



# May 14- THE FIRST SHOT NOW FOR A 24 hr GENERAL STRIKE!

Photo: MILITANT



Printworkers on the march

The anger of workers in Scotland against this Tory government was made clear on May 14th in an impressive show of strength by the trade unions.

The largest response came in Glasgow, where nearly 15,000 marched through the city, a magnificent reply to Fleet Street's Tory propagandists, who would have us believe nothing happened.

Cries of "Maggie, Maggie, Maggie, Out! Out! Out!" reverberated around the city centre, an unmistakable message that negotiation with the Tories is not wanted but "get the Tories out!"

No trains ran. The march was swelled by public service workers, including nearly 400 teachers, who had de-

monstrated only the day before in pursuit of their 1980 pay claim.

Despite police attempts to break up the march, using mounted police, the demonstration was an inspiring show of strength.

Edinburgh saw its biggest demo for 11 years, with over 6,000 workers in the streets. Again, many teachers joined the march.

Miners, clothing work-

ers, engineers and electricians, as well as many tenants' groups, were among the marchers.

At the rally, Ron Brown, MP for Leith, was greatly applauded when he said it was essential to replace labour movement leaders "with those who are going to lead." Calling for the nationalisation under workers' control of the finance and industrial monopolies, he added: "Labour MPs must take the fight out of Westminster and become street-corner and factory-gate agitators for socialist policies."

In the West of Scotland industry was hit hard by the action. In Dundee most workers in the shipyards and larger factories came out. Not a bus was running, and many council offices were closed.

Health service workers joined in en masse—at Dundee Royal Infirmary, 40 members of COHSE were stopped by police,

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By 'Militant' reporters

## Press Propaganda Rebounds

**Brighton**  
Brighton's "Big Flop" march was the biggest in the town for decades, with 1,000 setting out from the Level swelling to over 3,000 at the end.

Two hundred dustmen and cleaners marched out of their depot to join in, and there was an NUT contingent of 100 teachers.

British Rail claimed trains were running, but even if a few were, most commuters took the unions seriously and stayed at home.

Traffic was at a standstill until the march was over.

Success had been confidently predicted by Ray Apps [Brighton Labour Party and

Trades Council] the previous night on Radio Brighton, but the anti-Tory turn-out exceeded all expectations.

The march included a big group of print workers, and it stopped off at the reactionary 'Argus' to protest loudly at the constant stream of anti-labour movement propaganda.

The plan was to end at the Town Hall, delivering a protest against the Tories'

wasteful expenditure on "civic junketing" [£86,000 being squandered currently]. But the police stopped this on the grounds that there were "too many marchers".

A delegation, however, went to the Town Hall, and Ray Apps and others addressed the demonstrators at the winding up rally on the beach and outside the Town Hall.

Ray, a long-standing 'Militant' supporter, was enthusiastically applauded for his call for preparations for a 24-hour general strike to bring down Thatcher and Co. and for the return of "a Labour government not like the last one, but with socialist policies."

# Militant

1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN

## AFTER THE 14th

May 14 was a massive demonstration of working-class opposition to the Tory government.

Britain's key industries, the mines, railways, ports and ship-building, were paralysed by strike action. Tens of thousands of workers in other industries also stopped for the day, or part of the day, to take part in the Day of Action.

Throughout the country there were marches and rallies, some of them a little disappointing perhaps, but in many areas the biggest meetings of the labour movement since the war.

With brilliant sunshine, there was a festive spirit. But underlying this was a

mood of bitter and angry opposition to the vicious anti-working class policies of the Thatcher government. Strong support was expressed at meetings for socialist ideas.

'Militant' supporters speaking on platforms throughout the country received an enthusiastic response.

The Tories and the bosses, through their gutter press and manipulated television, are doing everything they can to denigrate the action, telling outright lies about the numbers involved. The blatant bias and the scale of the distortion has been incredible.

Thatcher privately has told the press that she doesn't intend to crow about the government's "success." If she keeps to this, it's a wise decision. The ill-fated

government of her Tory predecessor, Ted Heath—she may remember—faced nothing like this scale of strike action and demonstrations in its first year, though Heath was eventually brought down by workers' mass action.

Action on the 14th was, it is true, uneven and disappointing in some areas. There were two main reasons for this.

First, for several weeks prior to the 14th, the press and the television were turned into blatant propaganda weapons for the bosses, using every scurrilous dirty trick in the book to sway the workers against action.

Nevertheless, the main reasons for the limitations of the 14th was the failure of the TUC and other trade union leaders to give a bold lead. Except where shop stewards and trades councils took local initiatives, there was no real campaign to explain the need for action.

This reflects a totally mistaken approach by the TUC leaders. The General Council saw the Day of Action, not as the start of a campaign to bring down the

Tories, but as a means of pressuring the government into negotiations to discuss a change of course.

Len Murray and the others have failed to understand that the Tory policy of cuts, cuts and more cuts is quite "reasonable" and "logical" from the point of view of big business interests who uphold the profit system. It is futile to expect the Tories to "see reason" and modify their policies in the interests of working people.

Only a clear call to campaign to bring down the Tories, force a general election, and return a Labour government committed to bold socialist policies can provide the basis for effective, mass action.

It is hardly surprising, when the TUC adopts such weak policies and proposes such half-hearted action, that many workers decide it is not worth it. At most of the meetings, workers expressed strong criticism of the TUC and called for a 24-hour general strike action against the government.

Behind the smokescreen of lies and denigration,

however, the serious spokesmen of big business [see 'The Times' 15 May] have quietly warned Mrs Thatcher not to "suppose that a general weakness in trade unionism has been exposed. Yesterday's affair was ill-planned and ill-timed, but it has not destroyed or shown to be imaginary the capacity of organised labour to serve as a vehicle for political protest."

Despite what they say in the gutter press, big business recognises and fears the potential power of organised workers.

With the insoluble crisis of British capitalism and the Tories' vicious class policies, enormous industrial battles and political struggles are inevitable. The labour and trade union leaders may continue to drag their feet, but millions will be pushed into battle against the Tory government.

It is the duty of the labour movement to give a lead, to pose a clear socialist alternative. The Day of Action, a successful opening shot, must be seen as merely the beginning of a campaign of organised mass action against the Tories.

## LEEDS

Private 'enterprise' couldn't compete with the labour movement in Leeds. Local Tory Party members had organised a fleet of mini-buses to ferry eager beavers to work.

They proved beyond doubt why public transport should not be cut. The traffic was so chaotic that most of them ended up in jams.

This was the pathetic end to a concerted campaign to bully bus workers into ignoring the Day of Action. In the build-up to May 14th, the local press ran scare-mongering stories of 'revolts' against strike action. They soon got their answer.

Over a thousand bus-drivers walked out to hold a mass meeting in the town hall, jamming the city centre with double decker buses as they voted to come out.

On the day, they joined about 2,500 workers, including a large contingent of G&MWU members from local factories to demonstrate their opposition to Toryism, local and national.

One retired NUR member told pickets outside a local hospital: "I'm right behind you—but you've got to find a way of answering all this hostile treatment." He wasn't taken in by the frenzy of the press or scoldings from Thatcher's ministers. Nor were Leeds' bus-drivers.

# 'Kick out the Tories'

Round-up by 'Militant' reporters

## PRINT-WORKERS MARCH ON FLEET STREET

"If the 'Express' management and courts had gone on and jailed the union leaders, then there would have been no 'Express' on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday etc. etc."

The 3,000 London printworkers who applauded this comment from one NATSOPA speaker knew why Express Group boss Victor Matthews had backed down in his legal action. And if the Fleet Street management wanted to see where their workforce were, all they had to do was look out the window.

## NORTH EAST

In the North of England, in all the hospitals on Teesside meetings were organised by NUPE, with good attendance. No local buses ran, and the one shipyard that worked normally was picketed by Boilermakers.

The demonstration in Newcastle attracted 3,000, but most big factories stayed in, not the result of some Tory 'get back to work' campaign but confusion through lack of leadership. One demonstrator said: "If we're gonna come out we've got to come out for a week or something if we're gonna get these buggers out."

In Middlesbrough, the local Tory rag sent along their intrepid reporter to photograph empty seats at the local Trades Council rally—he left very disappointed after 500 trade unionists packed out the hall!

have been much better.

A large contingent of Asian women joined the 3,000 strong Southall march. Mass meetings were held at Heathrow Airport and a number of factories came out. Other factories sent shop stewards.

In East London over 2,000 at Hackney and Tower Hamlets and 1,000 in Newham showed their feelings with marches—and street theatre and rock bands. A "People's Festival" was held in South London, where over 3,000 from Lambeth, 1,000 from Southwark, and a contingent from Wandsworth converged on Clapham Common.

In Southampton the dockers came out after a morning mass meeting, and many joined the 1,000 plus march. John Kelly (President Southampton Trades Council) got a good response when he said: "It is a political battle, not to change the Tories' minds,

but to bring down the government and replace it by a Labour one committed to socialist policies."

In Swindon about half of the BR workshop came out and Plesseys wiring saw a total stoppage. Only one Western region train ran, with three people on it.

Many factories in Stevenage stopped and no buses ran.

(CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE)

on the threat of arrest, when they tried to march to the city centre rally.

At the rally over 1,000 heard speeches by Ernie Ross MP and Doug Harrison, the STUC's Deputy general-secretary.

Photo: MILITANT



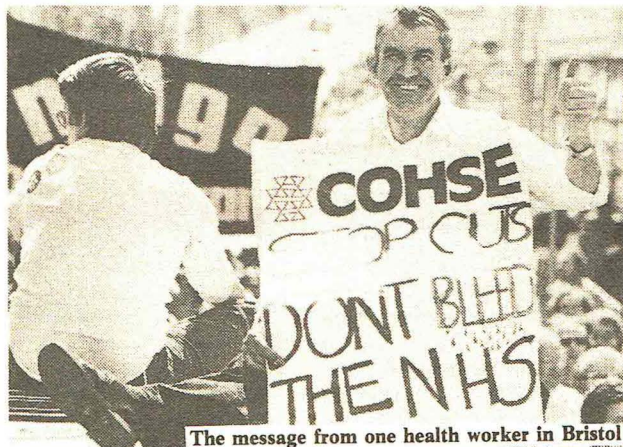
## YORKSHIRE

At the Hull rally, dockers' leader and TUC General Council member Walter Greenwood was put on the spot when workers demanded to know why the TUC had not organised a more forceful action against the Thatcher government. Dockers and other T&GWU members, British Aero-space workers, ambulance crews, NUPE, COHSE, NUT and EETPU members (in spite of their union leaders' opposition) were joined by the National Union of Seamen, who suspended their conference to swell the 2,000-strong march before the rally. The Fire Brigades Union conference in Bridlington was also suspended to take part in a local march. At the demonstration and rally in Sheffield, there was an impressive turn-out of Yorkshire miners, although local engineering factories only had token delegations. Afterwards the LPYS held an

impromptu meeting, attended by about 50 steelworkers, miners, busworkers and NUR members. One of the speakers, an ASTMS divisional organiser, summed up their feelings when he said they urgently needed not just rousing attacks on the Tories, but a programme: "It's not industrial action for its own sake—it's a question of alternative policies."

## NORTH WEST

Print union members on Merseyside took the initiative of organising a rally of over 1,000 trade unionists on the 13th. Tony Sauniois (LPYS member on Labour's NEC) got tremendous cheers when he called for the campaign to be linked to defeating the Tories and returning Labour on a socialist programme. Print workers were out in force on the 10,000-strong march next day, along with banners from almost every section of the trade union



The message from one health worker in Bristol

movement. Demonstrations were also held in Bootle, Birkenhead and Chester. In Manchester up to 10,000 took to the streets. Combined with marches in Bury, Rochdale, Oldham and Salford, the North West spelt out what they think of Toryism!

## LONDON & THE SOUTH

Solidarity with fellow workers was a feature of the day. In Slough over 100

workers left Burton's Biscuit factory to join 600 pickets outside the Chix works, where union members have been fighting a long battle for union recognition and reinstatement. Support was promised for a mass picket at 6.30 am on 21 May.

Many towns such as Eastleigh and Fareham saw their first trade union demonstration for years. All echoed the belief that if there had been more of a lead from the TUC it would

# COURTS HIT AT UNIONS AGAIN

By Roger Shrives

**The class nature of the courts was once more imprinted on the minds of trade unionists by the reactionary decision of Mr Justice Griffiths in the High Court.**

He ruled that four print unions, NGA, NATSOPA, SOGAT and NUJ had acted unlawfully in calling for strike action on 14 May. It was a political strike, said Griffiths, and therefore was given no legal protection under the Trade Union and Labour Relations Act. This only 'allowed' immunity from legal action when a strike call was made in furtherance of a specific trade dispute between the unions and employers.

He granted Express Newspapers Ltd an order obliging the unions to withdraw the circulars calling on members to participate in the stoppage.

This is not the first time that the courts have acted to reduce the rights of trade unions. Griffiths and the rest of the judiciary claim to be 'above' politics, but first Denning and now Griffiths have made judgements restricting trade union rights by pre-empting the Thatcher government's proposed 'Em-

ployment Bill.'

This January, Denning banned ISTC strike action against the sixteen private steel firms. Steelworkers were picketing their premises effectively stopping the steel bosses getting round the BSC workers' strike. But Denning ruled this illegal.

A year earlier Denning gave an injunction against the NUJ—for the Express Newspapers again—during the journalists' strike to stop Press Association stories being blocked.

Now after attacking union rights on effective 'secondary' picketing and on blacking, Griffiths has outlawed political strikes or even days of action. The House of Lords quashed Denning's last two initiatives as 'jumping the gun.'

This time the employers rejoiced at the ruling as a blow for 'freedom.' The Director-General of the Institute of Directors urged all employers to tell workers that calls for stoppages on 14 May were unlawful and that anyone who stopped work was "not entitled to do so and not entitled to be paid." Some freedom!

One union, NATSOPA, has correctly decided to ignore the ruling and keep up its call for action. The key to

defeating these attacks is to mobilise the strength of the working class. It was the determination of the workers that defeated Heath's anti-union legislation. In particular the anger of workers in the docks and elsewhere caused the release of the Pentonville Five imprisoned under the Industrial Relations Act in 1972.

It was no doubt, the timid, half-hearted call for action from the TUC that emboldened Express Newspapers to seek an injunction and allowed Griffiths to consider this ruling. TUC general secretary, Len Murray and Lab-

Photo: Andrew Wiaard (Report)



Workers oppose a previous reactionary decision by Denning during the steel strike

our's shadow Employment Secretary, Eric Varley, have both insisted that the Day of Action was not intended as industrial action aimed at bringing down the government.

The bosses and their party and nail to weaken the unions. The labour movement must adopt a similar attitude.

We must fight to stop the attacks on jobs, wages and

union rights, by ignoring court restrictions and building a movement to bring down the Tories and the system which threatens legal action against workers defending their hard-won rights.

## DAY OF ACTION

Workers at T Lucas in Kingswood, Bristol, responded magnificently. In a factory of 250 (shop stewards sell 60 copies of 'Militant' weekly) 40 pickets turned up at 7.00 am. But they needn't have bothered—the strike was solid and Lucas workers were prominent at the rally called by Kingswood Labour Party (addressed by local LPYS chairman, Dave Muscroft).

This was followed by Bristol's biggest labour movement march since the 1930s. Between 8,000 and 10,000 streamed through the streets, which rang to chanting "Maggie out!" and "Cuts out!"

Evidently stirred up by the capitalist press, one tiny group of women from a department store tried to hurl eggs, tomatoes and water. Fortunately, their aim did not match their hysteria. Generally, however, the reception was friendly, with leaflets and stickers eagerly snatched up.

Pete Hammond, 'Militant' supporter and Labour councillor, told the rally: "Even this magnificent turnout only represents the movement lifting its little finger." Loudest applause went to Vic Ryan, Confed regional secretary: "We will not rest until we have a proper socialist revolution." Peter Hammond added: "It's up to the labour leaders to mobilise the working class for a struggle to transform society."

The march in Plymouth more than trebled as it passed through the city, with over 4,000 at the Rally at Plymouth Hoe addressed by Tony Benn and Mick Martin (T&GWU).

In Bridport, Dorset, there were 150 on the march, good for this mainly rural area. There was a strong

left-wing mood at the meeting, where Dave Brown (Bristol LPYS) and the LP secretary/agent spoke.

In the East Midlands, 4,000 demonstrated in Leicester, with youth and women prominent. Unemployment was probably uppermost in workers' minds, especially hosiery and knitwear workers threatened with massive closures.

"It's been a tremendous success. It's the beginning..." John McGuigan (NUPE organiser) told the rally in Nottingham, 1,000-strong despite the bosses' press.

