

Organise a fighting leadership

TRADE UNION RIGHTS

The fight must go on

THE TUC right wing have abandoned the NGA to its fate. But the battle for trade union rights is not over.

DESPITE THE disgraceful attitude of the majority of the General Council, the New Year will see many more trade union struggles as workers are forced to defend their basic rights.

By Mick Carroll
(London Region NGA)

The behaviour of the TUC is a stain on the whole history and tradition of the movement they pretend to lead.

Ron Todd, National Officer of the TGWU, speaking at the NGA rally in Warrington on Wednesday, correctly described the struggle of the NGA as one "for the whole of the labour movement". "If the NGA are allowed to go down", he went on, "we will all be back to touching our forelocks."

There would have been an enormous groundswell of support for the NGA if the TUC leadership had been prepared to give a clear lead.

The TUC right wing have turned their back on all the sacrifice and heroism of the pioneers of trade unionism, men and women who were forced to break the law to establish basic democratic rights. Without their struggle there would be no trade unions today.

Next year is the 150th anniversary of the transportation of the Tolpuddle Martyrs. To understand the shallowness of the TUC right wing it is only necessary to compare the heroism of these Dorset farm labourers with the supercilious comment of Alistair Graham outside the TUC meeting, that "the first time an NGA official is transported, we might change our minds."

The TUC leadership seem ready to abandon every fun-

damental tenet of trade unionism to keep up the facade of good relations with the Tory government. Those trade union leaders who were prepared to back the NGA, and who voted with them on the General Council, therefore, have no alternative now but to come together and fight the Tory laws themselves. The left trade unions must pick up the banner shamefully thrown into the dirt by Len Murray and co.

Battle lost

Things must be called by their proper name. The NGA dispute represents a serious battle lost. But the movement is not broken, even if some of its leaders are, as new battles will demonstrate in 1984.

Trade union activists must prepare for the future. The Tories can be beaten. Inseparably bound up with the struggle against this government of big business must be the fight inside the trade unions themselves for a leadership that can face up to its responsibilities—defending the rights and conditions of working people.

These events will prove to have been a watershed in the history of the TUC. Nothing will now be the same. The NGA dispute does not represent the end but the beginning of real struggle against the Tories—one that will lead at the same time to the re-creation of a fighting trade union leadership.

"Don't mourn—organise" must be the defiant response from rank and file trade unionists to Len Murray's declaration of surrender.

Printworkers and other trade unionists are angry at Tory anti-union laws and the use of the Courts to bankrupt and smash trade unions. This anger must be channelled into an iron determination to fight back.

The unions have been built and sustained over centuries of struggle. A handful of weak-willed trade union leaders cannot be allowed to fritter our hard won rights away.

"If you cannot stand the heat get out of the kitchen" must be our reply to those who purport to lead our movement but are not prepared to use its immense collective strength and industrial muscle. The unions must defend workers in struggle and defend the fun-

damental principle of the right to strike.

Strikes and occupations have taken place all over the country against sackings, victimisations, cuts and privatisation, for union recognition, in defence of our public services, for a decent living wage and to defend trade union rights.

Trade union members on the shopfloor and unorganised youth have shown they are not spirited or lacking the will to fight.

This is why a campaign to build fighting, democratic trade unions, with leaders prepared to give decisive and firm leadership, has been launched by the Broad Left Organising Committee (BLOC).

BLOC have organised a Conference in Sheffield on Saturday 24 March to discuss a strategy to fight

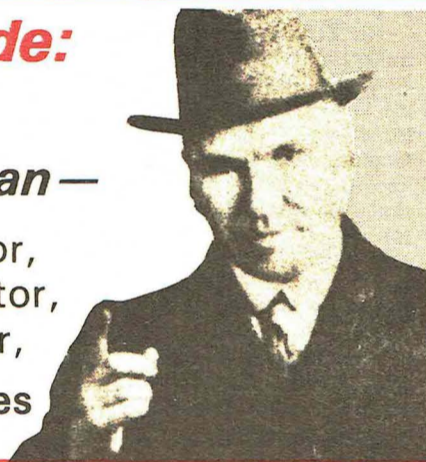
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Inside:

John Maclean—

educator,
agitator,
organiser,

See pages
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Help build Militant

1983 HAS proved to be a historic year for *Militant*. 100 years after Karl Marx's death the bosses find they still confront his ideas of class struggle.

Marxists were expelled from the Labour Party and attacked in a number of unions, yet the influence and circulation of our paper grew to unprecedented heights. By the end of the year we were providing more frequent material to keep pace with the developments in the printworkers' dispute.

Now we start 1984 determined to move rapidly to a twice-weekly and make concrete plans for a daily. What better way to celebrate 20 years of the *Militant*?

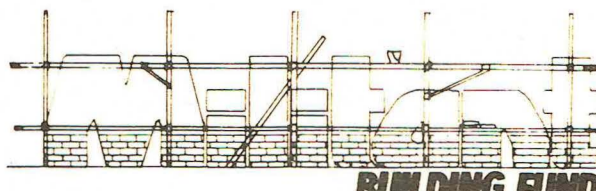
But that will take cash. A lot of cash. A total of £100,000, in the Fighting Fund by 7 January and £150,000 in the daily Building Fund by the end of January. And we have no one else to appeal to, but you—the reader.

Workers find Christmas and new year an increasingly hard time with extra demands on their dwindling incomes. But there is only one way to get rid of Thatcher and that is to build a programme of ideas and demands to defeat the Tories in Britain and capitalism on a world scale.

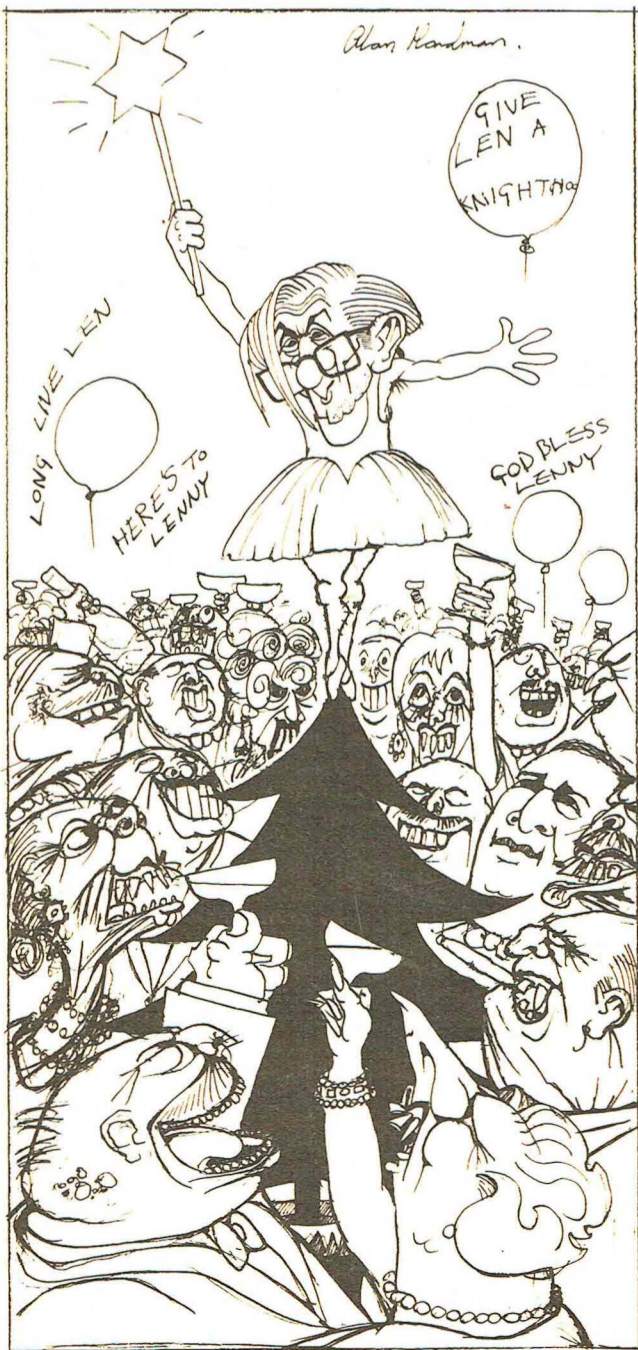
Rush us a fiver or a tenner. Promise us a big sum for the building fund, ask your friends and work mates to do the same and take your raffle tickets to every social occasion as a reminder of the importance of cash to the *Militant*.

Help us reach our targets and break all our records. Make 1984 a year to remember in every way.

By Clare Doyle



BUILDING FUND



The TUC: abdication of leadership

THE OUTCOME of the NGA/Messenger dispute is one of the most serious defeats for the trade union movement since the war.

A defeat is bad enough—but what makes this one all the more bitter is the abject and disgraceful surrender of the TUC right wing and its general secretary, Len Murray, without even token resistance to the Tories' vicious class laws.

It should have been an elementary trade union duty for the TUC to have supported the NGA.

The NGA issue is not secondary. The very survival of that trade union is at stake. At the time of the meeting of the Employment, Policy and Organisation Committee (EPOC) of the TUC, the NGA had already been fined more than £650,000, including the biggest fine in British legal history, and faced writs for damages in excess of £3 million. Dozens of newspaper publishers were queuing up at the law courts to get more writs and injunctions to serve on the leadership of the union.

The TUC leaders must be aware, as every print worker is, that the employers are trying to use the law to break the back of the National Graphical Association. If the bosses are allowed to smash that union, others will follow.

Workers are not opposed to laws as such. But laws cannot be considered in a social vacuum—they have to be viewed from the standpoint of which class interests the particular laws are designed to serve.

The Tory union laws are a blatant and unvarnished attempt to weaken the defences of workers against cuts in living standards and a general employers' offensive on conditions and jobs. These are class laws that serve only the needs of the bosses and they, therefore, cannot be held sacrosanct by the workers' movement.

Proscribes solidarity

The law in effect proscribes concerted solidarity between one group of trade unionists and another, thus undermining the whole historical basis of trade unionism.

The rights established by working people—the right of free speech, to vote and to join and organise trade unions—were all established in struggle against anti-working class laws.

Even today, where employers manage to get around the laws on Health and Safety or minimum wages and where the government turns a 'blind eye' to such infringements, it is only the trade unions that have the strength to enforce minimum standards and conditions in the interests of workers.

The Times (12 December, 1983) made the pompous comment, "what Parliament gives, Parliament can take away". But nothing could be more remote from the truth. The Times is only demonstrating what Marx referred to as "Parliamentary cretinism".

In fact, Parliament has

never given workers any rights. Every right that workers have, they have achieved through the strength, organisation and struggle of the trade union and labour movement.

By the same token, what the labour movement has established by struggle over many generations cannot be taken away by a stroke of a lawyer's pen or an Act of Parliament. What settles the issue of wages, conditions, employment and trade union rights is not Parliamentary arithmetic, but the balance of forces within industry and society.

Union power

The trade union movement has enormous power at its disposal, and remains the strongest force within society. If the TUC leaders had been prepared to mobilise the membership, the Tory laws, the resistance of the newspaper proprietors, and the arrogance of bosses like Shah, would have been pushed to one side.

The trade unions rest fundamentally on their members, not on their bank accounts and financial assets. Even if every penny in the possession of the trade union movement was sequestered, it would still be possible to mobilise the millions of members if a bold lead was given by the trade union tops.

Supporters of this paper in the NGA had consistently argued that what was needed was an all-out print strike, not a one-day affair that would tend to disorientate the members and dissipate their energies.

Even despite the nearness to Christmas—and in this respect the employers obviously played a careful game, using the seven-day "cooling off" period to drag out the process rather than resolve it—the mass of workers would have been prepared to support the NGA in struggle if the TUC had given a lead.

It is clear from the representations made by Robert Maxwell to Shah that sections of the capitalist class are afraid of the very real power of an aroused trade union movement. When the possibility of an all-out strike loomed in the printing industry, along with action by other unions, Robert Maxwell could only comment "God help us all".

The worst feature of the whole episode has been the unprecedented and scandalous behaviour of the right wing leaders of the TUC. Some of them made public statements that could almost have been written in Tory Central Office.

Len Murray apparently commented after the EPOC meeting, "the first job the TUC has to do on behalf of its 102 unions is to protect itself". Strange logic indeed, when the right wing position means in effect no protection whatsoever for the funds, the rights or the jobs of NGA members. Len Murray may go weak at the knees at the thought of transgressing the Tories' anti-working class laws, but it should be pointed out to him that if the

pioneers of the trade union movement had not broken similar laws, he would not have a job today.

The trade union right wingers are deluding themselves if they think that they can appease the Tory government, by abandoning the NGA; that they can seriously "negotiate" with the Employment Minister, King, over future anti-union and anti-Labour Party legislation.

The enemies of labour must be credited with some sense. King can see that although the TUC are puffing themselves up as great statesmen, they have not even enough fight in them to save six jobs in Warrington. Their weakness will only increase his determination to introduce more legislation, and the confidence of the employers to batten down on the living standards and conditions of workers.

Many trade union activists will be embittered over the outcome of the dispute, and with good reason. All the employers' organisations backed the Fleet Street bosses who were lining up to throw writs at the NGA, when they thought the TUC was weakening. Workers have every right to demand the same resolution, unity and determination from their own leaders as the bosses have shown.

In factories, offices and workplaces up and down the country, workers will be absolutely appalled at the attitude taken by the right wing of the trade union movement, something that can only be described as an *abdication of leadership*.

Right-wing majority

It is now clear that the new structure of the TUC General Council, with its in-built right-wing majority, does not reflect the true balance of industrial power within the movement. The left leaders of the TUC, therefore, those who supported the NGA, must now be prepared to organise outside the framework of the TUC.

The Trades Union Congress cannot be abandoned by the lefts, but neither can it be allowed to remain an umbrella for trade union capitulation. The issues are too grave to be constrained by the niceties of procedures. The lefts must organise together, despite Len Murray, if they are serious about defending trade union rights.

As soon as possible in the New Year, the left unions that would have been prepared to back the NGA must come together with a joint conference of their executives, in order to hammer out a determined policy to fight the Tory laws. In the longer run, they have the job of bringing the TUC back to the fundamental trade union principles it has tossed aside.

The NGA defeat has been a serious setback, not only for the print union, but for the whole of the trade union movement. But it has still not shattered the trade union movement as a whole or even in the print industry.

Trade union activists must now take the issues and



Photo: Militant

"If the pioneers of the trade union movement had not broken similar laws, Len Murray would not have a job today."

discuss them with the union rank and file. But a key task must be to democratise their organisations, to make union presidents and general secretaries genuinely responsive and responsible to the rank and file of the membership.

Even in the face of a setback, the Marxists in the movement do not despair, but instead prepare for the future.

Class hatred

The Tories are building up a mountain of combustible human material by their economic and social policies. Thatcher boasted on the steps of Downing Street in 1979, that, like Saint Francis of Assisi, she would "bring unity in the place of disunity" and "harmony in the place of discord".

But her government has created more class hatred, fury and resentment than any government since the

1930s. It was not an accident that even trade union 'moderate' David Bassnet accused the government some months ago of wanting to drive trade unions "onto the streets".

The whole thrust of Tory policy, pushing the burden of the capitalist crisis onto the shoulders of workers, is driving the trade union movement in the direction of an enormous social and political upheaval. A huge explosion of anger on a national scale, involving many industries and millions of workers is absolutely unavoidable in the future.

It is the tasks of trade union activists to build their organisations so they have policies and leaders to match the necessary determination of the rank and file.

But it is also the task of socialists to point a way forward. Every major dispute today—no matter which industry or union is involved—comes back again and again

to political as well as industrial struggle.

Unlike in the hey-day of the post-war boom, British capitalism is now incapable of granting any permanent reforms to workers. Quite the contrary—the profit system offers only a hopeless dead-end for the mass of people, a relentless squeeze on living standards and established rights.

Political perspective

A trade union leadership worthy of the name, therefore, will be one that understands the vital necessity of a political perspective and programme to match its industrial organisation. Such a union leadership must raise the sights of working people by mobilising support for the only course of action that could begin to solve the horrendous social ills that workers face—the socialist transformation of society.



Buying privilege - and power

IF YOU were standing for election to the House of Commons and went around buying constituents a drink to curry favour, you'd end up in court charged with bribery.

On the other hand, if you fancy a seat in the non-elected half of Parliament—the House of Lords—then

just get out your chequebook. Donate a cool few thousand to Tory Party funds, and hey presto, you could end up as a Knight or Baron.

The trade union backed Labour Research Department have discovered that of

the 41 directors of private companies awarded peerages and knighthoods since Thatcher came to power, 28 of them are from companies that have contributed to Tory funds.

While only 41% of the top 100 British companies, and 15% of the top 2,000, gave money to the Tories, 78% of the companies whose directors etc received honours had made donations. Clearly,

Thatcher's financial favourites have been rewarded.

A prime example is Sir James Cleminson. His main company, Rickett and Colman, have given a total of £80,000 to the Tories. Sir Cleminson is also a director of United Biscuits, who have given a total of £124,000 to the Tories since 1979. Last week, it finally looked as though closure of the United Biscuits factory in Liverpool

would go ahead, shedding 2,000 jobs with another 3-4,000 jobs lost in its related industries on Merseyside. In January 1982 Cleminson was made a Knight of the Realm for services to industry.

Under Tory logic this type of patronage is all quite legal and acceptable. Yet in an act of outrageous hypocrisy, they are now attempting to hit at trade unionists' individual contributions to the Labour Party, (the party's main source of income) which is collected with subscriptions by the major trade unions.

