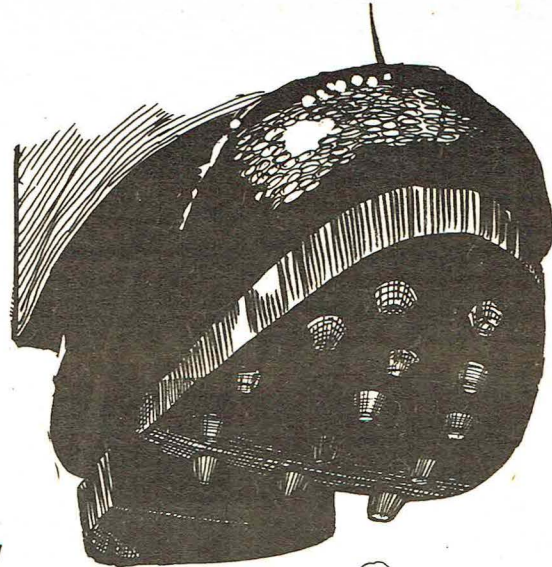


Militant

THE MARXIST PAPER FOR LABOUR & YOUTH

ISSUE 633
14 January 1983

20p



Workers message to Tories...

'We'll Decide Union Rules'



Tebbit's latest binge of union bashing and electioneering must be vigorously resisted by a united campaign of the labour movement.

If his latest proposals, published in a green paper, were allowed to get onto the statute books they would inflict a damaging blow to the trade unions and Labour Party.

The Tories claim to represent the democratic interests of unions members is just a smokescreen to introduce legislation to undermine the trade union movement, set up to represent the interests of working people.

It is true that workers lives

By
Heather Rawling

are determined by an "unrepresentative politically motivated minority that meet and make decisions behind closed doors." They are the company directors who decide on vital issues such as investment and factory closures. Workers have no say in how company profits, made from their labour

Continued on back page



Photo: Militant

Tories use dole to force down wages

While Tarzan Heseltine was busy sunning himself in the Caribbean, another 34,000 joined the dole queues in Britain.

Last week the unemployment figures went up again to a record 3,096,977, using the Department of Employment's new method of cal-

culatation, which is believed to exclude about a million or more unemployed. Even the Tories' attempt to cook the books can't disguise the fact that unemployment is still rising.

But we shouldn't be too disheartened. As Norman Tebbit points out, things could be worse... "the rise of 300,000 which we have seen in 1982 is 'only' half that experienced in 1981." The

By
Roger Shrivess

Tories certainly have a way with words!

More jobs could come from low pay settlements, our Norman says, "...excessive pay deals" like industrial disputes give away British jobs to foreign competition (do you remember the last time you had an 'excessive' pay deal?)

But low wages will not lead to more jobs. Otherwise there would hardly be any

unemployment in Britain because British workers are amongst the lowest paid in Europe.

Unfortunately, one union is giving credence to the Tories' lies about the reasons for unemployment. The EETPU has taken Tebbit's advice and incredibly negotiated a pay cut for their trainees! Even Terry Duffy, leader of the AUEW and right-wing colleague of Frank Chapple of the EET-PU has condemned the settlement that attacks the

Continued on back page

Workers will fight tooth and nail to defend their unions from Tory interference.

£148,000 NEARER A DAILY MILITANT

Many thanks to all our readers for making 1982 a magnificent year for the *Militant*. All our financial records have been broken.

In the last week £18,099 has been rushed in, giving a total of £45,270 for the final quarter of 1982. Although this is just £5,000 short of the target it means that the total raised in the Fighting Fund last year was another record, £148,101.

Outstanding donations received since our Fighting Fund column was written (see page 4) include £150

from Bermondsey Labour Party, £500 from a supporter in the South of England and a promised £400 from supporters in the West of the country. All these donations bring nearer a daily *Militant*—which is needed to combat the Tories' attacks on workers and the right wing of the Labour Party's attacks on socialists.

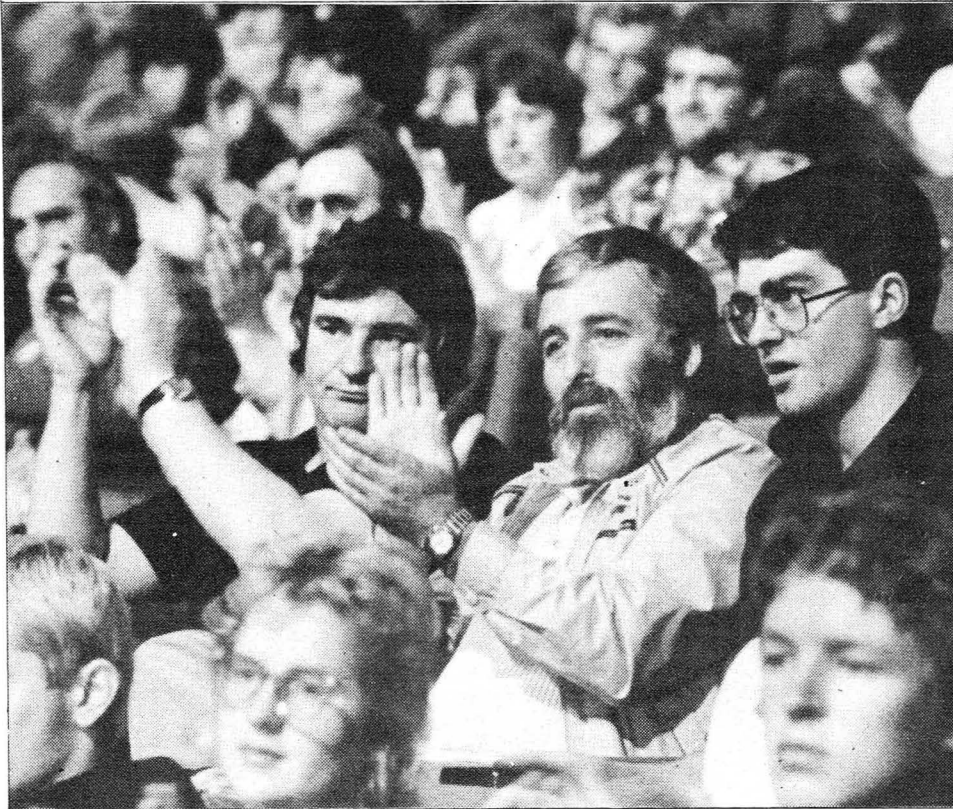
Don't rest on your laurels in 1983. Help take the struggle forward, by making sure you give a regular donation to the Fighting Fund.

There must be no expulsions

Last Monday's meeting of the NEC Organisation Subcommittee took a step back from a witch-hunt when it agreed to endorse Peter Tatchell as the Prospective Candidate for Bermondsey and agreed to postpone the issue of *Militant*, at least until the full NEC on January 26.

Without any doubt the key factor that has influenced the NEC members has been the overwhelming mood of the party rank and file against a witch-hunt in the party. The NEC right wing must feel themselves increasingly isolated. In fact when John Golding moved on the committee that Peter Tatchell should not be endorsed he couldn't even get a seconder, even with Dennis Healey and other right wingers present.

NEC members are also increasingly aware of the views of the party membership over the attacks on *Militant*. It has become evident even to the most uncommitted party members, that the whole exercise of the "enquiry" and the "register" was no more than a device to give the right wing powers to expel and control the left, in



Rank and file Labour Party members applaud the speeches at the September 11 conference against the witch-hunt last year.

order to push the party policies and programme to the right.

It is also obvious to all concerned that *Militant* has been singled out. There has not even been the remotest attempt to investigate right wing groups like "Solidarity" and no enquiries about the links of right wing Labour MPs with organisations like NATO and the

CIA.

Now it seems at least a section of the NEC is becoming aware of the bitter hostility of the Party rank and file to any witch-hunts. In his documents presented to the NEC late last year, Jim Mortimer admitted quite explicitly that the majority of the CLPs and the Party grass roots were against expulsions.

This, and the threat of a huge clash between the NEC and the CLPs, just before an election has been the main factor behind the decision to postpone the *Militant* issue further.

As well as that, Jim Mortimer has admitted now more clearly than ever before, in a paper presented to the organisation subcommittee, that the NEC have

no constitutional grounds for expulsion. The paper states: "Why it may be asked, do some organisations remain acceptable as affiliated bodies whilst others have their applications rejected? Where is the provision in the constitution for such a distinction to be made?...Members of 'Militant Tendency' may well argue that different standards were being applied to them than to members of other organisations which the NEC had decided not to accept into affiliation."

"In view of this area of doubt", it goes on, "and the possibility of legal challenge the NEC may feel that before contemplating expulsions it would be preferable, and almost certainly safer, first to end the inconsistency of constitutional practice and/or to put forward proposals to amend the constitution."

The General Secretary has arrived by stages, therefore, at the position long argued by *Militant*, that a witch-hunt has no support in the party rank and file, that it would only be electorally damaging and, finally, that it has no constitutional validity!

In effect, Jim Mortimer is now suggesting to the NEC that expulsions should be dropped and that, instead, he is proposing that certain "conditions" should be put to the *Militant* Editorial Board.

It should be made clear that if the NEC were to present conditions, this would be the first time that they had been. The Editorial Board have insisted throughout that they were always prepared to meet and discuss with the NEC or its officers to discuss any proposals or suggestions that they might want to make, but up to now no formal conditions, proposals or suggestions had been put.

If the NEC does decide to shelve expulsions—and it is difficult to see what choice they have, given that they would have no constitutional grounds to go ahead, even according to the Party's chief officer—it will in all probability put these conditions to the Editorial Board. For their part the *Militant* Editorial Board have held all along that *Militant* supporters are not in breach of the party rules, and, even though no such conditions have been demanded of the right wing, they would be prepared to discuss with the NEC or its officers.

The important point however is that if expulsions are averted, the vast majority of Party members will have a huge sigh of relief. We can forget the witch-hunt at last, they would argue, and get on with fighting the real enemies, the Tories, and with winning the coming election. That would indeed be a big step forward for the Party.

'WE WANT TO FIGHT THE TORIES'

There is no let-up in the opposition from the rank and file of the Labour Party to the witch-hunting tactics of the right wing.

At this year's conference of the London Labour Party, over 12 of the resolutions submitted are against the witch-hunt.

Beckenham CLP have passed a resolution calling for party unity "based on conference policy and Clause IV." It also adds, "This branch...informs the NEC that it will not accept or implement expulsions of its members for their support for the ideas of the *Militant* newspaper."

Caernarfon CLP have also written to the NEC. They said, "Whilst not wishing or intending to diverge from its original decision on the establishment of the Register, this constituency feels great concern over the growing feeling that the NEC is trying to use the Register as an instrument for removing long-standing, vigorous and active socialists from the Labour Party." Caernarfon says they "object unreservedly" to such a

process, saying such activities undermine the socialist principles of the Party. They conclude calling on the NEC to lead a socialist, anti-Tory campaign.

Ardwick CLP has also registered its opposition to the NEC's tactics, unanimously condemning the "re-introduction of bans and proscriptions into the party." It points out, "We would remind the NEC that they have no mandate from party conference for this action, nor for the proposed expulsion of the *Militant* Editorial Board."

The sentiments which conclude the Ardwick CLP's message to the NEC will be echoed by Labour Parties up and down the country: "Given the fact that we are now approaching a general election it is clear that the present NEC is not concerned about campaigning against and defeating the most vicious Tory government this century, and is only in fact interested in introducing totalitarian measures against socialists."



Members of the Parliamentary right wing. They want more research assistants—but for what purpose?

Parliament right want more 'assistants'

Not content with the support from all the boardrooms of Fleet Street, Labour's right wing now want to use taxpayers' money to continue their battle against the left in the Labour Party.

Labour's Chief Whip, Michael Cocks, has asked the government for an extra £50,000 to finance more research assistants for the Shadow Cabinet. Dennis Skinner has denounced the move, stating that such 'research assistants' spend their time plotting and planning campaigns against the left, in and outside of the Commons.

£90,000 is already used for research assistants, and a letter from one of them, which

has been shown to *Militant*, indicates the nature of some of their activities. This letter, from Denis Healey's research assistant, also show how these assistants help organise a right-wing 'whip' to attend sub-committees of the National Executive.

Addressed to Denis Healey, Betty Boothroyd, Ann Davis, Gwyneth Dunwoody, John Golding, Denis Howell, Shirley Summerskill, Russell Tuck, and Eric Varley, it advises them how to vote at the Youth subcommittee on 7 December:

"The main task... is to kill the reprinting of the LPYS pamphlet on Northern Ireland...the budget shows a welcome improvement, since

there is no provision for LPYS campaigns, and there are some extra resources for NOLS. Moreover, the budget for Socialist Youth is halved" (Emphasis in original).

Party members will, no doubt be wondering if this circular will be investigated by Jim Mortimer with a view to its recipients being 'registered' as an organised group active in the Party. Or whether the Party's representatives will back the right wing's call for more research assistants, separate from and outside the control of Party Headquarters.

By Colin Barber

Bermondsey Support

Bermondsey's long traditions of socialism and working-class struggle are coming to the fore once again in response to the attacks on working people by the Tories.

The ideas of Marxism, campaigned for by supporters of *Militant* in Bermondsey Labour Party are gaining wider support.

Recently *Militant* supporters and members of the LPYS have been at the forefront of the battle with the right wing of Labour's NEC to secure the Party's right to choose its own parliamentary candidate.

As an indication of the support for *Militant* in Bermondsey Labour Party, and appreciation of the *Militant*'s campaign against the witch-hunt, members of Bermondsey's general committee voted to donate £150 to the fighting fund. A motion to donate only £30 was lost.

CLPs up and down the country should follow suit and ensure *Militant*'s victory against the witch-hunt!

By Bernie O'Connor

(Vice-Chair, Bermondsey CLP, personal capacity)

New readers applaud paper

It is clear from the number of letters received at the *Militant's* offices each week that the overwhelming majority of Labour Party members and trade unionists are incensed at the course set for witch-hunts by the right wing.

New readers, young and old, have expressed their opposition to the right wing and their support for *Militant*, and others have written in telling of their successes in selling the paper on the streets.

Militant could not possibly print them all, but below are some extracts from some of the many letters:

A friend of mine sold me the December 17 issue of *Militant*. I've always been a bit sceptical about your socialism before and its validity for ordinary people. But the articles, especially Ian Isaac's and the one on Argentina were very well thought out. This time round if we manage to get a Labour victory lets try to make the socialist changes, as laid out in the centre page article, really stick, instead of making cosmetic changes. It's a pity you can't publish every day to keep us in touch with what's going on while it's happening.

Gavin Coles, Penarth.

Militant is the most important element in the struggle for socialism in this country. If it can stand firm, amidst a bitter attack by the right wing of our own movement, there is hope that for the first time since the formation of the Parliamentary Labour Party in 1906, that the Party will fulfill its original purpose of destroying the power and wealth of the minority, the ruling class of industrialists and landowning gentry, and put it into the hands of the majority who really own it and make it, the working class.

Stephen Byrne, Salop.

It is perhaps futile to offer my regrets about yesterday's (the NEC meeting) happenings. I did what little I could, as an ordinary Party member, by writing to my own MP and to Mr Foot myself.

One service which I believe that the *Militant* is doing is providing political education; I hope to be able to attend some of the local discussion group meetings... Practical instruction on such matters as what to say 'on the doorstep' seems to be lacking at ward meetings in my, as yet, limited experience.

Alan Harrison, Walsall.

The cut in the YS budget for 1983 is to be deplored, and can only be seen as a way of curtailing YS activities, or in plain and simple terms—a purge. If, as it is alleged, the cut in the budget is due to YS members being associated with the *Militant* newspaper, it is a sure way of showing that someone is out to stifle socialist ideas. People join the Labour Party for many reasons and align themselves to a 'wing' that appeals to them, and if their views of the *Militant* newspaper come over loud and clear through discussion, and the people agree with those ideas, why in hell's name should this be curtailed?

