

Militant

THE MARXIST PAPER FOR LABOUR & YOUTH

ISSUE 645
8 April 1983

20p

INSIDE
THIS
WEEK...

8-9 Feature
on Media

10 Greece,
France

11 Chile

13 Minority Movement

7 Football,

10,000 Strike in S. Yorkshire

STEEL WORKERS FIGHT

Up to 10,000 steel workers in South Yorkshire are striking to defend jobs.

The Iron and Steel Trades Confederation (ISTC), which organises over half the workers involved, has declared the strike official. It should be supported by all workers in the area and in the steel industry.

Management of BSC cannot be allowed to unilaterally introduce new shift patterns and working conditions. They cannot be allowed to get away with a further run-down in manpower. They must not be allowed to destroy the steel industry!

As Bill Sims, ISTC leader, commented, the unions cannot let redundancies go ahead in plants which are making money, have low manning levels already, low costs and which are turning away orders.

On Monday, a worker with 25 years service turned up to work and attempted to clock on for his usual shift. BSC Management are attempting to reduce shifts and enforce up to 90 redundancies, so they demanded he work in a different department.

He refused and the changes have been rejected by the workforce. Having been prepared for this, the Templeborough and Aldwarke branches of ISTC came out in support. They were swiftly followed by the rest of BSC Rotherham and Tinsley Park branches. On Tuesday no steel was being produced or moved in these two areas.

Stocksbridge ISTC joined the strike that afternoon, after it was declared official by the ISTC executive. Now all of ISTC in South Yorkshire and all steel unions in Rotherham and the Shepcote Lane plants are out.

The workers are determined to halt BSC plans to reduce shifts and enforce redundancies. Some 1700 jobs are at risk in the area and this fight has come after years of cuts, closures and privatisation in the industry.

Steel workers have had enough. Picket rotas have been drawn up to stop all production and movement

By Chris Weldon
(ISTC Tinsley Park No.2,
personal capacity)

FOR FUTURE



of steel.

This fightback must be the start of national action against further job losses and attempts to parcel up BSC for privatisation. But it is not a fight that should be left to ISTC and steel workers alone.

Other trade unions, especially those in the Triple Alliance—the Railway workers and the Miners—must be prepared, at rank and file level, to support the fight of the steel workers, by establishing joint support committees and beginning solidarity action. Jobs have been massacred in the millions by this Tory government and the bloodletting has been worse in the steel industry than in any other. Enough is enough!

FERRY HIJACK...

Stop Tory Piracy

THE TORIES have displayed an attitude to the civilian crew of the ferry 'Keren' that is typical of their attitude to all workers—an arrogant contempt.

While the National Union of Seamen was in negotia-

tion with the managers of the ship and with the civilian crew away on Easter leave, the Ministry of Defence arranged to have the ship 'hijacked' in the dead of night. Royal Navy crew, dressed like civilians, sneaked into the Tyneside yard where the ship was berthed and secretly re-commissioned the Keren as a Royal Navy

vessel, leaving the 150 civilian crew based in Harwich wondering what had happened to their jobs.

This operation was no tactical blunder by minor officials in the Defence Ministry. It has been reported that the Prime Minister was kept in touch

cont'd on back page

RUSH MONEY NOW

£7,500 Easter Haul! The news this week of the massive support for *Militant* shown by Labour's Young Socialists is as dramatic for our paper as the £7.5 million Easter robbery was for the capitalist press.

The difference is that money doesn't come that easy for young people—hard pressed by Tory policies in schools, on the dole, in dead-end jobs, or on measly grants. To find those extra fivers and tenners was an amazing achievement, and without the now "traditional" *Militant* meeting which was blocked under orders of the right wing! But the £7,500 was not robbed but given to show our enemies the answer of Labour's youth.

We must give a special thank-you to all those who contributed at Bridlington and appeal to all those who were not able there to match these efforts in the next couple of days. At the time of going to press we need just over £15,000 to reach our April 9 target.

The books will be open until 1st post Wednesday (13 April) so that the results of all the last minute efforts at the week-end can reach us. No promises of "money in the post" can be accepted this time but large individual IOUs, that can be redeemed within a fortnight, will be accepted!

Rush donations to us now, gather support from everyone you know and help build *Militant's* voice (see page 4 for detailed report of funds raised).

By Clare Doyle

2000 Young workers at LPYS Conference Reports 2, 3, 5.

We're ready to take on the Tories

Reports by Bob Wade and Roger Shrives Photos J. Woulfe, M. Carroll.

One of the main themes of the LPYS conference was the need to mobilise the youth vote at the forthcoming election to get rid of the Tory government who have ruined the lives of working class youth.

In the session on the general election, Steve Morgan, from the National Committee pointed out there were 4½ million new young voters since the last election. About 600,000 school leavers will go straight on to the dole queue this year. They needed new hope from the Labour Party.

The campaigning of the LPYS had produced the best youth policy for many years from the Labour Party but the LPYS will be fighting for bold policies to really solve the crisis.

Many delegates showed from personal experience what the Tories had already done and what they would do if they were allowed a second term of office. Colin Adams (Brentwood LPYS) a Fords worker showed the enormous decline of apprenticeships and how the bosses had forced down wages and conditions through mass unemployment. In Ford's the LPYS would be organising on the shop floor and YS members in many other unions would be producing leaflets to get the Tories out.

Louise James (Bristol North West) who is at technical college told conference how students had so many worries about money for books and for eating that learning was the last thing on student's minds. The YS had to ensure that the commitment to pay £25 a week for 52 weeks of the year to all over 16s in full time education was kept in the manifesto.

In the debate on the Youth Training Scheme, speakers showed the exploitation of young workers where youth are used as slave labour, often replacing apprentices and full time workers, and getting paid a pittance.

John Jennings (Sheffield Attercliffe) highlighted how health and safety had been increasingly neglected. There had been 3211 accidents on YOPS scheme in 1982, 43 resulting in loss of a limb, and six resulting in a young worker dying.

Derek Cain, who had been taken on a YOPS scheme to drive a fork lift truck bled to death after being left without supervision on a paper baling machine. When the LPYS organised a campaign in Sheffield and picketed the Manpower Services Commission, they were told the MSC would have no responsibility for health and safety in future. That would be in the hands of cost cutting employers.

The LPYS showed its determination to win a new deal for youth. No more cheap labour schemes, but union rates of pay, full union rights and a guaranteed job at the end of training.



Reporter distorter.....

While the Tory press kept up a virtual wall of silence over the socialist policies and demands that were formulated at YS conference, they were quick to beat their chests with indignation when the *Daily Mail* reporter present was asked to leave following a vote taken at conference.

And also predictably, the press printed the hysterical rantings of two YS members who support an ultra-left grouplet on the fringes of the movement, who called for support for the IRA and the 'deaths of British Soldiers'.

They were booed when they made these statements and the resolutions themselves were heavily defeated. The LPYS majority and leadership have consistently rejected the methods of individual terrorism of the sectarian groups, which had kept the

working class divided in Northern Ireland. Only a class programme to unite the Northern Ireland workers can defeat British imperialism in the north and achieve a socialist united Ireland.

Although in passing these newspaper articles reported these facts, they were tucked away inside the articles. The *Daily Mail* itself carried a headline "Two young socialists send a message to the gunmen of the IRA: 'Shoot dead more British troops', and inserted inside

the article a report of an IRA assassination, where the Provisional IRA made a 'mistake' and shot an innocent worker.

The *Mail* man was voted out of the conference after he approached one of the ultra-left who made this statement for an interview. LPYS officers intervened and wanted an assurance from the reporter—given the *Mail's* vitriolic attacks on the LPYS and the labour movement generally in the past—that he would not distort the real views of the LPYS on Northern Ireland on the basis of rantings from a couple of individuals. When he refused he was asked to leave.

NEC ELECTION

The elections for the LPYS representative on the Labour Party National Executive *Militant* supporters once again took the first and second places in the ballot (should the winner of the ballot for any reason be removed from the NEC the position automatically goes to the runner-up):

- S Morgan—165
- F Curran—45
- S Grant—29
- D Cashman—18



Martine Bloom, Hackney South LPYS, (above).

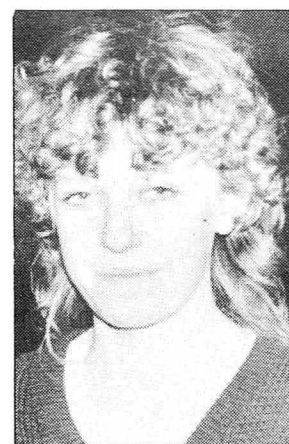
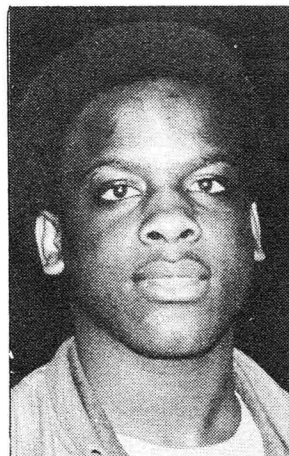
"I think the conference is really good. I never realised so many people of my own age who are going through the same problems were interested in fighting to change society. My mate left school on Wednesday and can't get a job. My other mate is frightened of what's going to happen.

"But by coming along to

conferences like this and mixing with other people who are also frightened but have got an answer, who don't use flowery words and droning speeches, makes you realise you've got to do something about it.

"This system's going to collapse, there's no doubt about it. But we've got to get our ideas across to the rest of our mates to get them in to build the fight for socialism."

Lincoln (below), a member of Brent South LPYS: "I came to conference because I'm unemployed without much chance of getting a job. I was on an apprentice training course. There were six of us but only two jobs in engineering. After six to nine months on the course we were just told there were no jobs for us."



Suzanne Harrup, Dagenham LPYS (above).

"I've been unemployed since last September, a friend of mine told me about the LPYS and the coming conference. They were discussing unemployment so I thought I'd go along and give it a try. I went along again but then when the five

Militants were expelled, that really annoyed me. It settled my mind—I thought 'I'm going to fight this'."

"Every single one of my friends is on the dole. Not one girl I know from school—that's about 20 or 30—have got a job. Some of them are so fed up they just sit back and take it all, but a few friends are getting a bit worried about it all and are asking me about it. I'm getting some of them to come to a YS meeting."

Ken Dunn, safety rep, plumbers section, Swan Hunter, Wallsend. "I was very impressed with the conference, particularly some of the fringe meetings. It's good to meet workers from all over the country. We've had a very interesting discussion too with a shipyard worker from Germany."

UNION RIGHTS FOR ARMED FORCES

One of the liveliest debates was on the question of trade union rights for rank and file servicemen.

Delegates who had been in the forces graphically described the conditions faced by servicemen and women and how trade union rights would not only improve conditions, but could

break the hold of the capitalist state over the rank and file of the forces lessening the chance of them being used as an obstacle to the future socialist transformation of society.

Comrades pointed to the experiences of Russia in 1917, the Spanish Civil War, Iran and Portugal where the ranks of the forces came over to the

side of the revolution.

The Ashington YS delegate described how the Danish Army had trade unions and a 40-hour week, unlike when he was in the British Army: "You'd often be turfed out of bed at 1 am to start up a tank".

The Macclesfield delegate, formerly in the RAF, said how you witnessed the class system

as it really is in the forces. He said it would be wrong for socialists to cast off working class servicemen in this struggle.

Ex-soldier **Bob Harker** of Gateshead East LPYS described how when on manoeuvres with the army in Mombassa, if you reported sick with sunburn, you were put on a charge for having a "self-inflicted wound".

He described how having a trade union should help answer the lies soldiers are told by the upper ranks especially of their role in Northern Ireland. To cheers, he answered those who write off rank and file servicemen as the agents of British imperialism, by saying the young workers in the forces "need help not antagonism".



HOW TO STOP THE HOLOCAUST

In the conference debate on nuclear weapons, the commitment of the LPYS to unilateral disarmament was reaffirmed, alongside the YS's Marxist analysis of war and how disarmament and peace can be achieved.

During the debate a fraternal speaker from Youth CND spoke of the new confidence in the anti-nuclear arms movement in both East and Western Europe, and she urged the LPYS to support the 6 May YCND festival and the TUC organised demonstration against Cruise missiles on 6 August. This was agreed by the conference.

However, a few delegates who talked of war in an abstract fashion and saying, as the Bristol West delegate stated, that 'we could all be blown up tomorrow', were answered by *Militant* supporters who argued it was only the socialist transformation of society that could ensure peace and disarmament.

There was a call for a 'womens general strike' for peace, but this was defeated. As vice-chairman Nick Toms said in summing up the debate, "It is playing games to call for a 'strike of women only'. The strike weapon is a weapon of the class struggle and that means men and women." Women would be open to victimisation if men were expected to cross picket lines and go to work.

He added that while there was respect for the struggle of the Greenham Common peace women, the LPYS "participated in the struggle for nuclear disarmament as socialists and marxists and not as moralists."

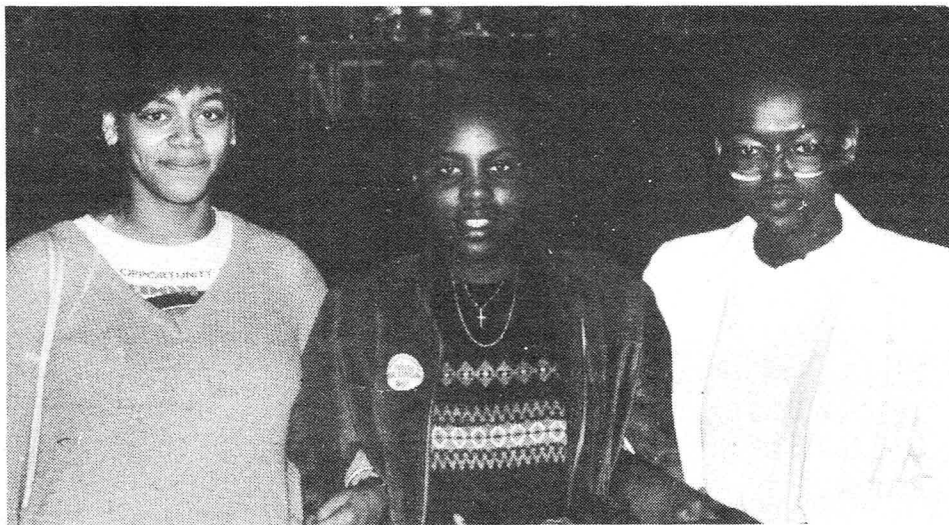
He pointed out the role the LPYS had played in the moves to get nuclear disarmament onto the Labour Party election manifesto and during the debate YS delegates told of the progress they had made in working with CND locally.

Three students at Soundwell Tech College, Bristol, spoke to *Militant* (below). Marcia aged 18, Lorraine aged 16 who is the new president of the student's union, and Marian also 16, and a student governor.

"We got elected on the

LPYS demands for a £25 minimum grant and we've been on the big demonstrations. There are very few black and Asian students in our college and there's some racism there which we're trying to fight, but the places were all won by black

students. The conference was very impressive, we've learnt a lot, and we're able to put our ideas across a lot better. We thought the best debates were on education, the CND and on women."



Phil Laurie, (Darlington LPYS)

"The recent by-election gave me enthusiasm to get more involved. It was the first time I had been out on the streets to argue for the ideas we talked about at meetings—it gives you a real sense of purpose."

"I've found the conference very good, far different than what I had expected. It's much more relaxed than I thought it would be, although at the same time it's quite well organised, things still get done. The debates on Ireland and Women were the best discussions for me."

Carol Bedford (Coventry North East LPYS). "It's my first conference and I've really enjoyed it. I've never experienced unemployment so the YOPs discussion was a real eye-opener. I'm a single parent with a two-year old daughter. I thought the crèche was really good."

LPYS CONFERENCE '83

ads

NEW RATE
 CLASSIFIED: 10p per word, minimum 10 words.
 SEMI-DISPLAY: £2 per 2 column centimetres.
 All advertisement copy should reach this office by SATURDAY.

Militant readers meetings

NORTH EAST Marxist Discussion Groups:
 Benton: Details Ged Grebby, 0632 662374.
 Wallsend: Contact Ed Waugh, 0632 341284.
 North Shields and Whitley Bay: Contact Robin Jamieson, 0632 523441.

HALIFAX Marxist Discussion Group. Fortnightly Wednesdays, beginning 6 April at 7.30 pm at Halifax Labour Rooms, 44 Prestcott Street (near swimming baths on Huddersfield Road). For more information phone Phil Crossley, Halifax 822814.