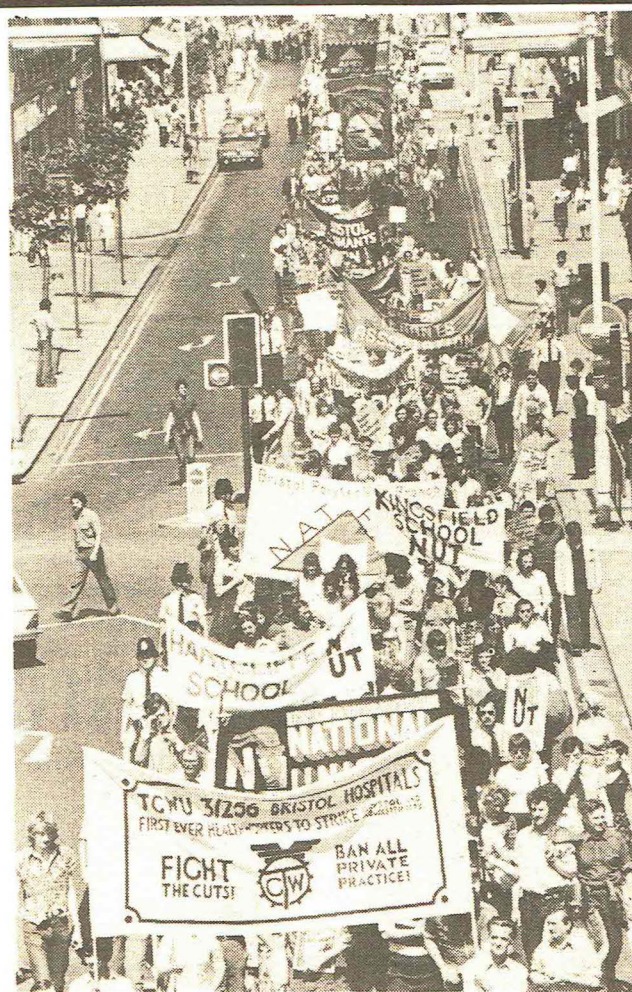
In Chesterfield 100 miners led the march (300 plus), with firemen, engineers and NUPE and COHSE members.

The Notts NUM had telegraphed the TUC to make the 14th a 24-hour strike, and 300 miners joined the march and rally in Mansfield. One area NUM official who had been pouring cold water on plans for a stoppage, arguing for "education" instead, got a frigid response. The mood was for action against the Tories.

In the West Midlands 7,000 marched through Birmingham. Some factories shut down (Ansells, Hardy Spicers, Lucas Plastics) and many sent delegations of shop stewards. BL Longbridge held an anti-Tory meeting in works time, and other factories had short stoppages. Most buses were off the road. The day before the 'Mail' headlined "Your Right to Work" and on the 14th the evening paper came out at 10 am with "Damn you Murray!"

Stoke saw the best labour movement demonstration for years, with 2,000 marching and shouting socialist slogans. In Stafford the

Photo: Militant



Above, Bristol march—

**"Even this magnificent turnout only represents the movement lifting its little finger"**

turn-out was not so good, mainly because of the lack of national lead and poor local organisation.

No pits worked in South Wales. Steelworks stopped at Ebbw Vale, and there were no trains in the Valleys or Inter-City trains out of Wales. Clear leadership and unified action was lacking, however, resulting in a mixed response.

In Blackwood (Bedwely) 250 rallied in a militant mood, mostly engineering workers who came out. Steelworkers and miners were at the forefront in Newport, where 350 marched, and Chris Burns (LPYS national committee) spoke at the open-air rally.

All pits were shut down in the Swansea area, as the miners made up the main contingent on the 1,000 strong march and rally through the town. The miners were joined by members of NUPE and local Ford workers, and the message was clear—"smash the Tories!"

At the rally, George Wright, General Secretary of the Wales TUC, received applause when he declared, "The Wales TUC will not be so timid in its attacks on the Tories as the TUC leadership nationally."

In Port Talbot, over 2,000 workers attended an open air rally.

## BOOK NOW FOR LPYS SUMMER CAMP

**"For me, this has been a fantastic week—it's the first time I've been to England. What I couldn't get used to is the relaxed atmosphere and the bold manner of the British Young Socialists."**

**"I think the LPYS has achieved the correct balance in mixing politics with a holiday atmosphere."**

This is how two of the international visitors described the 1979 Labour Party Young Socialists' Summer Camp. The word has gone back to their comrades overseas and this year there will be over 100 international visitors joining the 600 young people and families at the camp near Coleford in the Forest of Dean, Gloucestershire.

From July 26th to August 3rd, Bracelands camp site will be a NO-GO area for the Tories.

The political programme includes sessions with leading speakers from the labour and trade union movement, major debates on the Common Market, Labour Party democracy, Detente, and the

future of the Labour Party, and special commissions for young trade unionists, for school students and for new members. We are also running an introductory course on Marxist theory.

For your entertainment there will be discos, club nights (featuring YS comedians and musicians), Irish folk-singing and a music workshop to produce new socialist songs.

For those healthy in body, there will be athletics, football and volleyball competitions, canoeing and hill walking; for the healthy of mind, a quiz competition and discussions on art and culture.

Every attempt is made to ensure maximum comfort for all. A creche, outings for the kids, a bar, a doctor, and three meals a day are provided. All for just £35. So don't delay, talk it over with your YS branch and your friends, find a tent, and book now.

Send a £5 deposit per person to Andy Bevan, LPYS, Labour Party, 144-152 Walworth Road, London SE17 and he will send you further details.

By Nick Toms  
(Vice-Chairman LPYS)

# Issue 500

## CELEBRATION MEETINGS AROUND THE COUNTRY



PHOTO above: Bob McKee speaking at the '500' meeting in Lambeth. Full report of the meeting below.

### SCOTLAND

The political editor of 'Militant', Ted Grant, celebrated the 500th edition of the paper by carrying out a speaking tour in Scotland. At four meetings Ted outlined the programme of the paper, and took up the policies of the 'Tribune' group of the Labour Party.

At Dalkeith, he was joined by Councillor Dave Smith, who called for the common ownership of the means of production and wealth. More than 50 people attended the meeting and £70 was raised for the fighting fund.

At Perth, Ted spoke along-

side Alec Allen, convenor of the Robb Caledon shipyards. Alec described the struggle of the shipbuilding workers, faced with the onslaught of the 'corporate plan' which if allowed to go ahead would mean the destruction of the merchant shipbuilding industry.

Meetings were also held at Dunfermline, where 40 people attended raising £50, and at the university in Stirling, where 30 people came to hear the programme and perspectives put forward by 'Militant'.

At the Southwark 'Militant 500' meeting, one comrade marked the historic occasion making a magnificent sacrifice by donating £500 to the fighting fund! And in Hillingdon, more than 35 people

attended the rally.

'Militant 500' meetings were also held in Hounslow, Tottenham, Greenwich and Croydon.

Contributions from the floor covered in more detail the specific demands advocated in 'Militant' on the £80 minimum wage and the 35-hour week.

There was some discussion on 'Militant's' demands for a socialist solution in Northern Ireland.

The collection raised £61.

## TEESSIDE SUPPORTS DEMOCRATIC DEMANDS

Despite the campaign of the media to halt the growth of the left and moves to more democracy, the Labour Party is changing.

The Constituencies in the Teesside area have a reputation for being small parties and strongly to the right. Teesside Thornaby once fit that description but recent events show a wind of change. There were quite a few new delegates at the AGM and mostly new officers and a revitalised executive were elected.

At the next meeting there was discussion on the May 31 special conference—some felt it was a waste of time, but after the LPYS delegate to the General Committee, Charlotte Hann, spoke it was agreed to send a delegate and she was elected, to attend.

Also a resolution moved by B. Hopwood to the Inquiry calling for workplace branches, mandatory reselection and conference decisions to be in the manifesto and carried out by a Labour government, was carried without dissent. It read:

"Teesside Thornaby Constituency Labour Party recognises the importance of the present Commission of Inquiry in bringing forward proposals to strengthen the Labour Party. We believe it is important to build the party to defeat the Tories. There is a need for a mass membership, democratically controlled socialist Labour Party. To help achieve this and unity between the Labour Party, Trade Unions and the Parliamentary Labour party we urge—

★ Establishment of workplace branches with full affiliation rights and joint activity between the Labour Party and trade unions at local, regional and national level.

★ Mandatory reselection of MPs by the Constituency General Councils.

★ Annual Conference to be the highest body of the Labour Party and its decisions to be included in the manifesto and carried out by the PLP."

### LEEDS

For social workers caring for incontinent geriatrics, to take strike action would have a very immediate and drastic effect.

Yet such is the impact of the cuts that some of these people feel compelled to do just that on May 14th.

This was how Paul Dyson, a 'Militant' supporter for 13 years and a social worker explained how this section of workers is being pushed into action.

Paul was speaking at the Leeds rally held to celebrate the 500th edition of 'Militant'. Nearly 125 people crowded into the rally which was the biggest ever 'Militant' event to be held in Leeds.

Peter Taaffe, editor of 'Militant', described how the paper's ideas and analysis had been vindicated by events over the last 16 years, but added, "While we can congratulate ourselves in the building of support for Marxist ideas much has still to be done."

Peter explained how the cuts and other measures aimed at driving down workers' living standards are a direct symptom of the deep-rooted crisis in the bosses' system.

Ray Burrows, clerk of chapel in the NGA at the Leeds-based 'Yorkshire Evening Post' addressed the rally and showed how the present NGA dispute was an example of workers determined to defend their living standards they have built up over years.

Ray pointed out that 'Militant' has the responsibility of arming workers with a programme which can defeat the Tories and the system they represent.

An excellent £180 [before expenses] was raised at the rally.

By Jane McVeigh

### LAMBETH

The Thatcher government is attacking the social gains of the working class, not just because it is mean and callous. It is doing it because of the dictates of a capitalist economy in crisis.

That was the important message delivered by Lynn Walsh, Assistant Editor of 'Militant' to a meeting of over

### LONDON

At the '500' meeting in Wimbledon, the main speaker was Nick Bradley, a member of the London Labour Party Regional Executive. Nick outlined the changes in conditions and the mood of the working class in Britain over the past 30 years.

Alongside this he proposed the growth of Marxist ideas, and showed how the programme put forward by 'Militant' was becoming more and more relevant in the eyes of the labour movement.

In Hackney, more than 40 people attended to hear Bob Edwards, from Harlow LP, a long-standing supporter of the 'Militant'. £54 was raised for the fighting fund.

50 people at the Lambeth '500' meeting.

Lynn went on to argue that only 'Militant' faced up to the question of how the maintenance of the welfare state, full employment and a decent standard of living could be financed. It was impossible to achieve these tasks within the confines of a capitalist econ-

omy, as even those on the left of the Labour Party seemed to believe.

Bob McKee from Battersea Labour Party described the development of 'Militant' from a four-page monthly in 1964 to a 16-page weekly—over a period which exactly spanned his own participation in the labour movement.

## NOLS: No retreat on FE students!

By Alan Watson (NOLS NC, personal capacity)

The decision by the NOLS National Committee to block part-time students from joining NOLS this year is a blow to those Labour Clubs who want to build a working class base for NOLS in the FE and Technical Colleges.

Instead of deciding which categories of part-time students should be allowed to join, the NC have resurrected the notorious 'Structure Working Party' with a new name to recommend to the next NOLS conference which students will be allowed to join. The NC clearly hope that the right wing who oppose part-time students joining NOLS will have re-established a firm majority, and will be able to block part-time students altogether.

Every Labour Club who supported the right of part-time students to join NOLS should protest to the NC about this depolourable decision, which excludes part-time students for yet another year.

Many Labour Students have been very concerned about the allegations of forged membership at Glasgow University Labour Club. These allegations, made at the Club's AGM by retiring officers of the Club, are still to be answered. The NC turned down the writer's proposal to organise an

enquiry into this extremely serious situation. Instead, we were told that the Club were having an internal enquiry (!) and that the Labour Party Student Organiser was trying to investigate as well! Given the harsh treatment given to Clubs supporting 'Militant' in the past, for minor infringements of the rules, this is a very soft approach!

Another of the democratic gains made by 'Militant' supporters in NOLS has been abolished. 'Minority' documents have been abolished at NOLS conference. Instead, Clubs are to be allowed to amend the second half of each document, which outlines policy for NOLS. The documents are on 'Youth Politics,' and 'Peace, detente & disarmament.' However, the NC will not be able to stifle full democratic debate in Labour Clubs on these subjects through their manoeuvres.

The NC rejected a resolution calling for a budget of £50,000 for the LPYS, and the positions of Chairman and NEC member to be made full-time. They claimed the Party could not afford this. In opposing these demands, they line up with the right-wing of the Party, who also want to hold back the growth of the LPYS.

There was a minimum of political discussion at this



Labour students on an NUS demonstration against the cuts—since the present leadership of NOLS took over, there has not been one national demonstration called by the NOLS leaders

meeting. Because of considering 10 sets of Committee minutes, there was no time for the writer's resolutions on CIA infiltration of the Party, support for the AUEW strike at the Alan Smith Group, and other resolutions on Iraqi students and Ireland.

With the NOLS leadership openly disagreeing amongst themselves at NUS conference, the Editor of 'Labour Student' having failed to

bring out one edition since Christmas, and the new NC member for Scotland failing to make an appearance at this NC meeting, this is clearly a time of crisis for NOLS leadership. Years of opportunism are taking their toll. They clearly are completely incapable of organising any serious campaigns or a membership drive to increase the active membership of NOLS. Indeed, they act as a complete

fetter on the activity and growth of an active membership.

For five years, there has not been one NOLS national demonstration, rally, or any real campaign. When a Marxist leadership is established for NOLS, only then will we see the development of NOLS as a fighting socialist organisation.

# LEFT and RIGHT

## Hey Botha, leave those kids alone

While the Pink Floyd rock group may be the most popular band in the world, the racist South African ruling class are not so convinced—they have banned the number one record 'Another Brick in the Wall' on the basis that it is 'prejudicial to the safety of the State'. It's not that they are worried about the song's anti-education lyrics. But coloured students have been boycotting classes in protest against inferior educational standards, and in their protest marches they have changed the words of the song to: "We want equal facilities. We don't need no forced control. Hey, cops, leave us kids alone. All in all it's just another peaceful protest." ['Irish Times', May 3].

And these lyrics are far more heartfelt by the students than the silly anti-teacher message of the original song, which has the main refrain of 'Hey, Teacher, leave us kids alone.' The protesting school students don't want the teachers to leave them alone—far from it! In fact, over 1,000 teachers representing 150 schools came out this month in sympathy with their school students' demands.

## A martyr to the cause

Now all you greedy workers should learn a lesson from your betters. Britain is in trouble so therefore we must all make sacrifices. And in this capitalist system it means we should all take a pay cut, or at least stop trying to chase the ever-increasing cost of living by putting in for pay rises. Take private steel chief Robert Atkinson, for instance. He has agreed to take on the job of chairman of British Shipbuilders—and by doing so he is going to take a wage cut of £7,000 a year! But before you start passing the hat round for this poor martyr, remember that millions of people do not even earn seven grand a year, let alone mind losing it from their income without batting an eyelid. And when you consider that Atkinson's annual wage is dropping from £51,000 to £44,000, you may get the feeling that it's no sacrifice at all.

## The bureaucracy's new friend

Workers throughout the world will no doubt be glad to know that the bureaucracy in the USSR has obtained "a thorough exchange of opinion on the development of friendly, equal and mutually advantageous all-round relations between the two countries" ['Soviet Weekly' April 26]. The other country the 'Soviet Weekly' is referring to is Brazil. Since 1964 after a military coup, the Brazilian working class have been brutally suppressed by the ruling military dictatorship. Trade unionists and socialist activists are subjected to some of the most vicious methods of torture, even by the standards of the various Latin America dictatorships. Death squads have operated freely, murdering not only labour activists but religious leaders too. In 1977 the ruling dictator at that time, Geisel, said Brazil had reached 'relative democracy'—only a few weeks earlier 1,500 students were arrested. Only this month, riot police broke up meetings of striking metal workers, and in one attack more than 30 trade unionists were left badly injured. The new found friends of the Stalinists is a further example of how far removed the bureaucracy has become from the ideals of 1917. The 'friendly relations' with Brazil are not only a degradation of the ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, but are also a disgusting insult to the historic links and traditions of the international working class.

# THE REAL S.A.S.



The SAS—the ones who do the knocking off jobs which no one hears about.'

## The incidents at the Iranian Embassy siege last week gave a graphic illustration of the dangers of individual terrorism, and its reactionary consequences.

Marxists have always explained that for a few individuals to take on the whole might of the capitalist state is totally futile. But, more important for the labour movement, such acts of terrorism dangerously give aid to the hand of reaction.

With every bombing, kidnapping or assassination carried out by some small terrorist group, the ruling class can implement authoritarian measures which can be used against the working people, or, as was the case with last week's events, they can justify existing repressive arms of the state.

An example of this can be seen in Italy—after the campaign of bombings and shootings by the Red Brigades, the government has introduced an anti-terrorist Bill, which allows 'suspects' to be held for up to 12 years on suspicion alone!

And now the bosses can justify the SAS. Before their 'James Bond' style operation at the Embassy there was a virtual conspiracy of silence over the 'dirty tricks' and ruthless operations carried out by this group—even the bosses' press was embarrassed by the SAS's tactics and worried of the anger publicity would provoke.

Yet the Embassy operation gave them the ideal opportunity to portray the SAS as the 'unsung' heroes and the defenders of freedom. But workers have to look no further than the activities of this undercover group in Northern Ireland to see the SAS in their true light.

The Tory press made great play of the fitness and high intelligence of the hand-picked members of the SAS—but they by-passed the other 'skills' necessary. Tucked away in an article on the SAS in the 'Now' magazine was this paragraph: "Less delicate skills are also perfected. One SAS man spoke of the 'psychos'—'The ones who do the knocking off jobs which no one hears about'."

given the task had it emphasised to him that Black was an exceptionally dangerous subversive and that he had no opportunity during his brief, special visit to Ulster to check the truth of what he had been told." In this case the 'subversive' was a part time soldier who stumbled on the army's real 'peacekeeping' activities—how easy it would be to set up a trade union activist in the same way.