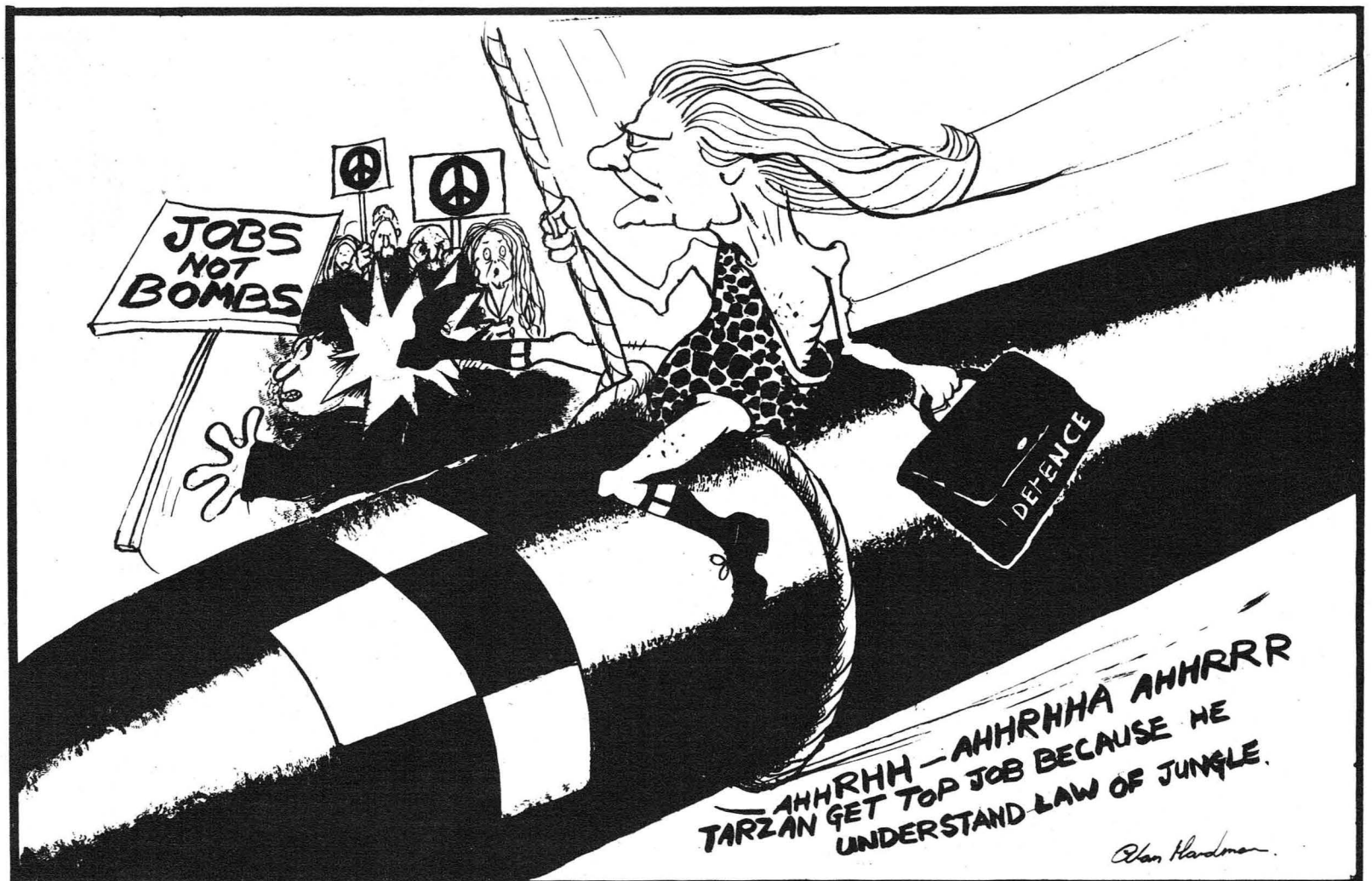
We need the youth today so that we have their votes tomorrow, and by cutting their budget in this way, it is only going to reduce their activities, and this will be to the detriment of many constituencies who rely on YS help and activities.

Tony Biles, Brentwood and Ongar CLP.

I am 73 years of age. Born in Harnsworth, near Barnsley, I started work in the mines at 14 and did 12 years in the pits. I was in the 1926 miners' lock-out where we were sold out. I got out of the mines with luck. I've done 20 years in engineering since then, and was a steward and convenor. I left and went as a postman for 13 years and took part in the only Post Office strike, where we were sold down the river again. I've followed and admired Michael Foot all my life, but not any more. He's let the right wing corner him—he should have gone out fighting on the left.

I was invited to a meeting of *Militant* supporters, and they tried to tell me all I know! I could go on writing forever of the injustices of the Labour Party of which I am now a member. I will do my best to stop the witch-hunt.

J Armstrong, Southend-on-Sea.



POEU Ranks angry at witch-hunt

Last November, the Swansea branch of the Post Office Engineering Union sent round a circular to other branches complaining about the witch-hunting activities of John Golding, NEC right-winger, who is sponsored by that union.

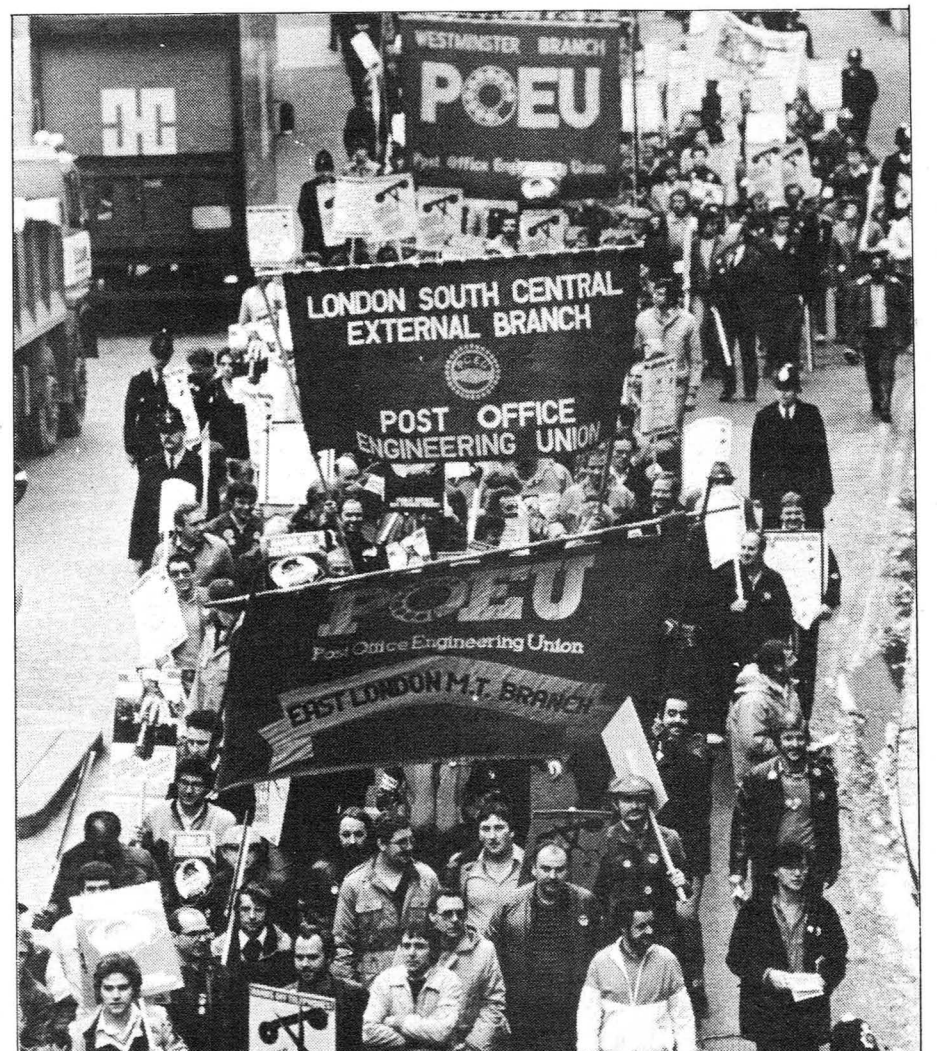
Since then, a number of other POEU branches have discussed the Swansea circular and have sent off similar letters to the union General Secretary, Bryan Stanley, and the National Executive Council.

The Birmingham Power branch of the POEU made it clear that they supported John Golding in his activities as an MP sponsored by the union, but their letter decried the divisions within the Party: "...if we don't (have a united party) the general public, whether we like it or not will fail to elect a Labour government."

Another letter to head office, from the Hillingdon branch of the POEU, explicitly criticised the actions of Golding. After discussing the issue, the secretary noted, "There was extreme anger that an officer of the POEU, who was sponsored as an MP, gets such extensive media coverage and has not seen fit to attack the Tories' Privatisation Bill or Project Mercury in his media coverage."

The letter goes on to suggest that if the three POEU-sponsored MPs cannot find time to campaign effectively against the government's measures, then sponsorship should be reconsidered. "In the case of John Golding, our members would ask him to get his priorities right, to forget his obsession with the left and use his vast amount of energies and ability to fight the Tories and City financiers who are attacking us."

The Manchester Central Internal branch of the



POEU members demonstrate against privatisation in October last year. They want their sponsored MPs to spend more time fighting the Tories, not socialists. Photo: Militant

POEU also wrote to head office after the Swansea circular, complaining about Bryan Stanley and the NEC, John Golding. "If John Golding's campaign was purely against the Militant Tendency," the secretary wrote, "then that would cause concern. But it seems clear that the campaign is now aimed at any grouping within the Labour Party that does not seem to conform with the dictates of a small elite."

The Glasgow branch was even more forthright: "We

cannot endorse the view," the branch wrote to Bryan Stanley and the NEC, "seemingly held by the NEC, the General Secretary and Mr Golding, that the biggest obstacle to the return of a Labour government is the Militant Tendency."

It was the view of the branch committee ("neither pro nor anti-Militant"), the letter went on, that "it is the activities of the right wing, of which John Golding is a leading member, with their witch-hunting and splitting

tactics which is doing untold harm to the image of the Labour Party."

Joan Lestor said on television last year that John Golding was a bigger threat to Labour's electoral chances than *Militant*. Clearly many members of Golding's own union support that view, and it is quite right that they should use their own union machinery to question the damaging activities of an MP they sponsor.

Back us with cash

Many thanks to all our supporters who have rushed us money to meet the deadline for the last quarter.

in 83

The **Militant Winter Draw** was a great success, with over 4,000 books of tickets being sold. The profit from this and all other donations will be shown in the final chart of 1982, which will be published next week.

Regular donations

This week a further £450 was given to our funds in memory of Sue Beckingham. Supporters in Llanelli made a special appeal for us and raised £112 in individual donations. Thanks also to Bob Wylie for his £80 TV appearance money, J and G Legg (E Kilbride) for £30, T Oram (East Ham) for £25, and to B Gilmore, P Phillips and R Sulatycki for £20s.

Labour Party members in Blackley, Manchester, and in Coventry held collections for us, and workers at Guinness Exports (Merseyside), Fords (Southampton), the London Hospital amongst others also assisted us financially. ASTMS 763 branch sent us a £10 donation in response to our appeal, UCW members in the north west collected £20, and other cash came from Mersey print workers. AUEW regional conference delegates, expenses reimbursed by a London COHSE steward, and GMWU stewards in St Helens.

Action LPYS held a talent night, after which we came out £37 better off, and Gosport LPYS raised £30 for us. Thanks also to LPYS members in Coventry and Leeds, and particularly to Leeds students who donated £42, and to Scottish students who collected for us.

A Bradford supporter, A Jones, emptied a collecting box of £15.31 (see how it piles up!), D Graham (Glasgow) and M Campbell (Leeds) both sent us £13, and tenners came from J Furniss (Bradford), M Wells (UCW, Stafford), R Atkins (Southampton), D Musker and A Kelly (both Merseyside), B Moore (NALGO, Clydebank), S Brindle (Caerphilly) and N Rafeek (Sunderland).

Help Militant expand

Thanks to NHS workers J Dixon, J Law, M Epdon (London), Owen (a POEU member at Coleg Harlech), I Yates (unemployed, Sutton-in-Ashfield), M Ritchie (IRSF, Leicester), K Greenway (Bromsgrove), J Brind and H Cohen (respectively CLP Secretary and PPC, Leyton), A Nisbet (Newcastle), West of Scotland supporters M Preston (NALGO) and J Freil (SOGAT 82) and London subscriber R Page.

Thanks to all who've contributed this year to our



Paper selling in '82 — keep up the support in '83!

Photo: Militant

funds: we hope you won't stop, but will continue to assist us. By the time you read this, we'll all know a bit more about what Labour's NEC intend to do about our paper, but whatever the result of their deliberations, *Militant* will be needed by working class people in 1983.

If you're a new (or old!) reader of this column, can you help *Militant* expand by collecting cash for us or by selling extra copies to your mates? Our next target is £50,000 by 9 April: carry on the good work!

By Steve Cawley

RAFFLE RESULTS

- 1st Prize — Holiday worth £500
Ticket 023830 C Watson Hartlepool.
- 2nd Prize — Video Equipment worth £300
Ticket 026578 R Neary Bristol.
- 8 prizes £25 worth of books or electrical equipment
Ticket No 006918 L Wolstenholme
Ticket No 074868 D King
Ticket No 031923 E Segal, Folkestone
Ticket No 087181 H Mansfield, Salford
Ticket No 096054 A Carpenter, Birmingham
Ticket No 028805 Mr Davis
Ticket No 099726 M Amos, Birmingham
Ticket No 012799 I Allan, Falkirk

Congratulations to all the winners. Could they contact S Cawley at *Militant* office.

DOUBLE THE SALES

There will almost certainly be a general election this year and if the Tories are to be beaten all possible means of agitation and education will be needed. *Militant* will prove a vital weapon in these struggles but only if our readers and sellers use it to its maximum potential.

Every Labour Party member and trade unionist needs a Marxist programme to enable them to withstand and combat the attacks of the bosses and their system. It is clear that the Tories are planning to dismantle the NHS, steel and rail industries if they are returned at the next election.

'*Militant*' has plans to extend and enlarge its coverage

of all issues facing working people but this can only be done if each of our readers and sellers seize all the possibilities. Last year saw a big growth in the circulation and readership of '*Militant*' but to make the leap that is necessary every avenue must be explored.

We are asking that in the next few months every reader sets themselves the aim of gaining one new reader and each seller finding one new seller. We are now preparing the way for a daily *Militant*. This can only be achieved if we have a readership in every major factory and every working class estate.

There is tremendous in-

terest in *Militant* at the present time. We must capitalise on this so that by the time of a general election our paper will be available to the tens of thousands looking for a way out of this crisis.

If you are interested in becoming a seller of *Militant* use the tear off column on the back of this week's paper and send to Circulation Dept, 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN or phone 01-986-3828, make it your new year's resolution to build *Militant*!

By Dave Farrar

ads

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

MILITANT READERS MEETINGS 'WHAT WE STAND FOR'

HACKNEY on Tuesday 25 January at 7.30pm at Stamford Hill Library. Speaker: Bob Faulkes (Hackney Central Labour Party). All Welcome!

GORTON Speaker: Margaret Creear. Chairman. Alex Pandolfo (Transport Broad Left, Secretary) at Gorton Trades and Labour Club, Ashkirk St. off Gorton Lane on Wednesday 19 January at 7.30 pm.

MANCHESTER, Marxist Discussion Group: 'Black nationalism in America' Speaker, Bob Lee (PNP, Jamaican Youth Movement, UK section). 7.30 pm Friday 14 January. Phone 061-348 7369 for details.
SHEFFIELD HEELEY/ALTERCLIFFE, Marxist discussion group on Monday 24 January at 7.30 pm on 'Socialism V The National Economic Assessment' at Mount Pleasant Community Centre, Sharrow Lane, S 11.

Huddersfield Marxist Discussion Group: Wednesday 19 January: 'Ireland'. 7.30 pm, Huddersfield Library, Children's section.

NORTH EAST Marxist Discussion Groups:
FOREST HALL: Details Dave Metcalfe, 0632 665277
NEWCASTLE WEST: Every Sunday. Contact Rob Lowther, 0632 775636.
NEWCASTLE NORTH: Every Sunday. Contact Karen Walker, 0632 732959.
GOSFORTH: Every Sunday. Contact Rob Dennison, 0632 844918.
SANDIFORD: Every Sunday. Contact Gavin Dudley, 0632 652906.
GATESHEAD: Every Sunday. Contact Tom McGuinness, 18 Lumley Gardens, Gateshead (Gateshead 783262).
WASHINGTON: Details, Washington 478424.

CLASSIFIED

SHARE FLAT in EALING, London, W5. Rent £75 per month. Suit *Militant* supporter. Ring 01-579 6836.

LEEDS FOOTBALL BUSTER No 3. Winner: Tony Gill, Dundee Utd.

NEW YEAR GREETINGS

CPSA P & T Group
Liverpool Branch
activists send fraternal greeting to the labour movement for 1983.