RAYLEIGH Speaker: Keith Dickinson (Militant Editorial Board). At Room 5, Civic Suite, Rayleigh Council Offices, Rayleigh High Street (opposite the church). On Monday 25 April, 8 pm. All welcome.

BENFLEET. Monday 11 April at 7.45 pm, Richmond Hall. Speaker: Danny Purton (Harlow LP, personal capacity).

BLACKWOOD Marxist Discussion Group. Telephone Blackwood 220051.

CARLISLE: Marxist Discussion Group held fortnightly. For further information contact: Ian Campbell on Carlisle 210688.

MILITANT MAY DAY GREETINGS

Show your solidarity with a socialist newspaper. Get your trade union, Labour Party, LPYS, Women's Council, Shop Stewards' Committee or Trades Council organisation to send greetings to *Militant* on the traditional workers' day. All copy to reach Circulation Department, *Militant*, 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN by WEDNESDAY 20 APRIL. Rates: 3 col cms £4; 6 col cms £6; 1/16 page £10; 1/8 page £20; 1/4 page £40.

STICK WITH MILITANT Yellow advertising stickers

1,000 for £11; 500 for £5.60; 200 for £2.30. Send cash with order, cheques payable to *Militant*. From *Militant* Circulation, 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN.

NEW POSTER

Historic 'Murmansk poster' featuring Bolsheviks' appeal to British troops who invaded Russia after the revolution. 25p each (+ 15p p&tp) or 20 for £3 (including p&tp). Available from E Phillips, 66 Sprindale Road, Broadstone, Poole.

£50,000 needed by April 9

Area	Received	% of target achieved	Target 9th April
Eastern	2508		2700
East Midlands	1747		2850
Humberside	928		1500
London East	2759		3300
London West	1179		1650
London South	2075		2500
Manchester & Lancs	2167		3000
Merseyside	2099		3100
Northern	2308		3750
Scotland East	983		1850
Scotland West	1399		2800
Southern	2489		4000
South West	1063		2000
Wales East	573		1500
Wales West	848		2000
West Midlands	2089		2800
Yorkshire	1960		3700
Others	1443		5000
Total received	30,619		50000

ONE WEEK TO REACH OUR TARGET

Despite not being allowed either a readers' meeting or a bookstall, *Militant* supporters at LPYS conference collected £6,554 (see chart) and an additional £1,303 in IOUs.

This shows the Labour youth's confidence in Marxism. Individual members of the LPYS National Committee contributed £200 themselves.

Special mention must be made of the excellent £390 (including £100 from members of the CPSA National Executive) given after an appeal by Dave Cotterill, a past LPYS chairman, at the Geordie Night (which raised over £600 in all).

The region that moved its line furthest on our chart at the conference was Northern region, but comrades will be able to see the giant strides taken by every area.

This week more than most we have to say to our readers who don't get a mention, that we appreciate their help exactly the same, and for comrades giving us regular donations, you may see your name in future weeks!

The collection of £146 from the Edinburgh Marx Memorial Rally reached us this week, together with £195

By Steve Cawley

from a readers' meeting in Rochdale, £111 from a meeting in Medway, and cash from Bracknell, and from Perth.

Trade unionists to support us included members of TGWU 5/909 branch (£40), members of USDAW from Boots, Victoria Street London, and £10 from CPSA Broad Left supporters in S Wales.

Although most LPYS branches to make donations this week did so at Bridlington, money came in from Garston LPYS, a joint Ealing LPYS meeting (£27), and by coincidence the same amount from a public meeting held by S Herts LPYS in Borehamwood.

Labour delegates to the Scottish Labour Conference

sent us £141, and Corstorphine/Drumbrae LP, Edinburgh, added a separate £5 donation. Thanks to those comrades, also the Isle of Wight CLP AGM delegates for a collection of over £11, a further £10 promised from the East Midlands LP annual meeting and smaller collections from Picton and Low Hill/Smithdown LPs (Mossley Hill, Liverpool).

Thousands of individuals donated this week. Thanks to the following for donations not made in Bridlington: £100 promised by a Stretford white-collar worker, 50p from an unemployed school-leaver in Swanley, Kent and a whole range between these amounts. An NHS worker (Poplar) sent in £50 back pay, two Stoke supporters donated TV fees, and an East Ham reader made his regular £26 donation. Thanks also to J Cuthbert (Galston, Ayrshire), D Bur-

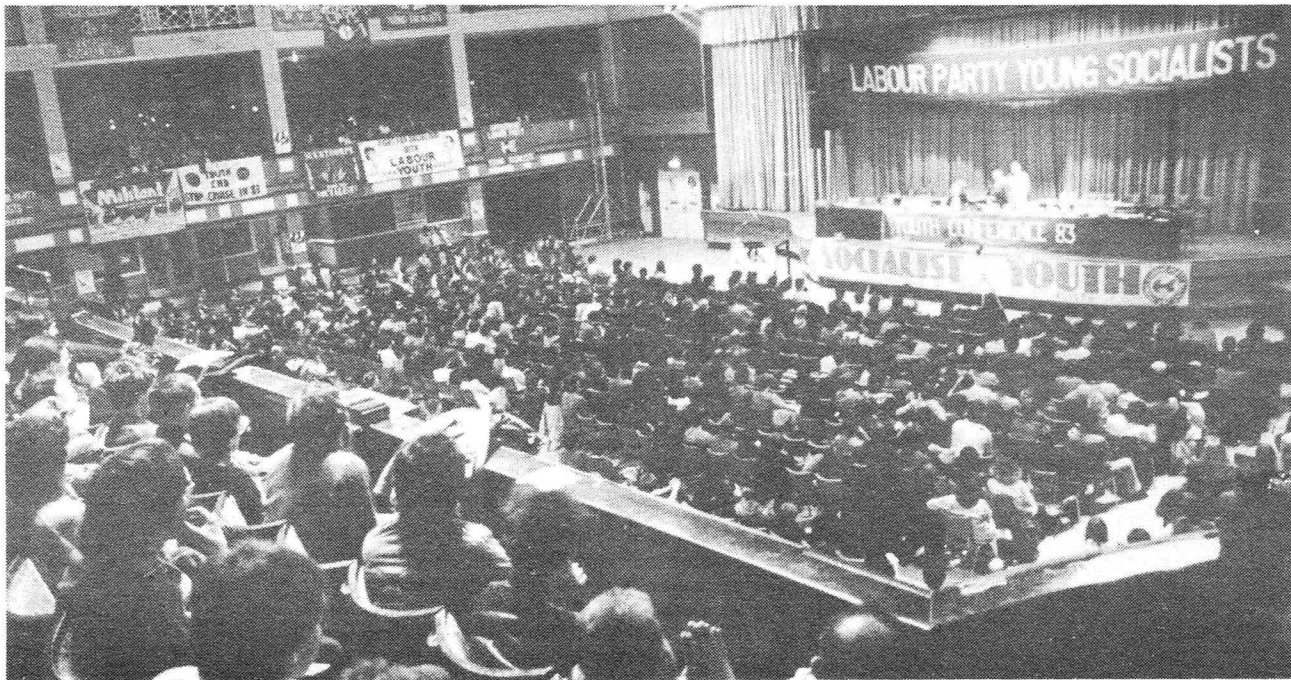
rell (Leicester), C Foster (Bath), J Vermeulen (Belgium), A Dark (Dartford), and P Dick (Dalkeith).

You don't have to wait for a LPYS conference to arrange social events for our fighting fund, however, some supporters do so weekly! Readers in west Leeds for example held a home brew festival and provided food, which netted us £42.40.

At time of writing our readers have raised for us £31,922 (including IOUs) out of our target of £50,000. Probably, by the time you read this, it still won't be too late to contribute to a final push to get the maximum possible proportion of our target.

Add your help to the future of Marxism! Send cheques/postal orders payable to *Militant*, to 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN. Forward to the *Daily Militant*!

THIS WEEK:
£8511



Section of the audience at the Marx Centenary meeting held at LPYS Conference, with LPYS and *Militant* banners decorating the balconies.

ads

NEW RATE
 CLASSIFIED: 10p per word, minimum 10 words.
 SEMI-DISPLAY: £2 per 2 column centimetres.
 All advertisement copy should reach this office by SATURDAY.

CLASSIFIED

MERSEYSIDE LPYS Weekend of Action.

Saturday 16 April: 11 am—Demonstration to save Croxteth School. Evening—social, Gillmoss Labour Club. Stay the night at Croxteth School, evening tea and breakfast laid on.

Sunday 17 April. 11 am—Mass canvass, Broad Green constituency.

BERMONDSEY WORKERS' SOCIAL

With our comrades who worked so hard for Labour in the by-election.

Railway Club, Dunton Road, SE16

Friday 15 April, 8 pm

Youth Campaign Against Unemployment disco. Friday 8 April 1983 at Satchmo's Nite Spot, Bonnyrigg, Midlothian. 7.30 pm-1.00 am. For tickets (£1.20, unemployed 80p) contact Bryden Pottinger, 031-660 5217.

Left Book Club books. Over 80 available. Offers to Box No 69, *Militant*. Proceeds to Fighting Fund.

On the centenary of Marx's death, 14 March 1983, Peter Taaffe spoke in Swansea on the relevance of Marxism today, and of *Militant* in the labour movement. Tape cassette available £2.25. Orders to D L Davies, 10 Page Street, Swansea. Profit to *Militant* Fighting Fund.



KARL MARX CENTENARY BADGE

Only 20p each (in red, white and brown). Bulk orders: 20 for £2 + 50p postage/packing. Send cash with order (cheques payable to *Militant*) to *Militant* Badges, 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN.

NEW MILITANT LEAFLET

Out now! It's an election year special. Advertise your local readers' meeting with this new leaflet. Free, from 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN.

WRITE OFF THE TORIES WITH US

Militant bios with slogan: "Read *Militant*, Tories out, Labour to power on a socialist programme." Normal price 20p (plus 20p p&tp). Bulk orders: 10 at £1.30 (post free).

LISTEN!

News, analysis and forecasts about the labour movement each month in *VOICE OF THE UNIONS*, the independent monthly newspaper of the left. Reports on union affairs, the co-operative movement, nuclear disarmament and much more, plus the quarterly bulletin of the Centre for Alternative Industrial & Technical System (CAITS)—designers of the famous road-rail bus train.

Write now for your trial issue to *VOICE NEWSPAPERS*, 30 Adolphus Road, London N4 2AY, or send subscriptions directly (20p an issue plus post—post-free for six or more a month—or £3.63 annual subscription).

STRIKING BACK AT VULTURES

WE ARE trying to build a campaign in Bury against privatisation.

It must involve all workers in all unions, and also get out directly to the electorate to put our case across.

In August 1981 our Tory controlled council got a letter from a private contractor saying how cheaply they could do refuse services and the Tory Public Services Committee agreed to go for privatisation.

The following March the unions all threatened strike action and the council agreed to go no further in drawing up a list of contractors.

After the Tories won last May's elections, they took the case to North West arbitration but they came down on our side and the council came up with the "compromise" of the wheelbin system, just a bin on wheels. This meant 60 redundancies but none of them compulsory whereas their original plans would have lost 200.

Union officials seemed to think this was the end of the dispute but in 21 February the Tories decided after all to go out to contract, splashing the cost of the contract the unions had offered in the local press.

We responded with a one-day strike on 2 March and

we are now working towards an indefinite strike from 13 April. The Public Services Committee meet on the 12th and they are likely to recommend privatisation to a full council meeting on the 27th.

After our one-day strike the demand we had been putting forward from the beginning for a Joint Shop Stewards Committee was implemented. We can't just rely on a campaign from union officials, we have to get workers involved.

We also went out to local people and got massive support. Out of every 100 households, 79 agreed we should keep the council services.

We have also got support from the local Labour Party and from unions in local factories.

It's clear the electorate aren't with the Tory council. We've been saying it's your child's future threatened by cuts. So our campaign will be going on, building the unity of the unions and public support.

Messages of support c/o Dave Greenhalgh, NALGO offices, Town Hall, Knowsley Street, Bury.

Dave Greenhalgh (Bury NALGO) spoke to Militant reporter at YS conference.

"Expelled for my views"

I was expelled from the Co-operative Party, Liverpool region, in March simply because of my 'political views'!

This is not an outrageous, groundless accusation on my part, but on the contrary is the reason specifically stressed by the majority of the Liverpool branch, right-wing dominated, in a letter sent to me in March.

I would submit to the Co-operative Party that there is no basis for expelling an individual for their political views as long as the actions of that individual are expressed within the terms of the Co-operative Party constitution.

If my political views made it impossible for me to completely subscribe to the constitution and policy of the Co-operative Party as the right-wing in Liverpool of the Co-operative Party branch have claimed, then why was I accepted for membership of that organisation in the first place? If I 'slipped through the net', as it were, why was I permitted to renew my Co-operative party membership last year?

My political views have not been concealed. On the contrary, the right-wing have made every effort to silence me and to suppress the views that I have. In fact, that is revealed in the minutes of the meeting of October 1982.

Those minutes pointed out that a resolution that I moved, opposing witch-hunts and bans against *Militant* supporters in the Labour Party should be opposed by the Co-operative Party rank and file. That resolution was

not discussed. It was ruled out of order, by the chairman, because supposedly it was contrary to Co-operative Party policy.

I would assume that I have been expelled from the Co-operative Party in the light of the recent Labour Party NEC decision to expel the *Militant* Editorial Board. That is, when the right-wing majority felt confident about following the precedent set by Labour's National Executive.

At the meeting which took place to discuss the question of my membership I was not even invited. It was discussed in my absence, and really, I have been tried and punished in my absence. But clearly, the non-jury Diplock courts used in Northern Ireland would not be enough for the right-wing majority in the Liverpool branch of the Co-operative Party. Their attitude is that the "defendant" shouldn't even be allowed into the trial.

Consequently, I have appealed to the Co-operative Party NEC against that expulsion. It was taken up at the party conference last weekend. Unfortunately that appeal was lost at conference.

Nevertheless, labour movement organisations should step up this campaign by sending letters and resolutions on to the Co-operative Party Executive Committee itself, in order to urge them to reverse that decision. Letters to the General Secretary, Co-operative Party, 158 Buckingham Palace Road, London SW1.

By Steve Higham

THE VITAL ROLE OF MARXISM



Dennis Skinner, Tony Benn and the LPYS chairman Kevin Ramage spoke at a very enthusiastic Socialist Youth rally on Friday night which raised well over £1,000 for the Youth Trade Union rights campaign. At another highly successful meeting John Reimann, the recording secretary of Local 36 of the Carpenters Union in Oakland California outlined the long battle for workers' rights in the United States and showed how American trade unionists are now beginning to fight for an independent party of the working class, for a Labour Party.

Saturday night at LPYS conference is traditionally the night of the big Militant Readers' Meeting.

Yet scandalously this year, as part of the right wing's witch-hunt against *Militant*, the reader's meeting was prevented from being held in the conference hall.

But the thirst for the ideas of Marxism the young workers who attend LPYS conference could not be thwarted, and the Young Socialists National Committee held a Marx Centenary rally on that night, with top labour movement speakers Kevin Roddy, President of civil service union CPSA, and Pat Wall, prospective parliamentary labour candidate for Bradford North.

Both emphasised the role of Marxism played in the British Labour movement, in the industrial and political wings from their inception.



Kevin Roddy.

Kevin Roddy described how the founding fathers of the trade unions were Marxists.

Describing the support for Marxism amongst many

workers today, he told how in his Labour Party a 'trendy' had criticised *Militant* for its name and its proud adherence to the ideas of Marx—we should call ourselves something else or we'd 'put people off.' A *Militant* supporter, a miner, simply replied: "What d'you want us to call ourselves—buttercups?"

Pale-face praised

Pat Wall described the role the Marxists played in the formation of the Labour Party, saying how last week his Labour Party had celebrated the 90th anniversary of the formation of the Independent Labour Party in Bradford.

During the contributions from the floor the audience laughed when a Young Socialist from Cathcart, Glasgow, congratulated Kevin Roddy on his 'pale

complexion'—"many full time union officials I know have at least one Mediterranean suntan by now!"

A member of the Royal Navy described conditions faced by troops and sailors in the Falklands and supported the LPYS call for trade union rights for servicemen.