It is clear the SAS are carrying out assassinations in Northern Ireland; despite the Tory press trying to cover up these operations.

In March 1977, eight members of the SAS were caught crossing the Irish border—according to the Tory press they had innocently got lost! Having told how professional and expert the SAS are, how they train in the Welsh mountains in the middle of winter and so on, they expect us to believe the SAS merrily wandered over the border without realising it.

But what the Tory press didn't report was that one of the firearms found on them was a sawn off, pump action shotgun—the ideal assassination weapon as the pellets cannot be traced to the weapon which fired them.

The SAS were officially sent into Northern Ireland in 1976—however, it is clear from reports from soldiers who served in the area, that they were there from the very outset of the 'troubles'. But it appears their tactic of assassination began in earnest in 1977—by the first half of the next year six men connected with either the Provos or the Irish Republican Socialist Party (the political wing of the INLA) were each shot dead by what the army termed as a 'plain clothes military patrol'.

It appears the SAS weren't after active members of these groups alone, but also shot sympathisers in tit-for-tat killings. An example was the killing of Patrick Duffy, a supporter of the Provos, who was mown down as he drove up to his home with his daughter and grandchild—the army claimed they fired in self defence when Duffy tried to seize a gun. But his family explained he had suffered a recent stroke which had paralysed his left arm and he was incapable of fast movement.

The 'mistakes' by the SAS show their complete disregard for human life. John Boyle, a 16 year old school boy died in a hail of bullets after he went to see if an arms cache in a

grave yard, which he had reported to the police the day before, had been moved. The SAS were lying in ambush, obviously with no intent to arrest anybody, and opened fire.

Similarly, John Taylor was shot dead while duck shooting in the country—again by an army 'undercover unit'. The army admitted two days later it was a mistake, but as usual no action was taken against his killers.

The ferocity of an SAS ambush can be judged by an incident in Belfast in 1978. Three bomb carrying Provos and one innocent bystander were shot dead by the SAS outside a post depot—one of the Provos was hit by 63 bullets!

But while the murder attempt on UDR man William Black, the deathly 'mistakes', and the assassination of republican sympathisers seem horrific enough, it appears the SAS in Northern Ireland have been involved in far more sinister activities.

But it is not just the SAS who are perfecting their tactics of terror in protection of the capitalist state—there are numerous secret military services which carry out not just deadly assassinations but are perfecting the techniques of surveillance and interrogation.

It is clear that Northern Ireland is a training ground for these groups—and will be used against the labour movement in this country when it comes into conflict with the capitalist class. Already the police—and the elite body of the SPG—use riot shields and military style operations against mass pickets and anti-fascist demonstrations. During the steel strike regional strike headquarters had their phones tapped. And activists who have completed courses at the trade union college in Harlech have reported on more than one occasion students taking the course who happened to be 'ex-members' of the SAS.

The operation at the Iranian Embassy has given the bosses class the perfect opportunity to present the SAS as the unsung heroes who will protect the people from evil; workers must see through this hypocrisy and identify the SAS and other military secret groups for what they are: a highly trained, deadly arm of the state who will be used against the working people when they threaten the privileges and wealth of the capitalist class.

By Bob Wade



# LABOUR PARTY REGIONAL CONFERENCES

## WELSH LABOUR PARTY

# Recruit for the fight against the Tories

By  
**Kenneth Smith**  
(Welsh Labour Party EC,  
personal capacity)

The Welsh Labour Party regional conference meets this weekend [16th & 17th May] after twelve months of enormous upheavals in Wales. Since the last conference we have seen the decimation of industry within the region by the Tory government.

Areas like Port Talbot and Llanwern are threatened with wholesale closure, with effects for miles around. Even small shopkeepers, whom the Tories supposedly represent will be forced to close down due to the spin off effects of cuts and closures.

Wales, already an area of high unemployment and chronic living conditions, faces the prospect of being turned into an industrial wasteland full of ghost towns by insane Tory policies.

It is more crucial than at any time before that a clear lead is given from this conference by the Labour and Trade Union movement in Wales.

The past year has seen enormous movements of workers, not only in Steel and Coal but also at smaller factories such as Rosedale and the one day general strike on January 28th when thousands of workers marched through the streets of Cardiff.

There have been mini general strikes in the towns of Newport and Port Talbot with demonstrations of 10,000 in each town. The Welsh working class has shown its willingness to fight, but a certain amount of confusion still remains due to the lack of a clear leadership.

A two-year delay or moratorium against closures in the steel industry has been demanded by most unions directly involved. Whilst most workers would correctly see this as a victory against Thatcher and her government, it would still leave the workers in the same position two years hence, with even fewer jobs to go to, and a Tory

government prepared for struggle against those workers.

The most crucial question to the working people of Wales is how to stop the Tory policies, not on a regional basis as is suggested by some trade union leaders, but on a national level by kicking out the Tory government.

The resolutions before conference however are confused and there is a certain stifling of the anger against the Tories. They are not an articulate reflection of the fighting mood amongst the workers in Wales.

### Fighting mood of Welsh workers

The Cardiff North resolution takes up one of the key questions facing workers in the nationalised industries and that is of workers actually controlling those industries they work in, in their own interests and not the interests of the capitalist class, as is done by the stooges who run them at present.

There is also an important resolution from Cardigan CLP calling for special priority to be given to building the LPYS as part of the campaign to get rid of the Tories.

Cardigan CLP has an amendment on import controls, which will form part of a crucial debate at conference, rejecting import controls as being able to solve the crisis of British capitalism. They offer no way forward out of the crisis for the working class in Wales, Britain or internationally.

Whether or not a lead is given from this conference, the questions and problems facing the Labour movement in Wales will remain. The instinctive class consciousness of the Welsh workers has been shown many times this year, not least against Sir Keith Joseph.

The key question is how to tap this mood and to recruit these workers into the Labour Party in the thick of the battle against the Tories.

## NORTHERN REGION TORY CATASTROPHE



Newcastle 1980—Labour has the responsibility of ensuring a decent future for these children

# SOCIALIST ANSWER

“Suicide attempts have gone up by 30% in parts of the North East where unemployment is particularly high.

“Last year we received over 1½ million calls and a quarter of these were from people under 25, many of these teenagers, and some even younger. Young people unable to see any hope of a job.”

That was the grim report of the Newcastle Samaritans according to the local paper, the ‘Newcastle Journal’, on April 21st.

During just seven days in the middle of the same month, the Northern region lost 2,000 jobs. The losses were in both old and new industries. One in five of those who left school last year are still jobless in this region.

The future, when the Financial Times reckons the depth of the recession may not be reached until the middle of next year or even later, is terrible.

Hartlepool gives a horrifying glimpse of the future. 15% of the male workforce are now without jobs—7,000 disappeared in six years, and a mere 595 arrived through job creation. For every vacancy there are 30 people to fill it—the national average is 6.9.

It is against this background that the Regional Conference of the Northern Region meets. Only the labour and trade union movement can offer an alternative to the catastrophe which faces us.

From a capitalist system in crisis we can only expect large scale attempts to increase

By  
**John Pickard**

unemployment, to cut our living standards—in short to make the workers pay for the crisis of the bosses’ system.

This is no short term crisis that will somehow disappear. We face either a decade of savage austerity or a socialist alternative from the labour movement.

This is the reality and it has to be explained. Illusions in utopian ideas will not benefit our movement nor the working class. On the basis of our economy being owned and controlled by the banks and major companies it is utopian to believe that unemployment, cuts in public expenditure, bad housing and so on can be solved by government assistance or by the appointment of a Minister for the North.

17 years of post war Labour governments shows that a government which remains within the framework of the capitalist system will be forced to carry out the policies of big business. They dictate where investment will go and how many jobs are created.

The anger generated by attacks on public expenditure is shown by the number of resolutions on this subject. The labour movement must offer a real fighting programme.

Such a fight involves adopting the ideas of no cuts, no rate increases. The campaigns already mounted should begin by explaining why the cuts

are taking place, how they are made to boost profits and how the banks milk local authorities through the enormous levels of interest debt repayments.

Through leaflets and meetings a campaign could be organised to draw in the mass support for the actions which councillors could take in resisting cut-backs and to explain the socialist alternative.

The fight back has to start now—we cannot wait simply for the return of a Labour government.

In housing, the Tories are trying to line the pockets of their friends in the banks and finance houses. In an excellent review of housing and jobs in South Tyneside (Demolishing the Myths) it is pointed out that 816 houses were sold by South Tyneside council in the early 1970s.

The result—the waiting list has increased in 1978/79 by 30% and it is now longer than it was in 1974. But what of financial gain? Well the review points out that in Nottingham they sold 5,000 houses and initially gained £1½ million each year.

But the total long term cost will be £75 million. In addition to causing housing shortages, the loss of revenues by councils means either an increase in rents for all tenants or an increase on the rates.

The only people to benefit in the long run are the finance houses. As the resolution from Wallsend CLP points out, only measures such as “a crash programme of house-building linked with the nationalisation of the building monopolies and finance companies...linked to a socialist plan of production can offer any hope of decent living conditions at a reasonable cost.”

Northern Region Labour Party  
Conference—Militant Readers’  
Meeting

‘After 14th May... Bring down  
the Tories’  
Saturday 17th May, 7.30 pm, in  
the Collingwood Room, Park  
Hotel, Tynemouth. Speakers:  
John Pickard and Peter Doyle  
(in personal capacity).

It is this sort of programme which explains the ruthless character of a profit motivated society and offers a socialist alternative which is needed. The Northern Region cannot be seen in isolation—only a national programme can solve our regional problems.

But we need more than just a programme—words have to be translated into action and for this we need a movement which can reach into every cranny of society. The building of a mass party is a priority but linked to this we have to make sure that members have a real say in the running and control of the party.

That is why reselection of MPs logically should be extended. The election of party leader and the whole shadow cabinet should be put in the hands of party conference—our supreme decision-making body.

Democracy and accountability are all, however, tied in with the building of a mass membership. A direct link with the working class would be through the establishment of factory branches.

This would give us a real link with the opinions and feelings of the grass-roots and it would act as a direct channel to communicate the ideas and decisions of the Labour Party.

With the present feeling of hatred towards the Tories we should seize upon the opportunity to build such organisations.

# From Supermac to Plunder

The letter we publish below was sent by the writer, Trevor Curtain, to the 'South Wales Evening Post'. So far he has received no acknowledgement of the letter or any indication whether it will be printed.

Dear Sir

I voted for the Conservatives and subscribed to the Party funds in the 1979 general election, but I didn't vote for a millionaire's government!

The Thatcher government is in general a resurgence of Victorian gunboat brains, also applying economics of relevant vintage, but loosely corked and sour!

For the Prime Minister to yelp like a Russell terrier at a Mighty Bear is not expedient; it is undoing all the good work of Harold Macmillan who worked so hard to foster good relations between the East and West when he was Prime Minister.

In June 1952 when I was a Conservative official I was privileged to a lengthy chat with Harold Macmillan when he was Minister of Housing during his visit to Swansea as a guest speaker at a dinner in the Brangwyn Hall.

During our discussion, Mr Macmillan, with an expression of sincerity said to me, "my objective is to have full employment and people respectably housed, and the lowest paid worker earning enough wages to really live! Not merely exist." I felt moved by such a statement, and was convinced that Harold Macmillan really

In the opinion of 'Militant', the fact that the Tory Party has abandoned the 'statesmanlike' moderation of the Macmillan leadership for the crassly insensitive Thatcher clique has not primarily been a question of personality.

The economic prosperity of the Macmillan era allowed the first party of capitalism to present itself as representing 'one nation' and to carry on the 'Welfare

State' policies of the previous Labour government.

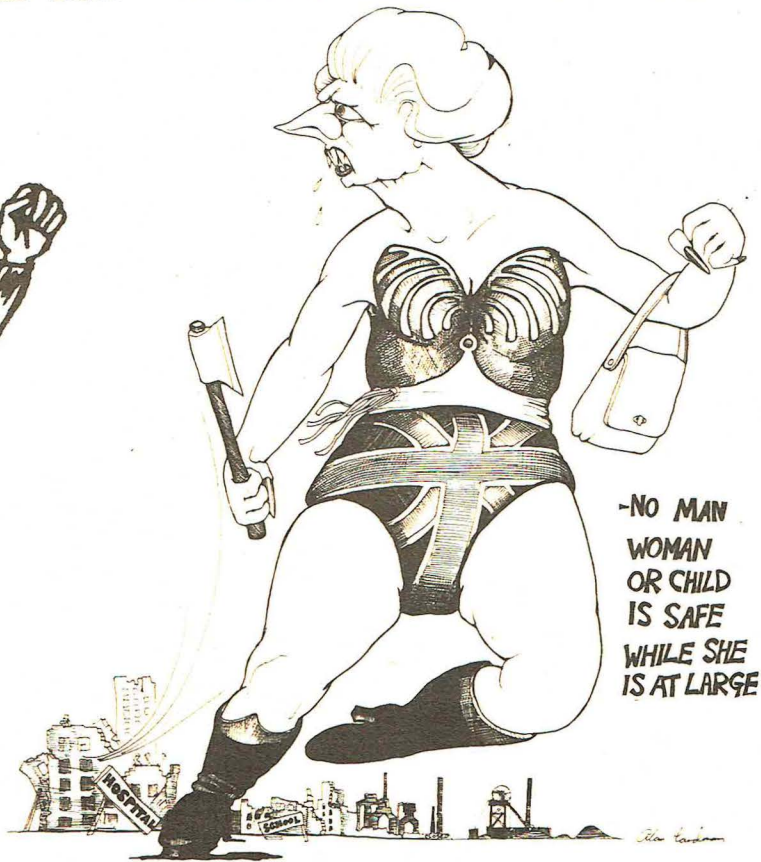
The upswing has now given way to a desperate capitalist crisis and the Tories have turned to the brutal policies of Thatcher, despite the misgivings of many Tory strategists.

However, the letter shows the change in opinion of many people who were duped into voting Tory at last year's election—Editors

## Woman A BREAK WITH TORY TRADITION?



Vicky's cartoon of 'Supermac' in 1957



-NO MAN  
WOMAN  
OR CHILD  
IS SAFE  
WHILE SHE  
IS AT LARGE

cared for ordinary people and was a genuinely good man!

Behind the dignified front of Harold Macmillan was a very warm heart of affection and trust in other people, graced with humility.

Mr Macmillan's philosophy, abounding in human

affection, blossomed to reality whilst he was Prime Minister in 1959 when 'we never had it so good,' but some of his greedy and foolish ministers badly and sadly let him down!

In the 1920s and '30s millions of Britishers were born in poverty and were

docile and ignorant.

Today, the rapidly swelling army of unemployed have lived a good life, and are a totally different breed of people who will become violent when their financial resources dry up. It will indeed be an army to be feared!

Mrs Thatcher and her foolish ministers could prove more effective than many thousands of highly trained communist agents, and lead us into a bloody revolution, and drive the Conservative Party into a political wilderness along with the bleating Liberals.

Arise Conservatives—snap out of cuckoo land, and stop this government which like a 'devil on horseback' is driving this country to hell!

Trevor Curtain  
Swansea

## WALES TUC- NO MIDDLE ROAD

The Wales TUC conference wholeheartedly condemned the policies of the Tory government, urging all trade unions to take the strongest possible action on 14 May.

One delegate, Muriel Browning from Llanelli Trades Council, asked why the TUC hadn't "called a spade a spade?" Why didn't the leadership call for a clear-cut one-day general strike, linked to organising mass rallies and meetings?

"The timid response from trade union leaders only leads to confusion among our members. A clear bold call is needed."

To the astonishment of many delegates, John Wheatley, AUEW, defended the calibre of British management as "one of the best in the world given," he added "the right conditions." He went on to defend the "responsible" role of the press and urged the trade union movement to behave in a responsible manner as well.

Conference, undeterred, went on to condemn the Tory Employment Bill and decla-

red its "determination to defend, by whatever means necessary, the hard-won rights of trade unions." A large number of resolutions were submitted on the disaster facing the steel industry, calling on the TUC to defend "by all industrial means," the right to work and full employment. Some delegates were critical of the Wales' TUC's call for a 'two year reprieve,' of steel industry jobs.

"What about the situation after two years?" they asked. "We'll be in the same boat."

The next twelve months will be crucial for the working class in Wales. The disaster that capitalism offers can only be defeated by a trade union movement prepared to take on the Tories, opening the way for the socialist transformation of society. There is no middle road.

By Rob Sewell

## USDAW -BUILDING A FIGHTING UNION

Low pay and long hours. These were seen as the most burning problems facing shop and distribution workers at the 1980 Annual Delegate Meeting of USDAW.

Composite 54, which outlined the Broad Left's solution to the misery of poverty wages, calling on the Executive Council to press for a basic minimum wage of £70 for 35 hours and oppose all forms of incomes policy, using industrial action if necessary, was carried overwhelmingly.

In seconding the composite, the delegate from Ipswich Co-operative, Martin Spurling, called for a proper campaign on wages, not limited to stickers and glossy leaflets, but involving the membership. Only by mobilising the full strength of the union can the weaker sections of USDAW hope to win this kind of settlement.

One of the most crucial debates was on Labour Party democracy. A statement by the EC supported the position whereby the election of the Party leader was left to MPs,

By Chris Ridge and  
George Williamson  
(USDAW)

re-selection of MPs was carried out in two stages as outlined in the 1978 'Mikardo compromise', and responsibility for the manifesto was left with the Party leader.