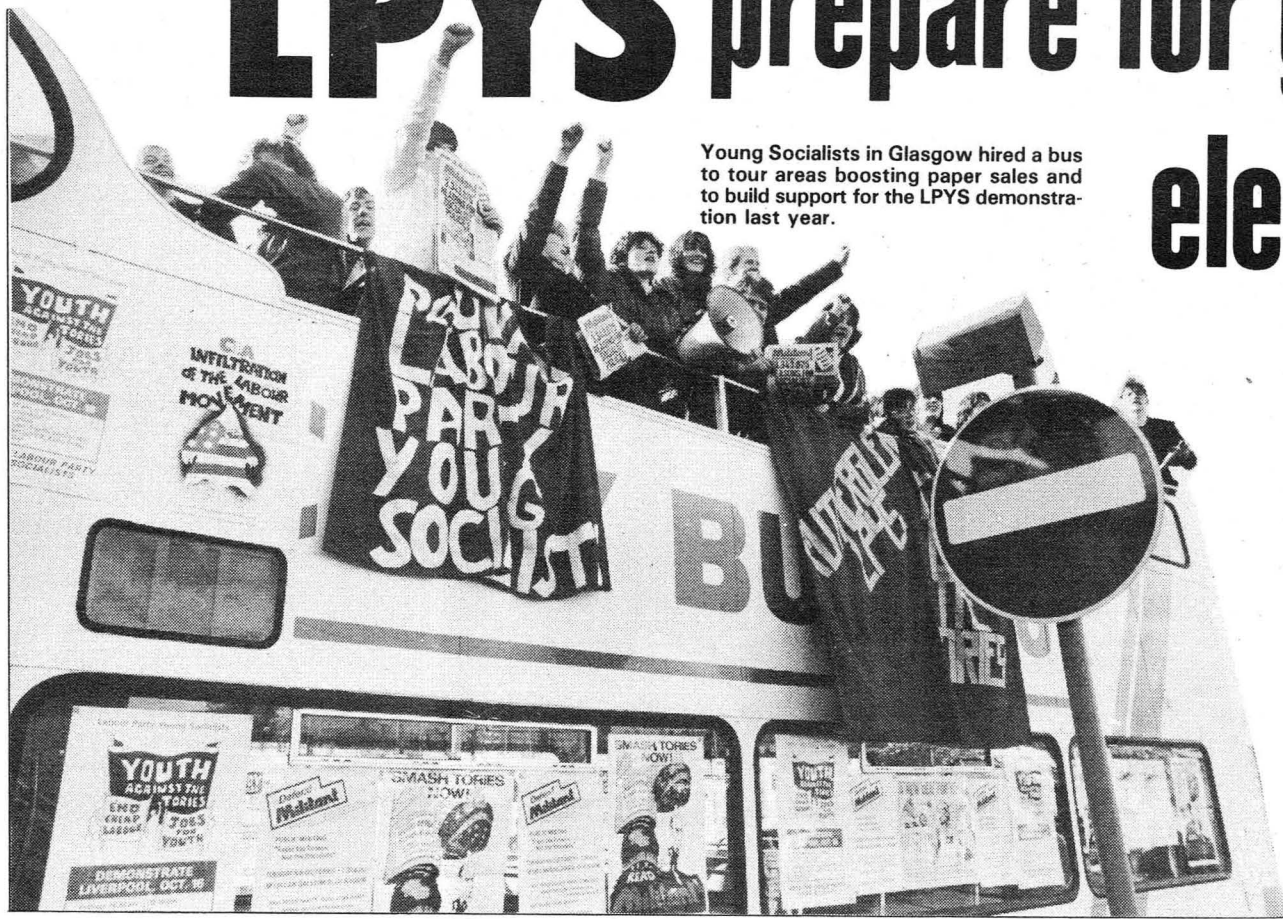
- ★ No to privatisation of British Telecom
- ★ For public service not private profit
- ★ No to job losses
- ★ For renationalisation of British Telecom without compensation to speculators

Brent East Labour Party
Young Socialists
send new year greetings to the labour and trade union movement.

No to witch-hunts!
Put the Tories on the dole!

For socialist policies defeat the witch-hunt in 1983.
Ryde Branch, Isle of Wight CLP.

LPYS prepare for general election



Young Socialists in Glasgow hired a bus to tour areas boosting paper sales and to build support for the LPYS demonstration last year.

“Another 5 years of Tory government would be a disaster for working people.” With these words Kevin Ramage (LPYS National Chairman) opened up a national meeting to launch Labour’s election campaign amongst youth.

The meeting was attended by National Committee members, Regional Committee chairpersons, the regional youth officers and national officers of the party.

David Hughes (Labour Party National Agent) introducing the discussion said, “The LPYS had the leading role to play in winning youth to vote Labour.” With 4 million plus first time voters the LPYS have a decisive role to play if there is to be a Labour victory.

A note of discord was introduced into the discussion by Gordon Parker (Southern Region Youth Officer) who said the philosophy of the LPYS NC was alien to the Labour movement. His solution? Abolish the LPYS!

These comments were greeted with incredulous looks not only from the LPYS members but from most other party officials present, including the General Secretary.

Francis Curran (YS NC

By a Militant reporter

Scotland) explained the invaluable role played by the LPYS in elections:

“In the last general election there was only one Labour gain from the Tories in Glasgow; Cathcart. The present Labour MP still praises the LPYS for the work they undertook in helping to win that election. In Scotland the LPYS have already started to canvass young voters so they get to know our faces and see us taking up their problems.”

Laurence Coates answered the claim of some Regional Youth officers who said there was no such thing as LPYS policy, saying the LPYS should only argue for accepted party policies.

Laurence said “The last manifesto said more about foxhunting than it did about

youth! Now the Party has its most radical youth policy ever. The LPYS can work with this policy but we will continue to argue within the labour movement that it should be improved and extended.”

Emphasising the importance of the LPYS being allowed to campaign on the policies passed at LPYS conference, he added “the Party only had a radical youth policy because of the pressure brought to bear by the LPYS campaigning on

the youth charter.”

In the afternoon Jim Mortimer (Labour Party General Secretary) spoke on the LPYS and the Labour Party: “Youth not only brought energy and dedication to the movement, they brought fresh ideas.”

But he added, it wasn’t allowed to proclaim the need for socialism. It was necessary to convince the mass of ordinary working class people. Too often youth discussed amongst themselves.

FRATERNAL NEW YEAR’S GREETINGS FROM THE LPYS NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Francis Curran (Scotland)
Dave Harris (Northern)
John Goodby (Yorkshire)
John Hunt (N. West)
Les Kuriata (W. Mids)
Kevin Ramage (Chairman)
Willie Griffin
Editor *Socialist Youth*

Ken Smith (Wales)
Mick Whale (S. West)
Steve Morgan (S’thern)
Nick Toms (Eastern)
Derek Hilling (E. Mids)
Teresa Wrack (L’ndn S)
Peter Mumford
Asst. Editor

Laurence Coates (NEC)

★ NO WITCH-HUNT
★ FIGHT THE TORIES,
NOT THE YOUTH

NOLS backtrack on Poland

In September last year the Welsh Labour Students regional committee launched a petition calling on the National Organisation of Labour Students’ leaders to end their support for the official state student union in Poland, the Polish Socialist Students Association (SZSP).

After four months campaigning, the December NOLS mailing has reported the decision of the NOLS officers to de-recognise the SZSP, because it could not support the SZSP while the Solidarity linked student union, the Independent Students Association (NZS), “is not allowed to operate”.

The about turn by the NOLS leaders is a vindication of the campaign of WLS. However, the question must be asked: why did it take 12 months of military rule in Poland before the NOLS leaders ‘realised’ that the NZS was not “allowed to operate”? This question is

particularly important given the special repression meted out to the NZS by the Polish bureaucracy. Whereas Solidarity itself was “suspended” until its ‘legal’ dissolution late in 1982, the NZS was outlawed by special decree in January 1982—before the April 1982 NOLS conference where the NOLS leaders defended their links with the Stalinist SZSP!

Fundamentally the vacillation and confusion of the NOLS leaders on this issue rests on their misunderstanding of the nature of the Stalinist regimes.

Thus they have de-recognised the SZSP only “until such time as the Polish government recognises and legitimises the NZS”. But the experience of 18 months of the free trade union Solidarity showed how even the basic right to strike and form independent trade unions, came into immediate conflict with the superfluous

power and privileges of the bureaucrats, factory managers and “Communist” Party officials. The Polish bureaucracy only ‘recognised and legitimised’ Solidarity as a temporary measure to ease the pressure on them from below.

That’s why the call of the WLS petition is still important: for NOLS to unequivocally break all links with the SZSP and to condemn the bureaucracy as having “nothing in common with the real ideas of genuine socialism, of democratic workers control of industry and society.” In the run up to the Labour Club elections for NOLS conference delegates every Labour student should be approached to sign the petition and discuss the issues involved—including the need for a socialist leadership of NOLS.

By Steve Davies
(Chairperson WLS)

FE student success

This year’s conference of the National Union of Students Further Education Sector marked a tremendous step forward for the work of the Young Socialists and Militant supporters at FE colleges.

Around 25 of the 100 or so delegates were members of the LPYS. Two LPYS members stood as candidates for the NUS FE National Committee. The ballot papers are being counted at the time of writing but it is probable that at least one of these candidates will be elected.

Despite the opposition from the platform, LPYS members managed to convince the majority of delegates of the need for Trainees on the new Youth Training Schemes to have full trade union rights with trade union rates of pay, and a guaranteed job at the end

of the scheme.

Many delegates also responded enthusiastically to the call of the LPYS for students to link with the labour movement in the fight against the Tories. This was reflected in the attendance at the conference meeting organised by the LPYS; 38 people attended, to hear Firemen’s leader and PPC for Liverpool Kirkdale, Terry Fields.

The forthcoming LPYS ‘Week of Action’ around *Socialist Youth*—including the call to organise *Socialist Youth* rallies on the issue of the Labour Party’s commitment to a £20 a week grant for FE students—must mark the beginning of an ongoing campaign to recruit FE students into the LPYS, set up Labour Clubs and link students to the labour movement.

By Leo McDaid
(NOLS NC member)

**Sell
Labour’s
youth
paper**

In the run up to the General Election, it is vital that the LPYS ensure the full potential of its paper, *Socialist Youth*, is realised.

It is essential to develop *Socialist Youth* into a mass paper to counter the lies of Fleet Street and to rally support for socialist policies. Therefore the LPYS National Committee have agreed to launch a sales drive to increase the circulation of *Socialist Youth*. Proposals include:

★ A national *Socialist Youth* week of action from 5-13 February. A special 16-page edition of *Socialist Youth* will be produced with a special feature on FE students.

★ All LPYS Regional Conferences should discuss the paper for at least one hour to give time for a thorough discussion on the paper, its contents and how sales can be developed.

★ All Regional Committees should discuss the paper in detail, and should co-opt a regional *Socialist Youth* organiser onto the Committee. The week of action in February could be followed up by a meeting of all the new Regional paper organisers in March to discuss their role.

★ Each Region should organise a public *Socialist Youth* Rally and approach leading MPs, Trade Unionists, PPCs and LPYS members to speak. The rallies would be generally anti-Tory, but can also be used to highlight Labour’s call for a £20 FE grant for 16-18 year olds. All regions would have to produce a special leaflet to publicise their rally.

★ One Saturday should be designated a special ‘action day’, where regions could book lorries or mini-buses and tour the area, selling *Socialist Youth* and organising street meetings. Each region should have its own *Socialist Youth* banner to use on days of action.

★ All LPYS branches should be encouraged to have a local meeting on the paper, and discuss its content and how to increase sales. They should also be asked to elect an organiser and discuss the payment of money owed for papers sold.

★ All branches should be asked to organise a social event to raise funds for the LPYS Campaign Fund.

By Peter Mumford
(Assistant Editor
Socialist Youth)

LEFT and RIGHT

Watch this space

"Obeying the law and the government" is one of the Tories' main slogans. It will be interesting to see in the next few months whether it is applied to the Prime Minister's husband, Denis Thatcher.

In April, a British government report will show that one of the companies breaking the government and EEC's Code of Conduct for European firms in South Africa is Quinton Hazell, whose directors include Denis Thatcher. As 'Militant' reported (3 December 1982) Quinton Hazell's profits went up 21% last year to £173,000. At the same time the number of their SA employees paid below the absolute poverty line more than doubled, from 149 to 351.

A spokesman for the company told the 'Daily Mirror', 4 January: "As a member of the board he (Denis Thatcher) would certainly take part in a review of the annual budget, but decisions about wages are taken locally...I wish we could afford more, but we are not going to get into an uncompetitive situation."

Crocodile tears and evasion to justify profits from slave labour. But it will probably satisfy Denis Thatcher's wife. After all it's only Tory philosophy in practice.

An 'independent' man

"Mr Leigh-Pemberton may also have that independence of mind, so valuable in a central banker, that comes from Eton and Oxford, from possession of a country estate and from the Lord Lieutenancy of Kent." That was how the 'Daily Telegraph's' City Comment introduced the new Governor of the Bank of England. Clearly independence is a relative concept.

Leigh-Pemberton, chairman of the National Westminster Bank since 1977, has made it clear that he would oppose Peter Shore's economic proposals—the 30% devaluation of the pound: "It is the duty of the Governor of the Bank of England to protect the currency and if policies were proposed which were likely to devalue it seriously—not technically, but in the eyes of the world,—obviously it would be my duty to advise the government of the consequences of that policy and I think to resist it."

If that is the response to proposals which are only meant to help capitalism, what can we expect from such 'independent' bankers when measures are really made to end their power?

The man from the Ministry

It seems the Ministry of Defence are upset by the growing opposition to nuclear weapons. In an interview with the *Sunday Times* (January 2), permanent under-secretary for the MOD, Sir Frank Cooper, complained, "You know, people go on and on about nuclear war; millions of people died in the 1914 war, it just took longer to kill them, that's all." Quite right Frank, and nuclear war is so much cleaner too, none of that terrible mud...

Sir Frank, in the same interview, also gave an indication of how the capitalist state is the instrument of the people (a-hem!). He was asked what would happen if a Labour government went unilateral. He hurriedly pointed out that "in the end", the MOD would have to carry out the electorate's wishes, but he did say there would be a "right old row", and pointed out, "There's always the generals to consider..."

FIFTY YEARS AGO

The beginning of 1933 found 76-year-old Tom Mann, an activist of countless workers' struggles, in jail. He had committed no criminal action, but like the women of Greenham Common just before Christmas 1982, refused to be bound over to keep the peace. So the National government of 1933, led by Labour renegade Ramsay MacDonald, dragged up a 600-year-old statute and stuck him in prison.

Tom Mann, as Treasurer of the Unemployed Workers' Movement, had been hauled before the court as "a preventive measure" because the UWM had planned a demonstration to hand in a petition from unemployed workers on 19 December. The class viciousness and spite of the bosses was maintained throughout Mann's imprisonment. Although he caught bronchitis and had to be put in the prison hospital, he was refused remission. He was finally released on 16 February after two months in jail.

TV Reviews ● TV Reviews ●

Channel 4's 'The Spanish Civil War'

With splendid use of old film footage and interviews with workers, and fascists, from the period, the new Channel 4 series on the Spanish Civil War looks promising.

The six part series on Channel 4 (Fridays at 8pm) traces the events of the revolution, civil war and the eventual defeat of the Spanish workers and peasants, in some detail.

Part one, shown last week, dealt with the events leading to the outbreak of civil war itself. It showed the conditions faced by the workers, and the hatred of the peasants for the landowners and their allies the church.

The stranglehold of the ruling class and the monarchy was broken with the victory of the Republican government in 1931. The defeat of the ruling class opened up a whole new period of Spanish history, the workers and peasants now wanting to seize the opportunity to break free of capitalism's grip. However, the middle class liberal leadership of the Republican government proved itself unwilling and incapable of satisfying the aspirations of the masses. As one land reformer looking back, concluded on the programme, "We found it impossible to have land reform without a revolution."

However, given the new confidence of the workers and peasants, the Republican leaders were forced into granting reforms, which enraged the ruling class who were regrouping for counter revolution on the one hand,

and merely whetted the appetites of the masses on the other, driving the leaderships of the workers' parties further to the left. The programme clearly showed the prerequisites for revolution

unfolding in this period of Spanish history.

In the programme, it touched upon many events from the period that have lessons for socialists today; e.g. the refusal of the Republican government to arm the workers when a counter-revolutionary coup by the army generals was threatened. The next programme (14 January) deals with the revolutionary uprising of the Spanish workers and the January 21 broadcast deals with the International Brigades.