Manus Maguire from Derry described the growing support for the ideas of Marxism in the north and south of Ireland, saying how the *Militant* and the *Militant Irish Monthly* were the only socialist papers that could be sold in the Falls or the Shankill, or in the slums of Dublin or outside the Harland and Wolff shipyard in Belfast, because of its consistent non sectarian class position.

Pat Wall closed the rally by explaining the gains made by the Labour Party in its policies and how the witch-hunt against *Militant* and the ideas of Marxism would be defeated.

A STRATEGY TO STOP MACGREGOR

Gary Birkin was one of a number of mineworkers who attended LPYS conference from coalfields throughout Britain. He is an NUM member in the workshops at Moorgreen near Nottingham.

"I thought the YS conference was very good" he told a *Militant* reporter "Unlike some political organisations there is serious debate and argument."

Gary was sponsored by the NUM to go to the conference. More and more miners see clearly the political nature of the fight to save the industry "Our pit is on the hit list and there's

great uncertainty about the future of the workshops as well"

This Saturday, 9 April the *Militant* national miners' meeting will be taking place in Sheffield, in the heart of the South Yorkshire pits and of the steel plants whose workers are fighting the effects of MacGregor's butchery of their industry. At a time when he is taking over as head of the Coal Board, a strategy for defeating the attacks has never been more necessary.

If you work in the mining industry, make sure you're there.

MILITANT NATIONAL MINERS' MEETING

Ian Isaac (Secretary, St John's, South Wales)
John Dunn (Branch Committee, Markham, Derbyshire)
will speak on:
"Lessons of the Ballot"

John Cunningham (Ellington Colliery, Northumberland)
Stan Pearce (Lodge Committee, Wearmouth, Durham)
will speak on:
"Building the left wing at rank and file level"

Peter Taaffe (Editor: *Militant*)
will speak on:
"The fight for the socialist alternative"

(All NUM members will be speaking in their personal capacities)

Chairman:
Tyrone O'Sullivan
(Secretary, Tower Lodge, South Wales)

Saturday, April 9th 11.00 am to 5.00 pm
Main Hall, Centre Against Unemployment,
Bridge Street, Sheffield (near Sheffield City Centre).

LEFT and RIGHT

Normal Tory Front

A group called 'Women for Defence' was set up last week. Now don't get cynical and just dismiss them as a pro-nuclear Tory front. They are, they assured a press conference last week, "normal people".

However, as the *Guardian* (March 30) pointed out, the addresses of their members range from London SW1 to Holland Park, Richmond, Wimbledon, Surrey, Hampshire and Devon. They don't appear to have recruited any women from Glasgow, Newcastle, Liverpool or the Isle of Dogs so far.

And they are all—by the most strangest of coincidences—members of the Tory party! Well, well. Leaderline of the group is—and here's another "normal" person is Lady Olga Maitland, columnist with the *Sunday Express*. As the editor of that journal, Sir John Junor would say, "pass the sick bag Alice".

Obscene priorities

Cost of Royal visit by Charles, Diana and William to Australia—£1,500 000.

British government donation to Ethiopian famine, where over two million face starvation—£250,000.

Bankrupt justice

When Labour councillors in Clay Cross were declared bankrupt for following party policy and falling foul of the courts, they were subject to harassment and banned from office for ten years. It has been a little different for William Stern, whose debts of £143 million has made him the world's biggest bankrupt. All he has to do, is wait two and a half years, before he can go back into business.

Clay Cross councillors were not allowed to have cheque books in their own name, once they were found 'guilty' of bankruptcy. But William Stern does not suffer. He continues to live in his £1 million house in Golders Green, London, be waited on by uniformed domestic staff, and keep his three cars, one of which his chauffeur uses, to take his youngest child to private school.

Back to the streets

The *Times* has discovered a gap in the job market. City gents are finding that, despite rising unemployment, there are just not enough boot boys around to clean their shoes. In fact the boot-licking industry is in dire crisis, with only about six left, mostly in the Picadilly area. But help is at hand, or foot.

As a shining example to the rest of British industry, Cherry Blossom is offering to sponsor two boot boys. It will help finance their stands and uniforms, and provide cheap, but not free, polish. Just the kind of Victorian street-scene Thatcher wishes Britain to enjoy once more.

Fifty years ago

Those on the left who give unequivocal support for Irish nationalism would do well to study the birth of the Irish Communist Party. On this date 50 years ago, the embryonic Irish CP was recovering from a near pogrom unleashed upon it by the leaders of the Catholic church.

Frenzied mobs of the lumpen proletariat had burnt down the CP headquarters, Connolly House, attacking prominent socialists, and attacked the offices of the Unemployed Workers Movement and Jim Larkin's Workers' Union of Ireland. Anti-Communist hysteria had been whipped up by the Catholic hierarchy.

The attack on the CP headquarters followed an address by the Archbishop of Dublin to an audience of 10,000. The IRA leadership distanced itself from the CP, while the right-wing Catholic paper the *'Standard'*, fanned the anti-Communist fervour with tales of Communist atrocities against the church in Russia Mexico and Republican Spain.

Significantly, while the church raged about Communism, they remained silent about the growth of fascism on the continent or the Irish variety, the *Blueshirts*, who later, along with the editor of the *'Standard'*, went to fight for Franco in Spain.

Defended to death

DENIS DORAN reviews 'Defended to Death', Cambridge University Disarmament Group, Penguin £3.50

Photo: T Howland (IFL) (II)

At the end of the Second World War, Eisenhower, the military leader of the Western forces, called for scientists and businessmen to get together to ensure "the most effective unified direction of our research and development activities." Sixteen years later, when he stepped down as US president, he was not so sure.

In his farewell speech he criticised the 'military-industrial complex' for its "total influence in every area of society." Since then the integration of business and defence has proceeded apace.

Significant sections of American industry now depend almost entirely on Department of Defence contracts. "88% of total Lockheed business now comes from military contracts."

In 1969 it employed 210 former high ranking military officers, and throughout the country that year 2,062 former officers were employed by 100 companies. The book goes on to point out that "between 1970 and 1979, over 1,500 former Department of Defence military employees moved into industry."

But this flow was not only from government. "In 1973, 275 former defence industry managers held ranks in the top three echelons of government service in the Defence Department."

In addition Department of



Opposition to US nuclear policy is widespread in Europe. In 1981 (above) hundreds of thousands marched in Bonn. And last weekend over half a million people demonstrated in West Germany.

Defence research grants in 1980 totalled \$652 million to 203 higher educational establishments. In the present economic climate military research has become "the most reliable source of external financing for many institutions."

Because of the scale, cost and time taken to produce new weapons systems, a few companies control defence production. One of the consequences of this monopoly is that individual companies can pressurise government into continuing with weapons programmes solely for the purpose of securing new business for the company.

However, the influence of nuclear power and weapons is not only apparent in the economic sphere. The book

analyses the implications of nuclear power for the environment, for the economies not only of America, but also for Europe and to some extent for Russia. The authors consider the links between civil and military nuclear programmes as well as the implications for civil liberties.

The American National Security Agency at Menwith Hill near Harrogate has an estimated overall capacity to monitor a quarter of a million British telephone calls. The station has been occupied by US forces since 1955.

No rental is paid, and, presumably, its presence has been sanctioned by successive British governments. The level of surveillance has implications for many sec-

tions of society, not only those concerned with the issue of nuclear power.

But having accumulated a great deal of evidence which shows the need for a political solution to the problems of nuclear power, the authors' conclusions are weak. They state that, with or without the bomb, international politics is, has been, and is likely to remain the art of orchestrated pressure. Nothing advocated is likely to change this. All they urge is the limitation of explosive potential.

But although their remedies are remote and utopian, this is an extremely useful book as source material for anyone concerned with the question of nuclear disarmament.

Historic somersaults

BOB FAULKES
(Hackney Central CLP)
reviews 'Two Steps Back' by S Bornstein and Al Richardson (publ. Socialist Platform). Available from World Socialist Books, price £4 (inc p&p)

Committee had met one day at the Kings Street HQ to draw up a stirring manifesto to the British people, calling on them to sacrifice all in the great anti-fascist struggle. After hours of struggle the text was finalised. Then unexpectedly in walked the British representative of the Communist International, whom everyone had thought was still in Moscow.

"He took one look at the manifesto and told the leadership they would have to scrap it. It was, he said, an imperialist war. The Comintern had said so and that meant opposing in the classic Marxist way.

"Out of the confusion which followed this bombshell came a demand that he should produce proof. He did, in the shape of a crumpled and much thumb-ed postcard, on which the position was stated tersely but unambiguously and signed 'Georgi Dimitroff, General Secretary of the Communist International'. There was no further room left for doubt as to its authenticity."

Whilst this account may not be precisely reliable, there was certainly a total somersault in the CP's position on the war. There was no explanation to the rank

ifying the invasion was published in the *DW* without any comment.

The line persisted until Hitler betrayed his pact with Stalin and invaded Russia. It was all change again. Now it was a war against Nazism.

The CP then reverted to super patriots, all well documented in the book. The greatest champions of productivity, anti-strikes and for collaboration with the employers, were the Stalinists. In order to win the war workers' health and safety, conditions, wage rates, all went by the board. Strikes were condemned as "aiding Hitler".

At the end of the war, again entirely misunderstanding the mood, the CP advocated a National Government, because "Labour can't win on its own". This government was to include progressive Tories such as Eden and Churchill.

The final conclusions of the book, while showing the continuing decline of the CP, pose no perspectives for rebuilding a genuine Marxist leadership of the labour movement. But the material produced has its relevance for today, particularly abroad, where the Stalinist leaders of the mass CPs still block the road to socialism.

For anyone looking for a documented history of the British Communist Party, *Two Steps Back* by S Bornstein and Al Richardson, provides a very useful account of the 1934-45 period. Most of the material used comes from the *Daily Worker*, other CP journals and individuals who participated in the events.

It makes a devastating indictment of the legacy of Stalinism and its effects on the British CP, and its European counterparts. It shows how the CPs were changed from becoming a potential revolutionary leadership, to a tame mouthpiece and puppet of Stalin's foreign policies. The Party which had attracted many good industrial workers moved from the heights of absurdities to the depths of the worst collaboration and betrayals.

It would be tempting to quote at length every twist, turn and somersault, but a few choice examples are enough.

At the beginning of the Second World War, the Party adopted a position of "The CP supports the war, believing it to be a just war which will be supported by the whole of the working class and all friends of democracy."

But unbeknown to the leadership the line from Moscow had changed. D Hyde, who deserted the CP, wrote one account of how he believed the decision was reversed:

"The Party's Central

Militant looks at Britain's national game

Football's class origins

Football only became a mass activity in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Its development as the national game mirrored the tensions of class society.

As capitalism expanded in the nineteenth century, sport became transformed into a mass organised activity for working men.

In the 1880's many workers won a half-day holiday on Saturday. Football proved the activity most attractive to workers in their free time. So Saturday afternoon became the time to watch and play football.

In 1871 there were just 50 official clubs. By 1910 this had risen to over 15,000 with 300,000 players. The ruling class tried to ensure that they controlled this development. The organised game had originated in the public schools and it was Cambridge University who devised its rules. At first the game was promoted alongside and as part of an ideology known as "muscular christianity". This was spearheaded by Charles Kingsley who emphasised the importance of muscles, independence and self-reliance.

Former public schoolboys formed the Football Association, stated that football was good for the physique, led to a reduction in drinking, and most of all brought the classes together.

By Paul Rimmer
(West Derby LPYS)

In Sheffield it was even argued that football rendered military conscription unnecessary as: "it enhances...the spirit of pluck, opposition, competition, never-know-when-they-are-beaten, play-up, united kind of feeling, which tends to the greatness of our national character. Long live football!"

However the old amateur aristocrats of the FA soon came under pressure from industrial capitalists. In 1885 they were forced to concede the introduction of professional players. Footballers could now sell their skills like other workers.

But the bosses made sure they knew their place. The *Athletic News* pointed out that in "the new order of things, the players must be impressed with the reality of the fact that they are only servants to those from who they receive wages."

And the footballers' skills were quite deliberately used by the bosses to distract workers' attention away from their social conditions." As Lord Birkenhead stated at the time:

"What would the devotees of athletics do if their present amusements were abolished?"

The police and the magistrate would each contemplate such a prospect with dismay...the poorer classes in this country have not got the tastes which superior people have...football abolished would bring nothing but misery, depression, sloth, indiscipline and disorder."

In other words, better to have the workers in the football ground than in the trade union hall—better for them to spend their emotions on football than in the class struggle. So the bosses poured money into the game, providing pitches and facilities.

West Ham United arose from such firm paternalism. Following strikes at the Thames ironworks in 1895, the firm formed several works' societies to draw workers away from union meetings.

One was a football team known as the Hammers. This eventually, took on an independent existence from the firm and became highly successful. Thus, the world famous side was formed as part of a strategy to secure peaceful industrial relations!

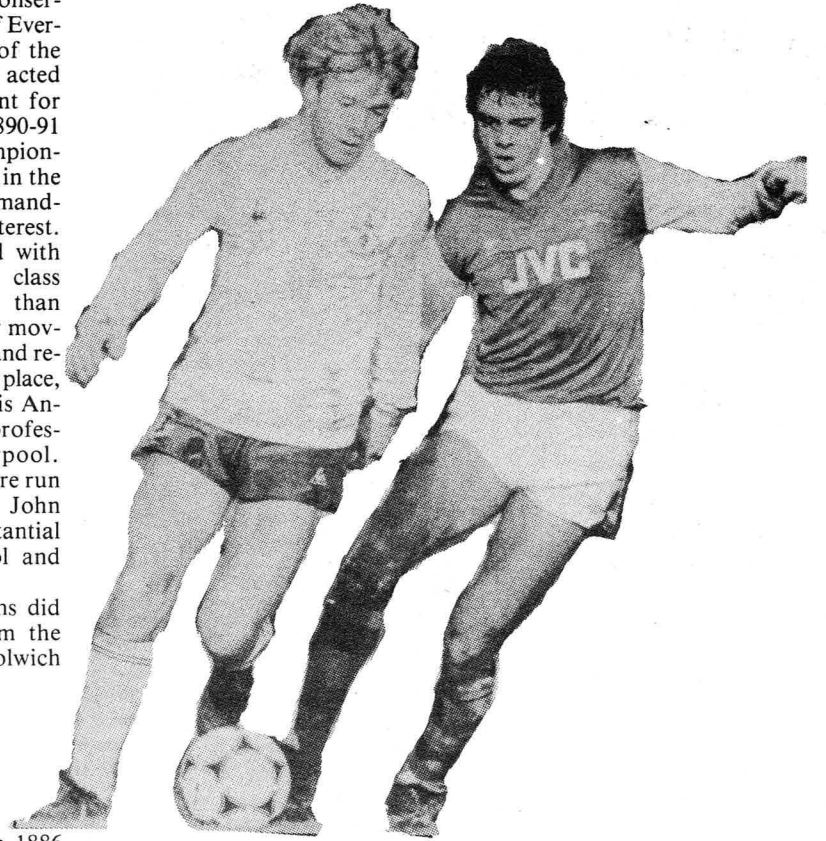
Liverpool, who have dominated English football in recent years, had different capitalist origins. It stemmed from a conflict between a local capitalist and the working-class followers of the game.

Before the 1890's the only major club in the city was Everton. John Houlding,

brewer and leading Conservative was president of Everton. He owned part of the club's ground and acted as the landlord's agent for the other half. In 1890-91 Everton won the championship and made £1,700 in the process. Houlding demanded higher rent and interest.

A dispute followed with the largely working class membership. Rather than bow to Houlding they moved to Goodison Park and reformed Everton. In its place, Houlding set up on his Anfield ground a new professional team, Liverpool. Nowadays both clubs are run by businessmen, with John Moores having substantial holdings in Liverpool and Everton.

Some football teams did emerge, separate from the bosses' control. Woolwich



Bought and disposed of by business like prize cattle, footballers are also now becoming moving advertising boards, proclaiming the name of the sponsoring company.

Arsenal was set up in 1886 through the independent activity of the workforce. The club was run by working men, elected by the membership.

They refused to become a limited company. John Humble, the committee chairman stated "It had been worked by working men and his ambition was to see it carried by them". He warned that if it adapted limited liability "it would degenerate into a proprietary or capitalist club".

Two years later, the club did embrace limited liability to raise funds to buy a ground. 4,000, £1 shares were created, the vast majority being purchased by workers at Arsenal. Six engineers sat on the first board of directors.