Composite 37, supported by the Broad Left, rejected this and called on USDAW delegates to support the democratic changes of the 1979 Labour Party Conference. In moving, Jeff Price of Newcastle explained that it is essential to have mandatory re-selection to avoid the mistakes of the 1974-79 Labour government, which in many instances became out of touch with the wishes of Labour's ranks.

Referring to re-selection, a delegate from London Co-op, who joined the Labour Party in 1919 at the age of 17, said, "I have a right to know my MP is standing for the policies I support." He urged delegates to support the

proposed reforms, "so I can have the will to carry on the fight."

Unfortunately the composite was lost on a card vote. The general secretary, Bill Whatley, confused the issue by suggesting those who supported these changes seemed more interested in attacking the Labour Party and the last Labour government than the Tories!

The question of party democracy will, however, return to the agenda. Experience will show it is directly linked to fighting the Tories and returning a socialist Labour government capable of defending the interests of USDAW members.

A youth section was demanded in a composite calling for a national youth conference, and involvement of young members at all levels of the union. While this was lost on a show of hands, the general secretary pointed out that local branches may federate and form youth groups on a district or divisional basis. This opportunity must be seized upon by USDAW youth members to draw new younger members into activity.

Conference marked another

move to the left in USDAW. The experience of this Tory government will increase support for the Broad Left and, within that, the ideas of the 'Militant' as the only ones capable of providing a lasting solution to the problems our members and our union face.

Nearly 200 copies of the new pamphlet 'A Fighting Socialist Programme for USDAW' were sold, along with a record number of papers.

The USDAW Broad Left can look forward to future ADMs with confidence, after their sweeping successes in this year's union elections. The left won a large majority on the TUC delegation for 1980, and increased considerably their representation on the Labour Party delegation, with 'Militant' supporters among them, and on the Standing Orders Committee.

By learning from the mistakes of the right wing and campaigning for support in the union, the Broad Left will be able to secure much greater support still, in Divisional and Executive Council elections next year, and go forward in building a fighting union.

# TITO

The post-war split between Russia and Yugoslavia gave rise to the myth that Tito was "different", with wide-spread illusions that his regime was less dictatorial, more democratic than Stalin's.

Despite Tito's undoubted popularity as the leader of the mass guerrilla struggle which liberated the country from Nazi domination, however, the Yugoslav leader established a proletarian bonapartist regime fundamentally no different from that in Russia.

Following the death on 4 May of Josip Broz "Tito" [1892-1980] Lynn Walsh describes how he came to power.

The conflict between Tito and Stalin also gave rise to the idea that Tito pursued an independent line from the beginning. Many of the recent tributes and obituaries imply that Tito began the Partisan war with the conscious aim of separating himself from Moscow and establishing an independent 'Communist' Yugoslavia. Nothing could be further from the truth.

When the guerrilla war was launched against the Nazi occupiers in 1941, there was no one more loyal to Stalin's Comintern than Tito.

Hitler invaded Yugoslavia early in April 1941, ordering the country to be pulverised "with merciless brutality." Yet the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party still accepted the Comintern's characterisation of the war as a conflict between fascist rivals. It was only after the Nazi-Soviet pact was shattered by Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union, that the armed struggle was begun.

Tito responded to Stalin's appeal for guerrilla struggle behind the German lines by establishing General Headquarters for National Liberation Partisan Detachments, and transforming the Communist Party into a military organisation.

The Comintern leadership saw guerrilla struggle in countries like Yugoslavia essentially as a part of the "defence of the USSR," as a supplement to the bureaucracy's newly-formed alliance with the capitalist democracies. "Remember," Stalin's Comintern organiser Dimit-

rov warned Tito, "that at present it is a question of liberation from Fascist domination and not a question of socialist revolution."

This "popular front" approach was not challenged by Tito. When the partisans in Montenegro, where the Communist Party was strong, scored rapid successes against the Nazis and began to establish local Soviets, Tito sent his lieutenant 'Tempo' to curb the partisans and disband the Soviets.

Loyalty to Stalin's policies was hardly surprising in the light of Tito's record. He had joined the Yugoslav Communist Party in the early 20s after serving for a period with the Red Guards in Russia. Conscripted into the Austrian army, he had been held as a prisoner-of-war in Russia during the first world war, and was liberated by the Bolsheviks in 1917. But Tito had emerged as a leader in the Yugoslav CP in 1928, when the Yugoslav party like the other European 'Communist' parties, was already completely dominated by Moscow and its leadership had become a tool of the Russian bureaucracy. Later Tito went to Moscow and worked in the Balkan secretariat of the Comintern. Stalin's assessment of his loyalty and 'reliability' may be gauged from the fact that he was made General Secretary of the Yugoslav CP following the ruthless purging of the Yugoslav CP's leaders, over 100 of whom were murdered by Stalin's secret police.

Stalin was not to know that it was a case of driving out Satan (his current opponents) with Beelzebub (his future opponent). It was not pre-meditated 'Titoist' plans for independence, but the momentum of the struggle in Yugoslavia which carried the Yugoslav leader to power and

brought him into conflict with Stalin's leadership.

Tito proved himself to be a tenacious, skilful, and extremely courageous guerrilla leader. Unaided from outside until mid-1943, the Partisans held down 18 German, Italian and 'Quisling' divisions. The German armies made repeated attempts to exterminate the Partisans, and came near to success several times in the course of a ferocious war.

The mountainous areas provided an ideal refuge for the Partisans. But above all the peasantry in most areas was sympathetic to the Partisans, and helped to sustain them. The brutal methods of the occupying Axis powers, particularly the Nazi rulers, drove more and more of the youth to join the Partisans.

Despite Tito's adherence to the 'Popular Front' line, the fight against the Nazis spilled over into a civil war from the beginning. This process was speeded up by the intervention of Mihailović and his Cetnik movement. Mihailović also claimed to be leading an anti-Nazi movement for national liberation. But he was officially Minister of War in the Royalist government-in-exile, and this reactionary monarchist was closely linked with the old ruling class. His idea of 'national liberation' owed more to Serbian chauvinism than genuine support for a re-unified, independent Yugoslavia.

Mihailović showed that his opposition to Nazi occupation was outweighed by his opposition to the Communist-led Partisans, and he cynically collaborated with the German and Italian occupying armies against Tito's Partisan forces.

By 1942 the Partisans comprised over 80,000 men and women. In the liberated areas which were opened up, the Partisan leaders, through the Committees of Liberation, unavoidably assumed responsibility for the local administration. The old state had been smashed to pieces by the Germans, and surviving officials and property owners carried on only through collaboration with the Fascists. When they, together with Mihailović's forces, were pushed out of areas, it left only the Partisans to take control.

The core of the Partisan armies, moreover, were the 'Proletarian Brigades,' formed from the most energetic and committed of the young workers who joined the struggle. They were certainly not fighting to restore the old ruling class, or to accept collaborators. There was enormous pressure, despite the liberation army's commitment to respect private property, to carry through a social and political revolution.

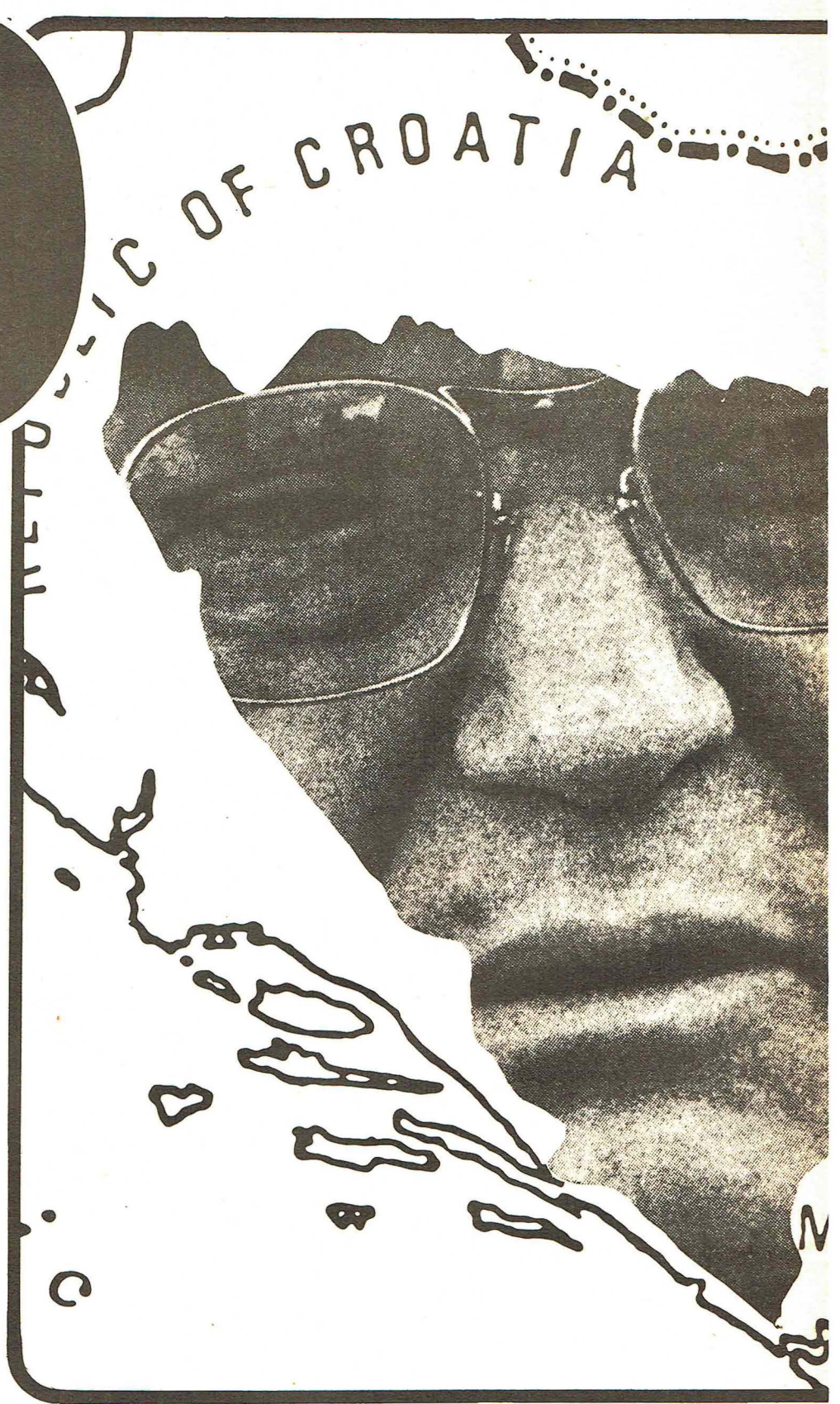
The Soviet bureaucracy constantly attempted to restrain Tito. They even urged that he should continue to work with Mihailović, and Moscow Radio, infuriating Tito, even attributed the Partisan's successes to Mihailović's right-wing Cetniks.

Tito constantly requested assistance from Russia, but was repeatedly told that the Soviet Union was in no position to help. Tito received

no financial aid from Russia until 1944, after the British government had already begun to give Tito significant support. However, although the Partisans were frequently in a desperate position, fighting without any medical supplies for instance, the lack of aid from Moscow had its advantages—it freed Tito from the direct interference that aid would certainly have entailed and gave him much greater freedom of action.

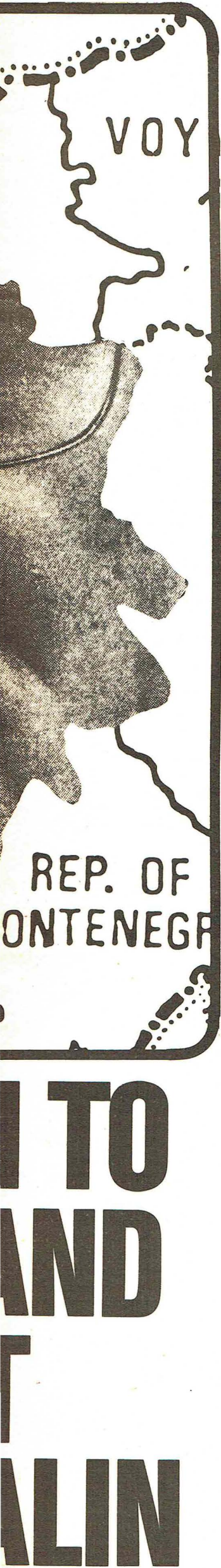
When, later, Dimitrov warned him against turning the National Anti-Fascist Council (the AVNOJ) into a government, Tito accepted the letter of Moscow's advice, but steadily moved towards forming the nucleus of a new government.

Tito set up a National Liberation Executive Committee, which soon became a *de facto* government in the liberated areas.



## THE PARTISAN POWER- CONFLICT WITH STALIN





Members of the Communist Partisan leadership in their mountain headquarters, 1943. Second from right, Rankovich with Djilas [head and shoulders]; Tito in the centre, with Zhuyovich behind him and Hebrang next to him; Piyade and Kardelj on the right.

In a later article, 'Militant' will analyse post-war developments and perspectives for Yugoslavia after Tito.

Liberation Committees to be the sole lawful authority of the people of Yugoslavia, and announced the formation of a Provisional Government for the whole country. It had its own presidium and executive committee with full governmental powers, and decisively replaced the King and the Royalist government-in-exile.

This set the alarm bells ringing in Moscow. Manuilsky warned a Yugoslav CP representative in Moscow: "The boss [meaning Stalin] is extremely angry. He says it is a stab in the back for the Soviet Union and Tehran decisions." Stalin feared that Tito's moves towards the 'Sovietisation' of Yugoslavia would alarm Churchill and Roosevelt, with whom he had agreed "spheres of influence," according to which Yugoslavia would be 50/50 under Russian and Western capitalist influence. A Western reaction against Tito's bold measures could, in Stalin's view, delay the opening of the 'Second Front' in western Europe, the paramount aim of Stalin's strategy at that point.

But Tito had arrived within grasp of power through the heroic struggle and enormous sacrifices of the Partisan movement, and he had no intention of deferring to Stalin on fundamental issues. "We do not wish to be used as small change in international bargaining."

From mid-1943 Tito's forces had received valuable support from the British government, which finally dumped the pro-Fascist Mihailovic, and recognised that the Partisans were the only viable liberation movement in Yugoslavia. In September 1943, moreover, the Italian armies surrendered, the Partisans were able to help themselves to the arms and supplies of ten Italian divisions, and thousands of Italian soldiers volunteered to join the Partisans.

There was still bitter fighting in the final stages of the war. The Partisans' ranks swelled to over 800,000 men and women. However, the war against the Axis forces, and the civil war within Yugoslavia, claimed about 1.7 million dead, over 10% of the pre-war population.

But through their own efforts, and with only a token presence of Russian forces, the Partisans inflicted a devastating defeat on the retreating German forces. Throughout the country, the Committees of Liberation took over power. There was nobody else to step into the vacuum left by the Nazis. The Partisan armies' command structure already formed the

embryo of a new state apparatus, and the Partisan leaders assumed power, with Tito at their head as the undisputed leader of a new regime.

As with Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and the other East European and Balkan countries which were rapidly being transformed into satellites of the Russian bureaucracy, Stalin attempted to impose his control over the Yugoslav party, and bring the new regime firmly under his domination. But Tito had come to power, not on the bayonets of the Red Army like other Stalinist leaders in Eastern Europe, but through an independent armed struggle waged on the basis of mass support. Tito's power did not depend on Moscow, and the Partisan leader saw no reason why he should now volunteer for the role of Stalin's Yugoslav puppet.

There was a brief period of co-operation between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, with economic relations being established. On the surface, it appeared that Yugoslavia was now firmly planted within the 'Eastern Bloc.' But beneath the surface, the tension between the new Yugoslav leadership and the Russian bureaucracy steadily increased. After a brief honeymoon, Yugoslavia was expelled from the Cominform (Stalin's replacement from the Comintern, dissolved in 1943).

In an hysterical propaganda campaign aimed at undermining Tito's support, and at swinging the world's Communist Parties against the Yugoslav leadership, the Kremlin poured out a torrent of criticisms and allegations against Tito and the Yugoslav CP. According to Moscow, Tito was following a "criminal policy" which was "hostile to the Soviet Union" and "beginning to identify with the imperialist powers."

One Cominform statement criticised the undemocratic appointment of officials from above and the limits on free criticism within the party. It accused Tito of maintaining in the CP a "disgraceful, purely Turkish, terrorist regime." Criticising the efforts to build up a "Führer" complex around Tito, the Cominform leadership denounced Tito's dictatorial methods, attacking the use of the secret police to purge opposition within the party.

This was a clear case of the pot calling the kettle black. What right had Stalin, who eliminated a whole generation of old Bolsheviks, to criticise dictatorial methods? Criticism of Tito's "Führer" complex was almost laughable in view of the "cult of person-

ality" built up around Stalin. However, because there was a large element of truth in the Kremlin's allegations, despite their manifest hypocrisy, the propaganda campaign caused confusion throughout the world labour movement. What could lie behind such a split?

The real reason for the conflict was not fundamental social or political differences between Russia and Yugoslavia, but Tito's resistance to total domination by Stalin.

The Russian bureaucracy placed its own national interest before anything else. When the Red Armies took over the countries of Eastern Europe and carried through a 'Sovietisation', it would have been impossible for Russia to annex these new states without provoking enormous national antagonisms. Nevertheless, Stalin was determined that although there would be nominal independence for the satellites, their regimes would be totally subordinated to Moscow.