Of course, the series is not a rounded out Marxist analysis of events. At times it tended to drift towards romanticism, in places was sketchy, jumping over major events, and sometimes recorded isolated incidents, such as this or that assassina-



Return of the Blackstuff

It was no accident that Alan Bleasdale's series of five plays, *Boys from the Blackstuff* were tucked away on BBC2 late on Sunday night.

The plays, about five unemployed Tarmac workers trying to survive the dole in Liverpool, realistically showed the treatment, despair, frustration of the unemployed—and their anger at the system.

As Alan Bleasdale said of the series, "I didn't write it for the bishops and knights and queens and kings and people who have got castles. I wrote it for and about the pawns..."

It is significant that the 'Blackstuff' became immensely popular amongst workers, despite its 'minority viewing slot'. It answers the myth peddled by the Tories and their ilk that all workers want to see on television is 'birds, booze and betting'. Indeed, it is being repeated on BBC 1, on Tuesday

nights at 9.25 because of public demand—over four and a half million people watched it first time round.

The BBC programme *Did you see?* (January 7), asked unemployed workers in Liverpool what they thought of the series. They all identified with the characters, especially Chrissy, an ordinary worker who is driven to the point of despair by being unemployed but keeps fighting back in his own way.

Although the head butting character of Yosser—described by Bleasdale as, "the kind of bloke we all know. I mean everyone knows a Yosser and we all move out of the bar when Yosser arrives"—the unemployed interviewed said they felt the anger and violence of Yosser when they came up against the bureaucracy of the DHSS. One worker explained about an experience he had at the dole office: "They said to me, how much a week are you prepared to work for? I said £200 a week. They said, don't you think you're being ridiculous asking for £200 a week?... I said, well who's the most ridiculous, me asking for £200 a week or you asking me if I am prepared to take a job for less when there are no jobs there?"

Also, the unemployed questioned whether Yosser

was so 'mad'; "We feel like what Yosser says. Give us proper jobs. We can do that."

Another character in the series was the old class fighter, George Malone, whose death as he bitterly surveys the rundown Liverpool docks brought a lump to many a socialist's throat. It was the unemployed's attitude to him that is maybe an indication as to why the plays were originally shown so late.

As unemployed John Nettleson put it, "For me

background to the Spanish Civil War, and socialists should supplement this with the class analysis of the period, given in books such as those suggested below.

The Spanish Civil War is rich in lessons for the labour movement. The Spanish workers stood on the brink of taking control of society and their destiny, but ended up facing 40 years of black reaction. These lessons must be learnt.

Books on Spain, available from World Socialist Books, 1 Mentmore Terrace, London, E8 3PN.

Lessons of Spain by Leon Trotsky (45p)

The Spanish Revolution by Ted Grant (45p)

Revolution and Counter-revolution in Spain by Felix Morrow (£2.75)

George Malone was the greatest character because I know hundreds of George Malones in this town like that, who fought all their life, being good trade unionists, fought the conditions, and are reduced to working on freezing sites, and that's the tragedy.

"Although the series was very pessimistic towards the end, you know, there is apathy in this town. Well, I think what this series has done to me, its made me more resolved to say, get off the floor and fight back."

As unemployed John Nettleson put it, "For me

Surviving

A new six part series on BBC 2 titled *Surviving*, looks at the prejudice and problems faced by immigrant workers in this country. However, judging from the first programme (January 10, 11.15 pm) it appears to deal with immigrant workers who have been in Britain most of their lives.

The first programme was on Wrsama, an Ethiopian woman who came to Britain at the turn of the century. Her story has lessons in itself. One story she relates was how her foster daughter came home from church ex-

cited about being given a part in the church play. She was to stand up and say "My father used to eat white people until he heard about Christ"! Wrsama organised local black families to boycott the church, and received the label of 'Communist trouble maker' from the priest!

But the programme seemed to give the impression that prejudice was a 'thing of the past' and that everything was alright now. The series would have had a far more hard hitting edge if it concentrated on the lives of immigrant workers today, or second generation blacks, facing Tory racist legislation, fascist attacks and unemployment.



NO RECESSION AT HARRODS

Scramble last Friday for bargains at Harrods sale. Unfortunately for last week's shoppers the "enter a different world" shop had sold out of its pre-Christmas best seller—champagne-flavoured toothpaste at £1.95 a tube. Photo: D Doran

Nationality Act threatens Blacks and Asians

The Tory Nationality Act, which came into force on 1 January 1983, is the single most important statute affecting the rights of blacks to live in Britain.

The new law, which replaces the Nationality Act 1948, is blatantly discriminatory and racist, and is essentially designed to reduce thousands of blacks, Hong Kong Chinese, and Malaysians to the status of second and third class citizens.

The Act will severely restrict the right of Commonwealth citizens to enter this country, and serve as an instrument to harass and cow blacks already here.

Under the new law, the old Commonwealth citizenships will be replaced by a new three tier system of nationality: British Citizen, Citizen of the British Dependent Territories and British Overseas Citizen.

Three categories of citizen

Only the first category, **British Citizen**, applying in the main to white people in Britain and in the so-called Old Commonwealth, provides people with automatic and unrestricted right to settle in Britain. About 57 million people will receive this status.

The status of **Citizenship of the British Dependent Territories** is conferred on such people as the Chinese community of Hong Kong, Malaysians with a "close connection with Britain" and to nationals in the remaining colonies. Not all such territories are included as second-class. "Britishers" in Gibraltar—who happen to be white—and (after the war) the Falkland Islanders are deemed to be first-class British citizens. Unlike full British Citizens, Citizens of the British Dependent Ter-

By Bob Lee

ritories will cease to have an automatic legal right to enter Britain.

The third category, so-called **British Overseas Citizens** will be granted to approximately a quarter of a million Asians, presently mainly resident in India. These people have absolutely no rights whatsoever, and they are potentially in an even worse position than refugees.

They have no right to enter and settle in Britain, and their "citizenship" cannot be transmitted to their children, who, under certain circumstances, could face a real danger of becoming stateless. It is expected that this category of citizenship will eventually disappear.

The central purpose of the new Act, however, is to perpetuate the old racist myth that the social problems caused by the diseased capitalist system are somehow linked to the presence of blacks in Britain. At the same time the Act is already being used as a charter to intimidate and frighten blacks already settled in Britain.

A charter to intimidate

There is already widespread fear and alarm among Britain's black community, particularly among Asians desperately concerned about their nationality and immigration status. Fearful of their right to remain in this country, a record number of blacks have rushed to the Home Office to register as British Citizens.

The new law certainly

makes a number of crucial changes to the rights of blacks who have settled in this country. But at this stage it is very important that black workers understand precisely how these changes will affect them, in order to avoid unnecessary fear and suffering.

What has and has not changed

For instance, any person black or white, born in the United Kingdom prior to commencement of the Act will be a British Citizen, whatever the nationality of the parents and irrespective of whether they are in this country legally or not. Similarly, anyone registered or naturalised before this

year will also be a full British Citizen.

Under the provisions of the Act, however, after 1982, birth in the United Kingdom will no longer provide automatic citizenship; only children born to British Citizens or persons settled and "ordinarily resident" in Britain (as defined by section 50 of the Act) will automatically become citizens. However, even in this category, the Home Secretary will have wide powers to decide who is eligible for this status, and is even able to change his mind at any point.

The Act also makes a number of very important changes to the traditional entitlement of black Commonwealth nationals to register as British Citizens.

Under the previous law, Commonwealth blacks enjoyed the unconditional right to become British Citizens, provided they had been resident in Britain for five years. This right to "register" will eventually be phased out of the new Act.

Threat to labour movement

In future, citizenship shall be discretionary, and will be obtainable only through the very expensive and time consuming "naturalisation" process, subject to language and "good character" tests. In other words, a large percentage of Commonwealth blacks, stripped of their automatic legal right to become citizens, could face the grim prospect of finding themselves reduced to the status of "guestworkers".

It is this aspect of the Act that holds out the greatest potential threat to the labour movement. A sentence in the 1980 nationality White Paper implied that in the future civil rights would probably be limited to British Citizens. The Act itself, however, has not in fact yet withdrawn these rights from Commonwealth citizens.

Everyone who previously enjoyed the right to vote, work in the civil service etc. is still entitled to do so under the new law. But there is nothing to prevent these rights being withdrawn from blacks at a later stage. A number of Tory MPs have already raised the question of depriving Irish citizens living in Britain of these rights.

The next Labour government must ensure that this Nationality Act and all other racist legislation is swept off the statute books. The struggle against racism cannot be left to black and Asian organisations.

The Tories' aim is to divide and rule. The labour movement must break down all attempts to isolate some workers from others and unite in a common fight against the same class enemy.



Photo: Militant

LPYS demonstrate against Tory race laws

DOOR-STEP BABIES

How much more rotten and sick can a society get, when young girls of barely 16 years of age (and less in many cases) are forced, through whatever circumstances, to carry out 'do-it-yourself deliveries', and then feel they have no alternative but to leave their babies on doorsteps and hope that they'll be taken into safe care?

Over Christmas the media highlighted three such births, naming the babies, Holly, Carol and Victoria. But away from the seasonal spotlight, thousands of identical unreported cases occur every year.

The anti-abortion lobby has come up with an incredible solution. Professor John Scarisbrick, chairman of LIFE, told the *Daily Mirror*, 7 January: "We should have a nice anonymous way of adoption. A door in the wall where a girl can knock twice and run. Leaving her baby knowing it will be looked after. The Daughters of Charity ran a hospital in Paris with a revolving cupboard. The girl would place her baby in one side of the cupboard, revolve the doors and ring a bell".

Socialists must reject this. Every child should be a wanted child. We have always made the point that women should have the right to free contraception, free abortion on demand and decent childcare facilities. Yet in 1983 many young girls are not fully informed about (or not even entitled to) contraception and if they do have the misfortune to find themselves with an unwanted pregnancy they are often told that an abortion is out of the question.

A real fight needs to be taken up now by the Labour and trade union movement for improved conditions for women. Working class women don't need moral lectures and empty advice on the problems of pregnancy, raising a family and then being told to dump their children if they can't manage.

What women do need, however, are practical answers and real solutions to the enormous financial, economic and social pressures that this decrepit and outlived capitalist system has foisted, and that's the socialist transformation of society itself.

By Jackie Walsh
(Stevenage LPYS)

SOCIALIST BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS ON WOMEN AND THE FAMILY

Women and Socialism—Militant Pamphlet, 15p (+ 10p p&p)
Communism and the Family—A Kollantai, 40p (+ 15p p&p)
Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State—Engels, 65p (+ 35p p&p)

All available from World Socialist Books, 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN.

LENIN

The decade of the 1980s has opened up an epoch of unprecedented crisis in Britain and internationally. Just like in the inter-war period, the working class will be driven to transform their organisations into vehicles for socialist change as the only means of escaping the crisis of capitalism.

In the near future, for the most conscious sections of the British labour movement, the ideas of Marxism will become an indispensable weapon in their battle to change society, and this will be a prelude to Marxism becoming the dominant force in the British working class. Yet in this period of sharp and sudden social and political changes, it is also necessary to take a step back and pay homage to those who in the past provided leadership and inspiration to the struggles of the working class.

This month records the anniversaries of the deaths of the great socialist fighters: Vladimir Lenin, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. All were workers' leaders of the highest quality who were prepared to sacrifice their lives for working class emancipation.

Lenin, the leader of the Russian October Revolution, died on 21 January 1924 after two serious strokes which paralysed him. Both Luxemburg and Liebknecht were brutally murdered on 15 January 1919 at the hands of the German military, supported by the right-wing Social Democrats.

Their deaths were a profound blow to the workers' movement internationally. They represented the finest traditions of courage, inspiration and sacrifice.

They were a different breed, separated by a million light years, from the careerists in the labour movement today, and as such they have earned the bitter hostility and hatred not only of the capitalist class, but of its right-wing shadows within the movement itself.

Although they were to differ often on tactical questions, Lenin, Luxemburg and Liebknecht were as one on fundamentals. Resting on the basis of Marxism, they saw the class struggle in clear terms, despising those who attempted to reconcile the antagonistic class interests of workers and bosses.

Despite the fact that individually they did not come from working class backgrounds, they all broke from their middle-class origins and devoted their lives to the struggles of the oppressed.

Liebknecht imprisoned in 1907

Karl Liebknecht was the son of Wilhelm Liebknecht who had been an intimate friend of Karl Marx. From his youth he was a left-wing militant in the German Social Democracy.

By Rob Sewell

In 1907 he was sentenced for high treason for his book 'Militarism and Anti-militarism', which castigated imperialist war. He was imprisoned for 18 months, but by then he was enormously popular among the workers. He was elected, even while in prison, as a Social Democratic deputy to the Prussian Landtag.

Liebknecht was no theoretician, but a courageous workers' leader, a man of direct action. His stature grew enormously during the war.

As an SPD member of the German Reichstag, he had voted for war credits in 1914 but only under threat of party discipline, after being refused the right to vote as a faction against. He recovered from this initial mistake and by January 1916 he was expelled from the party for breaking "party discipline" in opposing the war.

For May Day 1916, he issued an appeal to Berlin workers to demonstrate against the imperialist war:

"Workers, Party comrades and women of the people, do not do not let the second May Day of the war pass without making it into a demonstration of international socialism and a protest against the imperialist slaughter.

"On 1 May we stretch out our fraternal hand, beyond all frontiers and battlefields, to the people of France, Belgium, Russia, England, Serbia and the whole world. On 1 May we call in a thousand voices:

"Make an end to vile crime of nation murdering nation! Down with all who organise it, incite to it and profit from it!

"Our enemies are not the French or the Russian people—are enemies are German Junkers, German capitalists and their executive committee—the German government.

"Into battle against these mortal enemies of freedom, into battle for everything that constitutes the well-being and the future of the workers' cause, of humanity and civilisation!

"End the war! We want peace! Long live socialism! Long live the workers' International! Workers of the world unite!"

Ten thousand workers responded to the call in Berlin, gathering in the Potsdamer Platz. Mounted



Photos in a clock-wise direction:

- 1) Karl Liebknecht addressing a mass meeting of workers in the Tiergarten in Berlin.
- 2) Karl Liebknecht
- 3) Rosa Luxemburg
- 4) Vladimir Lenin



LIEBKNECHT

an historic hour could muster of courage, energy, revolutionary far sightedness, and consistency," wrote Rosa, "all these things Lenin, Trotsky and their comrades have achieved in abundance.

"All the revolutionary honour and capacity for action which Social Democracy in the West was lacking was represented in the Bolsheviks. The October insurrection not only saved the Russian Revolution in actual fact, but it also saved the honour of international socialism."

Luxemburg and Liebknecht were freed by the November Revolution, which placed power into the hands of the German workers. Unfortunately, due to the weakness of Marxism, the SDP leaders, Noske, Ebert and Scheidemann were able to reap the gains in the form of ministerial positions, and because these leaders had no programme or perspective for social change, power was restored through them to the capitalist class.

In Berlin in January, the workers, feeling the

LUXEMBURG

police seized Liebknecht as he lambasted the war and the government.

In June he was sentenced to four years and one month's hard labour. On the very same day 50,000 workers staged the first political strike during the war against the sentence. Yet it was the November 1918 revolution that was to secure his release—to stand once again at the head of the German working class.

Rosa Luxemburg attacked SPD right wing

Rosa Luxemburg was the outstanding woman revolutionary of the 20th century. Polish in origin, she was active in the Polish and the German workers' movement.

With a strong character and profound strength of thought, she championed the struggle of the left against the attempts of those 'revisionists' who attempted to subvert, i.e. revise the ideas of Marxism. Individuals like Eduard Bernstein, who thought Marx's ideas out of date were mercilessly criticis-

ed by Luxemburg.

The German Social Democrat right wing enthusiastically supported their own capitalist class when war broke out in 1914. But also, those leaders of the SPD, Karl Kautsky and others, who merely expressed Marxism in words and practised reformism in deeds, were attacked by Luxemburg. This 'centrism' was to lead Kautsky and Co.—as Rosa had foreseen so clearly—into the swamp of opportunism and pacifism.

"Red Rosa", as she was known, was seized by the police in February 1915 and imprisoned for her anti-war activities. She was released in January 1916, but was once again arrested in July and incarcerated without trial until the Revolution of 1918.

Her socialist zeal created an indestructible bond between herself and Liebknecht, who joined a Marxist grouping within the SPD, which was later to become the Spartacist League, and then the Communist Party.

Both greeted the Russian Revolution from prison cells, "Whatever a party in





KNECHT

achievements of the revolution slipping through their fingers, staged an uprising. The bloody defeat of that movement gave the counter-revolution the chance to raise its head, searching out the revolutionaries' leaders and waging a hysterical campaign of lies and slander against the Spartacists.