The Tories moan that this method of collection is

"undemocratic" yet in reality workers are at perfect liberty to "opt out" of these contributions.

The Tories want to change this law around making those who want to give money to the Labour Party "opt in" instead.

But workers have no options when it comes to business contributions to the Tories. If you buy goods from major firms that give money to the Tories—such as Mothercare, Lyons foodstuffs or Beechams drugs for example—you can't refuse to pay the percentage of the price that will go as financial backing to Thatcher.

But it is not simply a question of hypocrisy by the Tories. These business magnates are not just buying themselves privileges or a fancy title. They are buying power. The House of Lords still has the power to veto legislation passed by the Commons.

Benn's by-election?

TONY BENN so far has received nominations from the Young Socialists UCATT, ASLEF, UCW and two AUEW branches in Chesterfield.

On 11 December, speaking at a meeting with other candidates in Chesterfield, he outlined the issues that he felt were of importance in the forthcoming by-election—namely: unemployment, housing, health, education, the YTS scheme and the nuclear threat.

110 people were in attendance and a letter from Bob Cryer was read out, declining the invitation that had been extended to him to speak at the meeting, on the grounds that he would rather see Tony Benn get the Chesterfield nomination.

Other candidates who spoke warned about the need to avoid selecting a "controversial candidate". Benn, on this point, explained that he had stood in 12 elections for parliament and had won them, that he had won more elections than any MP in the present House of Commons and that the press should not be allowed to choose Labour candidates.

Speakers from the floor also hammered home the point that left policies and left candidates do not at all mean that people will be put off voting Labour. Quite the opposite has been proven to be the case in Liverpool and Coventry.



WE'RE NOT ERE TALKIN ABART YER MBE'S NOR YER KNIGHT OODS
 WOT WERE TALKIN ABART IS YER GENUINE LIFE PEERAGE ...
 NAH THEN - I AINT ARSKIN 30 GRAND, I AINT EVEN ARSKIN 25
 IT'S YOURN FER JUST 20 GRAND - AND TELL YER WHAT
 I'LL SWING IN THE CROWN GRATIS.

Thatcher's sympathisers

The Thatcher government (who make the nominations) are strengthening up the 'second house' with Thatcher's big business, monetarist sympathisers—their loyalty to the Tory government can be judged by their sizeable donations.

An incoming Labour government, unless it tackled the House of Lords, would find all its progressive policies blocked by this unelected chamber.

The House of Lords is not simply a glorified debating chamber nor an ornament. Like the monarchy, it has been retained by the capitalist class to act as a barrier and a delaying tactic to any future left-wing Labour government that tries to put forward socialist policies.

If a future socialist Labour government is to be successful in its purpose, it has no option but to implement a long-standing Labour Party policy—the abolition of the House of Lords.

Blackburn - right wing turn on LPYS

ONCE ALLOWED to start, political witch-hunts can gather a dangerous momentum.

In Blackburn this became clear at last Monday's meeting of the Labour Party's general management committee (GMC) when right-wing executive committee members launched an attack on the local Young Socialists.

This GMC meeting was not discussing the executive's recommendation, decided after the show-trial they staged the previous week, that six Militant supporters should be expelled. Expulsions are to be discussed at a special GMC, for which a date has still not been given.

But the executive called for the names and addresses of LPYS members, for the accounts to be handed over, and for EC control of the LPYS banner. This was passed by the GMC, but without the secretary of the LPYS, Kay Wright, being given the opportunity to answer the many untrue or distorted points raised dur-

ing the discussion.

Control of the banner was demanded because right wingers were evidently rankled by its use on the 50-strong lobby outside the EC's expulsions on 4 December.

However, the new move against the YS completely justifies the protest demonstration. The local right wing, dominated by a clique of councillors who hanker after the good old days when they ruled the roost without unsettling opposition, are trying to carry through a political purge of young, active party members who are not content with a semi-stagnant organisation but want to go out and campaign for socialism.

False claims

Contrary to the totally false claims made by some EC members, the LPYS has submitted accounts for audit before the party's AGMs, and has no objection in principle to giving details of its membership.

However, the statements of some EC members leaves

no doubt that scrutiny of the LPYS is motivated not by concern for the rules but by a bureaucratic fear and political hostility.

This is especially clear from the attitude of the youth officer, Martin Guinan, who has done nothing to help the YS, has ignored invitations to attend, and who has repeatedly attacked the YS on the basis of completely untrue stories. Martin is clearly determined to defend the right wing's crumbling position with Stalinist-style methods. He has yet to find out that these will not be tolerated by the rank and file in any section of the labour movement where there is free debate of ideas and democratic decision-making.

However, the EC's recommendation to reject the membership application of a prominent local trade unionist, Peter McGoughlin, was rightly rejected, by 28 votes to 13. Peter is a senior T&GWU busmen's shop steward who, after working for the Labour Party in the 1979 election, allowed his membership to lapse because

he was disgusted by the cuts carried out by Blackburn's Labour council. He has spoken out publicly against local expulsions.

The EC was defeated on this, but their stand indicates how far they are prepared to go to keep control and maintain thought-control in the party.

Recently, Michael Gregory, the stooge whose "Report" is being used to justify expulsions of the six, went on local radio and said: "This is just the start. We've got to get them all out!" Such attacks, however, have been forcefully answered by Militant supporters on local radio and in the press.

Despite the new moves, Militant supporters and LPYS members are undaunted. A series of successful campaigns have built up enormous sympathy and support amongst young workers, NHS trade unionists, and local authority workers, who will not stand by and allow the right a free hand to purge socialists who are fighting to build the kind of Labour Party they want to see.

Donations to Tory Party funds from companies honoured by Tories.

BARONS		
Name	Company	Total donations (1979-82) in £'s
Sir William Cayzer	British and Commonwealth Shipping	218,581
Sir Robert McAlpine	Newarthill (McAlpines)	129,000
Victor Matthews	Trafalgar House (P&O Shipping, Daily Express etc)	120,000
Sir Charles Forte	Trusthouse Forte	96,000
Sir Marcus Sleaf	Marks & Spencer	*90,500
Sir James Hanson	Hanson Trust	80,000
Sir Arnold Weinstock	GEC	50,000
Sir John King (Also chairman, British Airways)	Babcock International	32,500
KNIGHTS		
Keith Showering	Allied-Lyons	*228,000
Ernest Harrison	Recal	125,000
Duncan McDonald	NEI	112,000
Austin Bide	Glaxo	105,000
Reginald Smith	Wimpey	102,175
James Cleminson	Rickett & Coleman	80,000
Graham Wilkins	Beecham	80,000
John Baring	Baring Bros.	70,700
Travor Holdsworth	GKN	69,250
Robert Clayton	GEC	50,000
Terence Conran	Habitat/Mothercare	26,500
Eric Sisson	Smiths Industries	26,400
Owen Alsther	Marley	20,000
Basil Blackwell	Westland	17,360
James Duncan	Transport Devel	21,000
Lawrence Barret	Barret Devel	10,000
Peter Macadam	BAT	7,000
Clive Sinclair	Sinclair	7,000
Alan Smith	Dawson International	6,500
Joseph Nickerson	Nickerson Group	1,100

*Donations mainly to British United Industrialists.

TOTAL DONATIONS TO THE TORY PARTY—£2,756,366

FIGHTING FUND

This Week
£2,719

£40,000 needed to reach target!

Area	Received	% of target achieved	Total 7 January
Eastern	3061		5150
East Midlands	2648		5050
Humberside	1465		2700
London East	3488		6350
London West	1983		3650
London South	3247		5650
Manchester & Lancs	3313		6350
Merseyside	3705		6500
Northern	2899		6400
Scotland East	2394		4200
Scotland West	2678		4900
Southern	4814		7600
South West	1380		3550
Wales East	1312		3450
Wales West	2321		4200
West Midlands	3191		5700
Yorkshire	3740		6600
Others	12070		12000
Total received	59708		100000

THERE ARE less than four weeks to go to the end of the quarter and still £40,000 to raise! Last Christmas we did raise £10,000 a week. Help us do it again.

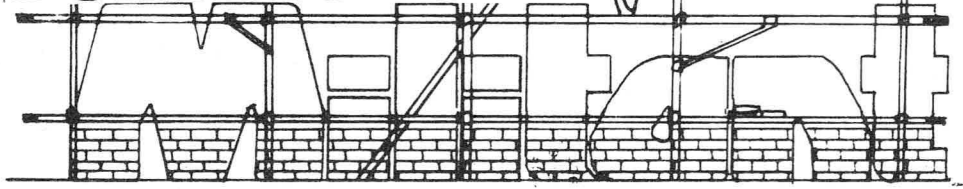
Christmas is traditionally a happy time of year. Not however for the 7 million people who went without food at some time during the last year. Not a problem for Paul McCartney however who earns £20 million a year! He could easily afford "The Supreme Hamper" at Harrods at £1,000 a time! New Year too is traditionally a time for looking forward—but what is there to look forward to for the 4 million unemployed, for the elderly or the sick. There is only one answer to their problems—get rid of the Tories, and the system that creates so much hardship for so many.

Militant continually exposes injustice, the Tories 'profits first' policies and

By Kath White
calls for the Labour Party to fight on a real socialist programme—which would actually be implemented when they get into office. Your donations guarantee not only money for vital equipment and new premises but cash so we can continue to help defend workers hard won rights. So please keep the cash pouring in—it is a vital part of all our work. Thanks to all supporters who sent us the many generous donations we received this week which took this week's total to £2,719 and included; S. Nuttall (Chorlton Labour Party Young Socialists), £10, Dennis and Margaret Cockerill (Sheffield) £5, J. Bunn (Peterborough NGA) £4, Nigel Sheahan (CPSA Tonbridge) £2, Anne Ford (Stoke-on-Trent Labour Club) £2, and Steve Lawton (Walsall) £1.25 and Mark Oliffe (Brentwood unemployed) gave £1. (See Youth and Industrial pages for further donations).

A comrade from Huntingdon bought a can of coke while on a street sale—and a woman came up and put 50p in it; still half full with coke! A lesson to all comrades of the necessity of taking rattling tins with you wherever you go. Even when not directly approached people still can't resist giving their money to socialism! Initiative in some areas knows no bounds—the sale of a toilet seat raised £5 for one Bristol supporter! The raffle tickets are selling very well in some areas but slowly in others. If your area hadn't sold any yet get them organised now. Don't forget the Christmas Cards and also the orders for posters and badges which are good ways of raising extra cash to supplement the targets. Every area should also have their socials organised over Xmas and the New Year. There are undoubtedly many opportunities over the coming weeks to keep our vital funds pouring in and with your help we can make this a record year.

BUILDING FUND



British capitalism is staggering from one crisis to the next. Every day brings new convulsions and, for those who can see what a socialist fightback could mean, a daily Marxist paper becomes more and more of a necessity. Up and down the country Militant supporters are promising their hard-earned money to a special Building Fund with just that aim in mind. The hardest bit is actually parting with the cash, especially now that Christmas and the New Year approach; But we appeal to every Militant reader to ensure every promise is kept and that new ones are added to the thousands we already have. The aim is to reach £150,000 by the end of January but that deadline is

now very close! Over £100,000 has already been promised and nearly £20,000 is in the bank—made up of donations ranging from £2,000 to £2. Most contributions are in the region of £50 or £100 and are just too numerous to mention. But there are also supporters with little or no income devising ingenious methods of raising large sums. There's a Militant Marathon now on the cards, numerous fasts and abstinences (will they survive the festive season?), things are being made for sale, newly bought gadgets are going back on the market and long-treasured ornaments, toys, jewellery and furniture are being offered to the dealers. (At last there's a use for those unwanted Christmas presents!)

It is sacrifice that builds the labour movement and your sacrifices that will provide a building for a Marxist Daily. Capitalism's crisis has left numerous factory and office buildings empty and where the property-owners cannot get the right price, they rip off the roofs or pull the buildings down altogether! Then some Wiltshire councillor even has the guile to suggest the unemployed should build a new Stonehenge! We need a building NOW to prepare for producing a more frequent paper to end the anarchy of capitalism. Buildings may be being pulled down but they are not being given away! We need YOUR cash to ensure we can get one. Cheques and POs to 'Marxist Daily Building Fund', c/o 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN.

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

TO Mick and Lynne Barnwood. Congratulations on the birth of your son John. From Brighton Militant supporters.

SELF CONTAINED two-bedroomed flat in Acton, West London. Available from mid-January. Close to bus and tube. Low rent—would suit two to four Militant supporters. Phone 01-749 7903 evenings.

MILITANT STICKERS. Still available. 200 for £2.30; 500 for £5.60; 1,000 for £11.00. Contact: 'Militant Circulation, 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN.

BAZAAR ORGANISED by SE London Militant supporters. On Saturday 17 December, 12.30 pm - 4 pm at Glyndon Community Centre, Raglan Road, Plumstead, London SE 18. Tombola, socialist books, jumble, etc.

GET YOUR XMAS ORDERS IN NOW!
Posters: Marx, Trotsky, Connolly; 80p each or £1.00 p&p.
Pens: Militant biro. 20p each.
Badges: Militant enamel, metal stud badge. 75p each or £1.00 p&p.
Ideal Xmas presents! Get your order in quick! Cash or cheque with order made payable to Militant. Send to Militant, 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN.

CALLING ALL Marxist athletes. Have you past the finishing post for your pledge for the Building Fund? No? Then start training for the Militant Marathon! Join this fund raising event to be held in early spring. Contact Paul Henry, c/o 10 Kensington Road, Chorlton, Manchester.

VAUXHALL Militant XMAS PARTY
Jubilee Tavern, 74 York Road, SE1 (Opposite County Hall)
SAT. 17th DEC.
Starts 7.30 pm
sounds by ★ 'KING TUBBY'

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CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE

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THE ROLE of the media as enemies of the working people is clear to most activists in the labour movement. We need a socialist daily. The only way support for such a paper could be built is by going directly to workers. Papers that ultimately support the system like the Daily Mirror can be bought and sold for £100 million but a workers paper must become the property of the working people as a whole. The message is clear, only our readers and supporters can speed the growth of our paper by finding new readers and sellers for us. For more details of how to become a Militant seller contact: Militant circulation, 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN or phone 01-986 3828.

By Dave Farrar

T&G Charter. From Militant, 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN. Price 20p + 15p Post & Package.

How printers won their rights

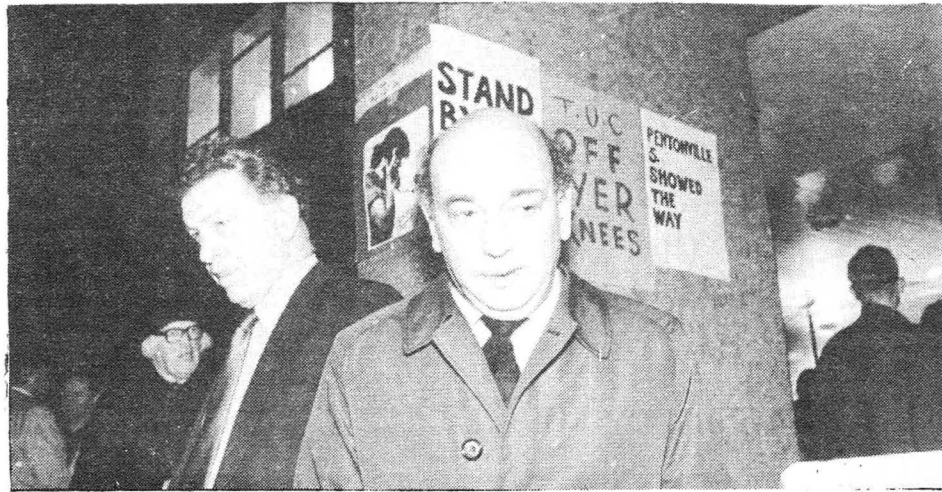
ALL THE rights the trade union movement have today have had to be fought for, over many generations, by union activists. None of them would have been achieved by the early labour movement pioneers staying within the class laws of the employers.

In the early pioneer days of the print unions the employers and their friends in the judiciary brought down the most severe punishments on those who fought for trade union rights.

A recent series of articles by **Bob Finch** in the journal of SOGAT 82 illustrates some of the history of the print unions.

By **John Pickard**

★ June 28 is still celebrated as the anniversary date for the union's foundation in commemoration of the release of four of the 'Five Martyrs' from Newgate Jail in 1788. The five, bookbinders who had combined together to strike against their masters for an hour off the working day, served 14 months of their two-year sentence, one of them dying in prison during that time.



Pickets outside TUC meeting 28 November call for firm action in support of the NGA.

★ Fourteen years before the Tolpuddle Martyrs, Andrew White, a Scottish bookbinder was sentenced to transportation to Tasmania for taking part in a 'treasonous' gathering at

Bonnymuir. Other associates were sentenced to being hung, drawn and quartered, the barbarous punishment carried out as a warning to other workers.

★ Among the hardships

in the printing trade in the past, Bob Finch described the problems of unemployment. To help support their unemployed brothers, print unions often paid members a 'tramping allowance' as

they scoured the country for work. During 1879, for example, tramping printers covered (or were paid for) 336,000 miles, 14 times round the world.

Strength and solidarity

Throughout the last 150-200 years, the rights and conditions of the workers in the print industry—employment, working conditions, hours, pension rights, wages, etc.—are all due to the efforts and the struggles of the trade unions, and especially the pioneers who broke anti-working class laws where it was necessary.