However, when Stalin attempted through the intervention of his secret police to take direct control of the state and party apparatus in Yugoslavia, he met with fierce resistance. The Yugoslav CP leadership had fought its own way to power, they had an independent basis of mass support, and were not prepared to be subordinated in this way.

Tito did not want Yugoslav "communism" to be "different", simply independent. In its new, historically progressive economic foundations and its dictatorial political structure, Yugoslavia was now the same as Russia.

Although not dependent on the Russian Red Army, Tito used the same political manoeuvres in taking power as the Stalinist leaders in Eastern Europe. To appease the capitalist powers, five non-Communist Party members were included in the Provisional Government which took over in March 1945. The Anti-Fascist Council was also enlarged to include some members of Yugoslavia's pre-war parliament.

In the elections to the Constituent Assembly, the Communist Party was merged into a Popular Front which included individual anti-Fascist members of some of the older parties. But the leaders of the old capitalist parties, like the Radicals, the Democrats, the Croatian Peasants, the Slavian Populists, etc., which had played no part in

the struggle against the Nazis, had no real basis in the country. Some of their leaders were given a few public positions as a temporary expedient. But the real power was always in the hands of the CP leadership, the Partisan commanders, and their security services.

The Constituent Assembly elections were really a plebiscite in support of Tito, and predictably there was an almost 100% vote for the Popular Front candidates. Soon, the leaders of the old capitalist parties were removed from all positions, and many of them were tried and executed or jailed for long periods. Systematic methods were, as Moscow alleged, made to build a personality cult around the figure of Tito.

If Tito used dictatorial, bonapartist methods to install his new regime, however, he and his leadership nevertheless commanded enormous popular support as a result of the liberation struggle. A firm basis was secured for the regime, moreover, especially amongst the industrial working class and the poor peasants, by the progressive social and economic measures that were carried through, which transformed Yugoslavia from a backward capitalist country into a modern state with a nationalised, centrally-planned economy.

In August 1945 an agrarian reform was carried through. Since there were few rich land owners left after the pre-war reforms, the new laws were aimed primarily at the non-farming owners. All estates above 30 hectares owned by non-farmers were expropriated, and also the land owned by farmers in excess of that amount. Land farmed by expelled German farmers was also expropriated and most of the expropriated or confiscated land was distributed free to 330,000 poor or landless peasant families, primarily those of veteran or dead Partisans. The remainder was kept for state-owned enterprises, or for the first collective farms. Shortly afterwards, all peasant debts were cancelled.

In the industrial and commercial sector of the economy, the immediate post-war period was marked by the radical transformation of property relations, through the processes of confiscation, expropriation and nationalisation.

In so far as they were not already German-owned, most big firms had been over by the Nazis in the course of the war. As early as November 1944, the property of enemy nationals, war criminals, and

collaborators was placed under government control in liberated territory. In December 1946, there was not much left to expropriate, when industrial enterprises and mines, wholesale and foreign trade enterprises, banks and transport facilities were formally nationalised.

As for retail trade, it was also taken under state control through a system of licensing. By the time of the expropriation law passed in April 1947, which provided for the expropriation of any private property if made necessary by the public interest, the only large group of survivors of private enterprise, apart from the peasants, were the craftsmen.

These measures laid the basis for the reconstruction of Yugoslavia's shattered economy and paved the way for a general improvement in living standards, which, although slow and uneven, was much faster than could have been achieved had capitalist continued.

Almost two years before any other of the Stalinist satellites in Eastern Europe, Yugoslavia launched the first 5-year plan in 1947. The progressive nationalisation measures placed powerful tools in the hands of the state, which enabled the government to increase capital formation and achieve economic growth at an unsurpassed pace, though at a considerable cost to the workers and the peasants.

This, then, was Stalinism without Stalin, presided over by a Stalinist leader in conflict with Stalin himself. Landlordism and capitalism had been abolished and fundamentally progressive property relations introduced. But as in Russia after the coming to power of the bureaucracy and the suppression of the workers' democracy created by the October revolution, the centrally planned economy was controlled by a bureaucratic elite.

Despite the breach with the Russian leadership and the development of some economic links with Western capitalist countries, moreover, Yugoslavia remained fundamentally within the "Eastern bloc". The development of Yugoslavia's economy and the appearance of political contradictions paralleled developments in the other Stalinist states throughout the whole post-war period. Events in Yugoslavia have never ceased to be affected by events throughout Eastern Europe, or themselves to have an effect on developments in the other Stalinist states.



# NICARAGUA- towards a new Cuba?

The overthrow of the Nicaraguan dictator Somoza in July 1979, marked the beginning of a new wave of social turmoil and revolution in Central America. The absolute impasse of capitalism internationally, including US capitalism, on which the 'Banana' republics are totally dependent has had a ruthless effect on these countries.

In the midst of such a crisis, the workers and peasants of Central America, aroused and encouraged by the Sandinistas' victory over Somoza, are mobilising to overthrow the military dictatorships and the tiny local oligarchies who virtually own and control the entire economies. But the leaders of these revolutions, who are mainly middle class students and intellectuals, will find it impossible to solve the masses' misery on the basis of capitalism.

They advocate a 'mixed' economy: a state sector composed of the property expropriated from the oligarchy and foreign industrialists to serve the basic needs of the masses and a 'prosperous' private sector which would compete on the world market and produce the country's main wealth.

These were the original intentions of the Cuban revolution, in the late 1950s, until it was forced to take a different path. The turnaround then came about because of the incapacity of the private sector to solve the workers' and peasants' misery, combined with the idiocy of American imperialism—which miscalculated Castro's real aims in trying to convert Cuba into the 'US of the Caribbean'—and launched an offensive against the revolution pushing it to the left.

Only a planned economy could guarantee the Cuban people their basic requirements. Castro's Cuba failed to establish a prosperous mixed economy in the period of relative capitalist stabilisation on a world scale of the

By Alejandro Rojas

early 1960s. How bleak then are the prospects for the Sandinista (FSLN) leadership putting Nicaragua on its feet by following the same route, especially at a time when the US is no longer in a position to 'buy-up' third world regimes through economic aid, as it was able to in the past.

By the end of the liberation war in July 1979, Nicaragua was almost totally devastated. 50,000 people, mostly young, had been killed and over 150,000 wounded. Nine out of the twenty five over-crowded hospitals were either totally or partially destroyed and there were only 800 doctors left in the whole country.

53% of the population was illiterate: large sections of industry and agriculture had been devastated. 800 million had been taken out of the country by Somoza and his supporters, leaving only 3.5 million in the treasury.

The country's debt reached \$1.64 billion in 1979, with inflation rising to 60% and unemployment to 40%. These are just some of the figures which indicate the tremendous problems that the government faced in trying to rebuild the country.

In order to overcome these obstacles the government launched the 1980 economic reactivation plan, which aimed to increase production within the context of a mixed economy. Although the whole financial sector of the economy has been nationalised as well as 1 million hectares of land and 200 of Somoza's companies, key sections of the economy still remain in private hands; food, clothing, construction and pharmaceuticals.

The plan set vital production targets for both the private and nationalised sec-

The high expectations of the people when they overthrew Somoza [above] can only be realised if capitalism and landlordism is totally overthrown.

tors. The private sector was seen as having the major role to play in generating the necessary resources to stimulate economic growth and reduce the country's main problems. The plan aimed to bring inflation down to 20% and create 100,000 new jobs during 1980.

It also aimed to restore industrial production to at least its 1978 level. These targets were considered vital in order to enable the government to maintain its social goals and the morale of the masses. According to the government, the success of the 1980 plan depended entirely on the co-operation of the private sector.

## Factories seized

However, the growing militancy of the workers and peasants, who have seized some factories and land, has alarmed the private industrialists. They fear a complete shift towards state control of the economy. Whilst the FSLN leadership still expects the private sector to invest for need and not profits, industrialists are illegally smuggling capital and commodities out of the country, thereby restricting production.

The result of this economic sabotage has been an enormous response from the workers, leading to an increase in factory occupations and forcing the government to intervene and place them under state control. For example, at the Polymer plastic factory in Managua, about 150 workers occupied the plant and began running production themselves until the government intervened. During the takeover the workers actually increased output by about 30%.

This instance alone clearly demonstrates the workers' militancy, their determination to struggle and their capacity to run industry in Nicaragua. Such opposition pushed the government to take over the occupied industries and to issue a decree on March 2nd giving itself the legal power to meet the workers' demands for the nationalisation of industries suspected of decapitalising.

These incidents also indicate that if the demands for the nationalisation of the commanding heights of the

economy under workers' control and management were put forward, the workers would respond overwhelmingly.

The peasantry has also been seizing private farmlands in various regions of the country. The FSLN leadership itself expects further opposition from this section of the population. It is at present sending functionaries to the countryside to explain to the peasants why things will not change for the better in the immediate future and thus consolidate their support for the regime.

The peasantry could be mobilised behind the working class if the demands of the agrarian revolution, the seizure of all private farmlands, and the establishment of democratic peasants' soviets were fought for.

Meanwhile, opposition to the government has been confirmed from the private sector. Alfonso Robelo, the private businessman has recently resigned from the government and has relaunched the Nicaraguan Democratic Movement (NDM), the main capitalist party in the country.

Since the MDN participated in the struggle against Somoza it still retains a certain amount of prestige and can therefore be used as a pole of attraction by the bosses and landowners in order to defend the interests of the capitalist class.

At recent rallies Robelo has strongly criticised the government's strategy, pointing out that the only road to economic recovery is through the consolidation of private property: he has even refused to condemn the CIA.

After resigning from the government, together with Violetto Chamorro (another conservative member of the ruling group) Robelo called on all MDN members with posts in the government and administration to also resign. MDN members occupy 26% of the posts.

Although it would be unlikely that most of them will follow Robelo's instructions, nevertheless, this latest outburst from the open representative of Nicaraguan capital indicates how private business, with the obvious backing of Washington, where he has often been recently, is desperately at-

tempting to divert the course of the revolution.

In fact, it was the FSLN who initially enlisted the capitalists into the government. They gave them a position in the first place when it was possible to have defeated them immediately following Somoza's overthrow.

There is a clear polarisation of class forces in Nicaragua at present. The capitalists are not prepared to accept the government's course whilst the workers and peasants are not going to put up with the present uneasy middle road.

This month the new Council of State was inaugurated. Incorporating all political parties, the army, trade unions and business organisations it will not bring stability or an end to class battles.

The most likely outcome for Nicaragua, possibly in the very near future, is that, in order to counter-act the private sector's economic sabotage and the negative consequences that it has on the economy, as well as to meet the pressure imposed by the workers and peasants who are desperate for a rapid improvement in their living standards, the FSLN leadership could be pushed into nationalising the bulk of the economy, as Castro was forced to do in Cuba.

## Ending capitalism

The processes of the Nicaraguan revolution is in some ways similar to those undertaken by the Cuban revolution, which also was not based on a clear socialist ideology. Castro only discovered 'socialism' in the 1960s when he realised that it was not possible to turn Cuba into a model of the US economy. The mixed economy he was advocating required an astronomical support from the US.

The Cuban economy, which specialised in one main product (sugar) could not be diversified whilst it remained under US economic control. The American blockade forced Castro to turn towards the other superpower, the USSR, who was ready to trade with Cuba and help build its economy under the basis of a planned mode of production.

The Soviet bureaucracy was interested in inflicting a defeat on US imperialism, whilst it was concerned that Cuba did not become a healthy workers' state. The advantages of nationalisation and economic planning enabled the Cuban bureaucracy to provide the people with land, hospitals, schools, etc, despite the lack of democracy.

Nicaragua, facing a much greater burden than Cuba just after its revolution and unable to rely on concessions from the US at a time of deep crisis in the capitalist world, is likely to tread a similar path.

Unable to receive the complete support of the US, there are already signs that the FSLN leadership is turning towards the Soviet Union.

On March 20th trade links were strengthened with the USSR, which has agreed to send teams of experts to Nicaragua to develop agriculture, power engineering, transport and communications, so the utter bankruptcy of capitalism and the enormous pressure of an aroused peasantry and working class could both combine to push the FSLN leadership into expropriating landlordism and capitalism in Nicaragua and move in the direction of a deformed workers' state.

Although a deformed workers' state would be a big step forward, through its planned economy, it could not lead to real socialism without the conscious participation of the workers and peasants in the day to day running of industry and agriculture, through the establishment of factory and peasants' committees, and election with the right of recall of workplace representatives to local soviets.

This would entail a political revolution to get rid of the bureaucratic caste which would emerge from the deformed workers' state and establish a genuine workers' democracy.

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# A GIANT AWAKES FROM SLUMBER

Swedish workers are now beginning to see the real power and strength of their labour movement. In the biggest ever industrial dispute in Swedish history, virtually nothing is moving without the workers' consent.

Even the King and Foreign Minister had to apply to the air traffic controllers for permission to fly to Tito's funeral.

A Foreign Ministry official wryly commented that it was unusual for a Head of State to get the agreement of a trade union to leave the country.

All industrial production has stopped. With over 80% of the workforce in unions, there are virtually no black-legs. The bosses and the government have been totally taken aback by the display of industrial muscle displayed by the LO (Swedish TUC).

Even the forces of state repression have been affected. The police are not being used to break picket lines. Instead they are operating an overtime ban, and exceptions to this ban have to meet with the agreement of the trade union movement. The government so far has not dared to issue different instructions to the police.

By Gunnar  
Jonsson  
(SSU, Jordboro)

The borders are virtually closed, with customs officials who are participating in the industrial action, making an exception of food shipments.

TV and radio are restricted to news programmes only. Newspapers continue to be published, but one union has warned the bosses that if they print lies on the strike, their paper supplies will be cut off.

The strength and power of the awakening Gulliver that is Swedish labour is not being used indiscriminately. The Co-op stores are being allowed to open. Transport workers are being called out, exemptions being made for fuel deliveries to the Co-ops, hospitals, ambulances, police and fire brigades.

The dispute arose over a wage claim put in by the LO for blue-collar workers in private industry (see 'Militant' 25 April). After three years of seeing their real wages decline by 8% (one of the biggest cuts in Europe), workers put in for an 11.3% rise as compensation and to meet expected inflation over the coming year.

Wage bargaining is conducted centrally on an annual basis. When this goes smoothly the bosses are agreeable and laud its merits to other capitalists, including

Trade union demonstration in Sweden



the British. But when it breaks down there is massive conflict.

That is what happened this year. The employers' response to the unions' 11.3% claim was a flat zero. So the unions imposed an overtime ban, which proved very successful.

The bosses responded by locking out the 800,000 blue-collar workers. So the LO has called out on strike a selective 100,000 further workers and it has virtually paralysed the country.

The leadership of the LO was very reluctant to take this step and all the time has been looking for a way out. The government has established an "independent" commission to report, and although its initial recommendation of 2% was turned down by the LO, it is expected that there will be an improved offer.

The lack of enthusiastic, firm leadership from the top has meant that aside from the stoppages themselves, very

few activities have been organised. The initiative has had to come from ordinary workers. And Swedish workers are undergoing what is for many a new experience—the picket line.

The fact that this dispute marks a watershed in Swedish society can be seen in that this is the first large official strike since 1945.

For decades Sweden was lauded as a cosy corner of capitalism in Northern Europe. It is cosy no more.

When they imposed the lock-out, the chairman of the employers' federation thundered, "this lockout must be seen as an investment for the future." The plain fact is that Swedish capitalism can no longer afford to pay its workers decent wages.

Although compared to the USA and Britain, Sweden escaped the last recession of 1974-5 relatively unscathed, now it faces a perilous future. Already this year a record

budget deficit is forecast and the international conditions for expansion no longer exist.

So the bosses and the three-party capitalist government are trying to make the workers pay for the failure of their system.

Unfortunately the leadership of the Swedish labour movement has not recognised what is happening around them. They still cling to the old failed recipes of managing capitalism in a more humane manner.

On May 1st between one-third and one-quarter of all Swedish workers participated in protest demonstrations organised by the LO and the Social-Democratic Party. The 800,000 workers on the streets clearly showed their willingness to struggle and belief that three years of capitalist rule is enough.

But the Social-Democratic leadership did not call for new elections. Instead it wanted the government to resign and

be replaced by a minority Social-Democratic government, supported by one or more capitalist parties. The economic programme of such a government would centre around revaluation in an attempt to cure inflation!

Marxists have long explained that nothing can stop the united strength of the labour movement if it is fighting with a socialist programme and action to transform society. Currently in Sweden ordinary working people are seeing what power really lies in their hands. A giant has awakened and begun to move.

## WHAT FUTURE FOR GIBRALTAR?

The future of Gibraltar—the only remaining colony inside Europe is in doubt. The British Government has agreed to discuss the question of its sovereignty with the Spanish government. This has led to widespread fears in Gibraltar amongst its 30,000 native population that their right to decide their own destiny is to be trampled upon.

They have long feared domination by Spain. This fear was especially sharp during the Franco era, with the reign of police terror against the Spanish workers, peasants and national minorities.

Gibraltar workers voted in a referendum to remain tied to Britain. They saw rule by Britain as the only way of staying off capture by Spain.

Following this Franco closed the border. This has meant the virtual imprisonment of the Gibraltar people, especially the working class, for the last 11 years.

The border is now to open as a result of Spain's wish to join the EEC and as a result of the Tory government agreeing to discuss with the Spanish government the question of Gibraltar's sovereignty.