However, with the coming of the Boer War, Saturday overtime was imposed and gates plummeted disastrously. In 1900 control of the

club passed into the hands of local businessmen—the workingmen's experiment was over. Nowadays Arsenal is controlled by one of the most elite set-ups in the country.

Time and resources were required to run professional clubs—capitalism meant working people had neither. All leading clubs were either formed or taken over by local capitalist groupings.

Today, fans are confined to supporters' clubs, rarely consulted, even about the most drastic changes. Players, regarded in the 19th century as 'servants', are still patronisingly referred to as 'lads' and subject to petty disciplines. They live on a knife-edge, bought and disposed of like prize cattle.

The only rights they have

won has been through action by their trade union, the Professional Footballers' Association. At one stage, they terrified the FA by threatening to affiliate to the TUC to prepare strike action over grievances.

So although football is overwhelmingly played and watched by workers, it is controlled by an unrepresentative elite. It had its origins in the class divisions, conflict ideas and values of late nineteenth century British society. The traditional values of obedience, order and discipline for their own sake are still promoted by the elite.

These now fetter a game and society that cries out for innovation, skill and change.

Chester report and its future

By Jim Christie

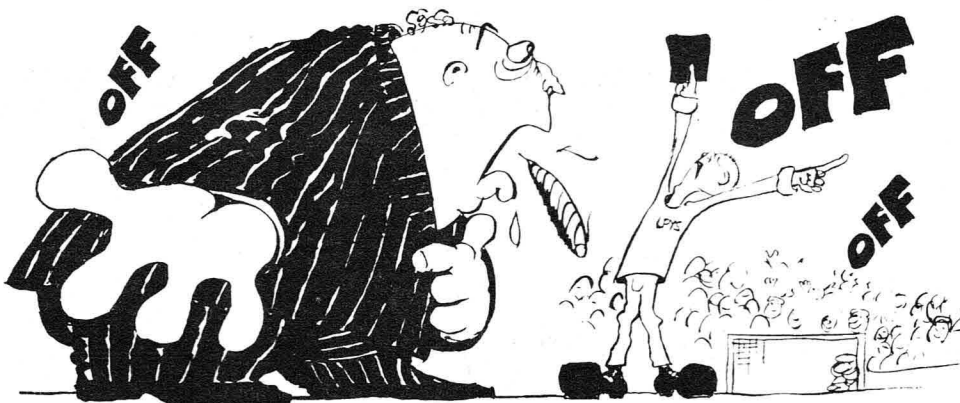
John Smith, Executive Director of Luton Town, gave an apt summary of the Chester Report into the future of football. "It is a bit like a Thatcher Budget", he said. In other words, the rich get richer and the poor get poorer.

Under the proposals, the top clubs will benefit by keeping all the gate receipts from home matches, and getting a greater share of the money from TV or video schemes. John Smith calculates Luton lose at least £40,000 a year from the new proposals.

The lower divisions will increasingly become just nursery grounds for grooming footballers for top clubs to buy, when they think the time is ripe.

Marx may not have had football in mind when he explained how during a recession large companies swallow up the small fry. But his analysis is borne out by football today.

As an industry it suffers from all the ills typical of



modern British business. It is inefficient, losing popularity and deeply in debt to the banks.

The Chester Report reveals that at the end of January, Football League clubs owed £37 million to the banks. The First Division clubs, who owe half this debt, are this year paying over £2 million in interest charges to the banks. This is the main burden facing football.

Even Liverpool, who won the League Championship and Milk Cup last season, ended up with a loss of

£155,000.

Over the last year a number of clubs were nearly wound up. Declining attendances meant that they could no longer stave off their debtors.

In August, Wolves, now second in the Second Division, were saved from extinction by three minutes. Their crowds were down to 15,000 compared to 22,000 the season before. Their debts totalled £2 million, with Lloyd's Bank taking £250,000 in interest charges.

The media like to claim that it is high wages that lies

at the heart of football's crisis, and if only footballers would return to the 'good old days' of living off a pittance, then everything would be fine.

The Wolves figures show that this is untrue. In August their match receipts for the year totalled £817,000 whilst their wage bill came to only £694,000. Overall, except for the wealthy few the vast majority of professional players are not highly paid.

Besides the crippling debt charges, the other major problem facing football is the decline in attendances.

The Chester Report shows that the number watching League football in a season has fallen from 40 million in 1950 to an expected 18.5 million this season.

With the growth of other alternatives, millions of people have shown that they are no longer prepared to pay exorbitant prices to put up with stinking Victorian toilets, expensive, tasteless catering and whatever the weather can throw at them.

The greatest decline has been during the current recession. 'Gates' have fallen by six and a half million in these three years.

The solution coming from the Chester report will not solve this problem. The top clubs have already shown where they think the future lies. They want more luxury executive boxes, higher admission charges and more commercial sponsorships. If they have their way then with a revamped structure, League football will be played for a small minority in just a few major cities.

Three years ago the LPYS were mocked by the Tory press when they argued for a socialist alternative to the present way of running foot-

ball. But the case for such an alternative has never been stronger.

Professional football clubs should be municipalised. Clubs should be run for the benefit of the players and the public, not the directors and the bankers. There should be democratic management by the local authority, players, ground staff and supporters.

In this way football teams could really become part of the local community. Their facilities could be integrated with those provided by the local authority, as part of an overall programme to give leisure resources for all.

If there was a proper planning of the economy then leisure facilities could really be developed. The Tories have encouraged local authorities to sell off to private developers large areas of public sports grounds. They even want state schools to sell off their grounds.

Yet there is a crying need for more and better sports and leisure facilities. Whether you want to play or just watch, sport and leisure should be for everyone, not just for the rich.

WHO OWNS



THE SUNDAY TIMES
NEWS OF THE WORLD

THE TIMES

Sun, News of the World, Times, Sunday Times:

Owned by Murdoch's News International empire. It also owns newspapers, television and radio networks in USA and Australia, besides a chain of weekly and daily regional papers in Worcestershire and Herefordshire. Its profits for 1977 were a massive £18.1 million.



SUNDAY EXPRESS



Daily Express, Sunday Express, Evening Standard (London) Daily Star: Owned by the Trafalgar House group, who, amongst other things, own the Cunard shipping line and a string of hotels, including the Ritz. Turnover for 1977 was £587 million, £20,000 of which went to the Tory Party. Former TH managing director Sir Victor Matthews, who recently resigned to become head of the company's subsidiary Fleet Holdings to take direct control of their Fleet Street papers, is a former leading member of the right wing Economic League.



Daily Mirror, Sunday Mirror, Sunday People, Daily Record and Sunday Mail (Scotland):

The Mirror group of newspapers is a subsidiary of the Reed International giant, which in turn owns the International Publishing Corporation which publishes more than 200 magazines and comics, including *Woman*, *Woman's Own*, *Woman's Realm* (these three publish in competition with each other!) and the *NME*.



Daily Mail; Mail on Sunday:

Owned by the Associated Newspapers Group, Lord Rothermere's multinational. It also owns weekly and daily papers in Cheltenham, Derby, Exeter, Gloucester, Grimsby, Hull, Leicester, Plymouth, Swansea, Stoke and Torquay, and has now moved into restaurants, oil and transport.

FINANCIAL TIMES

Financial Times:

Owned by the S Pearson and Son empire. Besides also owning the *Economist*, *Penguin* and *Ladybird* books, it also owns the Lazard brothers merchant bank, the Pearson Longman group, the US conglomerate Midhurst Corporation, Doulton ceramic industry, Longman Holdings and the Westminster Press group, which in turn owns 83 weekly provincial papers from Acton to York, 10 evening papers, one regional daily paper and has shares in Metro Radio in Newcastle.

THE OBSERVER

The Observer:

Recently taken over by the Lonrho group. Their other interests include gold and coal mining, agriculture and ranching in Africa; hotels and casinos; properties in the exclusive west end of London, the House of Fraser department store group, wines and spirits; the Hadfields, Charles Roberts (which has MOD contracts), Lightfoot Refridgeration, and Firststeel engineering groups; furniture; Volkswagen motors and Beechcraft aircraft; warehousing; oil exploration and pipelines; and finally export financing and broking. Besides all this, head of the Lonrho empire, Tiny Rowland, has still found time to bail out Freddie Laker from his Skytrain fiasco. Pre-tax profits for the years '81 and '82 were an incredible £186.7 million.

SUNDAY TELEGRAPH The Daily Telegraph

Daily Telegraph, Sunday Telegraph:

A rarity in Fleet Street, the *Telegraph* is an individual company that actually makes a profit on its newspaper alone. It is owned by the Hartwell family, with Lord Hartwell acting as editor-in chief

THE GUARDIAN

The Guardian:

This is owned by the Scott Family Trust and therefore can afford its liberal stance. The trust also owns the *Manchester Evening News*.

Workers in Britain are amongst the most literate and 'news-hungry' in the world: 80% of households see a newspaper every day.

Over 31 million read a paper each working day, with this figure rising to 33 million on a Sunday.

The newspaper market, on a capitalist basis, has reached saturation point, which explains the present cut-throat circulation war: the bingo crazes, the return of cheque-book journalism, the new heights of hysteria to obtain 'exclusives' which has not even left the Royal Family unscathed!

Given these figures it would be thought that the capitalist's much loved 'rationalisation' would come into force.

But the capitalist class are prepared to pour millions down the drain to keep their presses rolling.

They sit upon society's thirst for information and knowledge ensuring that their propaganda alone is put across and cloud the real issues facing society by raising trivia and gossip out of all proportion to its importance.

Compared with other capitalist 'democracies', Britain is amongst those with the greatest monopolisation of the press, dominated by four press barons. With the coming to power of the most reactionary Tory government since the '30s, the press barons were filled with a new confidence. They have shed any pretence they had of being 'independent', degenerating into openly supporting the Tories and backing up the Tories' reactionary ideology.

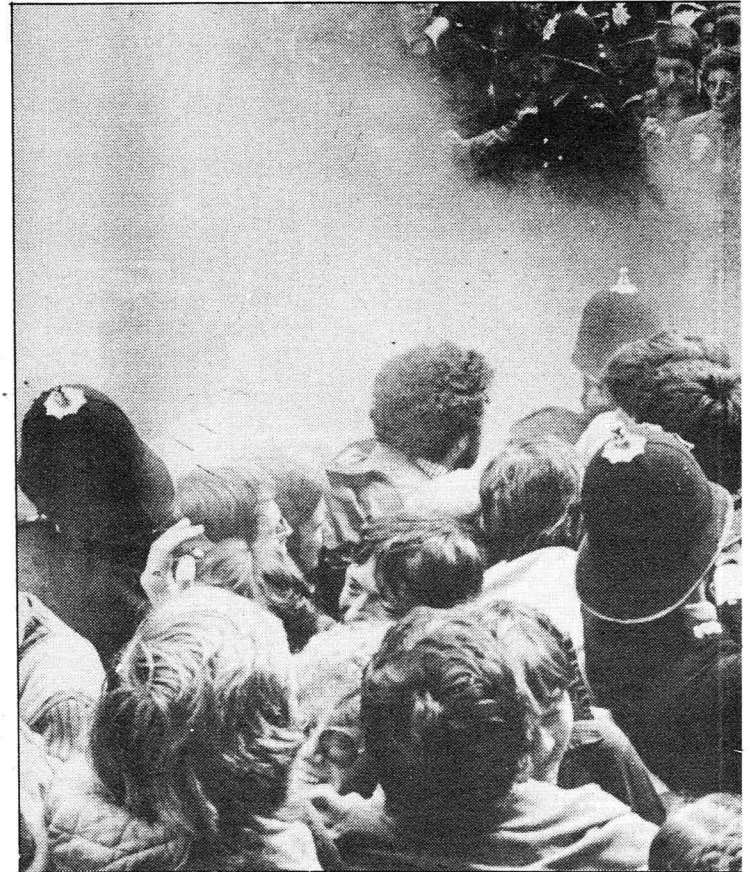
The Tory press has certainly stepped up its frequency of attacks on the labour movement. But it would be wrong—as some on the left have suggested—that overnight the media has suddenly become 'all powerful' and the labour movement has no other choice than to lie prostrate before it.

There have been many defeats for the labour movement recently. But these cannot be put down to the dictates of Fleet Street alone.

They have more to do with the failure of the right wing labour leaders to give a fighting lead in the face of the Tory onslaught and meet the accusations of the press head on, in some cases—such as the witch-hunt against *Militant*—even taking a back seat and nodding their heads in agreement.

They thus undermine the confidence of the labour movement at a time when—because of mass unemployment, swingeing cutbacks and falling living standards—workers have to think hard and seriously before they set off on a course of action.

Added to this has been the



Police attempt to hold back print workers to allow scab van the sacking of 28 journalists all members of the NUJ. TH in the hands of the capitalist class.

Feature
by
Bob Wade

The Alte

legacy of the bankrupt policies of past right wing leaders, which the Tory press have been quick to seize upon to sow further doubt in the minds of workers.

It was not the press alone—although a factor—which defeated Labour in Bermondsey or broke the ASLEF strike, but more so the equivocation of the leadership. In the recent miners' strike ballot, if anything the Tory press was more subdued than usual—other factors influenced that result (see *Militant* 642).

Yet where the movement has taken a firm stand all the ravings of the press have come to nothing. They could not break the water workers strike, and they could not influence the ballots in the leadership elections of the National Union of Mineworkers, the Civil and Public Services Association or the National Union of Railwaymen, which resulted in left-wing victories.

The labour movement has survived the fury of the Tory press before, from the infamous Zinoviev letter to the slanderous attacks on the gas workers' strike in 1971, and the Tory press can be beaten today. If the labour movement adopts a fighting leadership the legacies of the past can be swept aside and the movement steered against future anti-labour movement hysteria from the Fleet Street gutter press.

All workers are clear labour movement raise the press. But what is the problem?

The bosses and their kind claim that there are avenues in which someone who has been misrepresented by the press can have this put right.

But libel actions are a rich man's game. How can an ordinary worker who has been libelled in the press afford to take on the multi-millionaire press barons, using the expensive process of the courts?

The Press Council is a toothless tiger. Even when it rules that a paper must print a retraction, more often than not this is tucked away in the inside pages amongst the adverts in small type, which hardly compensates for the damage done by a screaming front page headline. Besides which, both court and Press Council actions take a long time—a statement by a paper can go unanswered for months leaving the initial false accusation imprinted in the readers' minds.

Sections of the labour movement have raised the question of a 'Labour daily'. This would certainly go some way at least to answer the lies of the Tory press.

It is a scandal that given

THE PRESS ?

Why do workers read

the Sun?

Socialists often ask themselves why a reactionary, coarse and smutty paper like the *Sun*—which has been the trend-setter for the 'popular tabloid' papers—should have such a wide readership amongst the working class.

It is certainly the biggest selling daily at present; it sells over four million copies a day, two-thirds of which are bought by workers.

But despite the *Sun's* boasting, its massive readership is on far from a secure footing. Indeed, as recently as 1981 the so-called 'Labour' paper, the *Daily Mirror* regained its position as Britain's top selling paper.

Whereas in general terms, the *Daily Mirror* has its traditional base amongst workers, the *Mail* and *Express* amongst the middle class and the *Times* and *FT* amongst the upper and business classes, the *Sun* has clawed its way to the top more through gimmickery (nude women, bingo etc) and sensationalism rather than support for reactionary ideas.

When it launched its recent Bingo craze, its sales went up by half a million in three months. But when during the Falklands war it tried to push its crude jingoism down the throats of its readers, its sales dropped by 40,000 (whereas *Daily Mirror* sales, with its more hesitant approach to the war went up by 95,000, albeit after an advertising campaign). Bingo not jingo sells the *Sun*.

Even so, the *Sun* has had an upward trend since the mid-seventies. Why is this?

In general terms,

newspapers can act as mirrors of society, both reflecting and creating moods within the masses.

The *News of the World* since the early sixties has had a steady Sunday sale of 5 million, from the boom through to the recession of today. Its contents of non-political gossip and tittle-tattle, like the other 'popular' Sundays, reflects the mood of workers on a Sunday, the traditional 'day off'—workers want to put their feet up, shut the world out and 'escape' for the day from the weary cycle of work.

On the other hand, the *Daily Mirror* was at its strongest in the '60s with over five million daily sales. The working class was highly organised and confident, with the leadership of the labour movement able to secure reforms from the capitalist system in its boom period.