This opportunity was used by the Social Democrat Ministers, Scheidemann and Co., in alliance with the officer caste, to carry through the assassination of Karl and Rosa so as to behead the workers' movement com-

of a Marxist leadership for the workers' movement both in Russia and internationally.

Most of his writings and speeches are polemical in character, as he waged a constant and often bitter struggle to defend and develop the fundamental ideas of Marxism.

He was affected deeply by the hanging of his own older brother Alexander in 1887, for the attempted assassination of Czar Alexander III. Lenin's early work contains many polemics against individual terrorism—the assassination of government ministers, police officials and so on—because of its utter futility.

Just as Liberals were mistaken in believing they could substitute themselves for the oppressed classes and change society by their own 'individual' efforts, so also, Lenin explained, the methods of individual terrorism were "Liberalism on its head", in trying to substitute individual heroics for class action.

Throughout the whole of his life Lenin conducted an implacable struggle against all those various shades of opportunism which sought to subordinate the workers' movement, its organisations, its struggle and its political programme, to the interests of the capitalist class.

Despite the general social backwardness of his native Russia, Lenin saw the main task of Russian socialists as fighting for power in order to provide the spark for socialist change in the more industrially advanced countries of Europe, particularly Germany.

The idea of internationalism, therefore, runs like a red thread through all the writings and speeches of Lenin, unlike today's Stalinists. His bitterest attacks were against those who in 1914 betrayed the cause of international socialism by supporting the imperialist world war.

He echoed Luxemburg's description of the old International as "a stinking corpse" and rallied the forces for a new International with



a clear Marxist banner.

It was the isolation of the revolution to backward Russia which created the social conditions for the rise of the Stalinist bureaucracy and the suffocation of Leninism.

Today in the Stalinist states of Russia, China and E Europe, the ideas of Lenin are trampled on in the name of privileges for the ruling bureaucracies. Today the Andropovs "obscure" and "distort" the writings of Lenin to justify to the Russian masses their totalitarian regime at home and their cynical deals abroad.

They drag the ideas of Lenin through the muck to justify the privileged position of the ruling bureaucracy. But once the workers in these states begin to move—as in Hungary in 1956—they will re-discover the genuine programme of Lenin as a means of overthrowing the bureaucracy and creating workers' democracy.

The workers of both East and West face the tasks of changing society: of the removal of capitalism in the West and Stalinism in the East. The 1980s have opened a new epoch in the class struggle in which once again the ideas and inspiration of Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg will become the fundamental ideas of the masses in their struggle for emancipation.

Lenin's traditions trampled by Stalinism



The task of genuine Marxists is to distinguish between the two irreconcilable traditions left by Lenin (on the left) and Stalin (right).

It is with incredible historical irony that Lenin once complained that after the death of revolutionaries "attempts are made to convert them into harmless icons, to canonise them, so to say, and to hallow their names while at the same time robbing the revolutionary theory of its substance, blunting its revolutionary edge and vulgarising it."

Lenin has fallen victim to this very process. D A Longley, writing in *History Today*, describes how in Russia, "Every building where he (i.e. Lenin) spoke, worked, ate or slept carries a plaque...There is a whole museum devoted to his knick-knacks. The very chair that he sat on in some foreign library has been taken to the Soviet Union and put on display."

34 towns and cities are named after him—(e.g. Leningrad, Leninakan, Leninabad, Leninopol, Lenino). There is even a Mount Lenin (the highest peak of course!). Every town has its Lenin streets, avenues, squares, libraries, halls, cultural organisation and of course honours and medals; whether the Lenin prize for literature or the Order of Lenin.

"Lenin is always with us" mystically proclaims one of the many slogans adorning public buildings. Longley is moved to comment: "The materialist, practical revolutionary has become a god". (*History Today*, April 1980).

Lenin fought against bureaucracy, fraud and oppression

In the force feeding of the millions of workers in the Soviet Union with "Leniniana" lies the bureaucracy's hope that workers will not turn to Lenin for the solutions to their problems. "Official" Leninism equals bureaucracy, waste, fraud and oppression. Yet of

By Mike Waddington

course Lenin stood and fought for precisely the opposite.

"We want a republic" he wrote, "where there is no police that browbeats the people; where all officials, from the bottom up, are elective and displaceable wherever the people demand it, and are paid salaries not higher than the wages of a competent worker; where all army officers are similarly elective and where the standing army separated from the people and subordinated to classes alien to the people is replaced by the universally armed people, by a people's militia. We want a republic where all state power, from the bottom up, belongs wholly exclusively to the soviets..." (*Collected Works*, Vol 24, p273/4).

"We took over the old machinery of state", he wrote, "and that was our misfortune. Very often that machine operates against us...there are hundreds of thousands of old officials whom we got from the Tsar and from bourgeois society and who partly deliberately and partly unwittingly, work against us..." (*CW* vol 33, p 428).

Lenin's last actions and articles were aimed at the growing bureaucracy. He demanded in his "Testament", that was suppressed by Stalin, that Stalin be removed from his post as General Secretary.

In "Better fewer, but better" (his last article), he wrote: "We must reduce our state apparatus to the utmost degree of economy. We must banish from it all traces of extravagance, of which so much has been left over from Tsarist Russia, from its bureaucratic state machine" (*CW* vol 33 p 501).

He wanted the article printed in *Pravda*, to address the Party rank and file, but, Trotsky records in his letter to the Party Central Committee (Oct 24 1923), "In view of Lenin's persistent demands that he be shown the article in print, Comrade Kuibyshev...proposed at this session that the Politburo print one copy of a special issue of *Pravda* with Lenin's article in it to pacify him, while at the same time con-

cealing the article from the party as a whole"! (*Challenge of the Left Opposition 1923-25* p 62).

Lenin knew that it was critically important to maintain an educated, politically aware Bolshevik Party—as the only guarantee that the correct orientation and approach to the problems of the Soviet Union would be maintained. "The Party must be purged of rascals, of bureaucratic, dishonest or wavering Communists, and of Mensheviks who have repainted their 'facade', but who have remained Mensheviks at heart." (*CW* vol 33 p 41). In 1921, 170,000 (about 25%) of the Bolshevik Party were expelled—not as a means of attacking the party but precisely to strengthen it.

The Party needed more workers (in 1923 they made up only one sixth of the membership)—i.e. those "who have acquired a proletarian mentality from their very conditions of life" (*ibid*). Lenin proposed, therefore, not another purge but to lengthen the probation period for new members; six months for workers who had been employed in large industrial enterprises for not less than 10 years, 18 months for all other workers, two years for peasants and Red army men—3 years for everybody else." (*CW* vol 33 p 254).

Socialist elements swamped by massive influx

This puts into its proper perspective the "democratic" reforms of Stalin to throw the Party open after Lenin's death to all elements including those counter-revolutionaries like the Mensheviks to swamp the genuine socialist elements. This represented the death of the Bolshevik Party.

The democratic party of Lenin was dead, but his ideas were not. The Left Opposition headed by Trotsky represented the break with Stalinism by the true followers by Lenin. From that day to the present, it has remained the task of genuine Marxists to distinguish between the two irreconcilable traditions of Leninism and Stalinism.

RG

pletely. A "white terror" was unleashed against all the local leaders and activists who supported a Marxist position.

Both Luxemburg and Liebknecht were eventually arrested by reactionary officers on 15 January 1919. Liebknecht was murdered by the same scum who were later to join the Nazi paramilitaries—"attempting to escape". Rosa Luxemburg was shot in the head and her body dumped into a canal.

Lenin's older brother hanged in 1887

One of the greatest and most important contributions made to the workers' movement internationally was that made by Lenin, born Ulyanov. He became one of the greatest socialist leaders in history, with his whole life subordinated to the struggle of the working class.

He deepened and developed the ideas of Marxism which played a key role in the success of the Russian Revolution in 1917. Lenin's life's work was the moulding



ΕΚΙΝΗΜΑ
 ΜΑΡΞΙΣΤΙΚΗ ΕΚΔΟΣΗ ΓΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΕΡΓΑΖΟΜΕΝΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΡΕΣΑΝΗ

Read the Greek Marxist paper Xekinima Write to: Xekinima Odos Maisonos 1 Athens Greece

socialist policies. But the capitalist class, far from touched to the heart by Papandreou's concern for their plight, have reacted as coldly as could be expected. Faced with an eager and aroused working class buoyant at PASOK's electoral success, the bosses

Capitalists sabotage government

began a strike of investment. In 1982 investment fell by 10% and is now back to the level of 1973. Every year the industrialists send \$2 billion abroad both legally and illegally. According to Papandreou the government loses \$1½ billion every year due to the capitalist class' systematic tax evasion. After a period of keeping their heads down following their annihilation at the 1981 general election, the bosses are now beginning to raise their heads and test the ground with skirmishes against the labour movement. Nine peasants from a village near Salonica in northern Greece have recently been imprisoned for 3½ years because they put into practice the government declaration about nationalisation of church land. Using a loop-hole in Law 1264 which PASOK introduced to give immunity from dismissal to elected trade union officials, the bosses scored two important successes at two factories, dismissing militants for "bad and threatening behaviour" and having this decision upheld in court. The PASOK government is allowing a dangerous situation to develop. Instead of basing themselves on the massive support of workers to break the power of capital, the government has actually tried to recruit its own strike-breaking force through PASKE. It has used troops and military vehicles to try and break the recent trolley-bus strike.

Unemployment growing

Unemployment is a rapidly growing problem for Greece. At the end of 1981 unemployment stood at 150,000. A year later it was 250,000 and rising. How will adopting the monetarist policies of Thatcher and Reagan solve unemployment in Greece? A glance at the unemployment statistics of Britain and USA will show Greek workers the misery in store for them. Although the change in policy came as a bitter surprise to Greek workers it was the logical outcome of the government's decision to support the private sector in order to solve the economic crisis, instead of carrying out

acted as a catalyst for the bitter opposition to the new pay policy.

Also significant in relation to the new approach of the KKE are the developing relations between Papandreou and the Soviet Union. In an article in Pravda, reprinted by the serious bourgeois press, the policies of Papandreou were praised as "realistic" and the article added that the KKE should support him. When the Kremlin says "turn", the KKE turn, but the workers have made a note of this, including members of the KKE itself.

But the ranks of PASOK and PASKE are not going to be so accommodating. They are opposed to the government's new policies, correctly seeing them as contrary to the Party's election manifesto. They are indignant at Papandreou's about face.

To try and stem the flood of opposition the leadership have begun yet another round of expulsions against both the party rank and file and the members of PASKE who refused to strike-break.

But expulsions will not answer the accusations of the loyal workers of PASOK. Expulsions will not solve the economic problems of Greece. The aspirations of the Greek workers must be met.

The Marxists in PASOK are gaining a sympathetic hearing from workers for the need to develop a nationwide struggle, not against the government, but a struggle to drag the government back to socialist policies. They are demanding a properly constituted sliding-scale of wages; the reduction of the working week to 40 hours, then to 36; the lowering of the retirement age; and increased public expenditure.

Back to socialist policies

The Greek Marxists are also demanding the legal introduction of workers' control of factories and the opening of the books of the so-called 'problematic' industries. These industries, accounting for about one third of major industry are bankrupt. They should be nationalised without compensation and the personal property of the industrialists should be confiscated to pay off debts.

To be certain of planning the economy in the interests of working people the 200 top firms that control Greece should be nationalised and placed into the hands of the workers.

This programme, based on the already enthusiastically supported programme of PASOK, offers the only realistic way forward for Greek society. Despite setbacks, despite disappointment with the individual demagogic leaders, in the coming period of storms and tribulations the working class will again and again storm the fortress of capitalism.

Marxism will more and more become the property of the broad mass of Greek workers and the working class will raise up on its shoulders leaders worthy of its traditions of heroic struggle.

GREECE PASOK government retreats - Bosses advance

Just over a year after its momentous election victory, the PASOK government of Andreas Papandreou has issued its biggest shock yet to the workers of Greece with its new incomes policy.

The 10% wage increase due in January has been split in two-4% to be paid this month and 6% in May. Wage increases originally promised for May 1983 will now be held until September.

By revising present agreements the government is trying to abandon its election pledge of a sliding-scale of wages to compensate for losses due to inflation, just when the workers are demanding a real sliding-scale, with the inflation index worked out by the labour movement and not capitalists, along with a lump sum payment similar to the 15-30% given in 1982 to make up for previous losses.

Having failed to convince the ranks of PASOK and PASKE (PASOK'S trade union organisation) that their new policy is correct, the government rushed a law through parliament prohibiting workers from negotiating their contracts for one year.

From our correspondent in Athens, Greece

The reaction was immediate. On 15 December 15,000 building workers and 10,000 bank workers staged a 24 hour strike with meetings and demonstrations. The Bankworkers' Federation issued a pointed leaflet noting the similarity of the government's one-sided policy of restraint to that of previous governments against which PASOK had fought.

The leaflet quotes Papandreou—in opposition. "The problem is not to take money from one group of workers and giving it to another group, but of taking it from the monopolies and multi-nationals and giving it to the Greek people."

So why not do this? the leaflet asks. Why are wages now considered the cause of inflation? Why isn't the government fighting the profiteering and tax-evasion of the bosses? Why doesn't the government freeze prices?

Defending his policy on television, Papandreou said that it wasn't really a policy of restraint, it was only a delay in socialist policies of just eight months so that the government could straighten out the economy. Give us

time, he begged. How often have workers heard this plea from their leaders!

In reality, the new policy can not work, in eight months or in eight years. The new policy is one of cuts in public spending except, for the moment, on health. It is not a policy of socialist change but of loading the burden of the crisis on to the backs of working people.

The present official figure for inflation is 22%. In fact, it is well over 30%. Officially, unemployment is 6% but the OECD and the EEC calculate it at 8-10%.

Unemployment growing

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They call it Tramp City USA

They call it Tramp City, USA. It is the home of thousands of unemployed American workers.

Situated primarily in the southern sunbelt states of the US, displaced workers and their families flock there in hope of finding jobs and refuge in the warmer climate.

Marcy Barnett

District 65,
UAW, AFL-CIO
(personal capacity)

They set up tents and shanties in parks and empty lots along with thousands of others, to begin the impossible search for employment.

The *Wall Street Journal*, organ of America's big business and monopolies, estimated 50,000 per month pass through these southern towns. They are mostly workers from the north, where the recession and plant closings have hit the hardest. These workers have exhausted their unemployment benefits, are without home, food, or medical care.

The *Wall Street Journal* goes on to say, "Not since the mass economic distress of the Great Depression, which drove the nation's destitute into tin-and-tent towns called Hoovervilles, have so many working class people suddenly found themselves in such dire straits".

The politicians, and their partners in big business have attempted to restrict these tent cities and shantytowns by passing ordinances that close down shelters and soup kitchens, and laws that prohibit sleeping in parks or loitering on public property. At the same time they pour money into "urban renewal projects" to provide lux-

urious housing and shopping areas for the wealthy.

The attitude of the American rich is summarized in a letter in the *Arizona Republic* (a daily Phoenix newspaper), "If a stray dog is found wandering the streets, it is picked up and put to sleep. Unfortunately we can not put these 'human animals' to sleep, but we surely should not encourage their way of life". (Our emphasis)

Some sell their blood for \$7-\$10 a pint

In order to survive some families are forced to turn their children over to the county welfare agencies where they can at least have food and shelter. Others sell their blood for \$7-\$10 a pint, while many just panhandle in the street, or scavenge through garbage cans. Hopping freight trains, sleeping on park benches, and sitting in the subway stations all day to keep yourself from freezing. These are the results of Reagan's policies. He comforts the 11.5 million unemployed, telling them to hang on just a little longer. But there is nothing left to hang onto under capitalism.

The loss of health care has devastated many workers

and their families. In America health insurance is often partially subsidized by the employer, the workers pick up the remaining portion. Therefore, once a worker is laid off, health coverage ceases. The *New York Times* reported that 16 million Americans have lost insurance due to unemployment. Medicare and Medicaid, part of the federal government's welfare program has enforced restrictions making most unemployed and their families ineligible.

As a result infant mortality has risen; "the rate 12.8 deaths in 1980 (per 1,000 births) rose to 13.2 in 1981" (*New York Times*) The absurdity is that the unemployed are in the greatest need of health coverage. In times of economic crisis, those who are without work suffer from a higher rate of stress related illness, such as heart attacks, as well as increased rates of suicide and homicide. There is essentially no medical assistance to aid these millions.