In the final analysis, those rights still depend today on the strength of the trade unions. Without the solidarity and organisation of the workers, all the achievements of generations would be back into the melting pot. The unions cannot afford to give up their rights to fight for their members.

Will the real Eddie Shah please stand up

SHAH, BOSS of the *Stockport Messenger*, has applied to join the Tory party. Perhaps his recent meeting with Thatcher at a party to celebrate his Tory MP's 21 years in the House of Commons influenced him.



Eddie Shah.

The media have tried to portray him as the self-made man; "The beleaguered Little Big Man" was how the *Sun* described him (2 December).

Reality is somewhat different. Son of a Persian diplomat, cousin to the Aga Khan, Shah was educated at Gordonstoun, the same public school Prince Charles attended.

An ordinary tycoon

Last year his companies made over £600,000 profit whilst his workforce got up to £70 less a week than the union rate. This 'ordinary man' has been given legal advice by the Institute of Directors and backed by Teddy Taylor MP, deputy chairman of the extreme right wing Monday Club.

Shah has had backing from far bigger newspaper groups including Reed International who at present own the *Mirror* group.

Academy Court holdings which run Cheshire Country

Newspapers have now sold their 1447 shares in the *Messenger* group. This group own the daily *Warrington Guardian*, involved with new technology in the print industry.

Academy Court is controlled by nominee companies in Jersey, most shares are owned, either for himself or others by Christopher Hatton chairman of the big Northern brewers Greenall Whitley. Cumbrian newspapers of Carlisle still own 20% of the shares.

Shah's boast

St Regis Newspapers took a minority share in a free newspaper in Bury owned by a Shah company. St Regis was brought by Reed International who sold their shares on 21 September for £1.

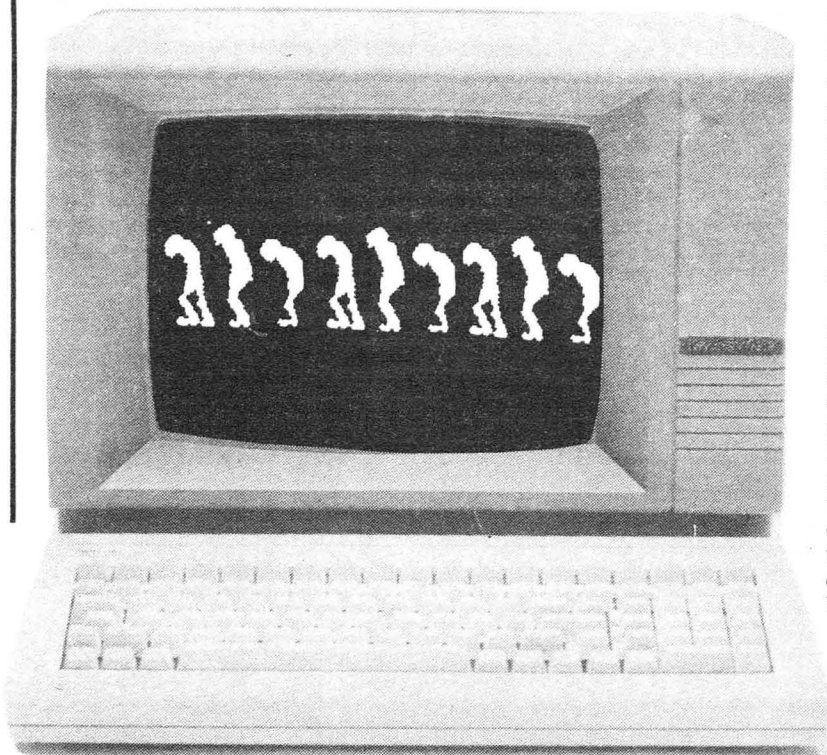
When the *Messenger* dispute started, NGA members disrupted production of the *Daily Mirror*. Only this persuaded Reed International to sell up.

A regional organiser from the NUJ, Colin Bourne, in a letter to *The Observer* (11 December) wrote that when leading NUJ members met Shah at the start of the dispute, "he freely admitted, even boasted that he had set out to establish a non-union shop and that the people he engaged were carefully screened to ascertain their anti-union credentials."

"In launching his newspapers in 1974 he was happy to use the skilled labour he knew only the NGA could provide. Having successfully established those newspapers he realised that he could get the work done more cheaply by using untrained, unqualified non-union staff."

By **Jim Chrystie**

New Technology



Bosses discover America

DURING THE *Messenger* dispute the bosses have cast their greedy eyes on the rich pickings from new technology.

They want to use the latest equipment not to increase workers' living standards or reduce hours, but to sack staff and produce their lie sheets cheaper.

They have had one eye on the United States. Modern technology, said a glowing article in the *Sunday Times* on 4 December "promises to turn a creaky old fashioned industry into a vibrant expanding one, as it has done in America already."

But what is the truth about the American newspaper industry?

In the USA, some states have passed so called "Right to Work" laws making the closed shop illegal. The trade union federation, the AFL-CIO, estimate that in states like North Carolina, wages are \$100 a week lower than in states with legal closed shops.

In the print industry, new technology has been used to destroy the unions. The

number of employed has remained static but the numbers organised in the International Typographical Union has fallen from 110,000 in 1967 to only 38,000 today.

In the *Sunday Times* of 2 December a Mr I T Powell, who had been to the USA teaching trainees typesetting wrote to attack the previous week's article. "The (US print) industry has been flooded with semi-skilled unprotected labour. It is common to witness management techniques reminiscent of the black days of the Depression."

"I saw people running around the plant in order to meet schedules, people working from 8 am to midnight (no overtime) I saw night-shift workers coming in during the day in order to keep up with the work (all this with no extra pay)."

"Always there was the fear of the sack. I viewed this not from the shop floor but from a protected executive position and was sickened to see the devastating effect on unprotected people."

No faith in this future

THE PRINT bosses have been looking at the promise of new technology in Britain. The same article in the *Sunday Times* which eulogised the American print industry (see below) was ecstatic at the recent conference on newspaper technology, the *Newstech* conference.

A special newspaper was produced daily during the duration of the conference, called the *Daily Leader*. It was the first paper in the country to be produced entirely electronically. The equipment could be installed in two days.

The articles in the *Daily Leader* were written by journalists directly onto computer terminals and

displayed and checked on video screens. Even skilled journalists are not "needed". The employers could type material themselves. They can then bypass the composing room where type is normally set and pages made up by NGA members.

Pages on the *Daily Leader* were made up on a computerised machine. Page "dummies" are made up by layout workers and retained electronically by the machine which can even plan out the optimum layout for a page, leaving room for headlines. Even the pictures can be added and even cropped for size on the machine.

"What are we waiting for?"

The direct typing of material into a computer system, the single key-stroking system, would put NGA members and many other print workers out of jobs but boost profits tremendously.

Bill Heeps, editorial director of the Thompson Regional Newspaper group,

one of the biggest in the country said the industry needed to produce newspapers at far less cost. "So what are we waiting for? Let's get on with it! Let's start the ball rolling with agreement to single keyboarding, the first vital step in revitalising our industry."

Boost to falling profits

The editorial in the *Daily Leader* commented, "Seven daily regional newspapers and 185 weeklies have closed in the last decade and the industry has been shedding jobs at the rate of almost 1,000 annually since 1978."

"Between 1973 and 1983 average profit margins have plunged from above 21% to a mere 7%. In the year to March 1983 almost one-third of the papers in the Newspaper Society, (virtually all the regional press) returned profits below 5% on turnover and 20 of them traded at a loss. The industry's main hope for the future is enshrined in one word, COMPUTERS."

A brighter tomorrow?

It goes on "the proprietors are willing to invest many millions in hi-tech computers being dangled before them by more than sixty manufacturers and suppliers".

The editorial says investment will only come if the unions show "faith in the future." "A decrease in the number employed in the bleak today... could lead to an expanded work force in the brighter tomorrow."

Union members are expected to show "faith" in bosses who are trying to destroy their union, faith in the defenders of the rich, who are usually bitterly anti-working class in their papers' news coverage.

If new technology is to be acceptable, it needs a new society to control it. In a capitalist society, the benefits of the latest advances go only to the owners. The people who have created their enormous wealth for years are thrown onto the scrap heap. The fight for jobs is now the fight for socialism.

By **Roger Shrivess**

Young workers' assembly

STUDENT PSYCHIATRIC nurse ANDREA WARNER from Sheffield told how she became a delegate to the Assembly.

"It came up at our Joint Shop Stewards' Committee at the hospital, who were sympathetic with the ideas put forward. They sponsored me to go as a delegate as well as someone from the local LPYS.

"It's a busy week-end for me as I'm off to Greenham Common for the CND protest tomorrow."

"I work a 37½-hour week—but that's on shifts that go 7 am – 3 pm, 1.30 pm – 9.30pm and 9.20 pm – 7.10 am. That can be pretty tiring. My monthly take home pay is £245. You can get extra payments for working nights and so on but it's still low. When I qualify my annual salary will be £4,800."

ONE APPRENTICE gave a clear example of how the YTS has in reality very little to do with training:

Dave Roberts, an AUEW apprentice fitter at ICI Macclesfield, told *Militant*, "None of the YTS are on our section on engineering—they're all on packing or on the line. It's all menial stuff, they're just straight forward cheap labour.

"I came to the Assembly because of my workmate who's in the Labour Party. I'm quite active in CND and we talk about politics a lot. He told me about this Assembly. It's my first LPYS meeting and I'll probably go along to more."

"WE'VE GOT a good shop steward at work who pushed the Assembly. I got to go because I'm the youngest member of the branch.

"The hours in my job aren't so bad, but the pay is terrible. I come out with £69 while a married man with a family only gets £75, and there are pay offs in the pipeline for April.

"In the past I never had looked to the Labour Party thinking it was a dead loss, but this Assembly has shown me that you shouldn't be disillusioned. It has been excellent."

—Kevin Fife, dustman, Houghton GMBATU branch.

"THIS ASSEMBLY was great. It has opened my eyes that other young people are willing to fight, that we are not on our own. As regards the NGA dispute, the numerous mentions of the dispute at the Assembly shows the mood there is amongst the activists and how vital important this dispute really is.

In Blackhall where I come from they closed the pit. It had a profound effect on the youth. It simply meant there was no jobs, with no future for them.

"No one set up Blackhall LPYS—it set itself up out of necessity. We have ten youth completely new to politics who want to go to Warrington to defend trade union rights.

"The two thousand at the Assembly echo millions of voices—we are the spokesmen for an entire generation of youth."

—Malcolm Fallow, EETPU and Blackhall LPYS.



A section of the audience at the Assembly.

"I THOUGHT it was very good indeed. I've watched the Tory, Liberal and Labour conferences on television and it was just like them, although there were no censors—you could get up and say what you thought, what you felt.

"I work as a civil servant. I'm a trained junior secretary, but I work as a clerical officer. There are people there who are quite well qualified yet do silly jobs. There's people there with A levels doing filing."

—Suzy Harrison, 18, Stoke Newington.



... a new generation of class fighters

"OURS IS not a generation of scabs—ours is a generation of fighters". These powerful words by Cheryl Varley, a Merseyside delegate at the Young Workers Assembly echoed the defiance of youth in the face of Tory Britain today.

This determined and confident mood ran like a thread throughout the day Assembly, held last weekend at the Manchester Free Trade Hall, organised by the Youth Trade Union Rights Campaign and supported by the Labour Party Young Socialists.

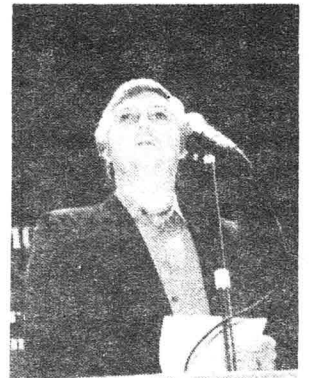
The current NGA battle gave a backdrop to the mass rally—many of those present had been on the nearby Warrington picket line. As Cheryl pointed out during one of the debates, the events of that night had shown youth were not prepared to sit back and let the Tories trample all over them. It had been a demonstration of the fighting spirit of youth.

The 1,300 delegates and 1,000 visitors listened attentively, and participated in all the debates of the day. NGA speakers received a rousing reception when they urged sup-

port for the printworkers' fight against Tory laws. Labour MPs Terry Fields and Dave Nellist were cheered when they exposed the Tories' reasons for attacking the trade unions and youth.

Support was given in the afternoon sessions for a new socialist charter for young workers and YTURC's programme for the Youth Training Scheme.

Solidarity was the theme of the day, whether supporting the NGA picket lines or joining with small sections of workers in struggle. £85 was collected for the Cousins strikers in Grimsby, and money was raised for the Beauty Care workers in Manchester. Delegates recognised the importance of the campaign being waged by YTURC in organising youth, and raised £1,100 for its funds in a magnificent collection, with ten-

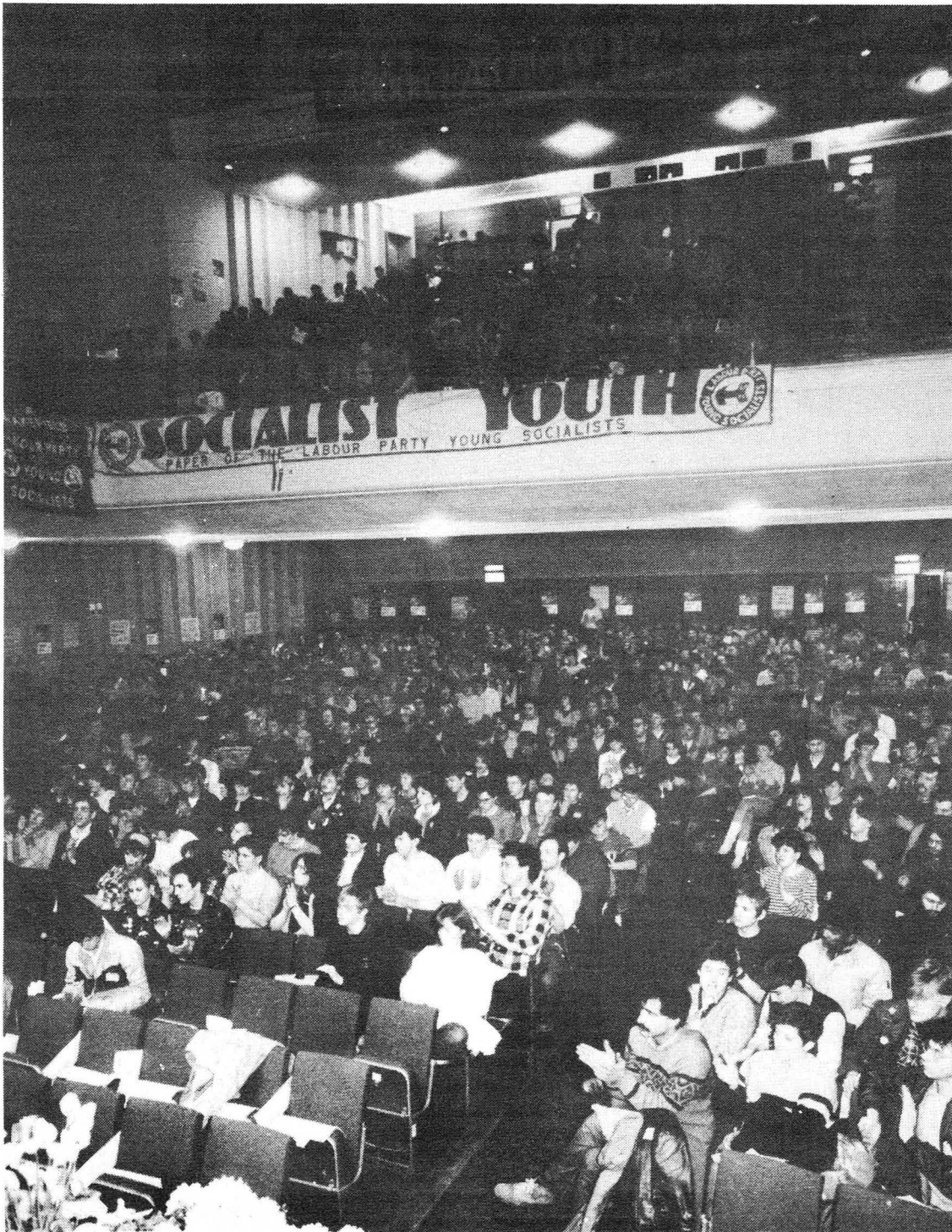


Ray Allen, a NGA national officer, was applauded when he addressed the Assembly.

ners coming in from such union branches as the Yorkshire NUM.

All agreed—whether seasoned youth campaigners or at their first ever labour event—that they had been lifted by the determination and confidence of all those who spoke. Many felt the words of the Irish socialist James Connolly, emblazoned on the large YTURC banner at the back of the hall, summed up the confidence they now felt in the ability of young workers to take on the Tories: "The great only appear great because we are on our knees. Let us arise."

Young workers' assembly



The audience at the Young Workers Assembly—there were 1,300 delegates and 1,000 visitors.

Beauty Care battles on

"WE'RE GOING to start having mass pickets. We just don't care if this breaks the law. We're fighting for our jobs, for our living."

This firm statement by Fred Johnston, TGWU shop steward for the striking Beauty Care workers in Eccles, near Manchester, shows workers will not be intimidated by Tory laws when it comes to defending their future.

