struggle.

Our 'rebel' walked out sheepishly.

On Monday 3rd the factory came out solidly. The local press was forced to admit that although they had claimed that 600 workers would cross the picket line, not one turned up.

Cowley

Although the body and assembly plants at Cowley were among the few major British Leyland factories to break the strike, a senior steward from Cowley's Service and Parts

Eastleigh

In Eastleigh, three main firms are out. There had been rumours that workers at two of these plants would not be heeding the strike call. On Monday these workers were out absolutely solidly.

to a year, until their local negotiation dates come up. "We feel that the claim has been handled badly by the union leadership. Many members believe that all-out national action should have been called. At the moment we are being bled to death by this sort of action.

"There has also been a lack of information and propaganda in support of the claim from the unions nationally. Nevertheless, support for the claim is there and we will continue the fight."

Report by Nick Brookes

Rover

Before the first two-day stoppage, the press was full of reports about the 'rebels' supposedly 'organising' in the Land Rover section at Rover Solihull.

The week before the strike, a worker stood up at the side of the track and called on everyone who wanted to work to line up behind him. "Everyone else line up behind me," the shop steward countered.

The majority of workers lined up in single file behind their steward. "What should we do now?" they asked.

Moments later these fearful, reluctant, bullied workers (if you believe the gutter press) were doing the Conga down the side of the track.



Pickets discuss with the minority of 'back-to-work rebels' at the BL Longbridge gates

BASINGSTOKE

In spite of stories in the Tory press that support for the Confed claim is collapsing, in Basingstoke, a large industrial area in North Hampshire, the strike is practically as strong as ever.

At ITT (Cannon) the vast majority of workers were out on Monday 3rd. The small minority who scabbed were the ones who worked during the one-day strikes. Strong pickets were mounted—nearly all of them women.

At Mucon, only a couple of scabs went in. Nearly all workers at Eatons joined the strike and at Haskins, all 90 AUEW members were out.

The only set-back in Basingstoke is at Smiths Indus-

tries where the shop stewards led most of the members back in. Even so, a small number stayed out. This firm is to be blacked by the unions at the main branch in Cheltenham.

At least two firms in the town have settled, and one has already been expelled from the Employers' Federation.

Peter Taylor, AUEW convenor and chairman of the Joint Shop Stewards' Committee at Lancing Bagnell, Basingstoke told me: "The firm employs 2,000 production workers; 1,500 of them AUEW members. Not one union member has gone into work.

"A very small minority

have been trying to organise petitions calling for a vote and a return to work. We can overcome those problems and keep the men out.

"The claim is important for us since the skilled blokes are on a basic of below £80. A shorter working week is probably the most important part of the claim since it needs national action to win that and because it's important to try to combat unemployment.

"The Employers' Federation are trying to cause disunity by refusing to have a common agreement date. It would also mean that firms which agreed the claim now might not have to pay for up

BRITISH SHIPBUILDERS REJECT CLOSURES AND JOB LOSSES

The decision at Tuesday's shipbuilding conference represents a serious retreat in the face of management's determination to axe jobs.

The resolution which was passed speaks of what has been achieved by Confed officials in negotiations with management: "the avoidance of the need for unwarranted compulsory redundancies has to a great extent been achieved."

On these grounds, the officials convinced the Conference to accept the lifting of the overtime ban and other sanctions.

This, if the yards accept it, would allow management to get their orders out and give away the workers' main bargaining power.

In fact, the report presented to the conference even spoke of how British Shipbuilders' trust that 'customer confidence' can be restored on the

By Richard Venton
(Birkenhead LP)

basis of "united action and a united sense of purpose between management and workforce."

The men from Robb Caledon who lobbied the conference felt no such confidence in the idea of saving jobs by deals with management. Their calls to the delegates as they arrived were: "No sellout brothers, no surrender!"

Their placards opposed all redundancies with comments like: "Modernise shipyards, don't murder them!"

They scoffed at suggestions that Dundee workes could be transferred to Barrow for ship-repairing. "Already there is a ship-repair yard in Dundee on 90 days notice—

how can they hope for new ship-repair jobs?"

Delegates left in a very serious mood after the decision was taken—many appeared to feel guilty at what this would mean for the men of Caledon.

British Shipbuilders are suggesting voluntary redundancies and natural wastage, but this still means 6,000 jobs permanently lost. This decision could weaken the fight on a national level against the hollow promise of voluntary redundancies, but local shop stewards' confeds must now give a lead in opposing all redundancies and link up with other yards. The management assurance that some yards will be kept on a "care and maintenance" basis means nothing. The jobs will still be lost, and what guarantee is there that after a short period the care and maintenance will be ended anyway?

Fight for unity

This mood must be reflected and built on locally and nationally. A combine at shop stewards level must be built to fight for the unity of all yards against all forms of

redundancy.

Negotiations with management are not enough in a crisis-ridden industry—united action is required. Mass meetings which discuss this conference must come out firmly for a change in this disastrous policy, demanding a fight with a clear alternative of workers' control and management of the industry in order to plan alternative work under trade union control.