The Tory government are making loud protestations that they will honour the right

to self determination of the Gibraltar people. But, such promises are hollow. British capitalism and the Tory party have a long history of trampling upon national rights.

It is up to the Labour movement to ensure no deals are done against the wishes of the Gibraltar people.

The Gibraltar workers are now in the forefront of the battle to defend the right to self determination. Since the border closed they have amassed enormous strength. 6,200 members are in the T&GWU alone. A general strike was won in 1972 and a long bitter battle for parity with UK workers was fought to a successful conclusion in 1977. Gibraltar's workers will use this strength to fight any deal against their interests.

And the Spanish Labour movement must also defend the right of Gibraltar people to self determination. So far, not one mass workers' party in Spain has taken this principled position. If they did they would lay the basis for lasting mutual respect and collaboration between Gibraltar workers and Spanish workers.

This would further the struggle for socialism in Spain, Gibraltar and Britain.

**'When the West gets a cold the 'Third World' gets pneumonia'**

**As the recession deepens in the heartlands of capitalism, the 'Third World' slips towards disaster. Even the relatively more prosperous countries such as Malaysia face increasing poverty.**

According to the 'Economist' (3 May) there are now more poor people in Malaysia than ever before. It pointed out "Despite two decades of strong economic performance, high commodity prices, and many new industries, official estimates count 4 million people in absolute poverty, out of the 11 million total population in west Malaysia.

"There are no available poverty statistics for Sarawak and Sabah, the eastern states with about 2.2 million people, which are the poorest in the federation."

The past decades have been the most favourable for capitalism in the 'Third World'. But even then it has proved incapable of totally destroying the old societies and creating a democratic

capitalist order.

In Malaysia it has been unable to end the power of absentee landlords. Nor has it been possible to solve the national question.

The country's economic elite is mainly either expatriate, Chinese or Indian. Although the Malay political elite have accumulated their share of the loot, about 44% of the Malay rural population is officially classified as poor.

The 1970s proved to be a decade of revolts and explosions in much of Africa, Asia and Latin America. The 1980s will undoubtedly dwarf even these movements as the working people in the 'Third World' are forced on to the path of revolution in order to obtain a decent living.

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## IMPORT CONTROLS— PROTECTION FOR INEFFICIENCY

Dear Editor

The recent Weekend World programme (Sunday, ITV) provided further facts and figures against the demands for import controls increasingly being raised inside the labour movement, particularly by the TUC and the labour lefts.

According to Tory Trade Secretary, John Nott, already 13% of British imports are covered by some form of controls. Particularly protected are those industries such as textiles and footwear which are demanding even more controls.

In fact, only 12% of textile imports come from low wage cost countries. The rest come from Europe and America where labour costs are often higher than in Britain. So much for unfair competition.

Nott himself has introduced selective import controls against US synthetic yarns which he justified in Parliament by saying that the American industry had the advantage of large economies of scale, and their plants are run on three shifts.

In other words the US textile industry is more efficient than Britain's. So it would seem that when the bosses cry about unfair competition, what they really mean is that through higher investment Britain's competitors have achieved higher productivity and thus cheaper and often better quality goods.

Nott also pointed out that today 30% of Britain's GNP went in exports which would make our economy very vulnerable to retaliation. Most of those exports go to the EEC and America, whose economies are in a stronger position than Britain's to withstand trading restrictions.

Surely the fact that a growing lobby of Tory MPs support import controls, shows that it is not a working class nor a socialist demand.

Protectionist policies belonged to developing industrial nations of past centuries. Today, protection from foreign competition would lead British bosses to invest even less, and put up prices.

Any effective import controls would export unemployment and lead to retaliatory measures against British exports which would cost jobs in export industries.

No, under capitalism import controls offer no solutions. They are purely chauvinist and nationalistic, not even reformist, let alone socialist.

Not that free trade is any better as the present world economic crisis shows.

Socialists must demand a state monopoly of trade, both imports and exports, as part of a socialist planned economy in Britain, and a socialist Europe and world.

Alistair Tice  
West Hull LPYS

## 'TRIBUNE' CHALLENGED

Dear Comrades

Readers of the 'Militant' may not have seen the scandalous allegation printed in the paper 'Tribune' on March 14th: John Street's Diary took up the blatant manoeuvres of the CLV and how they were attempting to slip in their candidates within a list of 'left' candidates at the Scottish and London Labour Party conferences, so hoping to get onto the various regional Executive Committees.

This was exposed by a letter from Mary Honeyball (also printed in 'Militant'), whose name had been used

by the CLV for this purpose.

But at the end of the Diary article it stated "CLV is obviously in league with the 'Militant' tendency which has been caught out in this type of operation."

We wrote a very short but to the point letter to 'Tribune', taking up this accusation and pointing out that " 'Tribune' has constantly avoided debating the policies that 'Militant' has consistently put forward, preferring always the snide comments, distortions or the attempts to lump the Marxist tendency in with all

## LAW AND ORDER IN BIRKENHEAD

Dear Comrades

It's a free country! So they keep telling us. Perhaps our wonderful capitalist democrats have forgotten to tell their representatives in Birkenhead!

First, a comrade is arrested for obstruction whilst selling 'Militant' in the shopping precinct. Then, this week, two of us receive a 'cool' reception from 'the authorities' whilst distributing LPYS schools leaflets.

After the kids began to show rising enthusiasm for our leaflet—entitled 'Maggie Mugs Our Schools'—the headmaster approached me and ordered me to go away.

He said I was the gentleman who called him a fascist pig last year (a complete fiction) and then proceeded to volunteer that as far as the school is concerned he is a fascist!

When I offered to quote him in the press, he suggested I shouldn't even stay in this country. "I am a racist as well, the lot."

I offered to debate the effects of Tory cuts in education with him, since by now a crowd of interested pupils had gathered, but he declined to, so presumably he didn't feel too confident of his ideas.

Presumably also even he

might have noticed that he was showing a clear political bias, and that therefore he couldn't tell us to go away from the public footpath just because our ideas or literature was political.

After we'd moved down the road a bit, and as big groups of school-students came and asked for leaflets, a V-reg car pulled up. Obviously not a parent from the Birkenhead slum areas!

A mustachioed gentleman of about six foot six inches and twice the combined weight of the two of us, cheerily enquired what we were handing out. I explained—just as friendly—that it was in defence of education standards in Britain.

My accent caused his ears to stand up. "Where are you from lads?" "Round here." "Are you causing any trouble?" "Of course not, we're just offering leaflets to any of the older kids who want them."

Another group of lads came up, asked if we wanted them to give leaflets out, and were told to "Get lost" by our large friend.

He then merrily conversed with us, and asked us for our names, reaching for his pen. I asked him if he was a parent at the school, or what.

"Maybe I am," was the cunning reply! His requests for our names became more insistent, despite increas-

the sectarian groups outside the Labour Party."

'Tribune' published the letter, but cut out the last sentence, which was the reason for my writing, that 'Tribune' "publish its evidence or publish an apology" regarding the link with the CLV.

There followed a series of phone calls to 'Tribune' and Richard Clements, the editor, to find out why, and what they intended doing. As all that we heard was an evasion of the issue, a formal letter was sent to 'Tribune's' Editorial Board on March 27th, demanding to know whether they were going to publish their evidence or an apology.

To date nothing more has been published and our letter has not even been acknowledged. One can only draw the conclusion, which would be known anyway to all those genuine activists on the left, 'Tribune' and 'Militant' supporters, that 'Tribune's' statement is a lie and the kind of falsification we can expect from the Tory press and the right wing, but not from a paper that purports to be 'socialist'.

Incidentally, for the record, in one of the phone calls to 'Tribune', Richard Clements claimed that they always sub-edit letters, regardless of length, and that 'Militant' did not

publish opposition letters or responses, particularly regarding the National Organisation of Labour Students.

We can repeat our assurances that 'Militant's' letters page has always been open to opposition and critical viewpoints on any subject and that no critical letter is sub-edited without the writers' agreement.

We would welcome from 'Tribune' and Richard Clements, a letter or statement on this particular issue, which would be of much interest to the whole labour movement.

Fraternally  
Bob & Lynne Faulkes  
Hackney Central CLP



ingly frequent interruptions from school students who made their feelings of support for us bluntly clear to him.

We politely and smilingly suggested that it was unusual for strangers to ask for our names, at which point the predictable happened; out came the police card.

"I hoped I wouldn't have to do this in front of a school." On being pressed, he reassured us that we were not committing any offence or causing any disturbance, but went on to demand our names, addresses, ages and occupations—smiling all the time of course.

"It's just that some of the lads round here might get the wrong idea." "The lads" seemed to have the right

idea. Despite being referred to as "a Birkenhead thug" by our hairy giant from Her Majesty's Police, one lad took a bunch of leaflets to show his mates inside the school.

Here's hoping "the lads" (and girls) found the LPYS as interesting as did the forces of capitalist law and enforced order.

Fraternally  
A member of Birkenhead Labour Party

## Behind that uniform

Dear Comrade

I was selling 'Militant' on the local May Day rally in Norwich and I said to a

policeman; "This is better than football duty isn't it?" He replied "I support this rally because I am a Labour man!"

He then went on to tell me that he had to go to Corby to provide extra police cover because of possible trouble between workers and management after the end of the steel strike even though he supported the steel strikers in their fight for a decent living wage and a job.

He then bought a 'Militant' and we parted as working class people with a common bond—full support and confidence in the labour movement.

Yours fraternally  
Andy Wales  
Norwich LPYS

## Work that kills

Dear Militant

The nightmare of unemployment which has overshadowed Cammell Lairds for years has taken physical form in the cancellation of the 1366.

Originally designed as a standard tanker, it has now been suggested by David Hunt, Tory MP for Wirral, that it should be converted into a Fleet support ship.

He says the Navy is out of balance and needs these types of vessel, although this seems at variance with the current talk of an all-nuclear Fleet.

But whether nuclear or conventional it is an indication of the bankruptcy of capitalism that the only way they can provide jobs is by building weapons of war to kill workers in other countries.

Jake Shepherd,  
Shop Steward GMWU  
Cammell Laird, personal capacity

## Zimbabwe—a 'realistic' road?

Dear Comrades

Jim Chrystie (issue 500) in his article on Zimbabwe raised the question of whether socialism is realistic for Zimbabwe. Although generally a supporter of 'Militant' I am still not satisfied with Jim's article.

Members of ZANU I have spoken to point out the dangers posed by immediate socialist measures if enacted by Mugabe, particularly the danger posed by South Africa.

Although I consider the dangers of not carrying out socialist measures may be greater in terms of maintaining mass support for ZANU, is not Mugabe at least justified in trying to prevent a blood bath which would result if there was a war?

International capital would certainly try to crush,

where possible, any healthy workers' state. This could only be offset by the power of the international working class, but given the present leadership of the world Communist and socialist parties isn't this ruled out for the next period?

Hence, is not Mugabe only being a realist?

Yours fraternally  
DA Milsom  
Attercliffe LPYS

## ROYAL RIOTS

Dear Comrades

Recently in the Netherlands we saw the abdication of Queen Juliana and the handing over of the Mon-

archy to her eldest daughter Princess Beatrix. This ceremony was also a testing ground for the Dutch riot police and military units.

There were five to eight thousand police to protect the three thousand guests. These were put there to make sure the anti-monarchist groups did not make their 'difference of opinion' too clear.

They mostly consisted of squatters and left-wingers whose 'difference' was that they did not have the basic necessity for life, a house! There were empty buildings occupied all over the Netherlands in a form of peaceful protest.

The riots started when groups tried to force their way through fences outside the Queen's future 'working' palace at Noordeinde. The riots claimed one hundred and fifty casualties and police were sent in with water cannons and tear gas, and made many baton charges to disperse the protesters

. These failed and riots went on throughout the night.

The Dutch could easily stop future riots, they just have to have a planned rate of house building, but the Dutch police have stated that in future riots the use of fire arms would be warranted. This will surely lead to gun battles and the loss of life for both the police and protesters. Who would this benefit?

When riots like this spring up in Britain, which they will if this government slashes the living standards of working class people, while we see the Queen driving around in expensive cars and a new dress for each occasion, will we be shot down in the streets?

The easiest way to stop this is to disband the monarchy and all the feudal pageantry that goes with it.

Yours fraternally  
Mark Edmunds.  
Bedwas, Gwent

# Build **M**ilitant

Area	Received	Percentage of half-year's target achieved	Target half-year	Target for year
Eastern	1338		2,250	5,000
East Midlands	1189		1,710	3,800
Hants & IOW	911		1,755	3,900
Humberside	407		1,125	2,500
London East	1948		2,790	6,200
London West	1488		2,115	4,700
London South	2187		1,800	4,000
Manchester & Lancs	879		2,295	5,100
Merseyside	1674		2,700	6,000
Northern	1706		3,285	7,300
Scotland East	734		1,440	3,200
Scotland West	1364		2,250	5,000
Southern	1663		2,655	5,900
South West	684		1,440	3,200
Wales East	394		1,260	2,800
Wales West	590		1,395	3,100
West Midlands	2539		4,050	9,000
Yorkshire	1354		3,285	7,300
Others	4122		5,400	12,000
<b>Total received</b>	<b>27171</b>		<b>45,000</b>	<b>100,000</b>

**TARGET FOR JULY 12th £45,000 TARGET FOR YEAR-£100,000**

## IT'S YOUR PAPER. SUPPORT IT.

**THIS  
WEEK  
£2,581**

**Having failed to con us with their Taxes and Prices Index [TPI], the Tories are now taking another tack. They are proposing to remove alcohol and tobacco from the Retail Prices Index [RPI], so that they can put up taxes on drink and cigarettes "without raising the cost of living"!**

Their spokesman commented that he drank and smoked, but didn't consider these essential items of expenditure, so why should they be in the RPI?

They are even contemplating removing such 'luxuries' as TVs, radios, holidays, etc. from the RPI, to show that the cost of living is not really going up so much.

But this latest attempt to cook the books won't work.

Of course, if you are a millionaire backer of the Tories, you don't have to worry about the RPI, but the implications for workers are clear. The Tories are only concerned with increasing the profits of private industry, and that means paying the workers as little as possible.

Enough to provide some food and some housing, so that you are fit to work, but capitalism has decided that it can no longer afford even the minor pleasures the working class presently enjoys.

Fortunately, there are an increasing number of workers who recognise what the Tories represent, and are determined to fight it. They know that the only alternative is socialism, but to achieve that they need a fighting programme, and a paper that consistently puts over their ideas.

**By Derrick McClelland**

That's why they are putting their money into the Militant (when they've got any!).

Many thanks to the supporter in Lewisham who has given the excellent sum of £500.75 this week. We will do our best to ensure that this sort of sacrifice is repaid by our success in the future!

Up and down the country supporters have been holding meetings to celebrate our 500th issue. Money received so far from these meetings include: West Wales £173.26; North East London £22.35; Brixton £61.79; Cheltenham £12.90; Southwark £519.46 (which included another £500!); Littlehampton £68 (including £50 from JE Burtenshaw); Aberystwyth £10; Birmingham £47 Leicester £83.15; Hillingdon £28.85; Croydon £25.65; all after expenses.

The West Midlands 500 Club draw has brought us in £195.40, while a jumble sale

in Oxford raised £96.15. Militant supporters also enjoy themselves occasionally, as shown by the following amounts which came in from parties: Blackpool £10.50; Lanarkshire £20; Leyton £18.

Success at the local elections has also brought its benefits for Militant, including £10 raised from GEC Openshaw and Rusholme Ward in Ardwick.

As always, though, we rely on the individual donations of our readers, and space restricts us, but thanks to Steve Marshall Nottingham University £15.45; 3 West Yorkshire supporters who donated their refunded strike levy £15; A Troke, Dulwich LP £7.50; Richard Schofield SCPS CAA London £10; Steve, Bradford FBU £1; Dave Carr Gosport LPYS £25;

Mark Chivers, Bristol AU-EW £1.50.

Richard Harthill of Bristol South LPYS gave £6; Jeff Littlejohn Leicester £4; Paul Kirk Melton LPYS £4; Gladys, Bradford TASS; Tony Maddock Warsop LP £5; North Derbyshire NUM Conference Delegates £4.75; Glasgow and East Kilbride NALGO and NUPE Militant supporters £31.30; Frank White, Glasgow NALGO £7; David Young Glasgow CPSA £2.85; Ricke Martindale Glasgow NALGO £4; Willie King Scottish LP Executive £2.20.

Last but not least don't forget the Militant Summer Draw tickets! Only 10 pence each, and with a better chance of winning, with two draws, one for the North, one for the South.

It's your paper, build it!

## BOOST TO SALES

The 500th issue of the 'Militant' proved immensely popular with our readers. Many of the supplies of issue 500 were sold out within hours of arrival. Such was the demand that our whole supply was sent out—out and we could have sent out more.

Bumper sales have been reported up and down the country. At the USDAW conference in Bournemouth extra supplies had to be obtained from as far away as Caerphilly, London, Thanet and Southampton, in all over 150 papers were sold.

The regular sale at one London tube station sold 32 in an hour, the 500th issue is proving already to be a collectors' item. On the London May Day demonstration, the 'Militant' was prominent and despite the small turn-out over 100 were



sold. Mrs T is again proving to be a boost to our sales. 20 papers were sold at a 'Rock against Thatcher' concert in Hackney. The election results have proved the 'Militant' analysis that the working people will again turn back to the Labour Party in looking for a solution to their problems, make sure they get the answer they need...sell the 'Militant'.