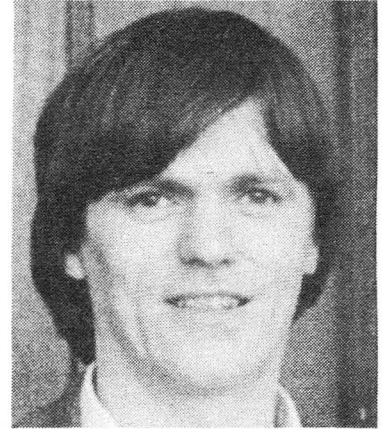
Fred was at the Assembly to build support for the strike at Beauty Care. It began after 13 young workers asked John about getting a union set up at the Beauty Care warehouses. They held a protest after one young worker was told off for damaging goods after he had been assaulted by an anti-union worker. They were locked out after the protest.

John explained, "There were 13 of us originally, but now we're only seven. Some of the lads have gone back. Management improved pay, conditions—everything we'd been asking for. They went to the lads' homes and saw them individually.

"At the moment we seem the losers, but wait till after Christmas when the Christmas rush is over, they'll just send people down the road as usual, and it'll be back to normal. All these improvements won't last without a union.

"Another lad has had to chuck it in, but he resigned rather than scab on us. He joins us on the picket when he can.

"We're getting TGWU branches to 'adopt' a striker each—



Fred Johnston.

get the branch to give them money each week. Two branches have said they'll do this so far. Our main problem is getting Beauty Care blacked—there's just not enough of us to follow up local branches to make sure this is being done.

"I've been with this company for 16 years, ever since the days they started out in the market with a stall. They were really shocked when I came out on the side of the union.

"They think they've done me favours, but I've seen what they're really like. They worked young lads for 42½ hours a week—not just 'worked them' but slave driven them more like. I've seen young men walk out with tears in their eyes.

"Our main aim at the moment is to get maximum pressure on Beauty Care during the Christmas period."

The first mass picket, backed by the TGWU, will be on December 16 at 10 am at Beauty Care, Lyntown Trading Estate, Old Wellington Road, Eccles.

Union takes up YTS rights

ANDY RYAN, a GMBATU apprentices' rep at the Massey Ferguson tractor plant at Trafford Park, Manchester, came to the assembly after he was approached by the LPYS. The battle he has fought with management over YTS trainees prompted him to become involved with the LPYS campaign.

"There are six YTSers at our plant who work alongside the apprentices. They get £25. We're on between £60 (first year) to £107 (fourth year). The workers have a collection each week to give the trainees a tenner extra.

"We've had a battle with management to get them to keep the trainees on after their 12 month stint. So far we've got them a six month extension but that's up after Christmas.

"Obviously we were worried that YTS could have meant substitution of apprenticeships. The initial response is just to say 'no' to YTS coming in the factory. But they're there now, we work alongside them. They're our workmates now.

"Most of the lads are sympathetic to our shop stewards' committee's position on YTS, although one said, 'Well if management

take them on, I hope its not going to affect my place when I come out of my time.' But I argued that the YTS trainees are the ones in the weak position. We get four years training and we can go anywhere afterwards and at least have a chance of getting a job. But they're got rid of after only a year and half and have no chance.

"I think our future negotiations with management on YTS should be taken as part of our annual wage negotiations, part of the complete package. This way management won't be able to reject our proposals out of hand."

Andy was one of five delegates sponsored by the shop stewards' committee. "This event is very appropriate with the current NGA dispute. The NGA must be one of the strongest unions in the country. If they smash them no union in the country is safe.

"Our stewards' committee pointed out that from time to time there are bad laws against the unions and they have to be broken. People died to get proper trade union rights. Its now our turn to stand up and be counted."

scab labour from the town which has been hit by mass unemployment. This has caused a 'class civil war' in the town. Tempers have run high and so far there have been 13 arrests on the picket line. Chris, whose girlfriend is one of the strikers, said, "I've got two aunties and two cousins working there now. I'll never speak to them again. As far as I'm concerned, once a scab, always a scab."

The strikers are critical of the regional T&G officials: "They seem frightened of Tebbit's law," said Chris.

"If it hadn't been for the help from the local LPYS, the strikers would have been in the same position as when they started."

Things are moving now though; "The vice President of the South Wales NUM, Terry Thomas, has pledged secondary picketing support from next Monday. This has had a good effect on morale.

"This Assembly has been excellent—I didn't realise there were so many other disputes going on. This has given us an ideal opportunity to get publicity for the strike."

On the picket line

IN THE week before the Young Workers Assembly Chris Smith, a 'secondary picketer' as he proudly described himself, had appeared in court.

He had been arrested on the picket line at Lefrays in Abertillery, Mid Glamorgan, where women workers are on strike.

"They claimed I had spat tomatoes and banana's over Mr and Mrs Lewy, both directors of the company. It was my word against their's

so of course the court found the picket guilty."

Chris, an ancillary worker at an ICI plant, is a member of the TGWU and was at the Assembly on behalf of the strikers. He told how the workers—58 young women and seven men—were locked out after a one day strike for union recognition. "Most of the girls were getting £44 a week, and that's with the bonus."

They were all sacked and Lefray's began recruiting

Reports by Bob Wade and John Hird

Photos: Viv Seal

Show support with cash



"AFTER HAVING a Militant speaker at a recent ward meeting, so positive was the response to the Marxist ideas on the economy as outlined by the speaker, that the branch decided to donate £5 towards the fund for a daily Militant"—Hillingdon West Branch.

Labour Party organisations are showing their opposition to the witch-hunt with donations to Militant. Other donations include £3.60 from Cambridge LP. Donations from LPYS branches this week included Gosport, £20, and Batley and Spen, £5. Militant highlights the problems facing youth and we have been at the forefront of many campaigns. Help those campaigns by getting your LPYS branch to make a donation. Rush in donations by January 7.

JOHN MACLEAN

agitator orga

“NO HUMAN being on the face of the earth, no government is going to take away from me my right to speak, my right to protest against wrong. I am not here, then, as the accused; I am here as the accuser of capitalism dripping with blood from head to foot.”

This was the challenge issued by John MacLean, the great Scottish revolutionary, as he stood in the dock at Edinburgh High Court in May 1918, charged with sedition.

MacLean's real crime in the eyes of British imperialism was urging workers to follow the Russian example and go forward to a socialist revolution. Such was the standing of MacLean that the ruling class was forced to imprison him on no fewer than five occasions.

His revolutionary socialism was recognised by Lenin and Trotsky, who made him an Honorary President of the first All-Russian Congress of Soviets, along with other giants of the international socialist movement such as Karl Liebknecht in Germany.

MacLean is probably best remembered for his leading role in the war-time upheavals that gave Glasgow and the surrounding area the nickname 'Red Clydeside'. In addition there was his pioneering work in the field of working class education. He explained the teachings of Marx in language the workers could understand.

By Maggie McGinley

At one point in 1919 there were 43 classes with a roll of over 2,000 regular worker students. In addition, open-air meetings in Bath Street in the centre of Glasgow attracted hundreds and often thousands of workers, who stood every Sunday night for two or three hours, to listen to MacLean and other speakers explain the need for socialism.

Melting pot

John MacLean was born in Pollokshaws near Glasgow on 24 August 1879. At that time Glasgow was a melting pot of Irish and Scottish victims of the Highland Clearances, (as MacLean's parents were), who had been driven from their land by English landlords to make way for sheep.

These dispossessed elements provided the high concentration of workers in the 'heavy' industries of engineering, shipbuilding and mining on the Clyde. These factors, together with seeing his mother struggle to support a family of six children, after his father's death of silicosis at the age of forty-three, led to MacLean becoming a socialist while still a young man. In 1903, at the age of twenty-

four, he joined the Social Democratic Federation (SDF), a Marxist organisation. When MacLean joined, the SDF had just disaffiliated from the Labour Representation Committee, because the latter had refused to accept socialist principles.

MacLean did not consider this a wise decision and campaigned throughout the years to get the party to re-affiliate. He saw the need to orientate towards working class organisations even if their programme was a little confused.

He threw himself into the work of building up the SDF in the Glasgow area with an energy and self-sacrifice which was to become legendary. He organised demonstrations of the unemployed, so that by 1908 the town council in Pollokshaws were forced to give work to over a quarter of the town's unemployed!

And he began his educational work. Along with his evening and weekend classes, MacLean spent his six week summer holiday (until he was dismissed from his job as a school teacher), touring Scotland on a kind of propaganda tour. His pioneering work even took him as far afield as Lerwick in the Shetland Isles—hardly a hotbed of revolution!

A tribute published at the time in "Justice", the paper of the SDF, claimed that "MacLean does the work of three men" and "Our Mac is a bonnie fechter!" but warned of the danger to his health if he kept up such a workload.

MacLean was not discouraged and worked on.

He even utilised the 1908 Liberal Education Bill for his workers' education classes. As provided by the Bill, he got twenty of the young members of Pollokshaws SDF to request the local school board for a continuation class in economics. When this was granted, MacLean was appointed as official tutor.

In the years leading up to the war, with prices rising and living standards falling, industrial unrest grew rapidly and Marxist ideas sympathetically received. One incident which illustrates this was a strike by women textile workers near the mining village of Nitshill on the Clyde.

Thousands walk-out

The factory employed thousands of local girls on piece work rates. Two girls were daughters of socialist miners and led the demands for better prices. When these were refused the whole workforce walked out. Completely inexperienced in how to organise a dispute,

their fathers contacted John MacLean for help.

He led the girls in a march of many miles, from the factory through all the intervening towns to the Manager's home in the 'posh' Glasgow suburb of Pollokshields. One can imagine the feelings of the 'respectable' inhabitants as the girls marched in shouting, banging tin cans and burning effigies of the manager to a meeting in a field near his house.

Within a short time the wage demands were won and all the girls were organised into a trade

union. John MacLean had proved to a whole layer of raw working class youth that Marxism was not for the academics, but a guide to action in the day to day battles to improve living standards.

The greatest service MacLean did to the international labour movement in this period was his active opposition to First World War. He was not a pacifist but saw the war as an imperialist conflict between Britain and Germany in the interests of capital and not the working class of either country.

MacLean had been horrified when, as war broke out, so-called 'Marxists' in every country each supported their governments and voted for war credits. This included Hyndman and Blatchford leaders of his party, the British Socialist Party (the BSP, had been formed—mainly from the SDF—in 1911). The real Internationalists, maintaining class opposition to the war, were reduced to a small core: Lenin and Trotsky in Russia, Liebknecht and Luxembourg in Germany, Adler in Austria, Connolly in Ireland and MacLean in Britain.

MacLean began his anti-war propaganda on the Clyde with his small band of followers. The majority of the BSP in Glasgow supported his stance. Because of his differences with the BSP Executive, his final contribution to the party paper *Justice*, appeared at this time. The article makes MacLean position clear:

"Let the propertied class, old and young, go out and defend their blessed property. When they have been disposed of, we of the working class will have something to defend and we shall do it."

At first he received a hostile reception but, because of its composition, the working class of Glasgow was never as fervently patriotic as the rest of the country. They soon grew weary of the war and the stringent measures taken by the government. They started to listen to Marxists like MacLean. Action to protect their living standards soon followed and Britain's symbol of revolt, "Red Clydeside", was born.

One of the first and greatest battles was the Glasgow rent strike of 1915. Thousands of



Women munitions workers during the First World War.



John Maclean.

niser educator

The NGA dispute has sharply raised the question of union leadership, the "law" and defence of workers' jobs and conditions. The self sacrifice and committment shown by John Maclean, the great Scottish workers' leader, imprisoned five times for his activities, stands in acute contrast to the cowardly behaviour of the current TUC leadership.



Maclean was prepared to fight against the stream. At first his class opposition to the First World War got little support. But in the end his revolutionary principles won him widespread respect.

munition workers had flooded into Glasgow and, with housing scarce, landlords pushed up rents. Although munitions workers were relatively well paid, many tenants were the wives and families of servicemen fighting overseas and could not afford to keep paying the increases.

The tenants, notably women assisted by anti-war socialists like MacLean, organised and refused to pay further increases. When one landlord's agent came round and attempted to collect the increases, the woman were roused by the banging of dustbin lids "and plastered the poor man with flour and pease-meal and by the time the police arrived he looked like a grain store in disorder!"

Industrial muscle

Large demonstrations were organised all over the city, banners flying. One read "My father is fighting in France; we are fighting Huns at home."

However demonstrations were not enough—they had to be backed up by industrial muscle. On 18 November, when eighteen workers were summoned to appear in court for non-payment of rent, ten thousand local shipyard workers and housewives marched to the Sheriff's Court.

One contingent stopped off at Lorne Street School where John MacLean was teaching under notice of dismissal. They carried him shoulder high to the Court to address the crowd. That was MacLean's last day as a school teacher.

He was instructed by the workers to send the following resolution to Prime Minister Asquith:-

"That this meeting of Clyde Munitions workers requests the Government to definitely state, not later than Saturday first, that it forbids any increases of rent during the period of the

war; and that, this failing, a general strike will be declared on Monday 22nd November."

MacLean never received a reply to his letter, but within a short period the Rent Restriction Act was introduced, keeping rents to their pre-war level. The workers of the Clyde were on the march!

The coming months saw increased action against the Munitions of War and Conscription Act which took away all the hard won freedoms like the right to organise and the right to strike. Time and again the Government was forced to step down when workers refused to co-operate.

The reason for this success was their level of organisation. Under the guidance of MacLean, shop stewards in the munitions factories and shipyards formed the Clyde Workers' Committee, probably one of the first shop stewards' combines ever. Many members were revolutionary socialists who had learned their Marxism at MacLean's Sunday afternoon classes and applied their ideas in the struggle against the government and the war.

At the end of 1915, Lloyd George, then Minister of Munitions, decided it was time to come up to Glasgow and 'sort out' the wild men of the Clyde. He was due to address them in St. Andrew's Hall on Christmas Day.

Unfortunately for him the Clyde Workers' Committee commandeered the distribution of the tickets and packed the hall. When Lloyd George arrived he was greeted with this massive audience standing up, as one man, singing verse after verse of the Red Flag as he attempted, without success, to speak.

By this time MacLean's Sunday afternoon economics class was regularly attracting about five hundred workers and his Bath Street meetings many thousands. The ruling class decided that something had to

be done.

On 6 February, on his way home from a Bath Steet meeting, he was seized by the police, taken to Edinburgh Castle as a prisoner of war and charged with sedition. Despite massive protests from workers on the Clyde and many witnesses who spoke in his defence, MacLean was found guilty and sentenced to three years' hard labour. Protests were made but it was not until the events of February 1917 in Russia rekindled the revolutionary fervour on the Clyde that they began to take effect.

Form Soviets!

Mayday 1917 saw eighty thousand workers on the march in Glasgow with a quarter of a million more lining the streets calling for MacLean's release. A meeting a few days later of many thousands even called on the workers of the Clyde to follow the example of their Russian comrades and form Soviets! Terrified of the consequences if they detained him any longer, the government released MacLean at the end of June.

When the Bolsheviks came to power in Russia, MacLean became their Consul in Glasgow. He addressed many "Hands off Russia" rallies, but recognised that the best way to consolidate the socialist revolution in Russia was by spreading it.

He called for the 1918 Mayday demonstrations to take place, not on the first Sunday of May as were customary, but as a one day general strike in Glasgow on the first of May. The response was magnificent. One hundred thousand workers downed tools to march through the packed streets. Glasgow was on fire with red banners, ribbons, rosettes.

Unfortunately MacLean was not present to witness the spectacle. He had been arrested in April as the ruling class sought

to stem the revolutionary tide.

MacLean was to be twice more imprisoned but it was this court appearance when he proudly claimed the title "Accuser of Capitalism, dripping with blood from head to foot" which was to go down in the history books. MacLean's complete distrust of the capitalists courts was summed up when he used his right to reject any member of the jury by saying, "I object to the whole of them!"

A week later he stood as official Labour candidate for the Gorbals in the General Election (the BSP was now affiliated to the Labour Party.) Although he did not win he received an excellent 7,436 votes for an uncompromising revolutionary programme.

The next months saw the last great struggles of the workers on the Clyde for a forty hour week resulting in pitched battle with the police in George Square at the centre of Glasgow. The forces of the state were used to the full as tanks were brought into the streets of Glasgow and troops brought in from all over the country. The soldiers in the nearby Maryhill barracks were not used in case they were won over by the strikers!

Out-maneuvred

However the workers were out-maneuvred and the movement was smashed.

It was during these last years of his life that MacLean became mistaken in the tactics he employed. With the subsequent down-turn in the working class movement he thought that the best strategy was to fight for socialism in Scotland, and then spread the ideas to what he considered the less advanced layers in England and Wales. Consequently he set up the Scottish Workers Republican Party (SWRP) in 1922 and concentrated his efforts over the next two years in building up its membership and

influence.

Although the pace of events slowed down, MacLean worked as hard as ever, particularly in the educational field and was still considered dangerous enough by the state to be imprisoned on two further occasions before his death.

He had intended to stand as SWRP candidate in the 1924 General Election. In fact his last election address, dated 30 November 1923—the day he died, was written only ten days previously.

There are enormous lessons to be learned for workers today from MacLean and the struggles in which he participated. He showed that Marxist ideas can take root among the working class in a period of crisis if they are properly explained. That a determined leadership can win massive support in day to day battles against a reactionary government.

But probably the most important lesson of all, because it did not succeed, is the need to link up industrial struggles with the political struggle to change society. The Marxists in Britain today have a duty to work conscientiously in both wings of the labour movement, so that an organised Marxist leadership is forged, able to lead the working class to victory.