But with the growing economic crisis in the mid-'70s and the increasing failure of the right-wing labour leadership—which the *Mirror* has solidly supported, while attacking the left—to produce solutions or take society forward, so the *Mirror* sales began to drop as disillusionment set in amongst the working class.

The *Sun's* sales boomed during the '74 - '79 Labour government and the election of Thatcher, their circulation

figures resting on workers' disillusionment, offering a diet of escapism and reaction.

As the crisis has deepened, so the *Sun* has set the pace for Fleet Street, reaching new depths of escapism and trivia as a diversion for the working class. Perhaps the most recent ludicrous example was the 'Ken and Deirdre' saga. Imaginary characters rated front page news while world shattering events like earthquakes, coups etc were resigned to the inside pages!

But this is temporary. When the workers move into industrial action, they have seen the real nature of Tory rags like the *Sun*. Socialists can take heart from actions by workers such as the blacking of the *Sun* at Kings Cross during the ASLEF dispute or the banning of the paper from picket lines during the water workers dispute in Mansfield.

The *Sun's* mass circulation is built on sand. As more sections of the labour movement move into struggle so the real nature of papers like the *Sun* are exposed to the eyes of the workers. They will want questions answered that they will not find in the tales of titillation and gossip that appear in the likes of the *Sun*, and reject them. And no gimmick on earth will win them back.



through during the mass pickets at the Nottingham Evening News in 1979, following a majority of newspapers are not "independent commentators" within society but Photo: Militant.

Socialist Alternative

about the anti-ings of the Tory e solution to the

the strength of the British labour and trade union movement, the leadership have proved incapable of providing the 12 million strong movement with at least one daily paper. The argument by sections of the right wing that this is "too expensive" is not good enough. Nearly every other section of the European labour movement has found the resources to produce a daily paper—including those movements in a far weaker position.

Can printworkers stop the bosses?

And the "expense" of a Labour daily would soon be compensated by the support that would be given to the labour movement by millions of workers if it campaigned enthusiastically on class issues and answered the Tory lies.

However, a Labour daily should not be seen as the be-all and end-all on the question of the press. The eight or so other capitalist papers would still exist.

It has also been argued that it is the duty of the unions in the print industry to take action against the Tory press. Certainly, when unions such as the NGA or Sogat'82 have taken blacking action against anti-Labour editorials or have stopped presses in solidarity with other sections of workers, such as with the health workers last year, they have been rightly applauded by the labour movement.

Also, when a section of the movement is taking industrial action, it should not hesitate to approach print unions for support or at least call upon journalists not to contravene the National Union of Journalist's code of conduct.

But this doesn't deal with the question of the press as a whole. Realistically, the print unions could not be expected to keep the multinationals that own and control the press permanently in check. And besides, with a labour movement 12 million strong, why should it be left to one small section of the movement to battle against the bosses' control of the press?

There are no short cuts. The answer lies in the nationalisation of press facilities under democratic control and management, in-

tegrated into a planned economy.

On the material side, this would open up massive resources for society as a whole. At present, the capitalists jealously guard their presses and printing equipment so it is not used to full capacity.

Under the planned economy much of the fruitless competition of present day capitalist society would not be needed, freeing the presses from the burden of for example, needless advertising.

Anyone involved with a small local political or community group, like an LPYS branch or youth club, knows what an ordeal it is to get simple leaflets printed, and at great expense. Imagine the country's presses could be freed from, for example, having to print that seemingly endless stream of mindless bumph that pours through your letter box, 99% of which ends up in the bin, and instead were handed over to local communities to be put to far more worthwhile causes.

And with the press under democratic control, it could be moved away from the present format under capitalism, of mixing news with 'comment' in the cause of propaganda, a trade the Tory press are expert at.

Certainly, it could end the "Tits and Bums Shock Horror" mentality of Fleet Street and instead direct the media towards the goal of raising educational and cultural levels of society.

However, that aside, the genuine fear of many workers is that a nationalised press may not be a 'free' press. Of course the Tories and bosses play on this fear, pointing to the Stalinist

regimes of Eastern Europe.

But a totalitarian press is merely a reflection of totalitarian society. *Militant* has explained the rise of the Stalinist bureaucracies in the East. Briefly, they resulted from the isolation of the Russian Revolution in the face of invasion by 19 im-

Nationalisation would open up resources

perialist powers, alongside the backwardness of Russian society in 1917 with only a miniscule industrialised working class compared to its massive peasantry. This, with the best revolutionary fighters being lost in the civil war, and the failure of the socialist revolutions in central Europe, created the conditions for the rise of Stalinism and the one party state.

Militant has always

argued that this would not be the case for advanced industrialised Britain today. The socialist transformation of society would be accompanied by workers' democracy, given the predominance of organised industrial workers in Britain and their long history of democratic traditions.

This would be the safeguard on a nationalised press, as it would on all institutions within a new socialist society.

Democratic control of the press is not a utopian idea. History has given many examples of this. In the revolution in Portugal in 1974, presses in some areas were taken over by the labour movement and run jointly by representatives of journalists, printers, local trade unions and community groups and elected representatives of the local populace i.e. councillors, MPs etc. The editor was under right of re-call by these committees. This is not a blue print for

the running of the press but shows that the labour movement is quite capable of democratic control of the media.

On the question of the more influential daily national papers, editorial opinion and direction could be proportioned to the influence those ideas have within society e.g. gauged upon the votes a political party received in a general election. Obviously besides fascists, the presses would be open to all shades of opinion within society including capitalists, but in proportion to their support.

This would be a far more democratic basis on which to rest the control of the media. And it would ensure that the control of the press was kept out of the hands of individuals, whether the capitalist press barons of today or some would-be dictator, and were there instead to serve the wishes of the mass of the population.

GREECE Workers on the offensive

The most important factor in present developments in Greece is the enormous power of the working class.

After suffering seven years of dictatorship the Greek workers have shown since 1974 that they have lost none of the heroic traditions of struggle and sacrifice which have made them one of the most combative working classes in the world.

They have moved decisively and rebuilt a new political party, PASOK, and capped all this when for the first time in Greek history they gave a majority to the left and elected a PASOK government in 1981.

The past two years have seen new strides forward. The number of workers organised has been doubled; now the Greek TUC estimates that 500,000 workers—40% of the workforce—are organised, and they expect this to reach 600,000 by the end of 1983. The first year of PASOK government saw wages go up by 30% while inflation was around 25%.

Towards the end of last year, the government in its new austerity term imposed a wage freeze until the end of 1983. This has been reluctantly accepted by the majority of the working class; some 80 workplaces had struck against it, out of a total of 5,000.

Greek workers are stronger than ever

However, there are clear signs that the working class are becoming impatient. 500,000 people took part in a recent demonstration against US bases. The response to the threatened coup was also a sign of the determination and willingness to struggle. The working class activists in the unions and in the parties of the left streamed to their party offices, to oppose any coup.

The struggles now against unemployment, increasingly raise the demand for nationalisation. The election of PASOK, the crisis in the economy and now the threatened coup, which has had the effect of alerting the working class, have coincided with an increased unionisation which sees the Greek proletariat stronger today than ever before.

Against this background, the perspectives of Greek capitalism can be understood. The ruling class view the PASOK government with hatred and fear and wish to see its end. But moves to bring PASOK down either by parliamentary means, or constitutional means—through the presidency, or by means of a coup would all unleash a huge movement of the working class.

Fear of the working class stays the capitalists' hands at this stage. They are not confident that they have the strength required. The mood of the working class makes it clear that there would be much more than a "token response" to any attempt to

By Our Correspondent in Athens

bring down PASOK.

The Army itself is issuing warning signs for big business. Committees of the rank and file of the armed forces have made their appearance; thefts of arms have occurred in some areas, and in one instance a rocket was fired by soldiers at their officers' mess which contained 50 officers at the time.

The ruling class, for the moment, therefore are applying all possible pressure on the PASOK government to take the road of counter-reforms. Dis-investment and economic pressures are being applied. Karamanlis, the President, is in almost continuous session with Papandreu, the Prime Minister and leader of PASOK.

Supporters of big business in the ranks of the PASOK parliamentary party and in the cabinet are also playing their role. And, of course, the threatened coup was a reminder to Papandreu that big business is not toothless. Papandreu has left the army tops intact, and the same elements who were in charge during the dictatorship are still in their posts.

The method, at present, of the strategists of capital is to fight a rearguard action, hold PASOK in check and force it to carry out counter-reforms. At the stage where such measures lead to disillusionment in the working class and to a more reactionary stance by the middle class and backward elements, then they calculate they would seize the opportunity to settle accounts with the working class.

However, the catastrophic crisis now facing Greek capitalism means that there is limited room for manoeuvre. And, of course, the history of Greece where parliamentary democracy is the exception rather than the rule, and where the military is never slow to parade and use its muscle, makes the situation very dangerous. Time is limited for the Greek working class.

PASOK government must break with capitalism

On the economic front Greece is in an impasse. Far from solving Greece's problems, entry into the EEC in 1981 has seen the home market flooded with foreign goods; the trade deficit with the rest of the EEC has doubled since entry. Backward Greek industry where 85% of firms have fewer than 10 employees is being devastated, and 40% of all firms are losing money. The level of investment in 1982 was down to the level of 1971.

The PASOK government, if it remains on the basis of capitalism will be forced on to the road of counter



Greek Prime Minister, Papandreu, (above, centre) recently faced a threatened coup. As long as it maintains capitalism, the government will stumble from crisis to crisis, with business seeking its chance to deal a death blow.

reforms and attacking the living standards of the working class, as already is evident. Already, under the pressure of the Greek capitalists, and foreign imperialist powers, especially the USA, Papandreu is doing a U-turn on his election promises.

Industry stays in private hands; the military stays in private hands of its officer caste; Greece is to continue in NATO and US bases are to remain. Papandreu's approach to these latter two issues is to negotiate as much as possible for the maintenance of the status quo.

Given this background, the PASOK government is certain to be a government of crisis and instability. If it endeavours to maintain

capitalism it will be unable to solve the problems of the working class and of Greek society. It will stumble from crisis to crisis, with Greek capitalism seeking its chance to deal a death blow.

However, the masses of the working class and large sections of the middle layers of society still give the PASOK government their support. Whilst becoming more critical, they still see it as their government. This was shown by the results of the municipal elections in October 1982, when the overall vote for the parties of the left—PASOK and the Communist Party—held firm, but with an increased vote for the CP at the expense of PASOK.

Papandreu thus received a warning shot across his

bow. As long as this support for PASOK remains then the Greek capitalist class will most likely stay their hand. However, time is short for this government, so long as it refuses to take control of the economy, through nationalisation of major industry and the dominating sectors of the economy, under workers control and management, and through removing the power of the officer caste over the armed forces.

The working class, which is now set for another major offensive against the bosses will not be able to maintain their struggle indefinitely, faced with the opposition of big business and a government that the workers themselves elected into power.

The developments in PASOK show the danger signs. The party branches are only shells of their former selves. Some party leaders talk of closing them down. "Why do they need them now we are in government?" some ask.

The Greek working class, though have a history of struggle and sacrifice, second to none. They are stronger now than ever before, and are prepared to struggle to transform society. What is needed is a clear and determined leadership, based on a Marxist programme.

The powerful CP, under orders from Moscow to 'support' the PASOK government, are holding back their members and the powerful unions they control and are attempting to halt any movement towards strikes amongst the working class.

Need for Marxist leadership

In PASOK and the CP and in the trade unions, a new ferment is developing, and only the Marxist Tendency in PASOK are offering a clear way forward.

The situation is urgent in Greece. The Greek military are not renowned for far-sighted and clear perspectives. They are dominated by the crude analysts in the CIA and the Reagan administration, and could move prematurely, from their point of view, and unleash a new civil war in Greece in the not too distant future.

The working class have the power, they have the willingness to struggle. The opportunity for a socialist Greece has never been greater.

The missing element for success in this is clear Marxist leadership for the working class. The urgency has never been greater, and the place where this leadership must be built is in the ranks of PASOK and the powerful trade unions.

French union fights racism

As reported in *Militant* (1 April) France recently experienced a wave of strikes in the car industry, at the Renault and Citroën factories. They were over wages, the effects of mechanisation and trade union rights.

The new-Gaulist party led by Chirac, the RPR, which had made immigration an issue in the municipal elections, seized upon the strikes to use as an example of how "immigrants are bringing France to ruin". (About 85% of car workers are immigrants).

Here was the perfect opportunity for the Left leaders to expose the viciously reactionary character of the capitalist parties. Instead, both the Stalinist and Communist leaders joined in the campaign of lies and smears against the strikers, and against immigrants in

general.

Pierre Mauroy, Prime Minister, speaking of the problems in the car industry said:—

"The main problems of the industry are due to the immigrant workers, who, it must be said, are agitated by religious and political groups which operate according to criteria having little to do with the social reality in France".

Other government ministers spoke of the "dark hand of Ayatollah Khomeini" behind the strikes. It was, said Gaston Deferre (Interior Minister) "an Iranian plot to damage the French economy".

The CFTD (Democratic Confederation of Labour) at Renault in Flins protested, "It is particularly scandalous (that the PM and his ministers) should facilitate the hateful campaign of the right wing."

The workers were incensed. Already they had been betrayed once by the government. In the Common Programme of Socialist and Communist Parties, immigrants had been promised that the necessary constitutional changes would be made to give them the vote in municipal elections. This was then dropped on the grounds that it would mean...changing the constitution!

"I was there on election night in May '81, at the Place de la Bastille. I danced all night. But now, I prefer the cops that harass us in the Metro to these so-called 'socialists'...."

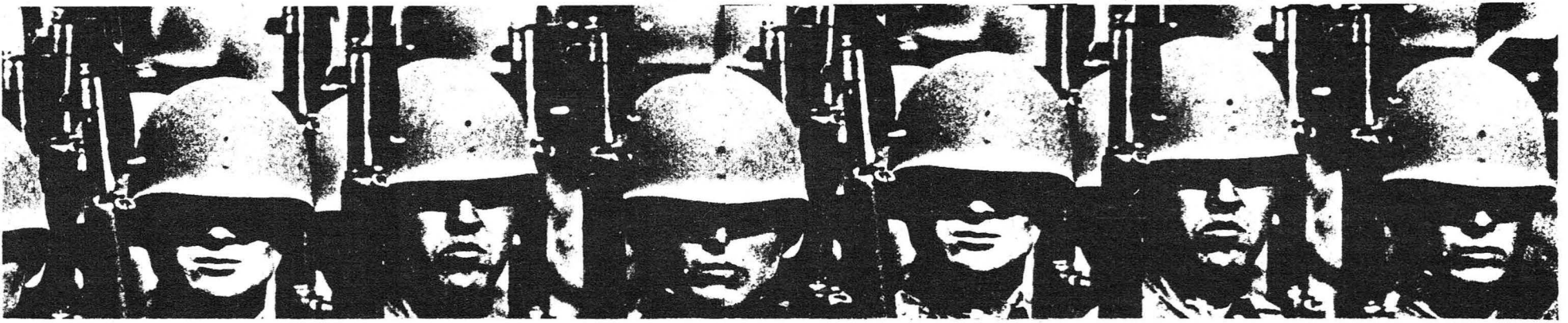
"Religion has nothing to do with the strike. What is Mauroy talking about? Who told him that nonsense about Khomeini? He should come, Mauroy, to the factory. We'll show him what it's like...the truth is, we can't

vote, so we're treated like dirt. When there's an election on, we have to keep quiet. There's no right to strike—during an election that has a bad effect!"

These comments from the workers show their anger and sense of having been betrayed.

Then, as if to rub salt in the wound, when three CGT shop stewards were sacked at the Citroën factory at Aulnay-sous-Bois for having led a strike, the Minister of Labour, Auroux, upheld the sanctions against them, thus dealing a blow to the whole of organised labour.

By Philippe Roland
(Parti Socialiste, Paris and CFTD)



CHILE BOSSES DESERTING THEIR 'SAVIOURS'

By Rosa Pastora

"We do not deny the task that fell on the armed forces in their first year of government after the chaos of Popular Unity.

"What we criticise is today's oppressive reality; the unemployment level, external and internal debt, dilapidated industry, destruction of agriculture, exhaustion of mining and the terrible situation facing shopkeepers, professionals and lorry owners..."

This statement by the ex-secretary of the National Party (the party that initiated calls for the 1973 coup) clearly expresses the dilemma of Chile's capitalist class. In September 1973, faced with a powerful labour movement which threatened to end capitalist control of industry and agriculture, Chile's ruling class called on the armed forces to intervene and restore "law and order".