In New York, public shelters are filled beyond capacity with over 3,700 people. In Detroit, a new shelter was opened and on the first night it reached capacity. In other cities soup kitchens have been expanded to serve whole families.

In a study by the US Conference of Mayors, a report was made stating "thousands of families have been evicted from their homes and are living in cars, campgrounds, tents, and rescue missions." "Federal Welfare programs that would have once kept such families afloat have been sharply cut back and many more of the nation's 'new poor' will spill onto the streets after the 26 weeks of their unemployment benefits expire."

Most unemployed workers know they will never see the assembly line again

With unemployment benefits exhausted, welfare assistance only available to unemployables (all adults regardless of the lack of job availability are considered employable by the state), food stamps issued only to those who have a legal residence, and no medical care, most Americans are frightened of the future and looking for alternatives. The illusions and hope under capitalism are dying fast. Most unemployed workers know they will never see the assembly line again.

In fact General Motors one of the biggest employers in the country, has 60,000 robots ready to replace the jobs of the 100,000 workers as soon as the economy shows signs of recovery. This is just the beginning. There will be promises of a "new deal" in the next elections. The politicians are already talking about pouring money into public works, to improve the deteriorating infrastructure and provide perhaps 50,000 to 100,000 jobs. But these are short term solutions. The capitalists admit themselves that even if their proposed policy was to work, unemployment will

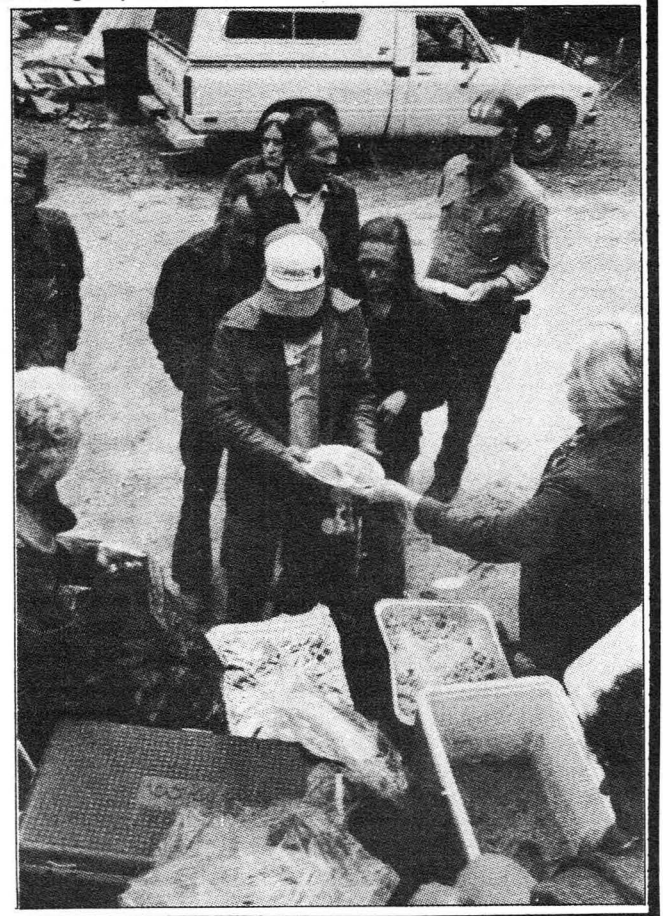


Texan unemployed workers in emergency accommodation

Food Handout for the unemployed

never sink past 6%. Currently the official rate of unemployment is 10.8%, the unofficial rate (which includes those who no longer look for work or collect benefits) is 15%.

These are not the 1930's. The system can only temporarily recover, if at all. The crisis in capitalism is showing itself in every sector of the workforce. The American workers will rise in strength as the crisis deepens. As the bosses demand givebacks (cuts), the American worker is fighting back. The rank and file, minorities, women, and the dispossessed are all examining the so called reforms promised by their leaders. In the words of Albert Parsons, in 1887 as he was hanged in Chicago's haymarket square for leading the struggle of the 8 hour day, "The voice of the people will be heard". The echo of the voice will shake the entire world.



HUNGER'S TEMPORARY
MY DEAR
FREEDOM'S FOREVER

THE NEW STREET URCHINS

There has been a startling rise in an ailment rarely seen before—water intoxication of babies—which causes seizures. It is caused by the overdilution of infant food by parents trying to make it go further.

...A baby died in the car she had lived in for the seven months of her short life. She was wrapped in blankets while her parents trudged the streets looking for food, but the freezing weather killed her.

...Because of widespread budget cuts, social service agencies have found themselves unable to cope with the flood tide of homeless children. Many huddle together in abandoned buildings. Others have joined the growing tribe of homeless who live in the concrete 'caves' beneath the bridges.

...Across the country it is estimated that at least 20,000 children are living on the streets. Most of them are

with their parents, part of the two and a half million 'new poor' who have lost their jobs and later their homes and are now living in broken down cars and vans in derelict buildings, church shelters.

This is not India or some Latin American country, shocking though that would be, but the country that can afford to send men to the moon and 6% of its Gross National Product is spent on arms, the United States of America.

4,000 homeless children in Los Angeles

The grim realities of 'Reaganomics' are hitting America's children hardest, a recent article in the *Sunday Times* has revealed. Thousands have turned to prostitution as a means of

surviving. According to the Los Angeles police there are at least 4,000 abandoned or runaway children roaming the city streets on any night.

"The poison works very quickly," according to Father Bruce Ritter, founder of New York's Covenant House for runaways. "After 48 hours on the streets, one in ten teenagers becomes a prostitute." How can such a situation exist where hardship and suffering can be met with such callous disregard in the so-called land of plenty? Only one thing stands in the way of the welfare of these children, American capitalism.

It is disgraceful that a country, or rather about 100 families that control America's economy, can squander its wealth on destructive arms and enormous luxuries while others have to eke out such a miserable existence. Only 70% of the country's industrial capacity is being used. If the major companies, banks and insurance companies were nationalised under democratic workers' control and management, then the wealth and resources of the country could be used to eradicate such wretched poverty.

By Heather Rawling

Letters

IEWS? COMMENTS? EXPERIENCES?
CRITICISM? WRITE ABOUT THEM TO

MILITANT, Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN

"Second-class" nurse—Second class conditions

Dear Comrades,

I am a pupil psychiatric nurse, I am classed by society as a second class nurse who looks after 'loonies' in straitjackets and padded cells.

My job is both a physical and mental strain. Some days I work from 7.30 in the morning to 8.30 at night but my basic pay is £168.26 a month. Because I'm "living in" I pay £29.08 per month lodging fee. My grocery bill per month is roughly £50 leaving me with all of £80 a month for myself. What can you buy with £80?

Working conditions are not what they could be, five staff to 36 patients and do not forget they are psychiatric patients liable to do anything at any time. This puts a strain on nursing staff. By the end of a long day you have just about had enough. This isn't fair on the patients.

As a COHSE member I didn't vote to accept the 6½% offer, after all, 6½% of nothing is nothing. In real terms, my wages will go up by £2 a week. As my rent will go up £2.50 a week I will be 50p out of pocket. If it wasn't for the love and financial support my parents give me I couldn't live.

I would go on strike in normal circumstances but I have a duty to my patients. I would like all the unions to come out and support us. Am I asking too much to expect full and proper care for my patients and a decent wage for myself? Obviously I am in this society or I wouldn't have to ask.

Yours faithfully,
A psychiatric nurse.

Investment in Labour's future

Dear Sir,

After reading that the Labour Party were to cut the Young Socialists section by £9,000. Will they not study again their decision?

One thing the party stresses for industry is to invest for the future. So we too must do the same for the youngsters of our party.

They have increased their membership, and these self-same people are the party workers, the councillors and we hope the future parliamentarians.

Yours fraternally,
Ron Johnson,
West Leeds Labour Party.

Thanks for the support

Dear Comrades,

The strength of socialism is not just the programme and policies that we put forward but also the enormous comradeship in struggle between socialists.

Sometimes Marxists, in the distortion of the critics are portrayed at best as hard faced people bent at all costs on achieving power. Well, we will and do need at times, to be hard, in the sense of the need to overcome all adversity to achieve socialism and to make the sacrifices to change society.

However, the other side of the picture of Marxists has been clearly shown to me in the last period of difficulties with the death of Sue. I have been overwhelmed by the support and comradeship given to us from Militant supporters and others in the Labour Party.

Thanks to all those comrades who have expressed such support and the many comrades who have contributed to the Militant fighting fund in memory of Sue. I can assure all comrades that their messages (many of which brought lumps to the throat) have been welcome and make me even more determined to continue our struggle to the end to achieve what Sue put so much energy and dedication into.

Fraternally,
Bryan Beckingham.

Profits from the Black Stuff

Dear Comrades,

Have you heard how commercial enterprise has interpreted Alan Bleasdale's dynamic 'Boys from the black stuff'?

A record comprising of "I'm Yosser, give us a job". For everyone who got involved, I was going to say watched, but involved is what you became whilst watching, the record is a cheap way to make money out of poverty. The plays were just too true to life, a life about unemployment, strains on the family and desperation inflicted on working class people by Thatcher and Co.

If all people are going to remember is, "I'm Yosser, give us a job", and not give a thought to what the plays were really about, then surely Bleasdale wasted his time.

Yours fraternally,
Lynne Tice,
Hull

Factory gate meetings for Labour

Dear Comrades

Whilst canvassing for Dave Nellist, the successful candidate in the Coventry South East county council by-election, I met a woman in the Labour Party who wouldn't buy a copy of *Militant* as she had already bought one at her factory. It was one of the factories where we had organised a factory gate meeting at dinner-time, where we handed out leaflets, chatted to workers, raised finance for the election campaign and so on.

She said she thought it was an excellent initiative by the *Militant*—obviously no other councillors have used this method to contact workers before.

Yours fraternally
Ruth Hargreaves, ASTMS,
Coventry.



The monarchy is not just pageantry and Royal Wedding razzamatazz. It is one of the last lines of defence for the capitalist system.

The Queen's propaganda

Dear Comrades,

The Queen's Speech this Christmas was probably the most overtly political ever made and certainly one of the most hypocritical. Far from the usual threadbare and patronising public relations exercise it was transformed this year into a rather clumsy and reactionary political speech.

Taking the sea as its theme, the speech started by praising the ancient Elizabethan marines. This, we were told, was the start of modern trade, i.e. British imperialism and all the plunder, slaughter and ex-

ploitation that entailed.

From singing these fine praises, she went on in a clumsy and obvious way to praise the courage and professionalism of those who took part in the Falklands campaign, "in defence of democracy and freedom" and the respect the Commonwealth has for such laudable aims.

Not one word was uttered of Her Majesty's Government's support for the military dictatorship in Argentina until two days before the Falklands invasion. Not a word was said of her husband's public approval of the military dictatorship in Paraguay. Not one mention of the fact that a large part of her Commonwealth is itself governed

by repressive and corrupt military police regimes.

The speech only confirms what socialists have said all along, the monarchy is not political impartial, it has always defended the profits of big business and if necessary, the repression needed to extract profits from the workers and peasants of the third world.

The increased and open politicisation of the monarchy should warn us that the monarchy could be used in support of similar repressive measures against workers in this country.

Yours fraternally,
Clive Walder,
Hove LPYS.

Marxism and religion

Dear *Militant*,

I am a regular subscriber to your excellent paper but one thing bothers me. While I agree with the fact that socialism is the best way forward for mankind I could never call myself a total supporter of Marxism as a theory of history because I believe in God.

Although a total transformation of society is unlikely to take place during my lifetime I wonder if *Militant* visualises a future democratic Marxist world without recourse to freedom of religion?

This may seem a rather trivial matter to those readers who profess no particular religious beliefs, but to a Catholic like myself who has seen the closed and shuttered places of worship in the

Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and Cuba, the prospect of a Godless world albeit a Marxist one would be totally unacceptable.

While democratic socialism based on Marxist theory would undoubtedly be of benefit to mankind in a material way surely recourse should be allowed for the pursuance of personal religious beliefs?

Yours,
Brian Foster,
Abersychan.

The real cost of health cuts

Dear Editor,

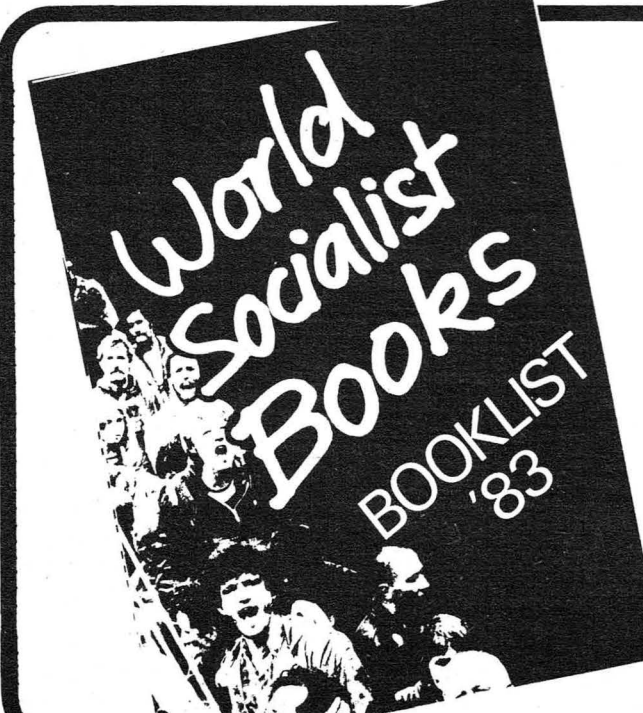
I am a first year student nurse at a large psychiatric hospital in East Anglia. A few days ago I was working in my ward, which is for psycho-geriatric patients, with only one other person who was a staff nurse.

On this ward, there are 19 patients who have to be kept an eye on all the time. Although we both tried our best to watch over these patients and look after them, keeping them clean, etc one of the patients managed to leave the ward, get into the corridors and fall down which, an X-ray revealed, resulted in a broken femur.

People must understand that when the health unions demand that there be no job losses in the NHS our aim is not only saving our members livelihoods, which is important in itself but also to maintain and increase the level of care we give.

This example could be repeated a thousand times a day all over the country. This is the real cost of cuts in the NHS.

Yours fraternally,
A COHSE steward.

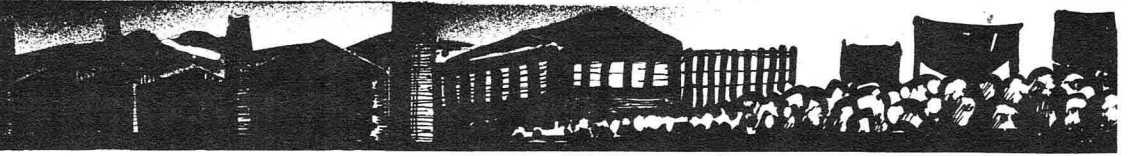


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Industrial Features



The Tories are planning (according to press reports) a further offensive against the trade unions in the public sector, covering 7 million workers.

They intend to do away with national wage bargaining in different sectors and impose local and regional bargaining, e.g. in the Water Supply and sewage industry. They say that this is the logical outcome of the recent proposals to reorganise the National Water Council and replace it with regional structures.

It is no accident that the Water workers are first in the Tories' firing line. A national strike by them would quickly bring industry to its knees.

Thatcher understands only too well the old dictum "divide and rule" just as much as most union activists understand that "unity is strength". The Tory plans put back firmly on the agenda of all trade unionists the tactics of National or Company wide bargaining as against Local or Plant bargaining.

In the period of the long post-war upswing trade unions gained through plant bargaining, but as the upswing has given way to stagnation and recession trade unions limited to local bargaining have been weakened by their isolation.

In the boom of the 1950s and 1960s in engineering, for example nationally agreed pay rates were traditionally topped up by plant bargaining.

In the better organised factories even the threat of a strike by the shop stewards was enough to gain wage increases. The boss would concede, fearing that if a strike happened, he would lose his share of the market to his competitor.

The situation in a slump or declining market was completely different. The bosses as a class needed to drive down wages to defend their profits. It was not a question, as before, of workers increasing living standards, but of them defending their gains of the past.

Another factor in the growth of plant bargaining was the complete inability of the right wing trade union leaders nationally to get any significant increases in the 50s and 60s even, when the bosses were raking in the profits.

To be sure, living standards rose, but by a small amount in relation to the growth of the economy and in relation to living standards elsewhere. The attitude of the right wing leaders was that wage increases should be paid for through increased productivity. This was particularly the case in the 60s with the Labour and trade union leaders, from George Brown (deputy Labour leader) down pushing productivity deals everywhere: "you must give up this to get that" etc. etc. But militant shop stewards opposed this: "we keep what we've got", and it was on this issue that many struggles took place.