Finally, the words of John MacLean as he summed up in his speech from the dock in 1918 can only serve as an inspiration to Marxists today as they continue the work to which he devoted his life:

"My appeal is to the working class. I appeal to them exclusively, because they, and only they, can bring about the time when the whole world will be one brotherhood, on a sound economic foundation. That, and that alone, can be the means of bringing about a reorganisation of society. That can only be obtained when the people of the world get the world and retain the world."

USA

STRIKES IN American Telephone and Telegraph. Chrysler and the Phelps Dodge copper mine show a new confidence in the US working class. The national Greyhound strikes are perhaps the clearest sign of the combativity and potential strength of America's working class. As elsewhere the question mark lies over the leadership of the labour movement. The strikers are bewildered and disorientated by the union leaders tactics. But workers are still angry. When a picket was killed by scab driver in Ohio, three workers fired rifles over his grave. The strikers see themselves as being at war.

AS WE go to press, the Greyhound workers are voting on another "offer", which as far as is known presents no substantial improvement on the offer recently voted down by a margin of 30 to 1.

The union leaders have made a serious mistake in putting this offer to the vote

Labor Councils (the US equivalent of trades councils) and union activists were preparing to take action country-wide.

This groundswell of support has been cut across by the union leaders. Their energies and the energy of the strikers should have been directed toward building on the support to win this strike, instead of voting on an entirely inadequate offer.

Wages and conditions attacked

ON 3 NOVEMBER 13,000 Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) members walked out and began a nationwide strike against Greyhound Buslines, the largest US private bus company, after weeks of contract negotiations.

Greyhound asked for a 25-30% across the board cut in wages and benefits. On 2 November Greyhound gave an ultimatum to accept these cuts or be fired. The workers voted by 98% to reject and began a shutdown that stopped service nationwide.

Louis Suggs, and other striking workers in the Boston area, explained "Greyhound is looking for a \$5,000-\$9,000 overall cut for each worker. They want to reduce paid holidays from nine to six days.

"We are not high paid, \$20 thousand a year isn't much to support yourself and a family these days. They want to up the deductible on health insurance, so each employee would pay \$1,000 before they could get insurance to cover the remainder."

They proposed increased pension contributions. This is only a partial list; they seek cutbacks on every gain workers at Greyhound have ever made.

Huge company

Greyhound is a huge company, in no danger of bankruptcy. They just want to bust the union. Louis Suggs explains: "Greyhound has hiring halls throughout the country looking to the pool of unemployed to take our jobs. They will give two weeks training (the requirement is 13 weeks) just to get the buses rolling again."

"We have to fight, or we will be left with nothing. I've put ten years in at Greyhound. I have a decent wage, three weeks vacation, some security. They want to take that all away. What will be out there for me after that?"

Photo: Steve Edwards



Pickets in Chicago.

Several other ATU members explain "Not only will they destroy us, but every worker in this country, union or non-union will be threatened by the bosses if we lose this battle. The whole labour movement must fight, united and strong, or we will return to the days of the 1920s.

"Every worker in this country should have walked off their job in support of PATCO, then we would never be where we are today!"

Fighting the union busters



It's not the bus, it's us

"IT'S NOT the bus, it's us" and "Go Greyhound and leave the driving to us". A striking bus driver of 23 years experience repeated these popular Greyhound advertising slogans with anger on the picketline in New York City.

"They think they can run this company with people off the street", he said.

Even before management demanded the 25% cut and the right to hire part-time labour, workers had faced continual tightening of work rules. Jeff, a ticketseller, described the management practice of dismissing workers for the slightest infringement of rules.

For example bus drivers having any accidents on the road, often snow covered and dangerous, and ticket sellers who fail to balance their accounts at the end of

Greyhound has lost its "ridership". They cannot send a bus out unless at least one security guard is inside and an escort leads in the front and follows in the rear. Some states are considering banning the buses. Yet despite these precautions there has already been at least one fatal accident involving a scab. Greyhound is not only attempting to bust the union, but they have posed a real threat to the public.

the day are liable to be dismissed.

He told how the outrageous demands of management had created a mood of unity and determination among the workers. "It's good for the union, and is really pulling members together. The company has been getting its own way in recent years."

Management plan to run the buses with scab labor and had been hiring scabs for two weeks before the strike—a clear breach of the law. Despite 1,000 applications for jobs in New York City in the first day of the strike, management will have great difficulty getting skilled drivers to man the buses.

One union representative told me how one half of applicants had had criminal records, clearly demonstrating the desperation of management.

Management have fitted out 50 buses with plexy-glass windscreens to protect scab drivers from "accidents" on the road and at the bus terminals.

By Mark Boyt
(New York)

Veteran drivers burn badges

GREYHOUND workers used to be renowned as loyal company men and they are still proud of their skilled and arduous work.

Gersh Mayer, working for Greyhound for 17 years: "I started out without too many illusions that this is just one big happy family. But the guys who bought the whole story—they feel betrayed. They are the ones who are talking about blowing up bus stations."

On the Chicago picket, Freddy Johnson told me "I've been twenty years a bus driver. The only way the company will go back to work is with a security guard on every mile of every highway in the entire United States."

Chicago and Detroit are the only two terminals in the country where non driving staff are in a different union, (UAW) which unfortunately has a no strike clause, so unlike most towns, terminal facilities are functioning. But only 10 to 15 buses a day run and ticket agents in UAW say takings are down from \$90,000 to about \$3,000 daily.

Throughout the country, veteran drivers have publicly burned their badges awarded for years of accident-free driving in protest at the untrained and unreliable misfits being recruited as scabs.

By Steve Edwards
(Chicago)

"Go get them, union boys"

"TELL THEM we're not just hanging in there; tell them we're making progress." said pickets on the Greyhound picket line in San Diego, California.

According to the pickets there, last year Greyhound made \$20 million in profits, and in the last quarter of this year, their profits rose an additional million.

Chairman of the Board of Directors, John Teets is due a \$600,000 bonus if he should succeed in this "Operation Sunrise" aimed at breaking the ATU.

Pickets cited the numerous falsehoods from

Greyhound, who said the average driver earned about \$35,000 per year (a 20 year driver made over 20% less than that) and that they "only" wanted to slash wages by 10%.

The company's demands were so unreasonable that the union got a 98.3% strike vote. Public support also appeared strong, as passing municipal bus drivers waved the clenched fist salute, a middle aged woman perhaps happy to see somebody fighting back against the corporations that dominate our lives, chimed in "Go get them, union boys!"

Thousands march in support

OVER FIVE thousand trade union members walked off their jobs in Boston two weeks ago in support of striking Greyhound workers.

Thousands of workers headed toward the Greyhound building, forcing all city traffic to be closed off. The terminal was locked tight to avoid violence.

The police, though sent to protect Greyhound's property, were very much in sympathy with the strikers. The previous evening a spokesman for the Patrolmen's Union presented a check for \$1,000 to the strikers. The money

had been raised from many of the police who had been on duty at the terminal. The spokesman said, "It is our way of saying that we are on that line."

On the same day there were rallies throughout the nation. Thousands of trade union members walked off their jobs and headed for Greyhound terminals to show their determination to stop the attacks on working people.

By Marcy Barnett
(District 65, UAW, AFL-CIO, personal capacity)

Scab buses surrounded

17 NOVEMBER. San Francisco. 6.00 am. The gods seem to be on the side of the bosses. Torrential rain soaked pickets outside a Greyhound Bus Station.

Management had stated their intention of rolling out their fleet with newly hired scab labour.

By 7, around 400 workers surrounded the bus station. "We're gonna roll, we're gonna roll, gonna roll our union on", and "we're gonna roll old Greyhound down", they roared. Young and old, black, white and latino, they roared defiance. "This won't be another PATCO" referring to the air traffic controllers' union smashed by Reagan's government.

When the black-jacketed police moved to clear the way for scab buses, pickets were undeterred. Workers blocked the buses' path, windscreen wipers were pulled off and rocks rained down on the bus which eventually escaped.

Three workers were taken to hospital, suffering from

blows from police clubs. The same scene was repeated as workers hurled missiles at scab buses and the police helped management to try and break the Amalgamated Transit Union. The buses broke free but only carried 7 or 8 passengers between them.

Word came that the first bus had crashed a few blocks away. Apparently the bus had rammed a Greyhound driver down town on an errand while in his car. The damaged bus limped back into the station to derisive cheers from the pickets.

A security man in a car following the bus had pulled a gun on two car drivers at the accident. The police refused to arrest the gunmen suggesting the car drivers made a citizens' arrest. In spite of all the problems the strike is biting. No oil supplies are being delivered, the only Teamsters' delivery was a box of doughnuts for the pickets. Such is the solidarity achieved.

By Robb O'Neill

QUIZ OF THE YEAR

1. Who said "The Health Service is **only** safe with us"?
2. Who wanted to bomb Russia in May?
3. Which famous five promised they would be back?
4. Who advised *Daily Mail* readers in the first week of January to "get rid of the crazy left before they get rid of you"?
5. What did President Reagan describe as "not an invasion, but a rescue mission"?

12. Who did Alex Kitson think had "lost us the election in 1979 with his 5% wages policy and could be costing us this one now"?
13. Who thought "it would be counter-productive to campaign on a narrow anti-Tory platform"?
14. Why did the Tories nationalise a bank this year?

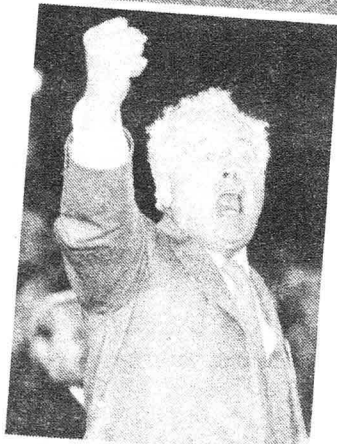
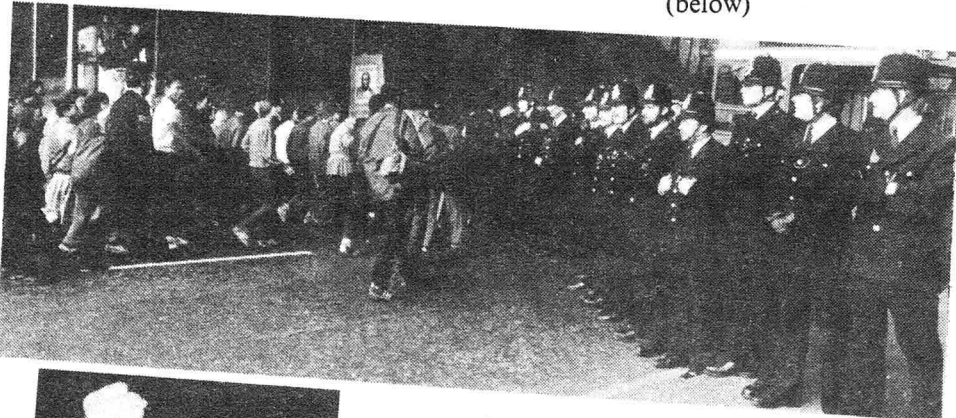
22. Whose report stated that the Tory party had been infiltrated by racists?
23. Which journal was denounced as "no more than a mouth piece of bourgeois liberalism"?
24. Which newspaper has refused to print one word about the Mosley files which shows its late proprietor gave massive backing to the Fascists?
25. How did South Africa's welcome for West Indian 'rebel' cricketer Colin Croft turn sour?

What's happening here?

A1. Who are the pirates? (Below)



A2. Who's marching (below)



A3. Who is he and why's he so excited?

6. Who thought that the unemployed's standard of living depended on their choice of food?
7. Which national daily exclusively revealed to its readership that "if you join a union you join the labour movement"?
8. What event was forecast would "eventually lead to the overthrow of free society as we know it"?
9. Who after the election thought "if we had not been so completely tied to the (Labour) Party's coat-tails we could have urged our members to vote SDP or Liberal if they had a better chance of winning"?
10. What plans to be "less extreme than the *Morning Star*, less popular than the *Daily Mirror* and more committed than *The Guardian*"?
11. Which film left the *Sunday Telegraph* expostulating, "If pandering shamelessly to America's anti-colonial prejudices is the only way to save the dying

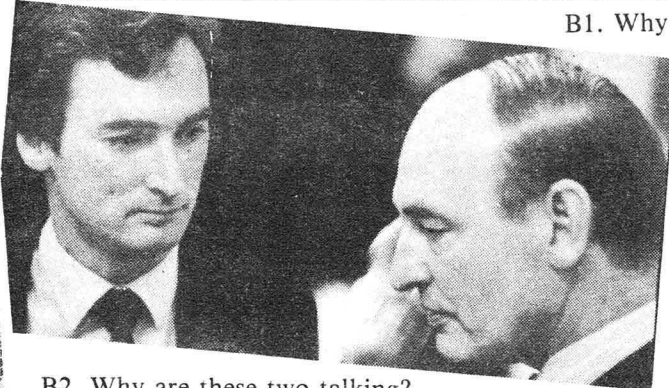
15. Why couldn't you read the following *Daily Express* editorial on 6 June: "The rain poured down yesterday on the People's March for Jobs Rally in London. Most people will say; 'serve them right' "?
16. What prompted Dora Bryan to seek comfort in selective amnesia and declare: "I don't like to think about it. Let's go on singing Land of Hope and Glory"?
17. How did the Pope make an "electoral appearance" in Liverpool this year?
18. What prompted the *Daily Mail* to headline an economic story, 28 May, "Britain is on the up and up"?
19. Which European Prime Minister had his government rocked by revelations of phone taps, secret tape recordings and allegations against his Justice Minister?
20. Why did one Tory election leaflet state: "Conservative policies are the country's most important discovery since the advent of circumcised nans"?
21. Who began the year by stating: "Britain badly needs something similar to America's CIA"?

26. Who got Nicaragua and El Salvador so muddled up that he stated his government was supporting the Nicaraguan government?
27. Which section of the Labour Party publicly regretted losing the valuable service of Ben Ford, even though he had lost his Parliamentary seat after standing against an official Labour Party candidate?
28. Which part of Britain celebrated the 65th anniversary of the country's first soviet?
29. Which country was a Tory Foreign Office Minister describing here: "There is no dictatorship there. There is a thriving democracy, which has a serious problem with its minority"?
30. How was 007 used in dangerous and finally fatal circumstances?
31. The December 1983 issue of *Searchlight*, the anti-fascist monthly, republishes the following quote from 1970: "Where immigrants have cultures, these are utterly incompatible with Western ways, while with the negroes, we are still offered excuses and no explanations for their incapacity to rise by their own efforts above primitive savagery... The negro in any realistic time-scale will only add to proletarian debasement." Who wrote this

Communication



B1. Why aren't these two talking?



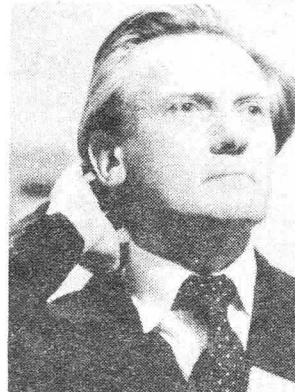
B2. Why are these two talking?

32. Which candidate(s) for Labour's deputy leadership voted for Eric Hoffer as leader?
33. Who was accused by whom of using "Com-mies on *The Times*"?
34. Who authoritatively told *Sunday Mirror* readers that "Moscow wants Labour to win"?
35. Which European political leader said: "The Atlantic shield helps avoid the imposition of a regime in Italy like the one in power in the Warsaw Pact countries"?

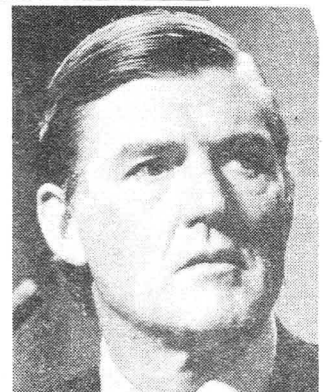
36. Who said: "We also need to convince the ethnic minorities that the police are—and still remain—on their side"?
37. Which country expelled over three million immigrants in a month?
38. Which union leader promised £100,000 to help any union which fell foul of Tory law, but only if they stayed within the law (sic)?
39. Who revealed that John Lennon had been under FBI surveillance up till 1972?
40. When four men died because the company had knowingly ignored safety regulations, how much was the employer fined a) £1,000 b) £10,000 c) 50,000 or d) £175,000?

41. Who told young people that they "would do just as well staying at home on 9 June if they go by the Alliance Manifesto"?
42. Why has the book *The Brotherhood* had its publication date continually postponed?
43. Who said "I will stick my neck out really a very long way—and my reputation. I do not believe that the US will invade Nicaragua"?
44. Which press hack stated that "*Militant*, the Paedophile Information Exchange, PLO and the government of South Africa are equally worthy of condemnation"?
45. Why did widows of soldiers who died in the Falklands receive differing amounts of cash?
46. Which papers have not printed their owner's recent thoughts of Thatcher: "She's gone out of her mind. I don't know what she's about. I just think she's very over-tired. She's not listening to her friends...or so I'm told"?

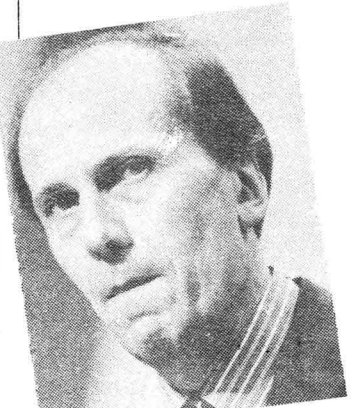
Worried looks



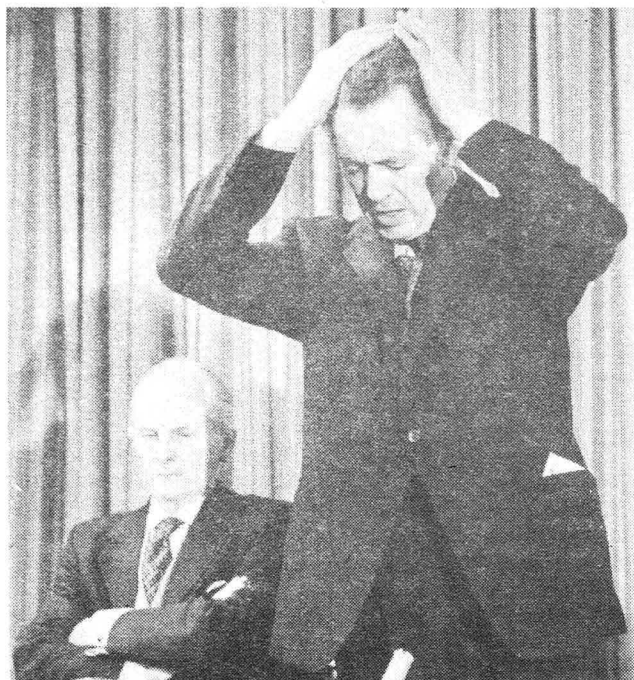
C1. Why Tarzan worried about hair?



C2. Who's haunting Cecil?



C3. From which new department is Tebbit hiding his fangs?



C4. which department is still getting the full benefit of Sir Keith's brain?

47. Who forecast the approaching end of the world: "I turn back to your ancient prophets in the Old Testament for the signs foretelling Armageddon and I find myself wondering if we're the generation that's going to see that come about"?
48. Token sports question: Who won three gold medals at the World Athletics Championships?
49. Token Culture Question: Which writer about a nightmare bureaucratic world was born a hundred years ago?
50. Whose Parliamentary maiden speech stated: "Do not forget that a militant is only a moderate who has got up off his knees"?

Answers on page 12

Letters

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

Getting a mortgage

Dear Comrades,
It would be true to say there are people worse off than myself, and some people might say I shouldn't grumble. However, I have lately been going through that difficult drawn out process called getting a mortgage.
I am buying one room, and at £15,000 there's nothing cheaper. To do this we had to sell possessions, take out a loan etc. for the deposit.

I work for Tesco's, and at my store there are adults who take home less than me. How they are supposed to enter the capitalist property market 'Marx only knows'. I'm not at the bottom of society's pile but compared to the aristocracy I'm not far off.
Yours comradely
Mike King
Southampton

Low paid plight

Dear Comrades,
I am writing on the plight of the low paid workers. Fortunately, I am not a low paid worker, but my wife who worked for seven years suffered this fate.
She worked for one of the most lucrative capitalist rackets in industry—the hairdressing business. It is a non-unionised, low paid profit making business. There is no sick scheme, you are trained for a number of years to city and guild standard, and have to foot the bill yourself for exam fees and equipment.
There is a governing body called the Hairdressers Federation, made up solely of Salon owners who formulate a pittance of a yearly rise. If you are lucky enough to work in a large salon you may get bonuses.
My wife left to have a baby and brought home two weeks wages for seven years service, often with no break or dinner hour. So I say "a good wage for the hairdressers and all other low paid workers" and nationalise the hairdressing industry.
Yours fraternally
Mark South



Photo: Militant

Selling outside Express papers last week.

Fleet Street success

Dear Comrades,
Militant has had a tremendous response from Fleet Street printworkers. LPYS members from Hackney sold over 20 papers and raised over £10 for the fighting fund the other night.

We had sold two papers in five minutes, outside the Telegraph, when the police moved us on for "obstruction", or "illegal street trading", we could take our pick!
We had more luck outside the Mirror. One printworker paid a fiver for his paper, and another a pound. Many had bought the paper the night before, but they still

gave us donations.
The mood was defiant, with the demand for a 24-hour general strike receiving a particularly warm response.
Yours fraternally
Simon Cole
Hackney South LPYS

Enthusiastic depression?

Dear Militant,
I have a friend who had been off work suffering depression. One day she came round to see me with a book given out by a doctor—*Depression; what it is, and how do we cope.*
Out of interest I was just

flicking through it when I came across an interesting bit on adolescence and work. It says that many on leaving school don't really know what work they would like to do. Family and society expect youth to work and if they don't, some consider them as lazy and irresponsible. Some linger on and succumb to a level of adaption; while others give up altogether they may join groups to which society has given the label of drop-outs.

Such men and women come from a wide variety of backgrounds. They include those who do not know what they wish to do; those who can't tolerate any form of restriction or authority; and (this is the best bit) those who genuinely believe that the political and economic system is wrong. I'm now wondering if all us Militants are suffering from depression.
Yours
A Militant supporter
Macclesfield

And pigs can fly

A SUPPORTER sent us this poem which first appeared in a booklet produced by Australia's Amalgamated Metal Workers' and Shipwrights' Union:

*It was crisis day in Parliament,
The House was hushed and still,
As a member rose with a question
"Are we doomed to go downhill?"*

*"I am confident of an upturn,"
The PM made reply:
"If workers pay is held at bay
We'll all be home and dry."*

*"How true! How true!" cried the workers
"Let's end this wicked strike,
we don't want a rise in wages,
they can stick it where they like."*

*"Thank God! Thank God!" sobbed the bosses,
"There's faith on the factory floor,
And now we've got this extra lot
We'll give it to the poor!"*

*They filled their pockets with money,
And ran with eager feet,
Pressing their surplus profits
On people in the street.*

*They moved among the dole-queues,
And boarded every bus,
With streaming eyes and heartfelt cries:
"You need it more than us!"*

*Soon all the people prospered,
And the devil became a saint,
Now that the sober unions
Had exercised restraint.*

*And the cities were filled with singing
and the sound of laughter spread,
And hand took hand in the golden land
and pigs flew overhead.*



A Christmas story

By John A Hird

LYNDA BROWN was trailing her three kids through the town. She didn't usually do her Xmas shopping so late but she'd only been able to get a Provident order that afternoon. Tommy her husband was working overtime that night so they'd be able to at least get through the holidays without borrowing off her mother.
They couldn't really afford Xmas this year since Tommy was on short time working. But the kids were getting to the age when they knew that Xmas meant presents, sweets and lots of food.

"If only the adverts on the telly didn't keep putting all those expensive toys in front of the kids," thought Lynda. Tommy had joked that she should get the kids the new line of toys from Hong Kong, the ones that prepare youngsters for adult life—they don't work!

Lynda could only buy presents and food from shops which took provicards. The choice was limited but it had to do. After hours of walking and asking for the cheapest items her allowance finally ran out. The kids were tired but expectant for the joys and surprises of the next morning.

Lynda looked forward to the two weeks of turkey and Xmas cake but mostly the rest. At least it would be a rest if it wasn't for the hours of cooking and mountains of dirty dishes... Xmas was different, it was special... specially hard!

Her and Tommy would be together for a while and they wouldn't be working. With all the overtime Tommy did, the kids thought their Dad was the man who came to Sunday dinner but who was too tired to play with them afterwards; he just snored in front of the telly. Tommy wouldn't be too tired to play with the kids over Xmas. They'd all enjoy themselves Lynda might as well, if she could stop worrying about the bills for five minutes.

Lynda had always thought that it was just her and Tommy who were hard up. But everyone in her street were all the same and all around her were women with arms full of Xmas shopping and kids heading home.

"There's millions like us", thought Lynda. "Millions who work all the year round and can't afford a proper Xmas."
On Xmas Eve Tommy was happy. He laughed and cracked jokes as he helped wrap the children's presents. "Lynda, do you know that Britain is the world's healthiest country—it must be—they're closing all the hospitals!"

Crackers, carols, lots of food and fun packed out Tommys', Lyndas' and the kids' Xmas. They enjoyed it as did millions like them. For two weeks they forgot the bills, the rent arrears and thousand other worries of working class families... after all it was Xmas.

"Millions like us", thought Lynda as she cringed at the Queen's speech when she spoke of "my people" and "one nation". "Millions like us and few like them. This world's upside down, it's all wrong, it's got to change."

In the weeks after Xmas the supermarket bosses counted the profits and said it was their best ever. Tommy and Lynda and millions of workers like them picked up their bills and spent the rest of the year paying for their Xmas.

Would the kids have to go through the same life as her and Tommy? They were anyway. Always struggling just to keep their heads above water.

Scrimping and saving, doing without this and that, when was it all going to end? There has to be something else, a better life for us.

"Millions like us" thought Lynda again and again. That thought gave her more cheer than all the carols and Xmas card verses during the festivities of that year. "Millions like us and few like them; it's got to change."

QUIZ ANSWERS

1. Norman Fowler.
2. Kenny Everett. 3. Militant Editorial Board after being expelled from the Labour Party. 4. Sid Weighell. 5. Invasion of Grenada. 6. Thatcher. 7. Financial Times. 8. This was how Liverpool's Liberal leader, Sir Trevor Jones, described Labour winning control of the council. 9. Frank Chapple. 10. The proposed TUC daily paper.
11. Gandhi. 12. Callaghan. 13. The Communist Party in its advise to the People's March For Jobs. 14. They took over the Hang Lung Bank in Hong Kong as the colony took an economic nosedive. 15. The NGA refused to print it.
16. Nuclear War—she was speaking at the "Women and Families For Defence" Rally. 17. Liverpool Liberals used him on an election leaflet entitled "Why no

Catholic can vote Labour on Thursday". 18. Nothing. The day before a huge trade deficit had been announced and a NEDC report had given a devastating indictment of the economy. But then there was an election—and the Daily Mail has a long tradition of inventing news at such times. 19. Irish Prime Minister Charles Haughey. 20. It was a badly translated Tory leaflet in Punjabi. Instead of "circumcised nans" it should have read "sliced bread".
21. Dennis Healey. 22. Young Conservatives. 23. The Communist Party's monthly "Marxism Today". It was so described in a resolution to the Communist Party Congress by the West Hampstead branch. 24. Daily Mail 25. He was thrown out of a "whites only" railway compartment.
26. Who else but Ronald

Reagan. After he was asked at a Press Conference if he "approved of covert activity to destabilise the government of Nicaragua", Reagan replied: "Well, no, we're supporting them, the—oh wait a minute, I'm sorry, I was thinking of El Salvador, because of the previous, when you said Nicaragua. Here, again, this is something upon which the national security interests, I just—I will not comment."
27. The Parliamentary Labour Party in their report to Labour's Conference. 28. Isle of Man. 29. Sri Lanka. 30. It was the Korean airliner shot down by the Russians.
31. It was George Kennedy Young and he was all three: a), b), and c). Young now runs the extreme right-wing Tory Action. 32. None of them; even Meacher voted for Kinnock. 33. Harold Evans by Times owner Murdoch, just before Murdoch sacked him as editor.

34. Woodrow Wyatt. 35. Berlinguer, leader of the Italian Communist Party. 36. Roy Hattersley. 37. Nigeria. 38. It could only be Terry Duffy. 39. Militant. 40. £1,000.
41. Mike Harakin, National Vice-Chairman of the Young Liberals. 42. Because it's an exposé of freemasonry. It was last postponed from 27 October till 26 January next year. 43. Thatcher. 44. Conor Cruise O'Brien in The Observer. 45. "The amount of money a widow depends upon her husband's rank" (Ministry of Defence, 4 April).
46. The Times, Sunday Times, Sun, News of the World—Owner Rupert Murdoch only had his views published in the Australian Melbourne Age. 47. This comforting thought came from Reagan. 48. Carl Lewis. 49. Franz Kafka. 50. Terry Fields.

HOW DID YOU SCORE? (1 point per correct answer)

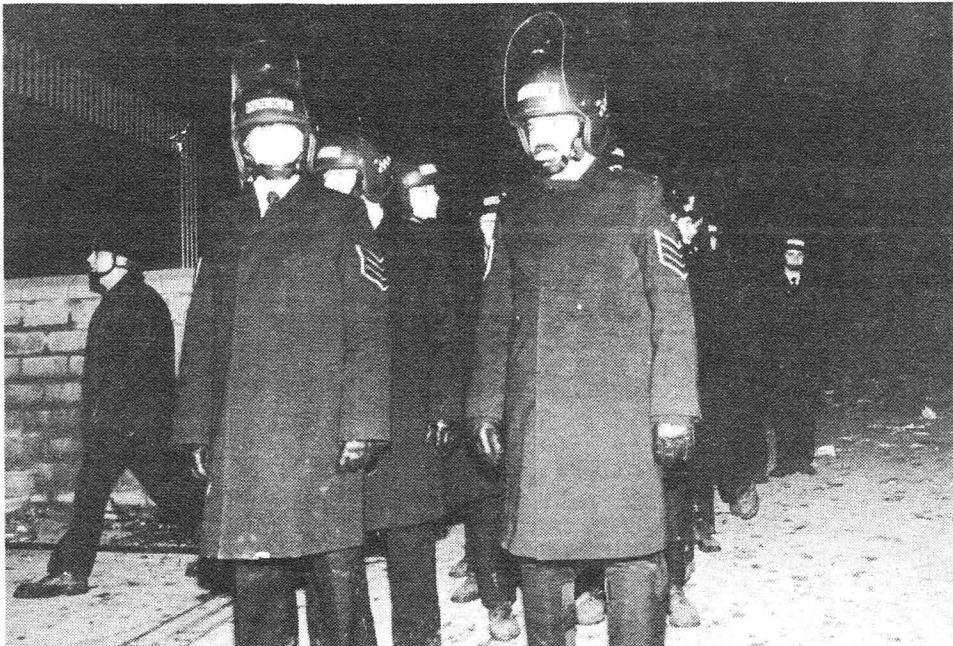
- 60—You cheated.
- 59—You're either Magnus Magnusson or work for Special Branch.
- 40—58—You're intelligent, well-read, of high intellect, sophisticated: take out a subscription to *Marxism Today*.
- 30—39—You spend too much time reading newspapers and not enough time on the streets campaigning.
- 20—29—Average. How boring.
- 10—19—You spend too much time out on the streets campaigning and not enough time reading.
- 5—9—You do read Militant every week, do you?
- 2—4—There's a career for you as a speech writer for Terry Duffy.
- 1—Take out a subscription to the Sun.

Photo captions

- A1. POEU workers protesting at the privatisation of British Telecoms.
- A2. Black youth in Hackney about the death of Colin Roach.
- A3. Tory party delegate trying to shout down an Asian businessman during a debate on racism.
- B1. After Labour Party Executive votes to expel Marxists. Foreground Lynn Walsh (Militant Editorial Board). Background Jim Mortimer (Labour Party General Secretary).
- B2. They are both pleased about the defeat of Labour's candidate at Bradford North. (left) victorious Tory candidate (right) Labour renegade Ben Ford.
- C1. Red dye difficult to remove in jungle.
- C2. Your guess is as good as ours and probably the same.
- C3. Trade and Industry.
- C4. Education (!)

Warrington

Police and Pickets



Police tactics on the Warrington picket line were based on experience gained in Northern Ireland and the 1981 riots.

BILL MOTTISHEAD Regional Committee member SOGAT '82, told **ALEX PANDOLFO** his very disturbing story.

"I was in Warrington on Tuesday 29 November as an official NGA steward at the demonstration in support of the six sacked workers of the Stockport Messenger.

The role of the stewards was to keep the peace with repeated appeals for calm to the police and the pickets. We had walkie-talkies to keep in contact with other stewards and find out where the trouble areas were so we could go and defuse any hostilities.

The job of stewarding was made extremely difficult by the police who kept charging the picket and splitting off large sections. In one of the charges my walkie talkie was cut from round my neck. Then, with the NGA caravan being smashed I was completely isolated from most of the other stewards.

Savage attacks

After witnessing several savage, unprovoked attacks on the picket I pulled one section into a line and with another steward walked backwards and

forwards in front of them to separate them from the TAG (Tactical Action Group—special police force).

We even cleared a line through the pickets to enable an ambulance containing both injured pickets and police through. We kept the picket and the police apart for about thirty minutes when we saw a barricade had been set fire to. I called the police inspector to take the other stewards to go and pull the pickets away from the fire. Instead, police moved into the section of pickets I was marshalling, and arrested me.

Refused bail

I was taken to Runcorn police station and appeared before a special magistrates court. The lawyer provided by the NGA offered unlimited security, and the guarantee that I wouldn't return to Warrington before my court case. I was refused bail on the grounds that if they released me I would be certain to commit further offences (defending, for example, trade union rights).

Strip-searched

I was then taken to Risley remand centre where I was strip-

searched, bathed and put into prison clothing. I was put into a cell with a man serving time for grievous bodily harm. Faced with the prospect of being there for three weeks I informed the warden that I was going on hunger strike. I had already gone without food, having been busy on the picket line and then in the police station for a couple of days.

After 24-hours in Risley I was taken to another special magistrates court where I found that my alleged "crime" was not a prisonable offence—in fact carries a maximum penalty of a £50 fine.

I was then—surprise, surprise—allowed out on unconditional bail.

Accountability

The actions of the police on the demonstration in Warrington raise many questions as to the role of the police and the courts. These questions need to be taken up in the Labour Party and the trade union movement.

We must demand more accountability and democracy within the police force. Expose the role of the courts in protecting the bosses and their profits.

right to take civil proceedings for the recovery of funds of defaulting officials.

In 1871 the Trade Union Act gave the unions recognised legal status. Any union whose rules did not infringe the criminal law could now register under the Friendly Society Act and obtain legal protection. Also, (Tebbit and King please note) unions were to be free of external legal interference in their internal affairs.

Simultaneously the new Criminal Law Amendment Act introduced severe penalties for "molestation," "obstruction" and "intimidation" during picketing. This new law was quickly enacted. Strikers found themselves convicted and imprisoned for all sorts of trivial offences occurring during disputes.

Even "unfriendly" looks or the presence of strikers in large numbers constituted intimidation and workers were prosecuted for such crimes. In Perthshire six shoemakers were imprisoned just for watching a shop where a scab was working. In South Wales seven women were imprisoned for saying "Baa" to a blackleg.

In 1872 gas stokers at Beckton gas works formed a union and demanded increased wages and shorter

The following day

AT FIRST the atmosphere the night after the mass picket was more relaxed as 800 people peacefully picketed the plant. A roar of laughter erupted from the crowd and even some police officers when a young man, wearing a life-like mask of Prince Charles, proceeded to 'inspect' the line of police.

However when 5 o'clock came around and the last van carrying Shah's newspapers were due to come out, the scene once again turned nasty. By this time there was only 200 pickets left, 160 of them from the North East whose four coaches weren't due to leave until 6 o'clock. The thin Blue line was now over 1,300.

The behaviour of the police can only be described

as absolutely disgraceful to say the least. They waded into the crowd who were mostly sitting on the ground, dragging men, women and old age pensioners by the hair, scarves and, in my case, by the throat.

Cath Maines, a Labour Councillor from Newcastle, found herself being trampled underfoot and when she tried to crawl and push her way out of what was indeed a frightening situation she was arrested. Two men, who earlier had handed out a bag of sweets to the police, were also arrested and carted off to answer charges of obstruction.

By Bob Harker
(Gateshead East CLP)

It was just like Poland

A BIRMINGHAM LPYS member who was arrested told *Militant*:

I was on the Warrington picket line during Tuesday evening and part of Wednesday morning. Like most of the working class people there I was not looking for a violent confrontation with the police, but only to voice my opinion about anti-working class laws.

In many instances while I was there it became impossible not to match up the scenes with Poland.

I was arrested at 4 am. I was standing near the front of the picket when the riot police moved in complete with crash helmets and truncheons, kicking and clubbing workers.

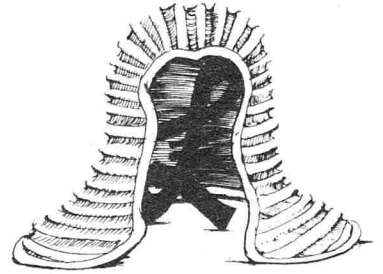
I was kicked to the ground and dragged behind police lines where I went through a gauntlet of 'British justice' in the form of fists.

After I had been put on a police coach and handcuffed I started speaking to a young student who had blood pouring from a head wound. He said while explaining to an officer that such brutality was unnecessary in arresting pickets, the officer replied, "You asked for this you commie bastard," and put his elbow into his face.

This person received no medical attention.

At the police station my personal details were taken and I was put into a small cell to join five other pickets (including three members of the NGA) who were arrested earlier.

At 6.30 pm I stood up before the magistrate—charged with obstructing the highway contrary to Section 137, Highways Act 1980.



GROUP 4, the security firm used by Shah, have now stopped working at his Warrington plant because of pressure exerted by Liverpool's Labour council. The council reminded Group 4 of their own larger contract with them. Still at the plant is Shah's private security guard, the SSS (Special Security Services).

"You can now see what this law is all about. It is here to protect people like Shah—union busters." FBU member, Bootle, Liverpool.

"I hope the TUC stand firm and come out in support of the NGA. We were let down last year. I hope it doesn't happen to the printers. If the TUC don't give a lead, it will have to come from below, from those trade unionists who want to stand by their brothers and sisters in struggle. This is a fight for all of us."

—Liverpool City Councillor, ASLEF, Bootle Labour Party



A history of struggle

THIS IS the second in a series of articles by **DAVID BRANDON** on the history of trade union legislation. Last week's article sketched out the legal milestones in the struggle for trade union rights which took place with the emergence of the modern working class up to the 1860s.

FOLLOWING THE generalised attack on trade unions in the mid-1860s, the decision in the case of Hornby versus Close was like a knock-out blow.

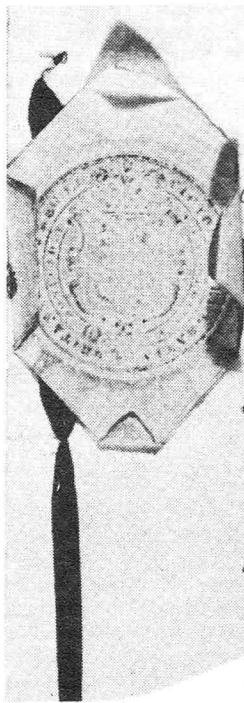
Union leaders believed that the Friendly Societies Act of 1855 gave them legal protection for their funds. This belief was rudely shattered when the courts decided in the above case that trade unions did not come within the scope of this Act. The Boilermakers' Society was unsuccessful in suing their Bradford treasurer for £24 branch funds he owed them. Being by nature "in restraint of trade", unions were, strictly speaking, illegal or at least outside common law, said the courts.

It was no longer illegal to form or join a trade union but the courts provided no protection to trade unions or their funds. Unions were thus denied what legal protection they had in practice enjoyed for several years and were in effect outlawed.

The union leaders drew no conclusions from these events about the class nature of the law courts. Instead they went to great lengths to stress the friendly society and insurance aspect of trade unionism.

They set out to influence the Royal Commission set up in 1867 to enquire into trade union activity. They were rewarded in 1869 when the Trade Union (protection of funds) Act gave them the

THIS LETTER from Queen Victoria enjoined Sir William Erle and his fellow members of the 1867 Royal Commission referred to above to "inquire into and report on the organisation and rules of Trades Unions and other Associations, whether of workmen or employers, and to inquire into and report on the effect produced by such Trades Union and other Associations, whether of workmen or employers, and to inquire into and report on the effect produced by such Trades Unions and Associations on the workmen and employers respectively, and on the relations between workmen and employers, and on the trade and industry of the country..."



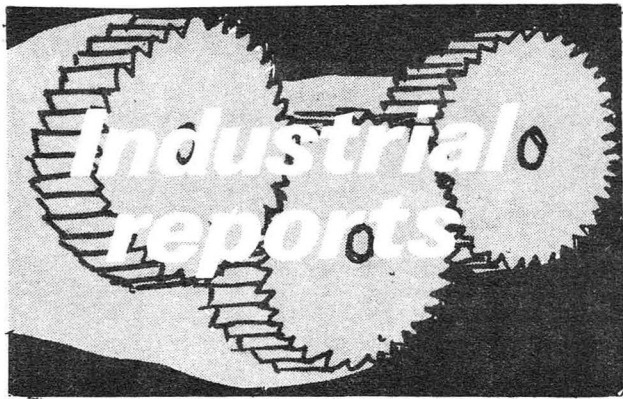
*Victoria by the Grace of God,
of the United Kingdom of Great
Britain and Ireland, Queen,
Defender of the Faith. To our
Right Trusty and Well beloved
Councillor Sir William Erle,
Knight, our Right Trusty and
Right Well beloved Cousin Sir
George Earl of Li...*

hours. Workers at other London gas plants struck and many succeeded in obtaining a reduced working week. When the employers victimised several of the leaders, workers who protested at Fulham gas works were locked-out. Gas workers all over London came out on strike.

Many who did so were in breach of contract and were prosecuted, receiving short sentences under the Master and Servant Act. In a determined attempt to stamp out unionism in the gas industry, the employers prosecuted six of the leaders for conspiracy under the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1871. They received twelve months imprisonment.

An aroused trade union movement launched a massive campaign for a reversal of the sentences and repeal of this Act. The Liberal government, under pressure, reluctantly released the imprisoned strikers, but dominated as it was by large manufacturers, refused to change the law.

The reality was that strikes, though not illegal, put both strikers and strike leaders at risk of severe penalties under the law.



RESIDENTIAL SOCIAL WORKERS

RESIDENTIAL WORKERS WANT PARITY NOW! nalgo

Yorkshire demonstration

OVER THREE hundred social workers from various parts of Yorkshire, including Leeds, Bradford, Rotherham and Sheffield held a demonstration outside Rotherham town hall on Tuesday 6 December.

It was a noisy and vocal demonstration with NALGO strikers singing about their claim to the tune of well known Christmas carols.

On Wednesday striking residential social workers picketed all over Sheffield to get other NALGO workers to support the national day of action called in support of our parity claim. Over 2,000 supported the strike.

At a special branch meeting held in the afternoon a motion was discussed which called on all branch members to escalate their action. An amendment calling for a seven-day strike

was lost but there was overwhelming support for an amendment calling for:

- ★ Indefinite telephone and post ban.

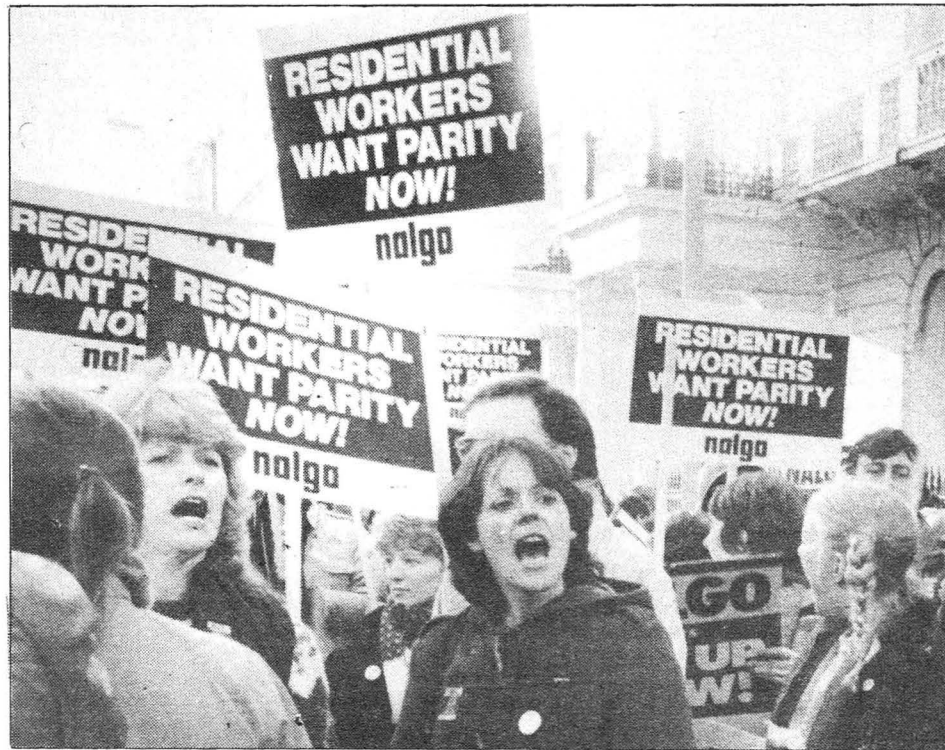
- ★ Withdrawal of co-operation with all councillors.

- ★ Blacking of any recruitment of residential workers.

In Sheffield now the majority of residential social workers are on indefinite strike and of those still at work most are working only from 9 am to 5 pm. Only a couple of homes remain open.

The RSWs on strike in Sheffield are determined that they are going to win the claim in full despite the fact that it is the first time that many of us have been involved in any sort of industrial action.

By Jane Burns
(Residential Social Worker, NALGO)



About 10,000 lobbied the national pay talks in London on 7 December. All over the country residential social workers are taking industrial action.

Photo: Stefano Cagnoni (IFL)

with two exceptions the Tories were against.

However, because the dispute is best supported in the urban areas by the most active branches it is Labour councils, not the Tories, who are bearing the brunt of the action.

Residential workers, despite understandable frustration and impatience, must see that no amount of escalation in these areas will help settle the dispute if the Tories are not forced to negotiate. In fact, some Labour councillors and even other trade unionists may wrongly react against such actions.

Irrespective of the result of the ballot, the Local Government Committee should go in to the branches where the industrial action is poorly supported to campaign for action. Escalation should concentrate on mass lobbies and pickets of Tory councils, even those with no residential workers if they have a representative on the NJC.

Those Labour councils that hide behind the employers' side of the NJC must be convinced that they have no common cause with Tories against trade unionists. Where Labour councils behave like Tories they must expect to be treated like them by their employees.

But NALGO should take the political initiative by calling together Labour councils which support the opening of negotiations in order to publicly isolate the Tories on the NJC, give valuable public support to the dispute and coordinate strategy within the NJC to put pressure on the Tories.

All these suggestions have been accepted by a national delegate meeting of residential workers, but the leadership have chosen not to act on them.

Unless a campaign is launched to implement these policies the dispute may be lost, marking a setback for all NALGO members. But a campaign along these lines, clearly identifying and hitting the real enemy, the Tories, forging invaluable links with Labour councils, and ensuring that leadership comes from the top, can bring victory.

By Roger Bannister
(Knowsley NALGO, branch secretary)
personal capacity

Negotiations: Tories intransigent

ABOUT TEN thousand residential workers marched from Hyde Park to Belgrave Square on Wednesday 7 December, where NALGO officials were discussing the claim with the employers' side of the National Joint Council (NJC).

The talks themselves produced no more than a dressed-up version of the employers' earlier "offer" of participation in their review of the Residential Service. They indicated this would be completed by July 1984 and had nothing to do with NALGO's claim for parity!

They again argued that the financial burden of meeting the claim was insurmountable and would have a "knock-on" effect on claims by other groups of workers.

They also emphasised that if their review meant any improvement in residential

workers' pay, then the cost would have to be met from the 1984 General Pay Settlement for local government officers. This is a clear attempt to undermine the support of other workers.

It is vital that NALGO, at both national and regional level implements the decisions of the last National Delegate Meeting by rallying support and mounting pressure on employers in areas where resistance is most stubborn.

The support of sympathetic Labour councils must be properly co-ordinated and supported from other unions, such as NALGO have given to the NGA in the *Messenger* dispute, be sought.

By Paul Rice
(Liverpool NALGO Residential Workers' Committee, personal capacity)

THE BAN on admissions and overtime in local authority residential establishments has been going on now since 12 September, although the grievances of residential social workers go back much further.

For five years now NALGO has been seeking to bring residential workers' conditions of service in to line with the rest of APT&C (white collar) staff.

Residential workers work 39 hours a week as opposed to the 37½ or 35 hour week of their colleagues. Unlike other APT&C staff, residential workers receive no shift allowance and take home pay can be less than £50 per week.

The national local government employers have shown no concern or regard for the justice of the residential workers' case, relying instead on the workers' 'goodwill', their reluctance to put vulnerable clients at risk, to maintain the service.

The attitude of the Tory government to the health service characterises the attitude of the majority (Tory) group on the employers' side of the National Joint Council (NJC). They have no need for the service themselves therefore they don't care whether it exists or not.

Residential workers care overwhelmingly for the most disadvantaged sections of the working class: the elderly, mentally ill, physically and mentally handicapped and children in care. Unlike the Tories, who can afford to pay for private provision for their relatives, the working class rely on the facilities of local authorities.

Unlike the Tories, residential workers do care about the people they look after, and are reluctant to take action which will harm their clients.

This should not be interpreted as a sign of weakness or confused with middle-class 'professionalism', as it has been portrayed by various sectarian groupings within NALGO. It is an understandable and justifiable reaction by a group of workers in a difficult situation.

Consequently the action chosen by the residential

workers has been designed to bring minimum suffering to the clients, even to the extent of allowing employers to use alternative placements in the voluntary sector and temporary relief staff in homes. This approach has been crucial in ensuring the support of other trade unionists, both in NALGO and other unions.

Had the industrial action been universally applied the dispute would be over by now. However, NALGO's Local Government Committee have demonstrated their ineptitude throughout the dispute; even failing to actively campaign in support of the action amongst the branches.

Escalation has been put forward on a 'please yourself' basis. At the last national delegate meeting no recommendation was made by the leadership until the day of the meeting itself, when the ballot on 9am to 5pm working was proposed. It therefore comes over not as part of a carefully worked out strategy but as a desperate move to put something forward at all costs.

Even the ballot itself has been mismanaged: with the first set of ballot papers recalled and replaced, thus extending it by almost two weeks. This meant that the employers

would not make an offer at the NJC meeting of 7 December as the ballot was still in progress.

A contributory factor to this poor leadership was the idea of 'local deals' as a way to improve conditions and pay, encouraged at times by various fringe 'left' groups. Such a policy represents an attempt by our leadership to escape responsibility. Credit is accepted for successes and the members blamed for failures. Above all it would be disastrous for future negotiations and the general strength of the union.

Continue and step up campaign

Against this background a 'No' vote in the ballot cannot be ruled out, since an inevitable result of ineffective leadership is that groups of members lose confidence in the leadership's advice.

Every day the dispute lasts demonstrates that a political campaign is necessary to achieve victory. In October the employers' side of the NJC rejected opening negotiations by only one vote. The Labour group supported talks and

Hammersmith & Fulham

RESIDENTIAL SOCIAL workers in Hammersmith & Fulham have barred admissions and banned overtime. There was some confusion last Wednesday and only one residential establishment, Stamford House, came out, the rest agreed to go to the lobby.

The Social Services department didn't come out but sent some members to the lobby. The Housing Benefit and Aid sections were the only other areas to strike.

There was no emergency branch meeting for all NALGO members to discuss the day of action though some shops arranged meetings and voted for strike action and organised picket lines. We had

our own one-day strike on 27 October in support of the residential social workers which took the edge off another one-day strike.

The October strike got support from sections of the union which in past disputes had been antagonistic and actually crossed picket lines. This shows that there is a reserve of support for the residential workers which can be tapped. The branch has passed a motion for an all-out strike—there is a feeling that one-day actions are not leading anywhere.

By Tim O'Donnell, Residential Social Workers' Shop Steward, and Jill Harris, Hammersmith & Fulham NALGO, personal cap.



Police move in to break up the NALGO protest in London.

Photo: Stefano Cagnoni (IFL)

NALGO MEMBERS trying to lobby their employers' offices in Belgrave Square, London resisted police attempts to move them on, and continued their protest in Belgrave Square.

Mounted police were then placed between the demonstration and the employers' offices. After one and a half hours, when groups of protesters were beginning to move off with their banners, the police moved in and started making arrests. Over fifty

trade unionists were arrested.

This attack upon a group of workers, involved in their first industrial dispute is yet another indication of how the Tories are attempting to intimidate the trade union movement.

Protests must be made and the charges against those arrested on Wednesday should be dropped.

It was estimated that 8-10,000 residential workers took part in the demonstration on Wednesday. This shows

that they still have the determination to win, but they must be supported by the rest of the 800,000 strong membership of NALGO.

The NALGO NEC had called for a one-day strike of every member in every public service on Wednesday 7 December, but future calls for action must be backed up by a campaign to convince the whole membership to take part.

By Barbara Humphries
(NALGO LSE Branch)

NALGO Militant UNITE TO DEFEAT TORIES!

20p + 15 post and packing. Over 5 p&P free.
Order from:
1 Mentmore Terrace,
London E8 3PN.

Changing mood of Westoe miners

FOR THE second time in as many months Westoe pit in South Shields has been paralysed by strike action.

The current dispute arose out of an argument between lower and higher management over the provision of safety cover at weekends during the NUM overtime ban. It ended in an all-out strike of deputies, five arrests after angry scenes on the picket line and the lay-off of 1,700 NUM members.

This local dispute gained national significance as the NCB seized the opportunity to attempt to divide the miners and break the national overtime ban of the NUM.

KEITH SMOULT and DAVE FARNHAM of Westoe NUM talked to Margaret Reavey about the dispute.

Westoe has always been known as a moderate pit in the moderate Durham coalfield but our reputation is changing a bit nowadays! Really the NUM was caught in the middle of this dispute between the National Association of Colliery Overmen, Deputies and Shotfired (NACODS) and the British Association of Colliery Management (BACM) but the pit manager Bunker turned the screws on us.

He is the local equivalent of MacGregor and we know that he acts with the full backing of the National Coal Board. Despite the strike we won a couple of months ago the Board still thinks Westoe is the potential weak link in the chain of the NUM. A year ago the men here broke the national overtime ban but a lot has changed in this last year.

We have been singled out by

the Board. Management have used terror tactics. They have put up notices saying, 'lift the overtime ban or we will shut the pit', 'lift the overtime ban or at five o'clock in the morning Saturday 10 December all power will be shut off'.

That would mean that there would be no ventilation, it would also mean that pumps would go off which extend six miles out to the sea—and every day we have to pump three million gallons of water. Turn the pumps off and obviously the pits would flood, all our jobs would just disappear.

The lies that have been spread—we reckon that the NCB must have a team of horror script writers down in the regional headquarters the stories are that wild. Anyway they have failed. Firstly at 5 o'clock on Saturday morning, which was supposed to be the end of the last shift, the deputies refused to come out of the pit, the men stayed



Westoe colliery banner at the 1983 Durham Miners' Gala.

Photo: Denis Doran

down to prevent the bosses turning off the power and destroying our pit.

Then on Saturday morning the NUM held a mass meeting in the miners' hall with Scargill speaking. At the start there was a bit of heckling and the mood was subdued—the men were literally scared for their jobs. But as he explained what was happening the mood completely changed.

When they took a vote it was unanimous that the over-

time ban stays. If there is a real emergency then we'll put men into the pits but we will not be intimidated or taken in by management fairy tails. The miners in Westoe are united and it is noticeable that a lot more of the men are a lot more militant. This has been a victory for the NUM nationally because if we had crumbled the same tactics would have been used by the board throughout the country.

We have shown that we

can't be pushed around and I think the action will start biting deeper. The young miners here are starting to get stuck in. Since the strike two months ago more and more are attending the lodge meetings and are getting interested in politics as well. We know that Bunker has the backing of MacGregor and that MacGregor has the backing of the Tories—but we also know that the whole lot can be beaten if we the workers are

determined, united and organised

These events also serve as a warning that unless the leadership at local and national level goes to every man and every pit in a campaigning fashion then the widely publicised statements of MacGregor combined with the lies, rumours and pressures of local management will undermine our industrial action.

Bank ballot

As reported in Militant, BIFU members have been balloted about industrial action over Christmas opening hours. The result, announced on Friday 9 December, showed 53% in favour of action. The NEC have decided on a half-day strike of all London Clearing Bank staff on Friday 23 December.

The other staff body in the Clearing Banks (the Clearing Bank Union) decided not to

back the call for a strike after a ballot of their members in Lloyds Bank showed dissatisfaction but a reluctance to take action. In some bank branches this has already resulted in CBU members applying to join BIFU.

The main aim now must be to ensure that the strike is as solid as possible.

By a South Herts BIFU member

Scottish SOGAT strikers' first-time victory

"THIS SHOULD have happened a long time ago" was the comment of one of the SOGAT strikers on the picket line of the Glenrothes paper mill, Tullis Russel.

The action was over the question of pay, and no wonder: for working a 40-hour week some workers receive £59.10. This means that double-shift working is a

common occurrence with sixteen hours being worked at a time. Allied to this was dissatisfaction with the conditions—a rota system is organised for the toilet and you used to even have to put your name in a book to go there.

Although the factory is not a closed shop 800 are in the union (mainly SOGAT) and

there was solid support for the strike, yet one striker said that five years ago when he talked about the need for strike action someone threw a mug at him!

The action started after the workers got £13.50 bonus one week for saving energy—the response of the workforce was if we can save energy this week we can save it every week. The

wage claim was for a £20 increase.

After one two-day strike and a further one-day strike a twelve pence per hour increase has been won. The confidence of the workers has increased dramatically as a result of the success of their first ever industrial action.

By David Brown (Glenrothes LPYS)

What future for glass workers?

A Militant Publication

Essential reading for trade unionists in the industry, indeed anybody in an area likely to be affected by the crisis facing glass. 50p plus 15p post and packing, post free over five copies. Order from: World Socialist Books, 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN

WORKERS UP and down the country continue to fight for a daily paper. Donations to the Fighting Fund included: £25 from workers at British Aerospace Stockport, £20 from NUM Group 2, Musselburgh (Mid Lothian) branch of SCEBTA and £10 from shop stewards at Pandletons, Kirkby.

Donations like these bring that daily paper that much nearer. Has YOUR shop stewards' committee, or trade union branch made a donation to our Fighting Fund yet?

Engineering claim: no retreat on hours

LEADERS OF the engineering Confed unions have agreed to "shelve" their claim for a shorter working week in return for an increase in national minimum pay rates (MNR) of 5.175%.

A joint working party of the bosses, the Engineering Employers' Federation and the unions will discuss the union claim for a 35-hour week, six weeks holiday and a limit on overtime. But they will also have on the agenda the employers' proposals.

The EEF want greater "flexibility" between trades and occupations, more flexible working time to make full use of machinery (even though large parts of the engineering industry are closed down or in mothballs due to the recession). They want an end to industrial action without a pre-strike ballot, in other words pre-empting proposed Tory laws. They also want the elimination of "obsolete items" in the national agreement, obsolete from the bosses' viewpoint, of course.

Even if negotiations on the employers' proposals are successful, the talks are likely to drag on so that agreement on working hours would not be likely until next year's pay round. And the workers in the industry have been waiting long enough. The engineering strike of 1979 won a 39-hour week to be implemented by

1981 provided no further discussions on hours were held until this year.

At the recent lobby of Confed union leaders, over a hundred engineering workers expressed their views. RAY PEARCE (convenor at Ranton and Co in West London) told *Militant*. "My blokes want 35 hours. That's what we wanted last time, not 39 and we should have stayed out another ten weeks. We've got to get more people in work. Overtime's got to be knocked on the head. We should restrict hours and put the em-

phasis on the employers to take people on.

FRED JONES (convenor, and others from VW Group at Stratford, East London.) "When I started here twenty years ago, I had a choice of about twenty companies where I could get comparable rates. Now we are the only one. The 35-hour week and six weeks holiday—we're trying to do something about unemployment."

Wages were also contentious. "Duffy says all the time he wants plant by plant bargaining. We're fighting in-

dividually and you never get anywhere like that," said RON BRIGHT a National Committee member, and DAVE FORD, shop steward from Aircrow Howden. "The whole nature of the claim has got to be changed to embrace everybody and mean more money in the pay packet. National negotiations only determine the MNR but even an increase of 20% on the minimum, however welcome, would not put a penny on the rates of many members. We want a claim everyone can identify with."

Build the Broad Left

AT A meeting to launch the *Militant Engineer* in Swansea a number of AUEW shop stewards from the surrounding area welcomed the publication as extra ammunition in our battle against the right wing.

Alec Thraves, AUEW President, Swansea 6, outlined the crisis in the engineering industry and explained the socialist alternative put forward in the pages of *Militant Engineer*.

During the discussion it was pointed out that we needed to pull together the best AUEW activists into a campaigning and democratic Broad Left and that our first objective

was to get more representation of Broad Left supporters on the local District Committees. It was generally agreed that already the pamphlet had gone down extremely well amongst AUEW members in West Wales and there were also constructive suggestions on how to improve future editions.

The most positive aspect was the new faces in the audience, including a couple of shop stewards who agreed to take regular copies of *Militant* and said they would encourage other AUEW members to attend future Broad Left meetings.

The meeting also agreed to

a big push amongst engineering workers for next year's Broad Left Organising Committee's (BLOC) national delegate conference in Sheffield. AUEW members are looking for an alternative to the bankrupt policies of the right wing and with similar *Militant Engineer* meetings planned in other parts of the country we can be confident of further success.

By Ken Armine (AUEW Shop Steward, Ayres Jones and Co & Swansea District Committee, personal capacity)

Hindles

WORKERS AT Hindle Gears in Bradford have been on strike since 11 March after management made thirty-five workers redundant. Management later issued dismissal notices to all employees who went on strike and as is becoming common, threatened legal action over an occupation and illegal (i.e. effective) picketing. A pre-hearing of an industrial tribunal ruled that an unfair dismissal claim can be heard at a full tribunal but the bosses are appealing against this decision so the strike continues. Messages of support and donations for workers who may well still be out over Christmas to: Hindle Gears Strike Committee, c/o AUEW Offices, 2 Claremont, Bradford, BD7 1BQ.

Militant Eng fig

FOR THE FULL CLAIM

Militant Engineer, journal of *Militant* supporters in the engineering industry, now available. Only 30p incl p&p from World Socialist Books, 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN.

How to beat the bosses' courts

What happens when a group of workers takes on one of the world's largest multi-nationals, the Tory government and the legal system? At Shell they won.

By a Shell ASTMS member

After two months of all-out strike, and supposedly illegal picketing, Shell dug into their massive bank balance and doubled their original offer of 4.5%.

The new package represents 9.2% including consolidation and improved bonuses, plus £100 lump sum payment and an op-

tional interest free loan of £200.

Despite the company's attempts to conceal the size of the settlement and scant news coverage, it represents a major climbdown for Shell in the face of a determined struggle.

But perhaps more important in the present situation has been the attempt by Shell to use the Tories' anti-trade union laws to limit effective industrial action.

From the beginning the strike committee realised that to change the hard-faced attitude of management the refinery had to be shut down and distribution of the large stocks of products had to be stopped. With the full support of the tanker drivers, also in dispute, a dozen terminals throughout the country were picketed and only essential supplies were getting out.

How, in the age of the injunction, was it possible for this type of effective action to take place without a rash of court cases, fines, etc? The Tory laws, supposedly to protect the freedom of the individual, are in fact to protect the freedom of the boss while tying the trade unions hand and foot.

Shell did get an injunction but failed to use it, not because they did not want to see the workers in jail, but because the workers had made it plain that they would carry on their picketing, legal or illegal, until a settlement was reached.

This straightforward approach and the obvious determination of the workers proved an unyielding obstacle and the injunction was never used. Shell management later attacked the laws as a white elephant.

A clear commitment to carry on effective industrial action despite legal measures was enough to make Shell back down.

If this approach was adopted by the rest of the unions the Tebbit and Prior Bills would be as useless as the people who wrote them. These laws can be beaten—they have been.

Fighting leadership

(Continued from page 1)
 back against the employers and Tories' offensive, to develop strong Broad Lefts and transform the unions into unbreakable instruments of working class power.

A massive Conference with delegates representing every major union and industry in Britain can seriously begin this urgent task.

Each organisation i.e., Chapel, Branch, District Committee, Shop Stewards Committee, Combine Committee, etc., can send up to five delegates. (Delegate fee £2).

The Conference which begins at 11 am and finishes at 5.30 pm will be held at the Octagon Centre, Western Bank, Sheffield 10.

Speakers so far agreed are Tony Benn, Joan Maynard MP, Terry Fields MP, Phil Holt (POEU NEC), David Blunkett (Leader of Sheffield City Council) and Joe Marino, General Secretary of the Bakers Union.

For credentials and further information contact the Organising Secretary, George Williamson, 11 Sutton Place, London E9 6EH.

By George Williamson

Make sure 'The Day After' stays fiction

DESPITE, OR even perhaps because of, the banality of its *Dallas* – style format, the film *The Day After* graphically conveyed the nightmare of a nuclear war. Family scenes, familiar from a thousand US soap operas, are suddenly shattered.

Kansas, heartland of America, is 5,000 miles from the escalating war in Germany, but it too is a target.

In a nuclear conflict nowhere is safe. As Russia responds to NATO's first use of tactical nuclear weapons in the battle for Germany, America launches its Minuteman missiles.

Under rates reality

Suddenly, from a crisis on the TV screens, the war becomes reality. Crowds stare in disbelief as the missiles leave their tracers in a cloudless sky. Panic sets in as people realise that if those missiles will be in Russia within half an hour, then they have only that time to escape the Russian attack.

The subsequent scenes of desolation, destruction and descent into nightmare will have shaken millions and shown what a nuclear war means.

But the film grossly understates reality. It assumed that only one-third of missiles launched reached their target. It assumed that America's "command and control centre" was not attacked (very unlikely).

Most implausible of all it assumed that once started, a nuclear war could be called off, even though all electronic communication with the submarines will have been cut off.

In the film people were shown walking about in bright sunlight a few days after the bombs had dropped. But in reality a nuclear war would mean a year long arctic night for the whole of the Northern Hemisphere.

So much cloud, dust and soot would have been thrown up, some scientists believe, that it would block light and heat from the sun for at least a year. This



Greenham Common—11 December. Thousands gathered to protest at the Cruise missile base.

nuclear-induced Ice Age would mean an average temperature of -20°C. Much of plant and animal life would be extinguished.

No one would even be able to venture out safely into this permanent 'darkness at noon' for at least two months. Radiation sickness, vastly underestimated in the film, would swiftly kill millions.

In the film the hospital was shown still working, under pressure, but fairly normally. Reality is different. In Britain there are only 106 NHS beds available, nation-wide, for serious burn cases. The British Medical Association say that just one 1 megaton bomb in London would more than use up the whole of the country's emergency beds and services.

But the most conservative estimate is that Britain would suffer a 220 megaton attack. "Doomsday", a new book by scientists published this week shows what this would mean. "After a 220 megaton attack 60-70% of all buildings in the country

would be destroyed. 91% of the population in London would be killed and 99% in Merseyside."

Millions more would die in the aftermath, from famine or disease. They estimate that even from this comparatively small-scale attack, 40 million people in Britain would die.

Awareness of the scale of the nightmare nuclear war would mean has led to the massive growth of CND. Opinion after opinion poll show that most people feel that nuclear war is becoming more likely and they disapprove of Tory government actions. Last weekend Heseltine swung from one TV studio to another in an ever-escalating, but vain, attempt to calm people's concerns.

His behaviour, coupled with the film, must have left millions gripped by a numbing despair that nuclear war was inevitable at some time in the future. Others, such as the 30,000 who demonstrated outside Greenham Common last Sunday, have been stirred into action to try

and prevent such a holocaust. There can be no more important struggle than that for peace. But if the campaign is to go forward then the issues have to be faced squarely.

Mass demonstrations alone will not, and have not, stopped the deployment of nuclear weapons. Appeals to the ruling-class to behave differently are useless. Retreats into individual mysticism, by shining mirrors to 'reflect back the evil of the base' cannot stop Cruise at Greenham.

The only way a nuclear nightmare can be avoided is by ending the power of those who control the weapons. And the only force within society capable of breaking the power of the ruling-class is the organised labour movement. United class action, linking the struggle for peace with that for a socialist future is the only way to ensure that last week's film remains fiction.

By Jim Chrystie



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Photo: Andrew Ward (Report)