As halting the revolutionary movement required smashing workers' organisations, its trade unions and political parties, the capitalists and some sections of the middle class rallied behind Pinochet's military junta in a period of mass repression. Hundreds of thousands of workers were murdered, tortured, imprisoned or banished; many more lost their livelihoods.

Junta's policies aggravate crisis

Today Pinochet's military junta is increasingly isolated. Sections of previously staunch supporters are openly opposing junta policies, demanding some form of "parliamentary democracy".

This new found desire for "democracy" is partly explained by chronic economic crisis and increasing fears of wider sections of the capitalist class that the junta's policies are aggravating the crisis.

At the beginning of February twelve companies, belonging to two of Chile's most powerful financial and industrial conglomerates; collapsed, and the junta was forced to take over direct running of five commercial banks and close down three others to bolster the stability of the banking system.

In 1975 the junta promised to revitalise the economy through monetarism. The idea was to activate growth through exports where Chile had the main advantage of cheap labour, maintained through a massive repressive apparatus. To encourage competition, the junta cut

import tariffs to a maximum of 10% and to stimulate growth, it encouraged borrowing.

Huge debts and intolerable conditions

The so-called "Chilean economic miracle" of 1980, based on heavy borrowing on international markets, has been a catastrophe. 1982 saw GNP fall by 13%, record bankruptcies and closures, with the disappearance of industries such as textiles whose survival depended on a protected home market.

Agriculture owes no less than 90% of its annual output, whereas the building industry owes nearly one and a half, and banking three quarters of their respective gross annual products. These huge debts also threaten the banking system. The ex-president of the industrial employers' federation, until recently a prominent supporter of the regime, exclaimed, "If you want to defend the liberal economy, you would do well to keep quiet about Chile..."

For over 9 years workers and peasants have lived under intolerable conditions. Unemployment has never been below 10% and today stands officially at 26%. Education and the national health system have been completely destroyed through privatisation. Recently the junta introduced a new law, to further decrease real wages when prices are rising between 50%-100% for all basic foods.

Despite pressure from wide sections of the capitalists, the junta has so far refused to adopt measures to meet their needs. This intransigence by the regime has led to the rediscovery of the virtues of "democracy".

Capitalists fear political unrest

Once the capitalist class resort to military dictatorships to stop the movement of the working class, they find it very difficult to keep the new military rulers under control. Often the dictators adopt measures in direct conflict with capitalist interests, and also repress any opposition the capitalist class raise.

For this reason the capitalist class will always try and rule using "parliamentary democracy" with its many checks and balances that protect the capitalist system. Only when these prove incapable of stopping

the working class do they turn to more brutal forms of rule.

For example, last year pressure was mounting for the junta to adopt measures, including a 10 year moratorium on debt repayments which the landowners hoped would reverse the severe crisis in agriculture. In December a rally of landowners and businessmen from the whole of the southern provinces was called to sign a demand for urgent and widespread change of economic policy.

The statement referred to the danger of political and social unrest and stated they

the junta forced two radio stations to stop their news items because they were calling the banks "usurers". The director of one station, a former leader of the fascist "Fatherland and Freedom, was forced into hiding to avoid arrest. The crisis is such that the president of the National Agricultural Producers Confederation has said that if no solution to the debt crisis could be found the regime should consider "nationalising the banks".

But the key factor in capitalist calculations is fear of the labour movement. The most brutal forms of repression has proved in-

ensure us economic liberty (...) have taken us once again to the doors of Socialism".

1982 saw growing workers' activity in fighting redundancies, including occupation of factories to stop them being sold off to the banks. There has also been widespread action against the new wages law, including the threat of a national copper mines strike.

Unions have called for price controls on essential goods and an end to wages freeze. Although strikes are only legal for 60 days before workers are automatically sacked, strikes against breach of contracts reached



Capitalists backed Pinochet's bloody coup in 1973. Now the regime is increasingly isolated.

had lost all faith in the regime's ability to solve the crisis. "Any economic solution that is found has to necessarily include a political opening, that produces a wide consensus of all democratic forces..."

The rally was broken up by military police resulting in several arrests including the deportation to Brazil of

capable of permanently stopping the workers' struggle against the bosses. This is made clear in the statement of one of the ex-leaders of the National Party:

"General Pinochet still has some room to manoeuvre, if he introduces political change including a complete change of economic policy. We have in

through collective bargaining have grown.

Last summer over 2,000 workers marched under the slogan of "Bread, jobs and freedom". Local rallies and demonstrations have been organised by the unemployed, often ending in street battles with the police and mass arrests. Trade union organisation has been

Sections of the capitalist class now see the only way to stop a revolutionary movement from below is through controlled democratic reforms from the top.

Carlos Podlech, president of the wheat growers' association. The statement was signed by Vilarin, the infamous leader of the lorry owners, who organised two crippling transport 'strikes' during the Popular Unity government and was once one of Pinochet's most vociferous supporters.

When asked if he would consider another stoppage in favour of their demands, he rejected the idea because 70% of lorry owners were already off the road due to lack of work.

Shortly after the breaking up of the landowners' rally,

front of us many years of poverty and there will be social explosion if moves towards a political opening,...are not implemented. It is necessary to establish, in a transitional manner, the institutions of social participation; from local government to a parliament, including the political parties..."

And the longer the regime delays these changes the less they will satisfy the masses and the greater will be the threat to the entire capitalist system. One capitalist journal editorial commented "the extremists from Chicago, who pretended to

strengthened through the creation of federations to unite unions, which are only legal at plant level.

Last December one national trade union federation, CNS, called a rally in support of a minimum wage, price controls for food and measures against unemployment. It was brutally attacked leading to mass arrests, with two CNS leaders deported to Brazil.

Many capitalists now speak of the need for "national consensus of industrialists, workers and students".

There have been attempts

by some ex-leaders of the National Party to clearly dissociate themselves from the junta or any of its previous sympathisers. "In the Democratic Right, we are careful to admit only those who have never occupied any posts in the government, nor signed any declaration supporting it. In future we want to be a party with the moral authority to integrate a great alternative coalition"

Amongst the capitalists the Christian Democrats have voiced the loudest opposition to the junta. Posing as long standing 'democrats' they have approached trade union leaders and some leaders of the workers' parties in an attempt to build a "national, popular and democratic movement".

Yet throughout Allende's

Popular Unity government the Christian Democratic Party actively and consistently opposed the workers movement, and in 1973 added its voice to calls for a military coup. They conveniently forget their past by attempting today to push a joint programme of 'national reconstruction'.

This is yet another attempt by the ruling class to stop the workers moving to revolutionary ideas. Yet to permanently end mass unemployment and poverty and ensure permanent democratic rights, capitalism has to be overthrown.

Argentina has crucial lessons for Chilean workers. In 1973 after a massive movement of the working class, the ruling Argentinian junta was overthrown. But because capitalism remained, Argentinian workers found themselves in 1976 once again under a vicious military dictatorship. Only the labour movement with independent class organisation and a clear socialist programme can guarantee that the Chilean masses never again live under the military jackboot.

Letters

IEWS? COMMENTS? EXPERIENCES?
CRITICISM? WRITE ABOUT THEM TO
MILITANT, Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN

The latest poll...

Dear Sir

I've just come back from taking my niece and daughter on a sightseeing trip to London.

We were all thrilled to see Westminster Abbey and Big Ben and many of the sights the girls have only seen on films.

We then decided to go to

Trafalgar Square and we passed the end of Downing Street.

To our surprise the whole street was blocked with steel barriers and several policemen were on parade to make sure that nobody passed down the street.

We asked one of the policemen if this was normal practice. He told us that peo-

ple used to be able to pass up and down but the barriers had to be erected six months ago as more and more people seemed to want to "get at" Number 10.

This, in a nutshell, is how the people of this country regard our "leader".

Yours fraternally,
Jean Leigh,
Wigan CLP.

A bit rich

Dear Comrades

So Lady Anne Tennant, married to a multi-millionaire and lady-in-waiting to Princess Margaret believes she can identify with characters in Coronation Street.

How ridiculous—she will never know the drudgery and hardships faced by the Hilda Ogdens and millions more of the working class.

But cannot the same criticism be levelled at many of our Labour MPs?

How can rich gentlemen farmers and solicitors who earn £550 a week as MPs plus fees from directorships and press interviews etc. understand the problems facing pensioners, single-parent families, the unemployed and the low paid?

Yours fraternally
Chris Peace
Cardiff North
Labour Party
(personal capacity)

Mouldy politics

Dear Comrades

On turning up to sell *Militant* in our local shopping precinct I found the local SDP candidate standing on a painter's trestle giving a no doubt heart-felt speech.

A group of young people had gathered and were heckling him with jibes and awkward questions. In panic he told his assistants to push their leaflets into people's bags.

One of these leaflets was on the subject of unemployment in which an incomes policy was explained as the only answer.

To this, one youngster, aged about 15, said that it sounded rather like the Tory policy of wage cuts. The others agreed promptly asking why they should pay for others' mistakes.

When all else had failed the SDP turned its attack on us saying that we were extremists.

I answered by asking the people what was extreme about wanting a job and a house and a grant to stay on at school.

The response was a sale of seven papers in half an hour plus many remarks of "that's right" and "you tell him lad".

Yours fraternally
Malcolm Young
Sittingbourne LPYS

What's it worth

Dear Comrades

If anyone is in doubt as to what life would be like without the NHS they need only consider the plight of our poor dumb pets—or maybe I should say "poorer dumbfounded pet owners!!!"

Recently, after being missing for two days our cat returned home, appearing to have had an argument with a car. It was obvious she needed expert attention and we ventured down to our local vet.

The vet suspected she had fractured her pelvis, but X-rays would be necessary to make sure. These could only be taken at the veterinary hospital. We were given a letter for the hospital and charged a "consultation fee" of £6.50.

Our cat was kept overnight at a hospital which would do Harley Street proud! She hasn't yet commented on room service, but from what we saw, she had no cause to complain.

X-rays and anaesthetic set us back a further £15.50. Were we unable to afford this treatment we presume the cat would have been put down.

The surgery and hospital put many NHS establishments to shame; but were we without these and unable to meet the bills would our fate not be similar?

Alexis Edwards
Hackney

Don't just moan

Dear Comrades

Every day of every week myself, my union's outdoor committee, the Chairman and especially the Outdoor Secretary hear moan after moan about the union and what we should do and what we should not do.

But the majority of members never bother for just two hours once a month (just one day of their lives during the course of a year) to come and moan at the proper place, which is a union meeting.

We must fight the Tories and not our unions and the members of the UCW in Maidstone should voice their moans at our meetings and not on the shop floor.

Yours fraternally
Andy Scott
Vice-chair, Maidstone
Amalgamated branch
UCW
(personal capacity)

Capitalist tendencies

Dear Comrades

On a train back from the TUC Women's Conference I had a very interesting conversation with a well-dressed, sun-tanned gentleman, who said he was a member of the Labour Party.

When I asked what his job was, he said he owned his own company (not that there's a register for the capitalist tendency to be a

member of the Labour Party). He employed YOPsters, and agreed with the current wage of £25 p.w.

When it came to unions, this "comrade" said in his business of importing and exporting he would never invest in a place like Liverpool, and he would go so far as to advise other businesses not to either! This was because of the history of trade union militancy there.

It was interesting that he supported Peter Shore's policies.

As he lit my roll-up with his gold cigarette lighter, he said there had to be a profit system, or there'd be no incentives for people. Is it any wonder that the Labour Party is divided, when we have the voice of capital trying to shout down the voice of socialism in our own ranks!

Yours fraternally
Dave Hardy
Nottingham South CLP
and NUR

Who pays the fare?

Dear Comrades

I was totally disgusted some time ago when I heard of a friend who was in a car crash. He crashed with a bus and was crushed in his car.

This happened in the centre of Manchester and the nearest hospital was about half a mile away.

He was in hospital and received a bill for £10.80 for the cost of the ambulance.

The person is not able to work for another eight to ten weeks so where is he going to get his money from?

It would have been cheaper to get a taxi!

Yours fraternally
Karen Welsh
Openshaw

Tory immorality

Dear Comrades

Recently a Tory study group suggested that it should be illegal for workers in certain public service industries, such as the health workers, to go on strike. The Tories say it is "immoral" of workers to put at risk the health and safety of the public.

Yet only the other day I read in my local paper that the District Medical Officer for Hull had closed down a local primary school as it was a serious health risk after an outbreak of dysentery.

Because of the Tory restrictions on local government spending, the local council has said they cannot afford to repair and modernise the toilets at the school.

What's 'moral' about a system that condemns children to dirt, disease, and a risk of serious illness—but presumably that's "permissible" since 5 and 6 year olds don't have a vote!

Yours fraternally
Kath Hardisty
West Hull LPYS

Faint praise

Dear Militant

On hearing of Labour's victory in Darlington, I would like to congratulate Labour's leadership.

Michael Foot, for not swearing to oppose the Labour candidate with his last dying breath, and the NEC for not destroying the leaflets, disallowing the candidate, or expelling members of the Party on the day before the election.

Comradely
P S Mason
Leicester



Mad hatters at work

Dear Comrades

I quite often listen to the BBC Radio 4 programme *Today in Parliament*. This could be very easily construed as radio coverage of Lewis Carroll's *Mad Hatter's Tea Party*.

This debacle of government aside, one disturbing feature of the programme is

the coverage of business in the House of Lords.

It pains me to think that old men and women so out of touch with society (like Baroness Trumpington of Sandwich) are theoretically more powerful than the elected members of Parliament.

Yours fraternally
Kevin Putt
Garston CLP

Witch-hunting bandwagon

Dear Comrades

I now know what the five members of the *Militant* Editorial Board felt after the NEC meeting had expelled them from the Labour Party.

A recent ward meeting was almost entirely devoted to the withdrawal of my Labour Party card and calling for my expulsion. My

Every cloud...

Dear Comrades

An old age pensioner came up to me to buy a *Militant*.

"What's your name?" she said; and when I told her said, "You were in that article in the *Cambridge Evening News*, weren't you?"

She showed me my name and the name of the other *Militant* supporter mention-

ed in a centre-page spread on the *Militant* in Cambridge which she had written in her diary. "I kept the names, because I hoped I would find you one day," she said.

It just goes to show that the flame of socialism gets more ardent not less, with age.

Yours fraternally
Chris Ballad
Cambridge LPYS

Criticism

Dear Militant

I have only read your paper for a couple of weeks and have noticed the absence of critical letters. The paper would be more interesting with them and give you a chance to explain your views too.

One point I feel strongly on is your picture caption on page 3, 18.3.83—Mrs Spear says a pair of shoes for her 10-year-old daughter costs £17; where does she go, Harrods?

I have a daughter who is a single parent and often has to buy shoes for her children and can always get a reasonable pair for about £5.

Incidentally your title *Militant* does tend to give the ordinary person a wrong impression.

Yours faithfully
E Marsdon
Uxbridge, Middx.

National Minority Movement

THE CHALLENGE OF THE RANK AND FILE

The lessons of the National Minority Movement have a special significance today.

The immediate years after the First World War were ones of upheaval in Britain and Europe.

Workers everywhere, sickened by the carnage of the trenches, and inspired by the Russian Revolution moved into action against the bosses, who reeled back in the first instance.

The history of the Minority Movement is inextricably linked up with the early years of the Communist Party of Great Britain. In the post-war years, there were already a number of syndicalist-type unofficial movements in the unions. The Shop Stewards' and Workers' Control Movement "tried to establish itself as the focal point for unofficial movements in the unions generally", particularly the miners and railway workers.

By 1921, the Shop Stewards and Workers' Control Movement united within its scope unofficial movements developing in all the major coalfields, vigilance committees on the railways and rank and file committees on the docks, plus remnants of workers' committees in engineering.

At first the young CP found itself caught unaware of the revolutionary potential in the miners' lockout in 1921.

This came about with the collapse of demand for coal at the end of the post-war boom. The coalowners demanded savage cuts in wages and working conditions. The same thing was happening in other industries.

The Party's members in the Miners' Federation of Great Britain (MFGB) supported the main demands of the MFGB leaders, which were basically syndicalist, i.e. "the pooling of profits of the industry to subsidise poorer areas." Instead of generalising the struggle the CP put forward the slogan "watch your leaders".