The bosses also tried to use piecework to divide workers. After the defeat of engineering workers in the 20s, piecework was seen by management as a means of

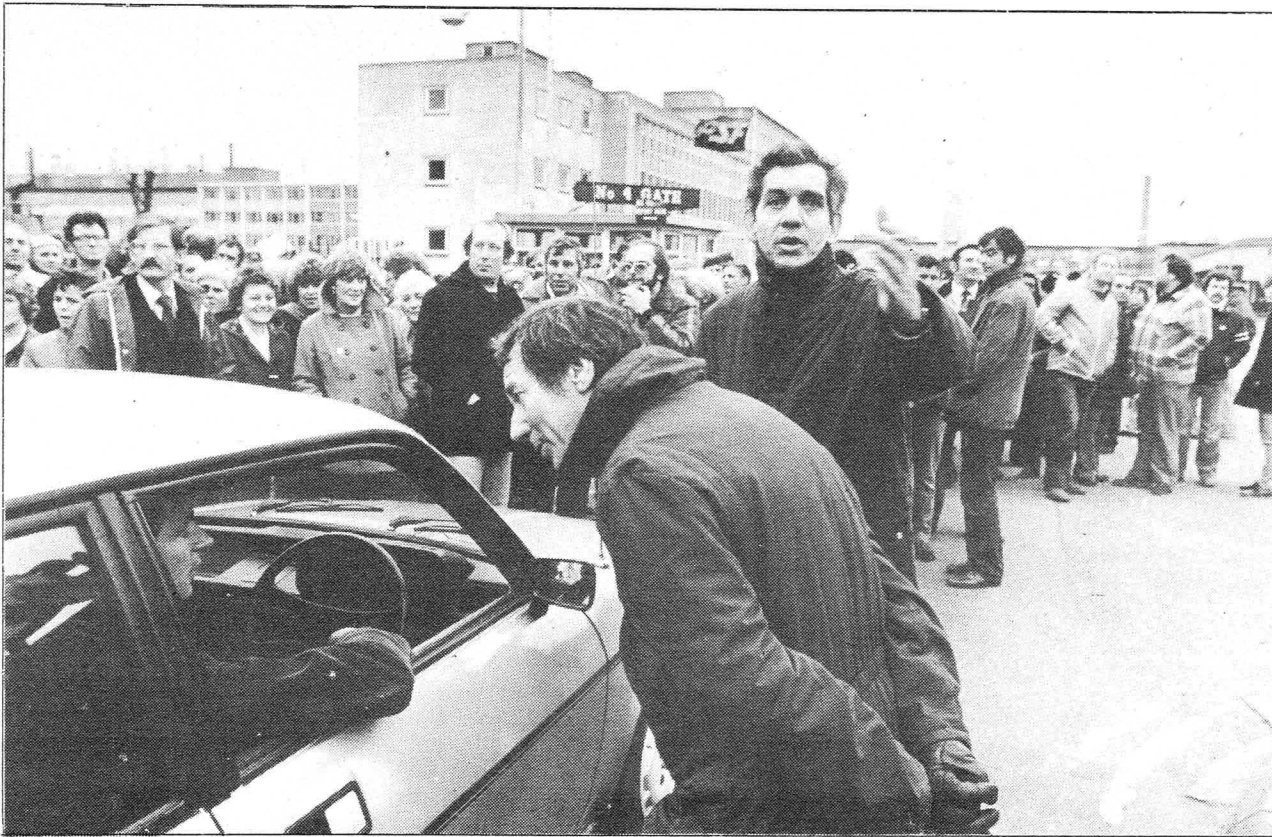
putting one worker against another.

It was a means of going over the head of the union by fixing the price for the job between the boss and the individual or group of individual workers. In a slump, with mass unemployment, it meant that bargaining power was in the hands of the bosses.

But this turned into its op-

Bill Mullins, former senior steward at Rover Solihull puts his views on national and plant bargaining. We would be pleased to hear the views of other workers on this vital subject.

WHAT KIND OF WAGE BARGAINING?



Pickets at Cowley in November 1981 fighting an insulting pay offer from BL. Management worked for years to split and weaken the unions in BL.

Photo: Militant

posite when the economy took an upturn. The postwar period saw a gradual shift in bargaining power to the shopfloor, accompanied by (and partly because of) increased elements of workers control.

It was ironic, therefore, that the early 70s saw the bosses in British Leyland attempting to do away with piecework and replacing it with measured day work (MDW). This led to many battles breaking out on the shop floor, particularly in the Cowley factory in Oxford.

Piecework was by then seen by many workers as something worth defending, a gain from the past. It was the main way that wages locally "topped up" the nationally agreed rates, which by then represented no more than 50% of the real gross pay. Yet, piecework in the beginning had been imposed by the engineering bosses.

At British Leyland the workers' tactics of wage negotiations in the second half of the 70s brought these old ideas into sharp focus. The car industry, by its very nature (interdependence and integration of the production process, enormous division of labour, the very size of the factories and, last but not least, the monopoly position of the manufacturers) meant that the workers involved developed some of the most

sophisticated forms of union organisation and collective strength.

BL had come together in the late 60s and early 70s from a whole number of widely scattered car and truck plants. Austin Morris, Jaguar, Rover, Leyland etc, some 57 factories in all, came to make up the BL empire. Each factory had a tradition of separate plant bargaining and wages were further "topped up" through piece work bargaining, over the national engineering minimum rates.

Inside each factory would be found different bargaining arrangements, one for the track workers, one for the "indirects", another for the maintenance etc.. Some 500 bargaining units altogether!

The coming together of BL was a desperate attempt by capitalism to compete on a world car market that had begun to feel the first icy winds of recession. BL bosses, lacking capital investment planned to drive down wages and cut back jobs to compete with their rivals.

Centralised direction of company policy came down from the top and no local management was allowed to concede wage claims in isolation. When the time came in each plant for the annual pay negotiations, BL bosses stood firm against local

plant strikes.

Supporters of *Militant* in BL then explained that the only way to defend living standards and jobs was for all BL trade unions to put in a common wage claim. The biggest trade union, the TGWU, had a policy of plant bargaining.

It was obvious that, whilst fighting through the official procedure for a change of policy, the central all-BL trade union body, capable of acting immediately, was the BL Combine Shop Stewards committee. But old traditions die hard. The majority of convenors, jealous of their traditional rights preferred to be "captain of their own tug boats rather than 2nd mate on an ocean liner".

Militant supporters pointed out that unless the combine committee took over wage negotiations the bosses would enter into discussion with the unelected national trade union officials. It would not be an exaggeration to say that the whole subsequent history of the workers' struggle in BL and the defeats that ensued would have been completely different if this basic class demand of unity had been acted on.

BL now has national negotiations, but on the *Bosses'* terms: they hold negotiations with a union committee made up of na-

tional officials and some convenors. This committee is not answerable to anyone. The only role the combine committee seems to have is as a 'pressure group'.

To further weaken the trade unions, BL has recently broken the Land Rover factory away from the national negotiation in order to conduct separate plant bargaining.

Management use of local bargaining to split and weaken trade unions is also evident in other companies than BL, and, indeed, in other industries.

For years, Fords have had company-wide bargaining. The Ford's convenors Combine committee for a long time attempted to gain access to the negotiating table, which was monopolised by the union national officials.

Only in the last few years have the elected convenors become the majority on the trade union side, the National Joint Negotiating Committee (NJNC). Who would doubt that if the Ford workers had been broken up into separate bargaining units, that the pay battles conducted by them on a national scale over the past few years would be less likely to have taken place?

Similarly, the battles of the miners against the Heath government would have been impossible to conduct if there had been separate pit

bargaining.

The NCB perhaps hoped that they could use the right wing machinery of the NUM to police the miners under the National Power Loading Agreement (NPLA). But with the shift to the left in the NUM in the late 1960's the NPLA, which was based on a single national rate of pay became a tremendous source of unity and solidarity for miners.

It is no accident that since the 1972 and 1974 strikes the NCB has striven might and main to use the issue of productivity bonus—the NPLA having been abandoned—to reverse this and set one NUM area against another and one pit against another.

The Tories chief union basher, Tebbit, has even announced plans to do away with various national wages councils, which for millions of desperately low paid workers such as those in the retail, hotel, catering and textile industry afford some, but not much, protection. For Tebbit the "unseen hand of the market" will determine wage levels, in other words the bosses will have a completely free hand to drive down wages even further.

Fighting to defend living standards in a recession requires the maximum unity of workers. The slump has polarised society as never before. The two main classes, capitalists and workers, stand opposed with fundamentally different interests.

The bosses plan and implement their attacks on workers with the maximum central direction, in the final analysis using the state itself, through anti-trade union legislation. Workers have to conduct their defence with equal determination and centralised direction.

Trade unionists should therefore struggle to build company, combine and industrial shop stewards committees. These committees, representing the widest section of workers should be responsible for national wage bargaining.

The centralised, co-ordinated efforts of management must be met by a centralised, co-ordinated policy by the workers. But national bargaining must be firmly based on the shop floor.

Control of all negotiations between management and trade unions requires the maximum amount of democracy, therefore all demands that are drawn up by the negotiating committee should be subject to endorsement by mass meetings of workers; there should be no secret deals—all management offers to be referred back to the membership through mass meetings, etc. Finally, the negotiation committee itself should be regularly elected and subject to recall.

The overriding importance of political struggle—for trade unionists to use their strength to bring about fundamental social change—cannot be set aside. But that does not conflict at all with the need for the trade unions to create the strongest and most powerful forms of organisation possible, to fight for wages and conditions in a period when the capitalist class is determined to cut living standards.

Industrial Reports

Social Security dispute

FIGHT FOR STAFF GOES ON

Lady Di passes pickets on the successful one day strike on 3 December. The determination of DHSS workers gained big concessions from the government.

At a meeting in Birmingham last week the 600 strikers at 11 DHSS offices in central Birmingham voted to return to work on 17 January.

Some members of the civil service unions CPSA and SCPS had been on strike for 4 months. The dispute was a revolt of rank and file workers in offices against intolerable work pressure and poor working conditions.

A counter clerk at Erdington broke down faced with a queue of over 200 claimants, when due to staff cuts and sickness (mainly caused by work pressures) there was only one clerk instead of the normal three.

The members walked out and said they would not return until something was done to get more staff. Both CPSA and SCPS National Executive Committees backed the dispute and gave strike pay.

After discussions with management at Departmental level, an offer of 45 temporary staff at Birmingham offices was made. There were then 6 offices in the city out on strike. An offer of temporary posts was also made to Oxford DHSS which had come out on strike three weeks earlier.

The negotiations also produced an offer of a joint review of staffing at which both management and unions would investigate the system and come up with recommendations to be acted upon.

This review was seen by both unions as of major importance, as they would be given the facilities to go into DHSS offices to provide statistics and proof that the Social Security offices nationwide were undermanned. A separate review would also investigate problems of inner-city offices.

The CPSA and the DHSS section of the Executive decided to recommend acceptance of the offer to the strikers, feeling that only mass industrial action could get a substantial increase in staff, when cutting the civil service was a main plank of Tory policy. The unions could throw all their resources behind the review and prove without a doubt the case for more staff.

The CPSA also stated, however, that if the members rejected this offer they would continue to receive full backing. The SCPS leadership decided to reject the offer. The offer was rejected by strikers in Birmingham and Oxford, so CPSA called out all 11 offices in the centre of Birmingham.

Emergency payments centres were set up to pay hardship payments to claimants making it hard for the press and TV to condemn strikers as selfish, particularly as the fight was to improve the service.

Some people claimed the emergency benefits centres were undermining the strike. This was untrue. The centres were not paying out full supplementary benefits and fewer claimants received payment than normal.

The undermining was done by those who crossed the picket lines, for although 11 offices were closed a substantial number of scabs were attending work and



Photo: John Arthur

nearly all management were scabbing.

The CPSA and DHSS section executives committee agreed to proposals for escalation put forward by *Militant* supporters but despite opposition by *Militant* supporters, the CPSA National Executive Committee decided by 13 votes to 12

to recommend a slightly amended management offer. When CPSA General Secretary Alistair Graham went to Birmingham he was met by angry strikers, who threw the offer out.

Militant supporters then called for a one-day strike of all CPSA and SCPS members in DHSS on 3

December. This was a great success with offices all over Britain brought to a standstill.

At a special meeting at CPSA's special pay conference in London on 9 December, DHSS delegates heard a report from the National Executive which maintained that only massive in-

dustrial action could force the Department to concede more staff. The action in Birmingham offices was being weathered by management.

The CPSA proposed an all out strike as the only way forward. Delegates were asked to hold workplace meetings in their branches to

campaign for a positive vote for all out action on 17 January. Delegates voted overwhelmingly in favour. They also heard and rejected the proposals of the SCPS National Executive a series of regional week-long strikes lasting six weeks.

The lessons of the NHS dispute were still fresh in delegates minds and the SCPS policy would have ended up in the same way.

The majority of workplace meetings were due in January though meetings which had already taken place in Scotland (traditionally a strong area for the DHSS) had shown a narrow majority in favour of all out action.

The Department approached the union with a new offer which did not change the number of posts but allowed the Midlands area to carry over or remain over complemented for a period. All the conditions previously tied in with the offer (no overtime ban and restriction on industrial action) were now removed.

The joint review of inner-city staffing in DHSS offices would still go ahead. Guarantees on non-victimisation of strikers and a period where the offices would remain closed were obtained.

The SCPS and CPSA executives agreed to recommend jointly that the offer be accepted. The SCPS had also had information from their members that they would be unwilling to take part in industrial action. Members in Birmingham and Oxford accepted the offer.

The strikers in Birmingham and Oxford can be proud of the role they played. The solidarity showed that a merger of the SCPS and CPSA in the future could only strengthen trade unionism in the civil service.

The strikers forced the management to concede a review. The unions need now to use the review to ensure benefit for both staff and claimants.

By Kevin
McHugh

(CPSA National Executive, Personal capacity)

SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL

Over 100 scientific and administrative staff employed by the Social Science Research Council (SSRC) in London went on strike on 12 January in protest at management's plans to cut about a third of the workforce, hive off work, re-locate SSRC headquarters and to reduce the work of the council.

The protest strike is scheduled to end on 25 January, when the full council of SSRC meet to consider management's proposed cut backs.

The unions are demand-

ing that the council reject management plans and instruct management to convene negotiations without pre-conditions with the unions to discuss SSRC's problems.

The SSRC supports and carries out research into the social sciences. Since coming to power, the Tory government has already cut their grant by over 20%. It cut £1.1m in 1982-3 out of the council budget and has recently announced a further £6 million cut in the grant over the next 3 years.

CPSA National official,

John McCreadie, who has the largest number of members in the SSRC told *Militant* reporters that the Tories have launched a political attack on the SSRC, as they hate the research work it conducts and supports on the effects of unemployment, the problems of race, industrial relations, cuts in the health service, and the reasons for the reduction in industrial efficiency in Britain.

They tried to kill off the SSRC by holding a committee of enquiry, but Lord Rothchild the committee's

charman defended the SSRC and opposed further financial cuts in the council's grant. The government strategy is now to starve the SSRC of funds.

The unions opposing the proposed loss of jobs are launching a political and publicity campaign to have the grant cut reversed. If the council do not reverse or withdraw their plans on 25 January there will be work-to-rule and probably non-cooperation by the workforce, with the real possibility of further industrial action.

Ealing Tories hit at schools

Ealing Tory council is currently "reviewing" its educational provision in the borough. This is just part of a £5.9 million package of cuts in local services.

Playcentres, swimming pools and college budgets are all under the hammer, but the centre piece of the current round of cuts is un-

doubtedly the attack on Ealing's schools.

The review affects first middle and high schools on the excuse of 'falling rolls' i.e. reduced pupil numbers. Ealing council will consider on 18 January proposals including the closure of Elthorne High School and the amalgamation of two others.

The existence of a further three schools is in the balance and the remaining

schools' budgets will be squeezed still further. The school it is proposed to close has a rumoured site value of £1¼ million if developed for residential leisure use.

However, over £1 million has been spent providing the site with a purpose built assembly and sports halls, science facilities and music block. It is the only purpose built comprehensive in Ealing. It appears many of the buildings may be bulldozed,

though doubtless interest will be paid on them for many years to come.

No valid educational arguments can be advanced for the Tory proposals. The drop in pupil numbers could have given an opportunity to reduce class sizes and move towards smaller schools, which the Tories always claim they favour when they try to argue against comprehensivisation.

Pupils, who face disrup-

tion, teachers, who face job losses, and parents are fighting back. A march is planned through Ealing on Saturday 15 January and the council are being lobbied on Tuesday 18 January at 6 pm at the Town Hall, The Broadway, Ealing.

By Nigel
Waterfield
(Ealing-Southall LPYS)

WHY MINERS MUST FIGHT TORIES

At quarter past five on a Monday morning we were waiting for a bus in the freezing rain.

To read the *Sun* you would think that all mineworkers could afford a brand new Jag to go to work in. No such luck. In fact, pit top workers like myself receive wages considerably below the so-called national average.

There are men at our pit on under £70 a week with a wife and kids to support. The pay we get broadly reflects the conditions we have to work under. Working on the screens, for exam-

By Graham Williams
(Manvers Colliery)

ple, which crush and sort the coal as it comes to the surface, must be one of the dustiest, noisest jobs imaginable, with obvious consequent health risks.

What I have to look forward to, as I board my bus is little better. My walk from the bus stop to the pit takes me past the remains of the giant Manvers coking plant, now dead and silent, as it has

been since its closure, under the Tory government another victim of the capitalist crisis. Nearly 1,000 men deprived of their livelihood. God bless Maggie Thatcher!

Another 100 yards further and I clog in along with the other men. The early morning conversation is non-existent. As the day wears on, however discussion among the men often turns to their fears about losing their own jobs, because of the recent announcement about pit closures and the run-down of man-power at

collieries in the local area. At Manvers pit alone, over 100 jobs are threatened. Recruitment in the youth is virtually nil.

Hardly surprising then, that the unemployment rate in the Mexborough area is 22% and rising. Looking around at the predicament of some of the men here sickens me. It is appalling to witness previously higher paid, highly skilled workers, who through injury have been reduced to doing menial tasks like blacking boots and cleaning out toilets for management, on the lowest

possible rate. And its not only the pockets hurt, its the pride as well.

Walking back up to the clock at the end of my shift I see the screen men getting into the showers to scrub the dust and grime of another day's toil off their bodies. It crosses my mind that the jobs we have to do aren't fit for thinking, feeling, human beings. That they ought to be done by robots instead, yet, God forbid if this were to happen, under capitalism. Even more job losses would be on the cards.

The only thing that keeps my spirits up is as I get the bus home is the thought that one day, not so far off, we shall live in a socialist society where technological advances will create a decent life for us all.

USDAW Support broad left

Elections in USDAW for the President, Executive Council and eight Divisional Councils begin on January 24. For the 430,000 members of the shopworkers union these elections are crucial in deciding the direction which USDAW will take until the mid 1980's.

The recession has caused a crisis in the retail trade. The Co-ops have been decimated by closures and cutbacks. The axe hangs over Woolworths. USDAW members in Woolworths, particularly in the North West, have mounted a campaign against the sale of 25 Woolworth stores. Only this week the Liverpool store was staging a sit-in in their fight against redundancies. The determination of USDAW members must be matched by the leadership in the fight against all job losses.

The need for a fighting leadership is urgent. A campaign involving the ranks of the union to win:

★ A minimum wage of £90 for a 35 hour week

★ Total opposition to Sunday Trading and defending the whole of the trade union movement in retail and distributive trades.

★ Opposition to all redundancies, waged through mass activity is the only effective way of defending USDAW members living standards.

The election of the maximum number of Broad Left candidates to the USDAW Executive and Divisional Councils is vital to achieve these demands. Most importantly, the election of Jeff Price, the Broad Left candidate for President, would be a great step forward for USDAW.

The present leadership are living in the past—the days of the cosy compromise are over. The employing class in Britain have never been more determined to drive down the living standards of British workers. They have launched a concerted campaign against the working class spearheaded by Thatcher.

USDAW members are relying on their union to defend them from the attacks. USDAW members must attend their branch meetings between 24 January and 28 February to take part in the elections and are urged to cast their votes for Broad Left Candidates.

By Mick Wainwright

(USDAW Blackpool Woolworth Branch and Broad Left candidate for the Executive and Divisional Council of USDAW in the North West Division.)

ASLEF Members hit at scabs

On 5 January, a driver signed on duty at Cricklewood and was told by the train crew supervision to relieve a driver and finish the rest of his work because the driver concerned did not want to make overtime.

The new driver refused to do this because the man the foreman wanted relieved was a scab and it is laid down as a branch resolution at Cricklewood ASLEF that after last year's strike, no man should relieve any blackleg so that they could avoid finishing their diagramed work.

The driver who was asked to relieve the scab was consequently booked off duty. Five other drivers were approached and told to relieve the blackleg, but they too refused and were booked off duty.

Then the rest of the drivers walked out in support of their comrades booked off. Most drivers were out on strike for 24 hours. Unfortunately a few ignored the strike but the majority of drivers stayed out in the dispute. We were prepared to continue the strike for longer than 24 hours but we were told by ASLEF head-quarter "not to rock the boat".

On 10 January the drivers and drivers' assistants are working a day of "non co-operation" with management over flexible rosters. The drivers feel that, they are working flexi-rosters so they should be entitled to a day off every 8 weeks as laid down in the McCarthy report guidelines.

Management claim, though that because the LDC (branch) have not accepted their rosters that we

should not be entitled to the extra day off every 8 weeks. We feel that if management put forward 7 and 9 hour rosters that have very little work content and are padded out with extended meal-breaks to fill up work diagrams, then there is no way that these can be a more productive system of working!

If management can't find the work to fill up the diagrams properly then that is their problem, not ours, we should be entitled to the extra day off nevertheless.

At Cricklewood we refuse to accept everything that is forced upon us by management, and we will fight to retain all our present conditions which we had to fight to attain from management in the past.

By Steve Norton
(ASLEF Cricklewood diesel depot)

Sealink-Harwich

350 members of the National Union of Seamen unanimously agreed to boycott a management ballot at a mass meeting on 6 January in Harwich.

Sealink management wanted to go over the heads of union representatives and get the support of the workers for a reduction in the workforce of at least 130.

The threat used to 'encourage' balloting was that non-co-operation would lead to immediate closure of the Sealink Harwich to Hook of Holland ferry service. The NUS men have picked up the gauntlet.

Just before Christmas

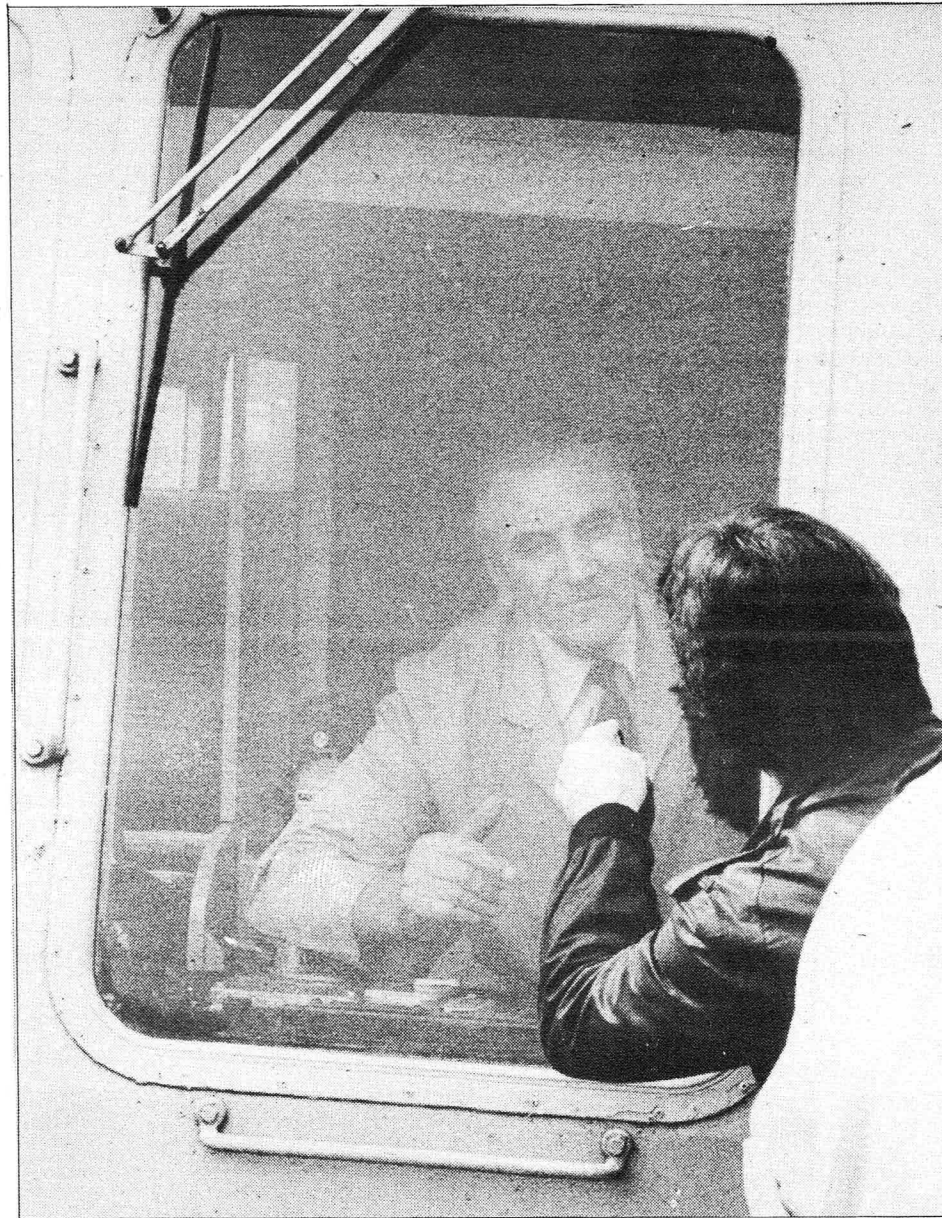


PHOTO: Aslef picket confronts blackleg driver in last summer's dispute.

Photo: Andrew Wiard (Report)

Victory at Yarrows

The workers in Yarrows shipyard on Clydeside returned to work on 5 January, after the holiday break, but by 4.30 pm that day the shipwright department had decided to take industrial action.

Ten new shipwright workers were to start work that morning but on arrival one worker was informed that he was not eligible for employment due to a "clerical error". Management claimed they had sent him a letter informing him of this 'error', but to date no evidence of such a letter can be found.

The shop stewards organised a meeting in the department he would have been working in and they voted to take industrial action on his behalf unless management retracted their decision.

When management would not back down, the Joint Shop Stewards Committee at Yarrows were asked for their support. A mass meeting was held on 6 January and 4,500 manual workers took an overwhelming decision to give their support. On Monday 10 January, faced with this display of unity, management capitulated and offered the original job to the new worker.

The only conceivable reason for management's attempt at victimisation was that he had been a shop steward in another ship yard. This incident confirms suspicions that for years shipyard employers on Clydeside had operated a 'black list' of trade union activists.

By Hugh Watson
AUEW Shop steward,
personal capacity

By Bob Edwards

Militant

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S.Wales Miners...

Strike Postponed not Cancelled

Big business will breathe a sigh of relief at the decision of the South Wales miners.

They were dreading a pit strike in defence of jobs that threatened to develop into an all-out miners' strike.

By Ken Smith

Such a movement would have had a dramatic effect on the confidence, outlook, and combativity of workers in every industry and trade union. Such a development has now been postponed.

There is no doubt that the South Wales NUM executive was influenced by the decision of the Scottish NUM not to back the Kinneil workers in their fight to save the pit. The fear that South Wales would be isolated also weighed heavy on delegates' minds.

Tyrone O'Sullivan, secretary of Tower Lodge NUM, pointed out that nothing had been offered by the National Coal Board—no money had been put on the table for the development of new collieries or keeping open threatened pits; no guarantees were given on any aspect.

No Closures

The decision is not a blank cheque for the NCB to go ahead with pit closures. There was deep disappointment at the decision and delegates voted reluctantly to back their executive. The Executive had recommended that the strike be postponed until something concrete came from the NCB. Emlyn Williams pledged that no closure would be accepted of any pit even in return for capital investment in other collieries. These words will be remembered by South Wales miners who will remain vigilant. The NCB should bear in mind that the executive didn't get the decision passed easily.

The South Wales miners voted by 379 votes to 121 to postpone indefinitely the strike planned for 17 January in defence of jobs. This was a substantial vote against when you consider that NUM South Wales decisions are usually unanimous.

The mood at the conference, particularly amongst the men where there were possible pit closures, was one of frustration and deep disappointment. One delegate at the conference asked,



South Wales miners will remain vigilant on the question of pit closures. A strike is still possible

"How much longer must our members wait?" The strike must not be put off indefinitely.

Ian Isaacs, secretary of St John's Lodge, addressing the conference, said, "We've got to negotiate from a position of strength." He was amazed at the recommendation to postpone the strike with absolutely nothing laid on the table. He felt that now they would be negotiating from a position

of weakness.

Intense discussion and debate will take place in the labour movement on the lessons of this decision and the developments at Kinneil and other events over the last few months. As part of this discussion *Militant* will carry a full article in next week's edition by two delegates to the South Wales miners' conference—Ian Isaacs and Tyrone O'Sullivan.

MILITANT REPRINT
Capitalist Crisis
Tribune's Alternative Strategy
or Socialist Plan
 By Andrew Glyn

Union rules

continued from page one

are invested, or what the shareholders' dividend should be.

Tebbit's new proposals, the third since this government took office, are tougher than many expected. Union assets could be frozen and senior officials stripped of their executive status if unions refuse to comply with the new laws.

The Green paper covers three areas—the election of leaders, the strike vote and political activities. Militant supporters have nothing against the election of fulltime officials and for them to be paid the average wage of the workers they represent, but that is a million miles away from the Tories intentions. They would like the unions to be responsible to the press and the Tories not the rank and file of the unions. The Tories want to interfere with how unions run their own affairs, when it is the union members who should decide for themselves how the union is to be run.

Tebbit would like to change the law on the political levy that union members pay to the Labour Party. At present, members in unions affiliated to the Labour Party have to 'contract out' if he/she does not wish to apply.

The new proposals would mean that union members would have to 'contract in'. This proposal has nothing to do with the rights of union members but everything to do with an attempt to deal a hefty blow at the Labour Party. £2.5 million of the Labour Party's £3.2 million comes from union funds.

The Tories claim that union members 'unwittingly' give money to the Labour Party, yet every time someone buys a pint or a packet of cigarettes or even fish fingers, they unwittingly donate money to the Tory Party.

In 1981 the food drink and tobacco industry donated £116,000 to the Conservative Party. 97% of Tory Party funds comes from industry and financial institutions. Yet the workers in these industries have no say whatsoever in these donations, they do not even have the option of 'contracting out'.

The Tories masquerade as the champions of freedom yet they have thrown millions who want to work on the scrap heap. Their real aim is to shackle the trade unions to prevent them from effectively defending the wages and conditions of their members. But a united campaign by the trade union movement involving leaflets and mass meetings up and down the country explaining the implications of the new measures and leading to a one day general strike, could stop the Tories in their tracks. Such a campaign could lead to the down fall of this hated government and the election of a Labour Government committed to championing the interests of working people.

Tories use dole

continued from page one

hard-won rights of apprentices.

Not surprisingly, the *Daily Express*, not noted for its support for the trade union movement, was full of praise. The EETPU's agreement with the Electrical Contractors' Association will cut the initial pay of trainees by about £6 per week. It will come down from £41.63 to a 'tax-free allowance' of £27.88. In return for the cut in wages, the employers have promised that the number of youngsters accepted for training will not be slashed this year, as expected, to 500.

Instead, 2,000 'opportunities' will be provided in 1983. But there is no guarantee about job security.

The deal has the backing of the Manpower Services Commission, which will pay bosses £1,700 per year for each trainee taken on in the first year of the scheme.

David Young, head of the MSC and erstwhile property speculator, is only practising what he preached a year ago, "Youth rates of pay in Britain are far too high: The young should be a source of cheap labour."

The *Daily Express* claims that the "EETPU acts as the pace setter for realism." But youth will disagree. It isn't realistic to expect anyone to survive on anything less than a £90 minimum wage for a 35-hour week. The bosses will be laughing all the way to the bank. Work done at knock-down bargain basement prices and a free hand-out from the state.

Instead of supporting the employers in exploiting youth as cheap labour and possibly putting other workers out of a job, unions should be fighting for the demands that the Labour Party Young Socialists have been campaigning on such as proper training and the adult rate of pay at eighteen.

A united campaign to bring down this rotten Tory government and elect a Labour government committed to socialist policies is the best way to fight for the future of youth.

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