### Militant Readers' Meetings

**HARLOW Militant Public Meeting** Thursday May 22nd 7.45pm. Harlow Town Hall. Hear Brian Ingham (Militant Industrial Editor) Danny Purton (Secretary, Harlow TUC, personal capacity). "Get the Tories out, Build the unions and the Labour Party with Socialist Policies."

**GLASGOW Militant Public Meeting** "Which way for Labour after May 14th?" speaker: Peter Taaffe (Editor, 'Militant') Venue: Partick Burgh Halls, Monday 19 May 7.30pm.

**CUMBERNAULD MILITANT Public Meeting** 'Fight Back Against the Tories' Hear: Peter Taaffe, editor, Militant. Joe Lynch (Secretary, Cumbernauld Trades Council) Carbrain Community Rooms, 96 Glenhalls Road. Tuesday May 20th 7.30pm.

**PETERBOROUGH Militant public meeting** 'What Militant stands for'. Speaker: Bob Edwards (Harlow Labour Party) 7.30 pm, Monday 19 May, at the Swimming Pool, Bishops Road

**COME TO THE MILITANT Northern Camp!**

Whit Weekend Friday May 23 to Monday May 26th, there will be a camp in the Lake District, 2 miles from Keswick at Causeway Foot Farm (A591 to Thirlmere).

Cost £8. Children 6-15 £2.50. Under 6 free. Includes, light breakfast, lunch and entry to discussions. All are welcome. Creche and outings available. Programme. 1. Life of Trotsky. 2. The general strike 1926. 3. Reformism. 4. Historical materialism. 5. Southern Africa. Ring Malcolm Lindsay 051-922 2318.

**OLDHAM Discussion Group** 'The general strike', Tuesday May 20th. For details, ring (061) 681-4858

**Coventry SE/SW Labour parties call on all members to organise maximum support for a public meeting—'Labour's Socialist Alternative.'** Speakers Bob Wright [Assistant General Secretary AUEW], Cllr Dave Edwards [Talbot T&GWU convenor], Bill Mullins [Senior shop steward, Rover Solihull]; at Methodist Central Hall, Monday May 19, 7.15pm. All Welcome.

Summer T-shirts. Colours—white, yellow, sky blue, dark green, navy and black. All with red motif. Styles—round neck, and short sleeves or cap sleeves (state which one you prefer) sizes—children's 24, 26, 28 and 30 inch chest. £2.50 each.

Adults—Small—32-34. Medium—34-36. Large—38-40. Extra Large—42-44. £3 each.

Both costs include postage and packing. Please indicate, colour, style, and size preferred. ALL PROCEEDS TO THE FIGHTING FUND.

Cheques and postal orders made out to R. Harris. Send orders with payment to: R. Harris, 35 Westminster Court, Blackburn, Lancashire, BB1 1UR.

### LONDON TRADE UNIONISTS' DAY SCHOOL

Saturday 7 June 10.00am—6.00pm.

John Cass School, Stepney Way E1 [Aldgate tubes] The Tory 'Employment' Bill and the Tory attack on trade union rights'

Main sessions on 'The Employment Bill and Tory Economic Strategy' and 'Militant trade unionism and Marxism.' Seminars on 'Workers' Control', 'Democratising the Labour Party and the Trade Unions', 'What Kind of Nationalisation?', 'Effective Picketing', 'The History of Trade Union Legislation', 'The Tory Attack on Working Women's Rights', 'The Fight Against Redundancies', 'The Role of the Police in Industry', 'The Fight Against the IR Act 1970-74', 'Lessons of May 14', 'The General Strike of 1926.'

If you are interested in the MILITANT London Trade Unionists' Day-School and wish to receive further information and leaflets for distribution to fellow stewards, members etc, please contact: Peter Jarvis, June 7 Day-School, Militant, 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN.

# ads

CLASSIFIED: 5p per word, minimum ten words  
SEMI-DISPLAY: £2 per 2 column centimetres.  
All advertisement copy should reach this office by SATURDAY

### Classified

**Result of the '500th Militant' Draw** organised by Militant supporters in Newcastle North. Winner: Trevor Neilands, Belfast. Winning number: 186.

**AT LAST! The Plunder Woman Badge.** 20p each plus 12p postage or £10.00 per 100 plus £2.00 postage.

Plus many more new designs, and of course our made to order service for badges and tee-shirts SAE for lists and details:— Dept. M, Mapographics, 32 Worpole Road Mews, London SW19.

**CELEBRATE ZIMBABWE LIBERATION** Sat. May 17th. Trades Hall, 96 Dals-ton Lane, E8 2.30-5pm Film Meeting (free) 8pm. Afrodisco. Bar/food (£1)

**ALL LONDON LPYS "Socialist Youth" Rally.** Eric Heffer MP, Labour Party NEC. Tony Saunio (LPYS Rep on LP NEC), Linda Reid (Editor LPYS Paper, "Socialist Youth"). 8pm Wednesday May 21st. Room '3E' University of London Union Malet St. WC1 (Russell Sq. Euston Sq. or Goodge St. Tube)

'STUFF THATCHER' badges: 2 for 45p; 5 for £1; 10 for £1.75; 50 for £7.60. Order from D. Kemp (Dept D), 114 Ladybarn Rd, Fallowfield, Manchester 14.

# Shipbuilding - Caledon still fighting

The fight to save 1,100 jobs at the Robb Caledon shipyard in Dundee has now reached its most critical stage.

Only a mighty campaign by the labour movement can keep shipbuilding alive in this unemployment blackspot.

Just how black was revealed when a deputation from Dundee met Scottish Industry Minister, Alex Fletcher. He admitted that if any more jobs were lost in Dundee, the city would be on the brink of economic collapse.

In September last year, the yard's fate appeared to be sealed when a delegate conference in Blackpool voted to accept a corporate plan for the industry, worked out by the management and the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions. Under this plan shipbuilding in Dundee was to cease.

The Caledon workforce

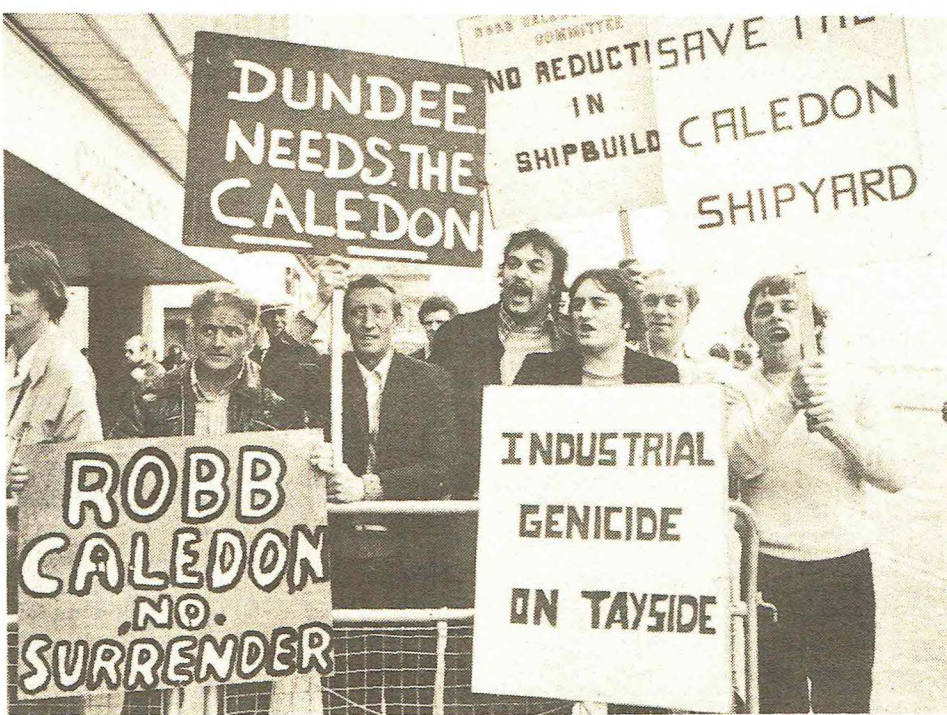
By Alex Allen

(Deputy yard convenor Robb Caledon, Dundee in a personal capacity)

would not accept this. We launched a campaign within the city and the industry and were rewarded with a 'reprieve.' In October BS 'reaffirmed the retention of the yard with the potential for the construction of merchant ships.'

It was a victory, a tribute to the tremendous resistance put up by the workers in the yard and the support they gained from other sections of the movement, notably Yarrow's shipyard in the Clyde.

'Militant' warned at the time, however, that there



were "dangers ahead. Once the ships at present in the yard have been delivered, British Shipbuilders could announce that the yard has failed to meet the level of productivity, reduced costs and delivery dates required, and therefore will have to be closed anyway." (26.10.79)

This warning has proved to be justified. For six months the yard committee have been trying to commit BS to provide an order. We have been constantly fobbed off.

The big improvement in productivity which has been achieved has counted for nothing. A working party which was set up under the Blackpool agreement to 'examine the possible introduction of shiprepair and offshore oil-related work' has come up with nothing.

Robb Caledon workers lobbying last year's Labour Party conference in their fight to save jobs at the yard  
Photo: MILITANT

The struggle to save the yard is now on again and a recent mass meeting gave overwhelming support to the committee's proposals for re-launching the campaign. The following day, 100 workers sacrificed half a day's pay to lobby the Scottish TUC in Perth, an indication of their determination.

A further lobby was planned for 8th May in Newcastle, when the proposals are to be submitted to BS.

A small amount of new work has now been allocated to the yard, refitting barges used for oil-related work. This has helped to boost the

workers' morale, but will not keep work going for long.

Our main immediate demand is for Robb Caledon to be designated a 'core' yard, an integrated part of BS's structure rather than a yard for offloading one or two odd jobs the others cannot handle. Linked to this is our constant demand for modernisation, which in itself would provide work, and would then make it possible to achieve the highest levels of productivity, impossible in the 'industrial museum' that the Caledon is at present.

Together with the demands for the nationalisation of the shipping lines, a scrap-and-build programme to modernise the merchant fleet and a 35-hour week, we believe we have a programme not just for saving our jobs at Robb Caledon, but to guarantee a future for the whole industry.

## METAL MECHANICS

By Steve Glennon  
(Delegate, Stevenage NSMM, personal capacity)

The National Society of Metal Mechanics is playing a fuller role in the life of the labour movement than in the past. No longer do other trade unionists say 'Who?' when you mention the Metal Mechanics.

The role our union has played in the organisation of trade union youth has won us recognition and respect. But it doesn't stop there. Our members showed their vigorous support for the TUC's day of action, as a demonstration of their determination to use union power to halt the Tory onslaught.

This is the background to the rules' revision conference, reflected in numerous resolutions and amendments.

The youth section has been developed over the past four years and has proved itself worthy of the trust of older members. It will be another step forward if it is now placed squarely in the rule book as Birmingham Central, Isle of Wight and Stevenage have proposed.

Internal democracy is always important to union members and is a major issue at a rules conference. The call for regular election of all full-time officials, as proposed in the Stevenage resolution, is a crucial step in making the union accountable and responsible to the membership, and ensuring that officials do not become isolated from the shop-floor.

A union which encourages the full participation of its young members and places democratic control in the hands of its members, is a union injected with life and health—the kind of union we need.

## HARSHAW SACKING STRIKE

Sixty-eight T&GWU members at Harshaw Chemicals in Glasgow are on official strike for two weeks over the victimisation of their convenor, Gerry Haughy.

Brother Haughy was to attend a union meeting on the factory premises last September to discuss the annual wage claim, but he was off work claiming industrial injury benefit. When he returned to work in December he was sacked for 'breaking the works' rules'.

The workers took strike action at this time, and the dispute was taken to ACAS.

Since then an industrial tribunal has found that the management had no grounds to sack Brother Haughy. But management have refused point blank to reinstate him, offering only compensation.

The union is adamant that it will only settle for reinstatement. I asked pickets how long they would be out. "As long as it takes" was the reply.

Donations to: Harshaw Union Fund, Account No 375499, Royal Bank of Scotland, Parkhead Branch, Parkhead, Glasgow.

By Willie Griffin  
(Bothwell Labour Party)

# EETPU- DEMOCRACY VITAL

The idea of amalgamation between the EETPU and another big industrial union, possibly the AUEW, is again being floated.

We should support the idea of an amalgamation which could increase the strength, cohesion, and unity of a big section of industrial workers. But the question uppermost in members' minds will be: What will the Rule Book of a new amalgamated union be like?

Amalgamation would only be an unqualified advance if accompanied by an extension of union democracy. A merger simply to suit the convenience of the leadership and officials at various levels would not be in the best interests of the EETPU members, or the rank and file of any other union concerned.

Faced with the biggest onslaught on workers' living standards, jobs and rights since the 1930s, it is vital that union democracy be strengthened. Our union, and other unions, will only be able to successfully defend workers' interests if they fight on policies debated and decided by the membership. The leadership and all full-time officials must be elected by the rank and file, and democratically answerable to them.

In the EETPU, however, there is growing frustration and anger at the lack of democracy. Since the early 1960s, in fact, when a ban was placed on Communist Party members holding office (Rule 10.3 (c)), there has actually been an erosion of

By an  
EETPU  
member

democracy. Step by step, the Rule Book has been amended to restrict debate and decision-making by the membership and to tighten the Executive's control from above with the element of accountability reduced to an absolute minimum, to say the least!

Officials, in the past elected by the membership, are now appointed. Conferences are held only every two years rather than annually. The decisions taken at Conference are not even binding on the Executive.

These major changes, together with numerous Executive decisions and restrictions on Conference procedure, have been used to concentrate excessive power in the hands of the leadership.

The way in which the Rule Book has been used by the leadership has given rise to the unmistakable feeling that the rules are used, not to safeguard democracy, but to rule "out of order" any decisions or election results which in any way challenge the present leadership.

The ban on CP member

holding office in the union (rule 10.3 (c)) has naturally become the focus of the campaign for the restoration of democracy in the EETPU. But this rule is simply one symptom of what is wrong.

The leadership undoubtedly upholds this ban not because they are frightened of the CP—which is more and more losing influence in our union and in the labour movement generally, but as a lever against any steps whatsoever towards democratisation. The present leadership is well aware that much more is at stake than Rule 10.3 (c) and the possibility of a few CP members openly taking positions in the union.

The 'Militant' does not support the policies of the Communist Party. But we certainly recognise the need to fight for the ending of this completely undemocratic ban. While it continues it is a barrier to real democracy in the union.

The Communist Party it-

self, however, bears a heavy responsibility for the ban in the first place. It was the completely mis-guided ballot-rigging manoeuvres of CP members which led to a notorious court case and the overruling of elections in 1961. This allowed the right wing, some of them ex-members of the CP, to introduce the ban.

### Debate suppressed

This disastrous situation was then made worse by further mistakes by Communist Party members, who failed to oppose the ban (while admitting their mistakes) and even advised passive acceptance of retrogressive rule changes in a futile attempt to pacify the right.

But mistaken ideas and misguided tactics, whether pursued by the Communist Party or any other grouping within the labour movement,

cannot be fought by bureaucratic organisational suppression. They must be answered and refuted through discussion and debate. This is the democratic tradition of the labour movement, and it is the only way the movement can remain healthy and fight for workers' interests.

The democratisation of the EETPU is long overdue. We must step up the campaign to:

- ★ Remove Rule 10.3 [c].
- ★ For an annual conference, with fully democratic debate and decision-making, and an obligation on the Executive to implement conference decisions.
- ★ For the election of all national and local full-time officials.
- ★ For a thorough revision of the Rule Book to democratise the union at every level, particularly to restore safeguards for the membership through democratic appeals procedures.

## RENOLDS-COVENTRY-JOBS SHOCK

By Dave  
Nellist

(Chairman, Coventry South East Labour Party)

"Stunned and shocked." This was the immediate reaction of the eight hundred workers at Renold Ltd, Coventry when they heard last Monday that the factory was to close.

Rumours had been circulating of a possible 'streamlining', but there had been no warning of the severity of management's action.

It now seems clear that senior management of the Renold Group (based in Manchester) had planned the closure over a period of weeks.

At the beginning of May

the whole stock (about two million feet) of timing-chain was removed from the factory. Workers were told that this was to be a special bulk sale—but it seems more likely

that they were getting valuable stock out to prevent any possibility of a blockade.

Much of the workforce is made up of whole families, as well as many single women. Unemployment will devastate their lives, with BL redundancies of around 6,000 planned for later in the year in Coventry. The prospect of other jobs is virtually non-existent.

Workers in the combine can contact the Renold factory by phoning the deputy works' convenor, Alan Hale (AUEW), on 0203 73231.

# UPW must defend jobs

By Peter Dodd  
(UPW, Manchester  
Amalgamated,  
in a personal capacity)

The annual conference of the Union of Post Office Workers takes place in Blackpool this week, at a time of mounting attacks on our members by the Post Office, confident that they have the Tory government behind them.

Conference has to consider an emergency special report on 'Experiment in Improved Working Methods'. This spells out the details of the three-month local productivity experiment in the London postal region.

Local productivity is seen by the Post Office as the vehicle by which to achieve their aims—increasing efficiency while cutting costs.

When we consider any such proposals, we must be clear what is at stake. The PO is a labour intensive service industry. Any productivity deal will be based on a substantial reduction in jobs.

The threat posed by new technology and its effects on our jobs is already with us. Now more than ever we need a strong and determined leadership.

The executive council however, seem to have accepted the inevitability of the attacks on members' jobs and pay. Instead of a fighting lead they offer a policy of 'making the most of a bad job'.

Section 6 of the general secretary's annual report, dealing with industrial and political issues, is graded 'category A' this year, and stands a chance of being debated for the first time in many years. This is long overdue.

The process of democratisation in the Labour Party: mandatory reselection of MPs, election of leader and the drafting of the manifesto by the NEC, have been debated at Labour Party conference over past years. The role of the UPW delegation has been firmly on the side of the right-wing and against these democratic reforms.

The amendments from Manchester Amalgamated to para. 6.5 commits future Labour Party conference delegations to supporting these reforms.

The role of the UPW delegation at TUC conference is also taken up by an amendment to para 6.1, again from Manchester Amalgamated.

The UPW delegation opposed a motion committing the

TUC "to call upon the entire union membership to unite and resist by all means within their power, including mass demonstrations, measures such as those coming from the Conservative government which attacks trade unions and working class people".

That motion was defeated but since then the TUC leaders have reluctantly been dragged into organising opposition to the government's policies.

This 'leading from behind' has to be reversed if a real campaign is to be waged to bring down the Tories.

Prominent in that struggle and in defence of jobs and living standards will be the public sector unions. Conference must begin the process by rejecting local productivity and supporting democratic reforms.

MILITANT  
PUBLIC MEETING  
'Which way forward  
for the UPW?'

Speakers: Peter Dodd  
Bryan Beckingham  
[Bristol SE Labour Party]  
Opera House Foyer  
Winter Gardens, Blackpool  
7.30 pm, Tuesday 20 May



Above: Steelworkers on the picket line earlier this year  
Photo: MILITANT

# MEMBERS PREPARE FOR BATTLE

By Clare Doyle  
(MATSA,  
Central London)

At Meccano and United Glass G&MWU members have been forced into industrial action to defend jobs. On the Isle of Grain and in the steel industry they have been fighting to defend living standards.

At Chix in Slough, it is a struggle for basic trade union rights. And on last Wednesday's massive Day of Action, our members have been out against the government itself.

The 300 resolutions submitted for this year's Congress show that members anticipate more battles. Over 20 of the 130 rule amendments deal with disputes procedures—payments, support for occupations etc.

Several others insist on full rights on picketing and Cambridge calls for "a campaign of political and industrial action" against the Tories' anti-trade union legislation. Joint campaigns with the Labour Party and other unions are called for, with the aim of reversing the policies of this government and removing it.

This is the most urgent task facing the labour movement—the hammering out of policies which will bring a speedy end to this most reactionary Tory government.

No talks with the CBI or the Tories should even be contemplated. Condemnation of the Tories and of their policies, as in the Executive's special motion, are necessary and welcome but not in themselves sufficient to galvanise the movement for the return of a Labour government.

In 1973, the Executive of the G&MWU did propose an alternative to the policies of the then Tory government—the Social Contract. It proved to be a form of wage restraint, one of the most disastrous policies adopted by the last Labour government, which led to the fatal loss of support among traditional Labour voters.

At that same Congress a detailed resolution was unani-

mously passed calling for a union campaign for the return of a Labour government pledged to policies of public ownership of the commanding heights of the economy. Though shorter, this year's motion 204 is along similar lines.

The Executive declines to give any alternative, so delegates should support the Liverpool resolution and ensure that it is not just passed but campaigned on!

Without the resources that only public ownership and democratic planning can realise and develop, all our other justifiable demands cannot be guaranteed for any length of time. How can the expansion of services called for in resolution 205 be ensured, if not linked to public ownership?

The same applies to demands that new technology benefit all workers (motions 212—215 and the special report), the 'direction of industry' (resolution 209), the fight against unemployment and productivity deals (186).

The G&MWU with its large membership in the public sector, must also be to the forefront in the fight to democratise the nationalised industries, as called for in resolution 158 and for renationalisation of any section the Tories hive off (motions 264—266).

Our representatives must forget about trying to regenerate British capitalism, with bigger and bigger handouts to big business, and must fight for the complete transformation of society. They must be prepared to put their policies to the test and stand for regular elections, and re-election.

This applies as much in the unions as it does in the Labour Party. We cannot accept the arguments of the Executive against re-selection of Labour MPs—that "we have always voted against it"! How do we get changes in policy?

The Executive's evidence to the Labour Party Inquiry should reflect the demands of active members for change. The decisions of last year's Labour Party conference should be upheld, by support-

ing the motions (259, 261 and 263) which argue for mandatory reselection and NEC control over the manifesto.

A large number of resolutions on the Preliminary Agenda aimed to improve representation at Congress, at Regional Council, at national level and in relation to full-time officers. Any measures increasing the accountability of these representatives should be supported, as should the demand for Industrial Conferences to have more power and for the setting up of youth conferences (151, Brierly Hill BSR).

In these testing times workers demand of their organisations that they not only give assistance, but show a way out of the crisis facing them and their families. The G&MWU must prove itself capable of providing a fighting lead.

MILITANT  
PUBLIC MEETING  
'Labour and trade  
union democracy  
Hear: Tony Saunois  
[Labour Party NEC]  
and a G&MWU member  
Committee Room,  
The Square, Bournemouth  
7.15 pm, Tuesday 20 May

## TORY CHALLENGE TO CIVIL SERVANTS

By Frank Cuthbert  
(SCPS, DHSS  
South East Wales)

The scene will be set for this year's Society of Civil and Public Servants (SCPS) conference when thousands of civil servants stop work on May 14 in the TUC day of action.

Civil servants have suffered heavily from the public spending cuts introduced by both Labour and Tory governments in recent years. Tens of thousands of jobs have been lost and public services slashed as a result.

The main resolution against the cuts, Resolution 97 moved by the Executive council, condemns successive public spending cuts, redundancies, and calls on the TUC to co-ordinate a national campaign. Although the resolution fails to point out an economic strategy on which to fight, it should be supported.

Government policies have also affected our pay. Based

## Dyers and Bleachers: IMPORT CONTROLS WON'T SAVE JOBS

The Annual General Council of the National Union of Dyers, Bleachers and Textile Workers meets this weekend, with the textile industry facing rapid decline.

In the last six months of 1979, 31,000 jobs were lost. Thousands are on short time, a trend accelerated by the ending of subsidies to industry by the Tories.

According to the British Textile Confederation 450,000 jobs—out of a total of 750,000—are at risk in the industry.

Import penetration amounts to 54% by volume (about a third by value) and it is estimated that British manufacturers will control only about one-third of the textile market by 1985.

A large number of the conference resolutions predictably call for import controls. In this they echo the stand of the employers, who, through

the BTC, also call for controls negotiated through the international Multi-Fibre Agreement.

Will import controls work? The main target is the USA carpet exports which are cheapened due to government oil subsidies. Import controls against the USA would, however, unleash a trade war in which Britain would be the undisputed loser.

When the pound was devalued, did the British bosses take advantage of cheap exports to reinvest in industry? Not a bit of it. They raised their prices to make a fast killing abroad.

Import controls would reduce competition, allowing British manufacturers to raise prices in order to increase profits to an 'acceptable' level. But who would buy the goods at such inflated prices?

A strong union, dedicated to fight for every job, to a

shorter working week and a decent minimum wage is the only alternative. This is reflected in several resolutions this year.

Amalgamation is extremely important in this respect. A small craft union, the Yorkshire Society of Textile Craftsmen, has joined forces with the NUDBTW and two other small unions are putting the question to their membership.

Of more importance are the informal talks with the Amalgamated Textile Workers Union and the National Union of Tailor and Garment Workers. A merger with these could build a large union with real muscle power.

Several resolutions call for a fight-back against the Tories and more involvement in the Labour Party. This must be developed as well.

The fight to implement union policy, the nationalisation of the textile industry, must be taken into the Labour Party. Nationalisation, not in the 'old way', but under democratic workers' control and management, is the only long-term solution to the crisis facing textile workers and the industry.

By Pete Watson

the way forward in calling on the civil service unions to break with comparability and draw up their own pay claims. In addition, resolution 120 calls on the EC to abandon the practice of trading jobs for pay rises.

Together with all other trade unions, the SCPS will be facing with horror the anti-union proposals of the Tories' Employment Bill, designed to limit the right of picketing and bring industrial relations

'back into the bosses' courts. Resolution 60 would commit SCPS to a campaign against the Bill, and should be supported.

The civil service unions are being forced into the arena of class struggle as never before, and are settling into the ranks of the trade union movement. This conference is a crucial one to ensure that the union maintains a clear course towards building a fighting organisation.

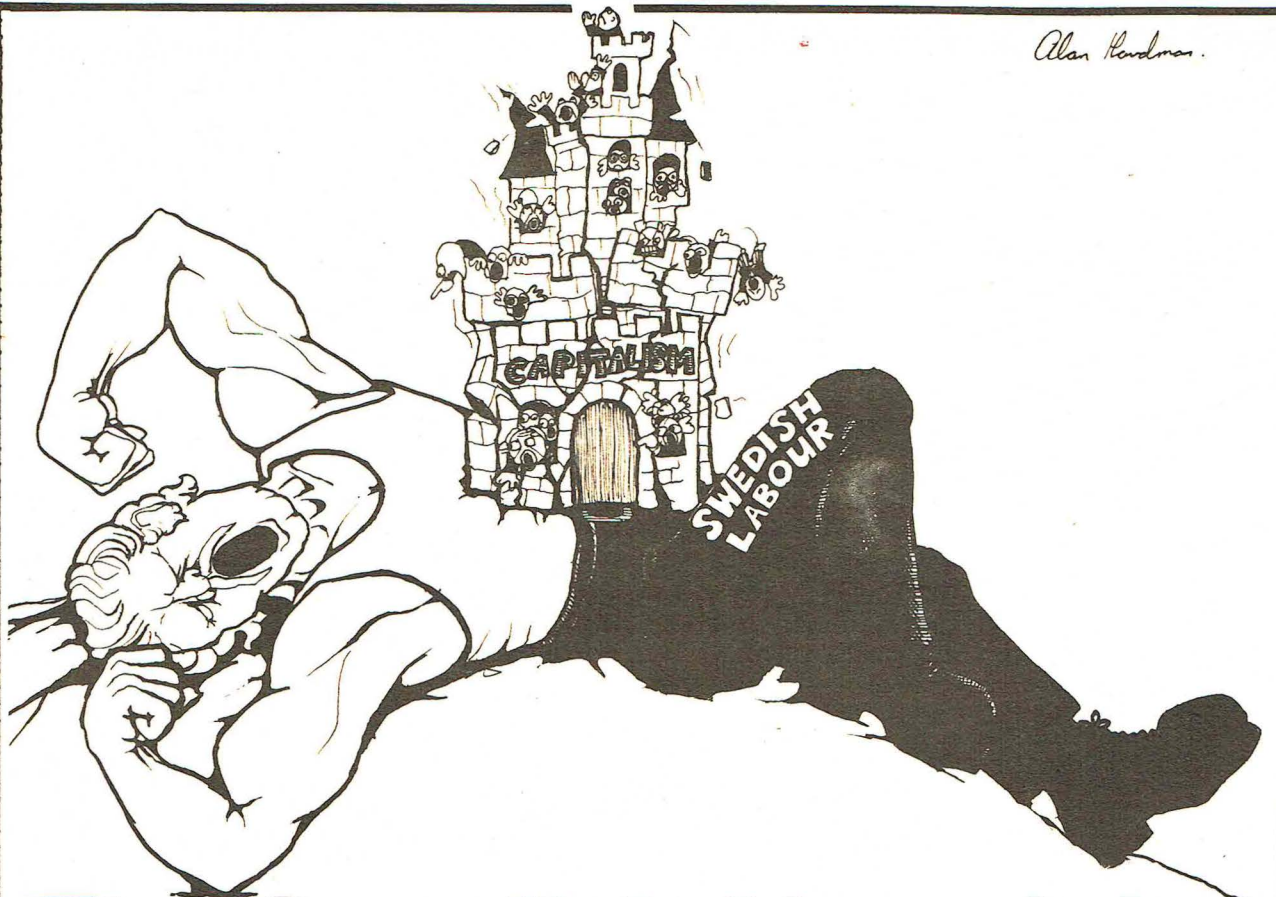
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## The Swedish Giant Stirs

The Swedish bosses were forced to retreat last week after the largest labour dispute in the country's history.

With nearly 50% of the workforce either locked out or on strike, virtually nothing in

Sweden moved without the workers' consent. This power scared the government who forced the employers to accept a 6-7% wage increase, whereas previously they had offered zero %.

After decades of indus-

trial 'peace', the Swedish labour movement has been forced into action and is discovering its power. Trade union leader Nilsson commented during the dispute: "The Swedish model is finished once capitalists and

workers cannot work together."

A whole new era has now opened up for Swedish workers. [Report of dispute page 10].

# NGA FORCE BOSSES TO CONCEDE

**Printworkers in the NGA have won an £80 minimum wage and a shorter working week, after a magnificent show of solidarity with their lower paid brothers.**

After six weeks of industrial action by the National Graphical Association, including a two-week lock-out by the provincial newspaper owners, the employers have been forced to concede the £80 minimum and a 37½-hour week by November 1981.

Lower paid members will get a substantial £17.79 pay increase, with a minimum increase of £12.79 for the rest of industry. Many of our members who fought with most determination have already won better pay and shorter hours than outlined in the claim.

That we succeeded in extracting such a settlement from one of the most ruthless sections of British bosses is a testament to the magnificent struggle of the rank and file of

**By Tony Mulhearn**

(Liverpool NGA branch committee)

the NGA. Our members rallied to assist the low-paid and establish the shorter working week, in a bid to eradicate low wages and create jobs in the face of the threat of new technology.

Once the industrial action was declared by the national leadership, the members' response was magnificent. In the main industrial cities, particularly in areas like Liverpool, the response was immediate and decisive.

After three weeks of the fight, the newspaper owners launched an all-out offensive,

resorting to lock-outs on a mass scale. Immediate occupations of printing plants was the answer of the rank and file in many areas.

The scene looked set for a war of attrition between the union and the newspaper owners, backed by the Confederation of British Industry, with the Thatcher government urging them on. The struggle was openly political: the newspaper owners were determined to break the union's control of production at shop-floor level.

The turning point came when in a magnificent display of solidarity, union members hit the press barons' most lucrative area, Fleet Street.

With the action hitting the Fleet Street owners of provincial presses, the newspaper owners came back to the negotiating table. After many hours of negotiations, in which the unions threatened to escalate the action, the employers finally increased the basic offer, from £75 to £80 basic earnings, and agreed to bring the 37½-hour week forward from July 1982 to November 1981.

While many union activists, particularly in areas like Merseyside, were disappointed at the failure to achieve the 37½-hour week by April 1981

as we originally demanded, it is nevertheless recognised that in the face of the newspaper owners' implacable determination to take us on and, if possible break us in preparation for the introduction of new technology, some compromise was likely if we were to return unbeaten and thwart their plans.

The fight is not yet over. There is no doubt that newspaper offices like Swales on Merseyside and the Wolverhampton 'Express and Star' will attempt to reduce manning, or make us work with scab labour. The union must be ready to organise total opposition to any such measures.

Once, the NGA showed its power on Fleet Street, the employers clearly recalled the magnificent victory of the print unions at 'The Times'. Having received a bloody nose with that encounter, they are not prepared to face a further protracted struggle, which would put their empires at risk.

**STOP PRESS: One out—all out!** The settlement only applies to Newspaper Society members. There must be no return to work until BPIF employers have also agreed to a satisfactory deal.

## ADWEST-READING-A VITAL BATTLE FOR BASIC RIGHTS

**By Steve Morgan**

(UPW and Reading LPYS)

After the workforce at Adwest Engineering, Reading, recently rejected the offer of a "Poverty Wage Packet", management has moved against the shop stewards in an attempt to smash trade union organisation in the factory.

The Adwest management attempted to use an 'Edwards-style' ballot to get acceptance for their 12½% offer (improved from the original 5%) with completely unacceptable strings. But this was rejected by 85% of the workers, and a mass meeting decided to go for a better deal, drawing up preparatory plans for an occupation committee.

Management then launched a pre-meditated attack on the shop stewards, picking first on one of the leading activists who was summarily dismissed at 4.30 pm on the Friday before the Bank Holiday (his P45, wages and holiday pay were there on the table waiting for him).

Management refused permission for a mass meeting in the factory. But a meeting outside decided to strike in support of the sacked member.

As a result, 38 members

were sacked, including all but two of the shop stewards' committee and the whole machine-tool maintenance section.

Unfortunately, there is no real organisation on the shop floor and the two shifts (250 workers) are still working. Nevertheless, there is sympathy for the dismissed workers, in spite of the bosses' campaign of propaganda and intimidation to prevent other workers joining the strike.


The workers are members of the AUEW and the T&GWU, but so far we have unfortunately had little support from the union organisation.

This is a vital battle, in the first place to protect workers' wages and conditions, but now to defend the very right to organise trade unions in the factory.

Efforts are now beginning to get blacking for Adwest supplies, especially those to BL. Mass support and solidarity is vital if the tyrannical management is to be beaten.

Messages of support and cash should be sent urgently to: Danny Broderick, Flat 4, 46 Berkeley Avenue, Reading.

**More industrial reports and trade union coverage pages 14 and 15**



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