When Thomas and the NUR executive betrayed the Triple Alliance on "Black

This is part one of an article written by Bill Mullins, analysing the experience of the National Minority Movement

Friday", the CP failed to mobilise the potential for unofficial action in the NUR. Though many CP members were in the forefront of the miners' fight, the opportunity passed for the CP to bring under its banner many disaffected workers.

The aims of the unofficial miners' movement, though dominated by the CP, were limited to the development of an industrial union with the aim of "squeezing out" the coal owners.

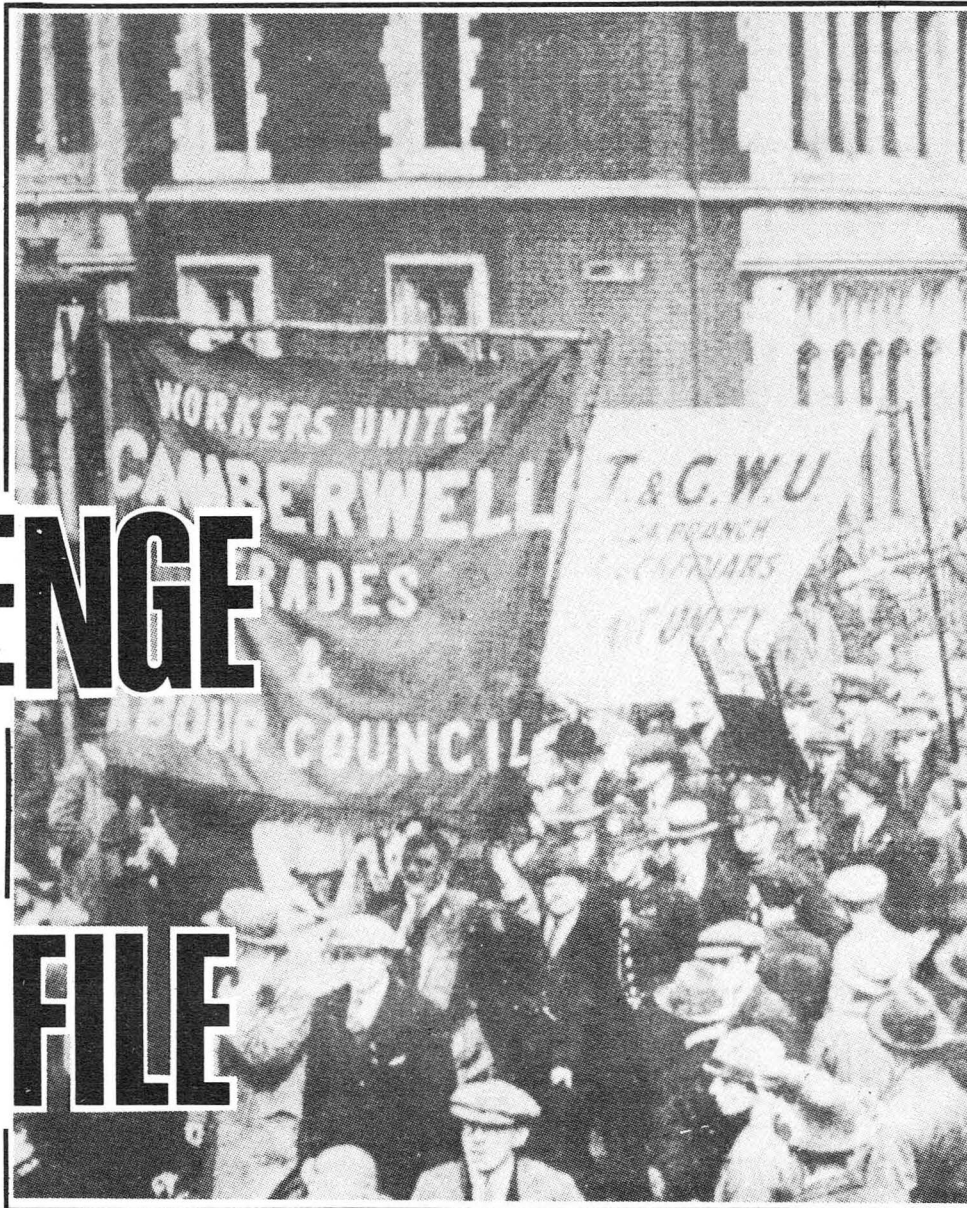
Radek, a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International (ECCI), commented on the role of the CP: "In many places the CP appears on the scene under the cloak of the workers' committees and any success that is achieved by the propaganda does not bring the masses closer to the Party."

Fighting for a living wage

The CP assimilated those lessons and by 1924/5 was breaking from its syndicalist past and orientating itself to mass work in the unions and the Labour Party.

The period of 1922/3/4 saw the working class, with the miners to the front, recovering from its earlier defeats. The miners were opposed to the collaborationist policies their leaders adopted since the end of the lockout.

At the 1922 conference of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, Borodin, the representative of the Executive Committee of the Communist International in



Workers' demonstration during the 1926 General Strike

Britain, going above the heads of the national leaders of the CPGB, organised CP members at the conference into the nucleus of what was to become the Miners' Minority Movement, the aims of which was to overthrow the 1921 agreement, the winning of a living wage, and the removal of the right wing leadership of Hodges.

This was an attempt by the

Communist International to orientate the CP to those workers who were opposed to their leaders' policies, to take up their immediate demands and by demonstrating that they were basically incompatible with the private ownership of industry, bring more and more over to the Party itself.

Belatedly, and under pressure of the Communist

International, the CP pulled together the growing minority movements in each union and industry. The first conference of the National Minority Movement took place in August 1924. The basic demands were: £1 across the board, £4 minimum wage and 44 hour week.

The CPGB formulated its position on the Minority Movement at its sixth congress as follows:

"In the actual fight to achieve their basic demands the workers will be brought up against the whole organised power of capitalism—the state. Therefore, as the struggle develops, the importance and absolute necessity of the CP to the working class becomes more and more clearly revealed. The

opposition movements can only go forward under the leadership of a powerful Communist Party. Out of the struggle of the opposition movements of today will be forged the CP of tomorrow."

Warning against syndicalism in the National Minority Movement, it continued:

"The CP, while working inside the Minority Movement will on no account sacrifice its separate existence or limit its freedom of agitation and propaganda. By this means it will win the workers to the party in ever increasing numbers, and prepare the working class for the real problems that confront them, that of the conquest of power."

The second part of Bill Mullins' article will be published next week

Miners Leader A.J. Cook. The National Minority Movement had been instrumental in getting him elected. He claimed to be proud to be a disciple of Marx and a humble follower of Lenin



In Britain, the "classic country of trade unions", opposition movements developed within the trade unions. The following gives an indication of the process.

★ August 1923: Miners' Minority Movement launched in South Wales.

★ January 1924: National conference of the Miners' Minority Movement from all the main coalfields.

★ June 1924: Minority Movement conferences of transport workers, metal workers, builders and vehicle builders held.

★ 23-24 August 1924: First national conference of the National Minority Movement held; 270 delegates representing 200,000 workers.

★ January 1925: Open letter sent out from National Minority Movement HQ to all trade unions states its aims. "...role of Minority Movement...aimed at building up and strengthening the existing trade union organisations of the working class, and at getting these organisations to fight for the in-

terests of the workers and to carry through the class struggle."

★ 25 January 1925: Unity conference of the National Minority Movement, 630 delegates representing 600,000 workers, 38 trade unions, 34 trades councils, and 10 co-ops.

★ 29 March 1925: Second international conference of the National Minority Movement, 638 delegates representing 750,000 workers.

★ March 1926: Special National Minority Movement conference, 883 delegates from 547 organisations, 52 trades councils (all the main cities), 153 metal workers' branches, 121 transport branches, 103 general branches, 100 building branches, 37 NUM branches, 66 shop stewards' committees and 33 co-ops, altogether representing over one million workers.

LABOUR HISTORY



Industrial Reports

POST OFFICE ENGINEERS

Job security not job losses

WE have always considered that, as workers in a profitable industry, we all had a job for life.

Our industry was taken out of the civil service in 1969 in order to "free us" from Treasury control, as the leadership of our union contended.

Ten years later, with the Tories in power, our industry first lost its monopoly, and is now being privatised in order to be able to sell off the profitable sectors to the big business backers of the Tories.

A report in the *Guardian* that 45,000 jobs would be lost under privatisation has not been denied by the government and the British Telecomm chairman has informed all BT unions that 15,000 job losses are required by 1984/5. The POEU negotiated a job security agreement in 1979 in order, as Bryan Stanley, POEU General Secretary, stated, "to assure POEU members that by their continued co-operation in technological changes, they would not be working themselves out of a job". The POEU is the only union within British Telecomm to have such a job security agreement.

Over the past few months, the British Telecomm management in Swansea have given initial notification to supervisors, not in the POEU, but in a sister union, the Society for Post Office Executives, to those over 60 years of age that their services are no longer required, and that formal three months notice would follow.

By Phil Lloyd
(Swansea POEU branch secretary, personal capacity)

In addition, they have sought to establish how many more supervisors between 55 and 60 years of age would be interested in early voluntary retirement.

We in the POEU felt assured that our job security agreement protected us from such an approach. However, when the POEU branch officers met the local management at the beginning of March we were told that the '83/'84 budget was insufficient to maintain all existing POEU grades in a job and that they would be looking for 80 job cuts, in addition to a projected 30 job losses, through natural wastage within the next 12 months.

They required these job cuts because, they contended, Swansea was less efficient than other telephone areas, having taken on additional labour in 1975 and 1976 in order to cope with the massive waiting lists and poor maintenance service then being provided. The 1983/4 budget, which had been cut by over £1 million, was therefore unable to support all those who were at present employed. The cuts were to be made while the overtime levels were to be increased!

At a special branch meeting to consider the issue, there was a unanimous decision to support the recommendation from the POEU branch committee to ban all overtime apart from emergencies whilst our jobs were being threatened. We would not accept compulsory redundancy nor would we support individuals seeking voluntary redundancies. It was made clear from the floor, no one had the right to sell a job by accepting voluntary redundancies.

All three branches in the Swansea telephone area took the same decision, in banning overtime. When we returned to management to inform them of our decision, they wanted to discuss the job security agreement and how quickly they could reach a position of seeking voluntary retirement for POEU grades!

We will be calling for the support of the POEU National Executive and informing branches of this attack on our members in Swansea. We do not believe that we are the only area in the country with "surplus labour" and therefore it must be resisted by a national campaign of industrial action to ensure that our members are not decimated, despite our "job security", as has been the case of steel workers and others in the recent past.

This attack is related inexorably with the Tories' privatisation plans and therefore we will demand that the national executive act upon conference policy defending members' jobs.



One-day strike last October against sell-off of British Telecomms.

Photo: Militant

Stop Privatisation

TWO Post Office Engineering Union branches in London have taken industrial action against privatisation.

The POEU has been trying to influence the Tory government in Parliament to drop its plans to privatise British Telecomm. Now it is clear that some form of industrial action is needed.

A strategy Committee has been set up by POEU headquarters. The committee has called on a certain number of branches to pinpoint strategic points for selective stoppages.

The London City branch suggested eight places. They were then summoned to headquarters and were told they would receive sealed instructions on the action to take. The Westminster branch, which has Whitehall in their area, were also given instructions.

Our branch, the London City branch, was asked to black the Bank of England, and Westminster branch, the Regional Service Control, RSC at Whitehall.

The action was started today (Tuesday 5 April) and a picket put on the Bank of England, which didn't go down very well with some of its occupants!

The action is a warning shot across the bows of the government that we totally oppose privatisation.

The action is designed to hit government bodies first. But if that does not achieve its desired effect then the action will be escalated further.

We cannot accept privatisation because it would lead to job losses for our members. But also it would mean that the service to the less profitable areas would be hit.

Jock Campbell, Branch Secretary, London City POEU, spoke to *Militant*.

STEEL SABOTAGE

BEFORE selling steel back to private owners, as the Tory government want, the BSC bosses seem to be willingly putting themselves out of business. Fresh evidence of this has come with the circumstances surrounding an order of 156,000 tonnes of steel from Iran.

Some 5 weeks ago, this was turned down by Scunthorpe and then offered to the Rotherham works, where it was turned down on price grounds. The Iranians offered to pay \$140-\$145 per tonne. BSC said they would not sell for less than \$170 per tonne.

The mills that would have been processing this order are threatened by BSC with drastic reductions of shift levels and compulsory redundancies from 3 April. If only a proportion of the redundancy money that will have to be handed out was diverted to subsidise the steel for Iran, then the men would have further work for another 6 months—until a possible turn-up of the market. The order is now being worked in France.

Union enquiries to Iran have discovered that the Iranians would have upped the price but BSC would not even negotiate with them. Is every nationalised industry being sabotaged?

By an ISTC official, Rotherham

NO BIFU BANS!

"THIS conference instructs all members to refrain from party political activity within the union, whether by circulation of documents or fringe meetings."

These are the terms of an amendment to this year's Banking, Insurance and Finance Union (BIFU) conference. It goes on to say that anyone acting contrary to the "spirit" of the motion should be disciplined for bringing the union into disrepute, which could even mean expulsion.

This attack on the freedom of speech and the rights of the individual follows the successful development of the Broad Left inside BIFU. There have existed in the past, secret groups on both left and right, but the open expression of socialist ideas has apparently proved too much for the leadership.

In February, the president issued a circular reporting that "a journal purporting to have been written by members of BIFU...and

issued by a body calling itself Finance Workers' Broad Left" included suggested motions for conference. It went on to say "Only properly convened meetings of bodies duly elected within the constitution of this union may submit motions that have originated within and been voted upon by members of that body and any attempt to subvert the union's organisation from this clear intention will be subject to reference to the union's annual conference".

What the president has in mind is unclear since all motions that appear on the order paper, including those supported by the Broad Left, have been submitted "within the constitution" otherwise they would not be there! The motions to which the president refers were even included as an appendix to his circular!

Standing Orders committee has rejected the amendment on the basis that it adds new matter to the motion, but if an appeal is upheld it

can still be discussed by conference. All Broad Left supporters should be ready to explain in this debate what the Broad Left is.

In 1961 seven members of BIFU (then NUBE) were suspended from office; in the end it took a court injunction to protect their positions. We must avoid going down that road again. We can all see the damage being done to the Labour Party by the witch-hunt; for BIFU to pursue the same course would be disastrous.

Militant Readers Meeting. 'Militant and BIFU'. Guest speaker: Tony Mulhearn, Labour Party Prospective Parliamentary Candidate. Tuesday 12 April, 5.45 pm at the Morrill Hotel, 463 Queens Promenade, Blackpool (2 mins walk from Norbreck Castle Hotel).

Militant Finance Worker Issue 2 available from Militant paper sellers

BIFU is potentially a very powerful union. There are many motions on the order paper that seek to enhance and develop this strength. The issues of jobs and equality are high on the agenda of BIFU and we must now start looking at all possible avenues to achieve our aims and win the best possible deal for our members.

By Dave Crack
(BIFU member, personal capacity)

Dunlop strike

Following an overtime ban, workers at Dunlop's Manchester distribution depot went on strike. It has now spread to other depots around the country.

Most of the workers get less than £70 per week and need the overtime to make ends meet. They are demanding a £10 per week pay rise, the second pay rise in four years.

Dunlop sell £10 million-worth of tyres every week but are not prepared to pay an extra tenner to the 240 depot workers. So far management have refused to negotiate. They have sent letters out saying how damaging the strike will be to the company's interests.

In Manchester the strike has been on for a month. Workers at the Manchester depot send their thanks to LPYS members who donated to the strike fund during the Bridlington conference.