The Robb Caledon workers are in no mood to give up easily. As one shop steward said: "We've been sold down the river on jam factories and jute factories—there's no way the workers of Dundee will be sold out on shipyard jobs."

Workers throughout the shipyards should continue to fight on the demands adopted by the Robb Caledon men:

- ★ No closures and no redundancies!
- ★ Keep the overtime ban!
- ★ No launches, and no sea trials!
- ★ For a scrap and build programme!
- ★ Modernisation of the yards!
- ★ Nationalisation of the shipping lines!
- ★ 35-hour week!

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FIGHT THE TORIES

CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE

this in order to restore profit levels at the expense of the working class.

Instead, the campaign's policies are confined within the framework of capitalism, opting for measures like import controls which do nothing to further the interests of the working class but merely give the bosses the opportunity to push up prices without investing, and to exploit unemployment.

Over 12 million workers are now organised in the ranks of the TU movement [12,128,000]—a record increase over the last decade—a mighty force to change society, if mobilised on a programme for a fundamental social change.

This potential power was touched on by Steve

Finn of the Bakers' Union, when he received the TUC's Youth Award for 1978.

He pointed out that if the TUC had used its power in the support of the Bakers against the vicious Employers' Federation then a victory could have been achieved.

He went on to say that this was even more true of the dispute at Grunwicks, when, if their power had been utilised, a great victory could have been achieved.

Nevertheless, the feeling of unity which pervaded the Congress will no doubt be reflected on the shop floors throughout the country, and those workers will now be looking to the TUC to insure that the fighting words become resolute action.

ROTTERDAM

CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE

crease of 50 guilders (about £10) a week. Their claim is a just one if compared to wages elsewhere.

In the past few weeks the financial results of the big companies in the docks have been published and the workers see an increase of profits which by far surpasses their wage increase. And when at the end of August workers in the food industry managed to renegotiate a collective wage agreement (CAO) the tug boat people decided that they might have another try as well.

The courts ruled, as usual, in favour of the capitalists.

Each worker was ordered to pay his boss f500 for every day he stays on strike. The workers now also have to pay the costs of the trial (f1800). But the tug boat people were not intimidated. They stayed on strike.

Within hours of the verdict the dockers in Rotterdam came out on strike in sympathy. But on the second day of their strike, which paralysed the Rotterdam docks, wage demands were put forward. The same demands as earlier this year (e.g. the 35-hour week, this time only for people working shifts).

On 29th August the Amsterdam dockers came out on strike for their own wage demands. A self-appointed

CP-dominated action committee was cast aside and replaced by a leadership elected at the mass meeting of the people on strike.

Angry

There are still some industries where a CAO is missing (like in the very important chemical industry) and in most other industries the active workers are still angry about the way things went during the wage negotiations earlier this year. The civil servants and public employees for instance, were forced to accept wage moderation by act of parliament.

In June the FNV (main trade union federation) has had to organise a day of action against the government. This resulted in a

national strike of the public employees. Some 50,000 people went to a demonstration in Utrecht. One of the official slogans (of the civil servants/public employees) was: "Down with the government!"

The workers are already drawing the lessons from these events. Union democracy, the right of recall of TUC officials, putting them at the same pay as the people they represent, are being widely discussed.

This will mean another step on the way to higher consciousness for the Dutch working class which until recently was fairly dormant. A process of radicalisation is beginning that will undoubtedly lead to a revival of the fighting traditions of the Dutch workers.

ENGINEERING CLAIM

Continued from front page

The Employers' Federation have prepared for an all-out offensive. If they get the upper hand now, they will attempt to ride rough-shod over all the gains and rights we have won through the strength of our union organisation.

They have the full backing of Thatcher's Tory government in their attack on our living standards and our unity. They would be the first in line to carry out the Tories' anti-union charter.

Engineering and other Confed workers have demonstrated their loyalty to the unions, coming out in millions over four weeks. But loyalty alone is not enough to win. Many members are critical of the lack of information and

leadership from the top.

So far, Confed leaders report that 250 engineering firms have met the full claim, including 22 EEF members. If we are to force the rest to follow suit, we must pull out the stops. Members are demanding that an indefinite strike is called immediately. Alex Ferry, secretary of the Confed reported that the Confed leaders "are being inundated with demands for all-out strike action".

The present on-off strike tactics are simply dragging out the dispute, wearing down resistance and enthusiasm without the prospects of immediate victory in sight. An all-out strike would give members—and the employers—a taste of our power.

If the union leaders now initiate a massive cam-

paign of mass meetings, rallies and demonstrations to explain the vital need to win the claim, they would cut across any criticisms that members are being kept in the dark.

By involving members in every factory in picketing, discussions and campaigning, the union would be welded together, ending the isolation and demoralisation of some areas.

Swift victory

Particularly in the Midlands and the South-East, it is vital that the full implications of the claim and the present struggle are explained to the higher paid workers whose local agreements already take them over the £80 mini-

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