By Joe Munzwa
(Gorton LPYS)

Industrial Reports

COWLEY-STAYING OUT

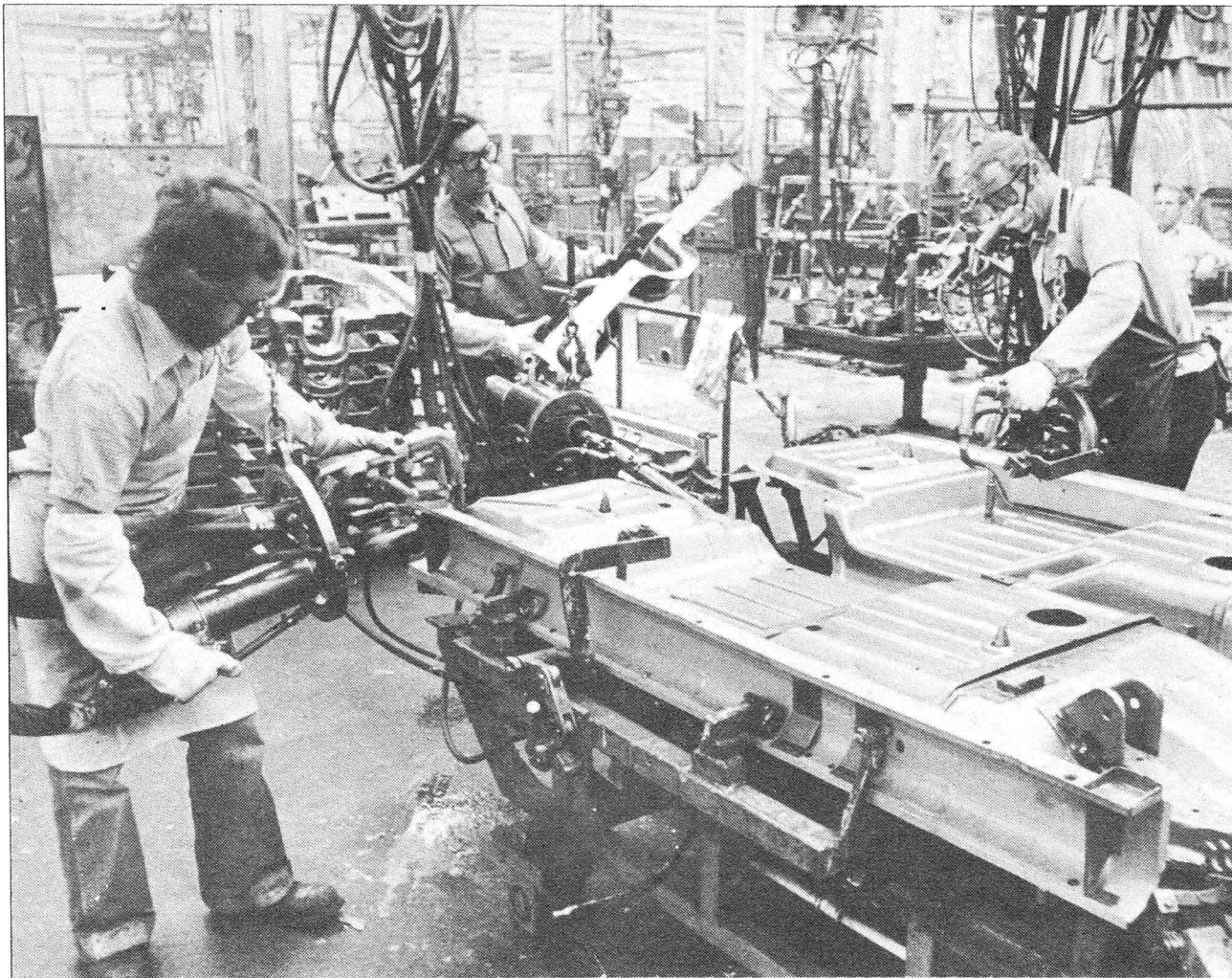
WORKERS at Cowley Assembly plant met on Wednesday morning to hear their shop stewards' report on negotiations with BL over the company's decision to end traditional 'cleaning up' time.

There was an exceptionally large turn-out and an overwhelming vote (about 4 to 1) to stay out.

Senior stewards and full-time officials, in their recommendation to stay out, emphasised that as well as the question of cleaning up time there had been a deterioration in working conditions. The introduction of Michael Edwards' 'Blue Paper' in 1980, has brought speed up of the production line and arbitrary movement of labour. All these issues need sorting out.

It was pointed out that the bonus which the company had told workers it would "make every effort to introduce" was calculated in a completely arbitrary way and that there was no guarantee it would be received. The company would simply increase it temporarily to stave off any problems.

**By a Cowley
Assembly plant
worker**



Over the past few years, car workers 'on the track' have faced continual attacks on their working conditions.

**Teachers'
union on
the move**

THE NUT is steadily developing into a trade union, rather than a professional association, and taking its place alongside the labour and trade union movement.

At this year's conference salaries was the top priority resolution, reflecting the growing trade union consciousness of delegates. Debates on the memorandum of the executive concentrated on the question of flat rate increases, in order to acquire a living wage for lower paid teachers. There was no concerted will to fight on this year's claim. But on the next claim the debate was very strong.

Conference decisions reflected vacillating moods of the delegates. On the same day as referring back an executive memorandum on the crisis in public education, because it wasn't sufficiently combative, conference reversed last year's decision on the right to discuss nuclear disarmament.

The executive still maintains a non-political position. The disarmament debate, which had been a great issue over the last 2 years, culminating in top priority last year, has suffered a set-back.

Last year, the chairman's ruling, that it was outside the union's rules, was successfully challenged. Many associations backed off this year, wary of the full implications of disarmament, being a political question. This obviously raises the whole question of politics in the union, and the eventual affiliation to the Labour Party.

The main tone of contributions from the executive has been a defeatist cynicism, and doubt of the ability of teachers to defend their living standards and the education service. However, the executive has suffered several serious defeats, and conference has adopted radical resolutions.

Early in conference, Peter Bradley attempted to use his democratic right to speak against the formal vote of thanks to his excellency, Sir Frank Eraut, Bailiff of State of Jersey, for the cordial welcome given to conference.

In speaking against, he attempted to make the case that 'cordial' welcome did not extend to gays, given Jersey's repressive laws on homosexuality. Unfortunately every time he mentioned the word 'gay' Alf Budd, the outgoing president responded by ringing his bell, and Peter was not allowed to finish what was a valid statement.

Conference expressed its disgust at the coverage that conference has been given in newspapers, like the *Daily Express*.

**By Tom Jenkins
(Neath NUT)**

UNCERTAINTY AT HALEWOOD

AS *Militant* goes to press, workers at Ford's Halewood still do not know the full story behind the recommendation to return to work, expected on Thursday 7 April.

The union national negotiators, and Ford Stewards, recommended that Ford's workers' massive show of strength be shelved in favour of a tribunal chaired by a person "with a legal background", as well as representatives from the industry and management.

Workers cannot be confi-

dent that the union negotiators, removed from the day-to-day struggles of the factory floor will be able to fight the case effectively.

We came out to get Paul Kelly's job back, and to cover ourselves against the consequences of a defeat. The only change in the situation is that the company have agreed to bide by the decisions of the enquiry. In other words, they're beaten and they know it. They're looking for a 'back-door' way to avoid defeat.

Workers are a bit stunned over the enquiry. The first we heard was on the news on Monday. It's no improvement on an Industrial Tribunal which we threw out at the first mass meeting weeks ago.

We've been on strike now for nearly 4 weeks. When the chips are down and there's a justifiable case, workers will fight time and time again. Willingness to fight isn't the problem. We need a changed leadership from the bottom to the very top. We need

to build a leadership that's prepared to lead.

Most of us know little about developments leading up to this recommendation. There should have been weekly mass meetings and news circulated to the workforce to keep heads clear and chins up.

There's still the possibility that anger will be such that the recommendations will be overturned. The only thing that is certain is that win, lose or draw at the stadium on Thursday the

fight is not over. Even if we go back in it will be a "points win" for the workers.

This dispute will not end if we go back in on Monday morning. We came out to save Paul Kelly's job but the issues are far wider than that. Not just one job, but hundreds ride on this dispute in the long-run. This is only the first round.

**By Jim
Hollinshead
(GMBATU)**

SHIPBUILDING: Unity Creates Strength

IT'S now over a decade since the Tories 'lame duck' policies of the Edward Heath government was turned into a *dead* duck by the workers of Upper Clyde Shipbuilders.

Faced with a mighty movement of the Clydeside working class, and fearful of the consequences, the Tory government finally abandoned this plan to butcher shipbuilding on the Clyde.

Once again shipyard workers on the Clyde and elsewhere are preparing for yet another battle with a hated Tory government. Today the stakes are just as high. The proposals of the British Shipbuilders management to carry out nine thousand redundancies would reduce British Shipbuilding to a skeleton.

Moreover, it would mean the destruction of tens of thousands of jobs in supply industries, the ruination of hundreds of small businesses and the death knell for traditional shipbuilding communities such as Govan and Port Glasgow.

**By Alan
McCombes
(Govan CLP)**

Incredibly, this massacre of jobs is not enough for Sir Robert Atkinson the Chairman of British Shipbuilders. He has also demanded a pay freeze, short-time working and an end to all demarcations within the yards. In addition he threatens "significantly greater" redundancies in the near future.

Responding to the proposals, Sammy Gilmore, Convenor of Govan shipyards commented, "We don't accept their accountant's figures. One thing is certain—there won't be one forced redundancy in Govan. We in Govan have survived the attentions of three prime ministers and we don't expect to be sold onto the scrapheap".

The banner of the Govan Shipyard workers retains the initials UCS. However, the letters now stand for "Uni-

ty Creates Strength" Today that slogan is even more relevant than in the early 1970s.

Preparations must be made for occupation of the yards if necessary. Even more important however is the need to build a massive political campaign, involving the whole labour movement,

of meetings, rallies, demonstrations and solidarity action. Such a campaign, like the UCS struggle of 1971/'72, could stop the Tories in their tracks and reverse the tide of history; particularly if it were to put forward a socialist alternative to the economic crisis

of shipbuilding. Such an alternative would include a call for nationalisation of shipping lines, the integration of both industries, reorganised under democratic workers' control and management.

CPSA STRIKE BALLOT

THE Civil and Public Services Association (CPSA) National Executive are recommending rejection of the government's pay offer.

In line with Special Pay Conference policy they are recommending all-out strike action as the only way to deal with this government.

A massive campaign amongst the members will be launched leading up to the national ballot on strike action. The ballot will be held between 25 April and 6 May.

CPSA's claim for an £85 a week minimum wage, a £12 pw across-the-board rise with a 10% underpinning in-

crease for higher grades has been rejected by the government.

The Tories are offering 3½% for those not on the maximum of a scale; 4% for those who are; a £70 flat rate one-off payment from 1 April to all except 16 and 17 year-olds.

The offer does nothing for the many low-paid CPSA members around whose needs the claim was structured.

Against an £85 minimum wage the government are offering a £97 pa (less than £2 pw) rise for a 16 year-old. The offer would mean £289

pa (less than £6pw) to a Clerical Officer in the middle of the grade as opposed to CPSA's claim for £12 per week. The government is also pushing for further rationalisation and consolidation of London Weighting but offering talks on the 35-hour week claim.

The NEC vote was 16 for rejection of the offer, one against (Marion Chambers) and two abstentions (Pat Wormersley and Kate Losinska).

**By a Militant
reporter**

CND-THOUSANDS MARCH AGAINST THE BOMB



**Become a
Militant
supporter!**

Name

Address

Send to Militant, 1 Mentmore Terrace,
London E8 3PN



Photo: D. Doran

Outside Greenham Common.

Friday 1 April saw the CND's human chain linking the nuclear establishments from Greenham to Aldermaston to Burghfield.

The event was massive with anywhere up to a hundred thousand people taking part.

All morning, people arrived in their tens of thousands, excitement mounted as the moment drew nearer. At two o'clock, the chain was formed and everyone linked arms for half a minute. Thousands of balloons were released.

Over 25,000 braved freezing wind and snow to take part in the biggest anti-nuclear demonstration seen in Scotland for decades.

A counter demonstration organised by the so-called campaign for defence and multilateral disarmament succeeded in mobilising about half a dozen elderly women dressed in furs and brandishing tulips!

The vast majority of those participating on the Glasgow CND march were young people, many of them under 20. Unlike sections of the CND leadership, these teenagers are under no illu-

Reports by Nick Brooks and Alan McCombes.

sions that disarmament can be achieved on the basis of a non-political strategy. Anti-Tory slogans (Maggie, Maggie, Maggie!..Out! Out! Out!) were the most popular chants which echoed around the streets of Glasgow.

Hundreds of copies of *Militant* were sold and many young people signed up to join the Labour Party Young Socialists, recognising the connection between the struggle for nuclear disarmament and the struggle for socialism.

In Germany more than 500,000 took part in demonstrations and some blocked entrances at US military bases at the weekend. Even soldiers in uniform took part.

All these demonstrations at the weekend show the sincere wishes of thousands

of people to prevent a nuclear holocaust and the enormous and growing opposition to massive defence spending. It was apparent that the Tories, worried about the support that the unilateral disarmament movement was receiving, consciously attempted over the weekend to the propaganda of the anti-nuclear lobby.

The very success of the weekend demonstrations in Britain illustrated the strength of the unilateralist movement. Unfortunately they also showed up the weaknesses of CND. Whilst the weekend mobilised thousands of people to demonstrate for peace, it is naive to think that human chains around military bases will change anything. CND may yet go on to organise even bigger and better demonstrations, but unless it and its supporters adopt a political stand and turn towards the organised strength of the working class, they will be unable to achieve their aims.

For example, the day before the human chain was made, at the blockade at Burghfield, CND tried to shut the factory which produces nuclear warheads.

When the workers arrived for work all that CND did was to appeal to them on moral grounds.

No class alternative, particularly one that could provide alternative jobs, was offered to these workers, all of them trade union members. CND's own non-class, non-political standpoint prevented them from doing that.

At the demonstration at Greenham Common there were Tories and Liberals, monks and Quakers, anarchists and every sort of unusual group under the sun. But there were also workers and Labour party members.

Most importantly, there were people there looking for an alternative. Especially after the 'chain' broke up, and there was a certain sense of frustration, with people asking where do we go from here?

It bears out the most important lesson—CND members and supporters must join the labour movement and fight there for a socialist answer to war. That's the only way that the aims of CND can be achieved.

PIRACY

Continued from front

with the whole operation from start to finish, and it is clearly a calculated blow to the National Union of Seamen, at a time when they are trying to defend the living standards of their members.

The ferry Keren used to be called the St Edmund, when it was operating between Britain and Holland across the North Sea, but after having been used to ferry troops to the Falklands, it was bought by the government for permanent use to the South Atlantic. Management of the renamed ferry was offered for tender to the cheapest bidder and the Blue Star line underbid the original owners, Sealink.

The whole operation, in other words, was a blatant attempt to find who would pay the poorest wages. The anger of the NUS members was evident in their taking over another ship owned by a sister company of the Blue Star line, when it docked at Harwich.

Keren's NUS crew, quite justifiably, were trying to get their new Blue Star managers to keep their wages and conditions at their former level, rather than have them lowered to the level of deep sea pay rates. It was during these negotiations that the Royal Navy, like thieves in the night, sneaked into the dry dock to take the ship out for its sea-trials.

The leadership and rank file of the NUS have been outraged by the actions of the Ministry of Defence. Their own members, in their

hundreds, risked their lives during the Falklands conflict and a number of merchant sailors were killed.

The Blue Star line which is now trying to run the ferry on the cheap is owned by the Vestey organisation which has huge interests in Argentina but which came to prominence a few years ago when it was revealed how little it paid in taxes. In 1980, at the same time that its Dewhurst butchery subsidiary was telling its workforce that it could not afford pay rises, it was revealed that from profits of over £4 million, it had only paid in £10 to the Inland Revenue!; thanks to cleverly contrived foreign trusts.

The Tories and business have made their priorities clear.

Since they came to office, the British merchant fleet has fallen by over a third and Tory spokesmen have little to say except to complain about 'overmanning' of ships and safety standards being 'too high'. Both the Labour Party, in its recently published draft election manifesto, and the NUS have expressed their desire to see the abolition of the wage differential between British and foreign nationals on British ships.

The use of service personnel in the last week, to thwart the legitimate activities of the trade unions, poses a threat to all trade unions and the maximum amount of support and solidarity should be shown to the NUS in its battle to keep intact its members wages and conditions.

By John Pickard

SUBSCRIBE!

BRITAIN AND IRELAND	EUROPE (by air)
13 issues . . . £4.00	26 issues . . . £9.00
26 issues . . . £8.00	52 issues . . . £18.00
52 issues . . . £16.00	
REST OF WORLD (by air)	
	26 issues . . . £14.00
	52 issues . . . £28.00

DONATE...

I would like to donate £ . . . each week/month to the Fighting Fund.

Name

Address

Sell...

I would like to sell . . . papers per week (minimum 5) on a sale or return basis.

Make cheques payable to **MILITANT** return to the Circulation Department, **MILITANT**, 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN.