

Militant

THE MARXIST PAPER FOR LABOUR AND YOUTH

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4p

LABOUR PARTY
CONFERENCE
RESOLUTIONS SAY

NATIONALISE ALL MONOPOLIES

Out of 436 resolutions submitted by Constituency Parties and Trade Unions, 65 deal directly with the question of nationalisation and public ownership. The NEC's decision to include taking over 25 companies in the next election programme has begun to reap a whirlwind! It is one of the best agendas for decades, with Transport House officials agreeing that they can't remember when there were so many such resolutions.

Almost all the 65 resolutions come from Constituency Parties. One after another endorse the stand of the NEC but demand they "go the whole hog", like Greenwich (No 37) which "...welcomes the plans to take over 25 leading monopolies but realises that this should be part of a wider programme to nationalise the heights of the economy under workers' control in line with Clause 4 Part 4".

Liverpool Walton (No 56) in a detailed analysis of the programme which Labour should adopt declare that "No 'face of capitalism' is acceptable to the Labour movement ... It is clear ... that a few hundred individuals, less indeed than the number of members of Parliament, control effectively the economic life of Britain and are the people who dominate the 300 monopolies which control over four fifths of our economy ..."

The demand to take over the monopolies is a clear feeling of the rank and file of the Party, against those in the Parliamentary Party and Shadow Cabinet who are afraid of the consequences of this approach, afraid of the resistance of the Tories. Hackney Central (No 63) takes up the question of an Enabling Act, put forward in the pages of the *Militant*.

LEFTWARDS

The same idea is expressed by Yeovil (No 60), for "...nationalisation and joint management of all industry and services vital to the economy of this country immediately upon the formation of a government".

Over the last year or so the Party rank and file have moved leftwards, this is shown by the support last year for the Shipley Composite No 32 which called for a programme of nationalisation and the outlining of an economic plan. To some extent the NEC of the Party has taken up these questions, but in Parliament, on the Shadow Cabinet and so on, a horrified retreat from any such proposals has taken place. Harold Wilson's threat to "veto" conference decisions gets sharp treatment from several parties:

"... policies laid down by Conference will not be subject to veto, nor ignored by our Parliamentary representatives". Chester le Street (No 51). (Note "our representatives"). Although

demand that Conference decisions are binding go into how the movement should control its MPs and councillors, such as the full right of recall and the fixing of their wages at the level of working people, the feeling is definitely there that these people have no "special privileges" and must abide by the majority or find something else to do.

It is quite clear that this year the main theme will be nationalisation. Nevertheless many of the day-to-day issues of workers are taken up in some of the resolutions. On the threatened redundancies in the steel industry a particularly clear socialist answer is worked out by Chester (No 107). They call for "...outright opposition to all redundancies ... the extension of nationalisation to the whole industry ... democratic workers' control and management throughout the industry ..."

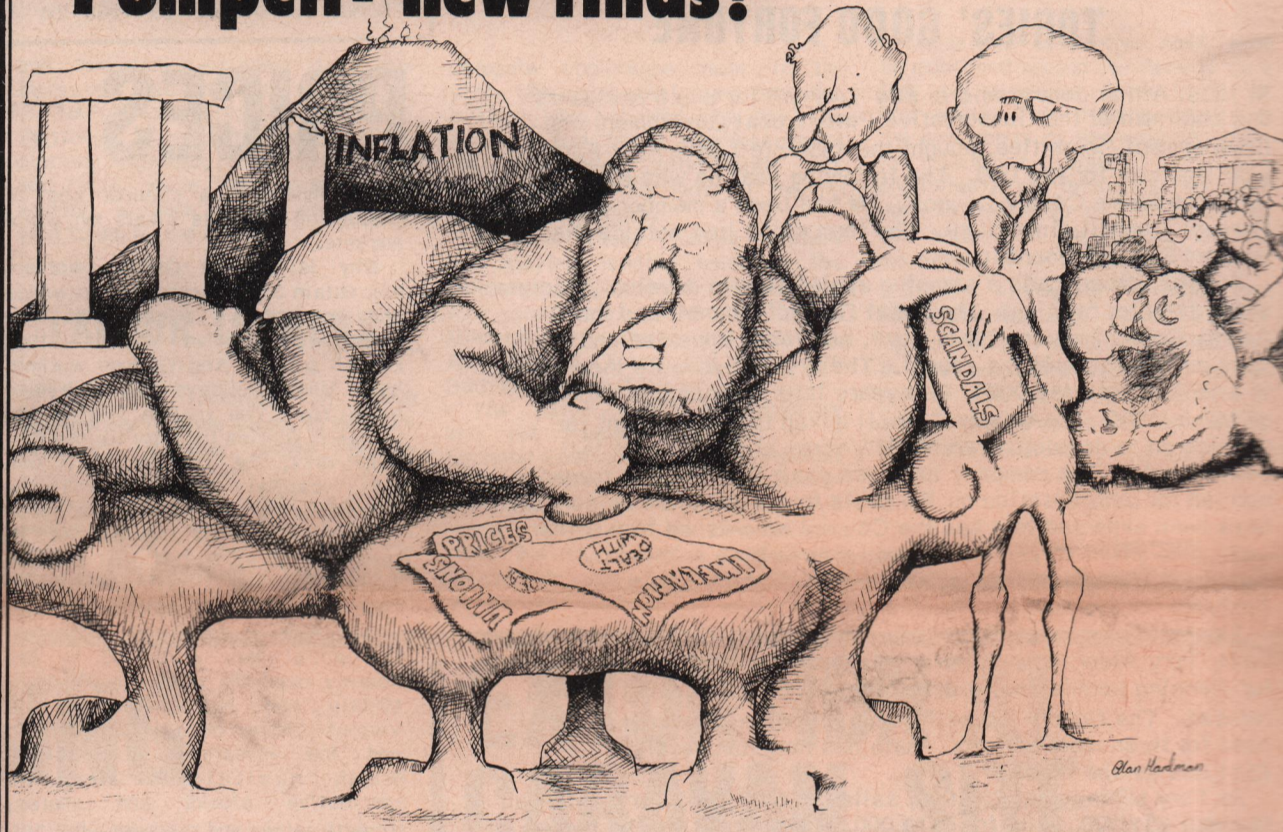
In the teeth of inflation, the question of a minimum wage tied to the cost of living is raised in a number of resolutions. But not in a clear enough way: who is to work out the cost of living index, the government or the Labour movement?

In a resolution on housing, Llanelli (No 159) call for a policy to effect "reducing the Shylocks and moneylenders of our society to ordinary citizens". East Fife (No 158) calls for measures of nationalisation of land, building industry and so on. However it is noticeable that none of the resolutions take up the question of the moneylenders in housing in a very concrete way, explaining the need for nationalisation of banks and insurance companies as well as the industry and land if a crash housing programme is to be achieved.

All in all the demands set forward in the agenda, taken together, would form the basis for a really fighting Socialist campaign if they were taken up by the leadership. Perhaps the last word could be left to Bolsover (No 417) whose resolution only a few years ago would have merely led to sympathetic smiles at a Party Conference. "This Conference appeals to the NEC and the PLP to honour the ideals in pursuance of socialism for the working class movement and the complete abolition of capitalism".

BY BOB REEVES

Pompeii - new finds!



"We are facing what amounts to an eruption of Vesuvius. The growth of inflation all over the world in the last 18 months is something which can bring much of the Western world, as we know it, to an end" Sir Henry d'Avigdor - Goldsmid (Cons. Walsall South - House of Commons debate 18 July)

INFLATION THREATENS TO ENGULF TORIES

Throughout the Western world economies are experiencing the highest rates of inflation in at least post-war history, averaging up 8% per year. In Britain; the official figures are 9.5% and still rising.

If we compare the figures for price rises in all the nine EEC countries, Britain comes off worst, with the exception of Ireland, since Heath and the Tories were elected. (1970 = 100)

Germany 118	Holland 123
France 117	Belgium 116
Britain 126	Denmark 118
Italy 119	Ireland 127

And this under a government elected to bring a speedy end to price rises! In the last year alone food prices have risen 16.2% and in six months meat prices have rocketed 20%, fish 15% and vegetables 37%! The raw materials costs of food manufacture rose 5% in June alone, so these rises will not taper off yet.

The major reason given by Tories in the past for inflation was "excessive wage demands". But that argument has been scotched by their own policies of the last 18 months. They have carried out a successful wage freeze and wage restraint policy

prices rose overall by 2½% while wages on average rose only 2% which means, on official figures, a decline in real incomes of 2% per year if this is maintained for the rest of 1973.

And yet this also coincides with a so-called "boom" in production, when productivity has risen by over 9.5% in a year. Obviously the gains from increased prices and productivity have not gone to the working class but to the profits of big business. The Tories can no longer use the saying of Wilson that "one man's wage increase is another man's price increase".

BY BOB MCKEE

(Erdington Labour Party)

The Tories would point out in their defence, that since they came to office, real incomes per head have risen 13% while under the Labour government they only rose 8½% over six years. It is true that real disposable personal incomes, ie the amount available to a person to spend after deduction of tax and national insurance etc. and after taking into account price rises, rose at only one third of the average postwar rate under Labour.

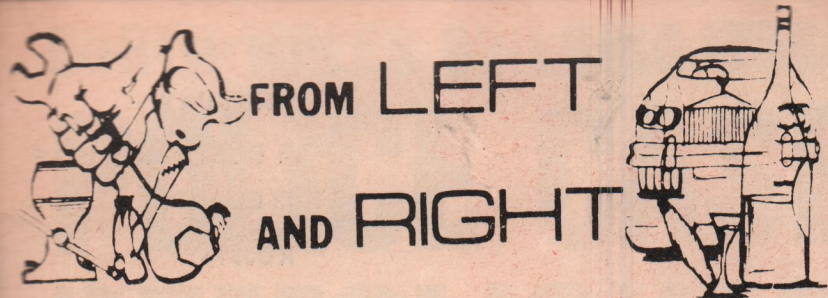
Improvement of their living standards for the benefit of the balance of payments and big business profits.

Thus we had the "wages explosion" of 1969-70 and the militant struggles of the miners, railwaymen and council workers to improve their wages and raise income levels.

The Tories never gave the workers their miserable 3-4% increase per year out of generosity; it was fought for in some of the mightiest industrial battles in the history of the Labour movement.

As it is, the increases in income did not go to less organised, lower paid section of workers who have particularly suffered under the Tory wage freeze, and now the Tories are beginning to take back all those hard won increases with their present policies. The big increases in prices are still to be felt. The real effects of the Common Market have only partially hit the economy, and in the autumn costs of fuel, transport and rents are due to rise steeply.

The old argument of wages forcing up prices cannot be defended (as if it ever could). As we have explained in previous articles, the real causes of inflation lie



COMPUTERISED PROFITS

Just how vast are the profits of the American multi-national firm IBM has been revealed by thousands of their internal documents, which have been "leaked" and are being offered to IBM's rivals for \$5,075 a set. The mammoth profits are not just being made from operations within America, where this year's profits are estimated to fall slightly, to \$720 million, though still maintaining a margin of 18.5%, but from their international operations. There the profits in 1973 are estimated to reach \$1371 m, a margin of 30%.

The figures show that in 1969, the IBM subsidiary in Germany ranked as the 16th biggest company in terms of turnover, but fifth in the amount of its profits and first in profits as a percentage of sales. In Britain the equivalent figures for its subsidiary would be 52nd, 12th and second.

The figures show that it is in computers that the really big killings are made. Whereas their Office Products Division, selling typewriters, dictaphones and copiers made only an 18% profit margin, the figure for computers was as high as 40%.

These are the sort of facts which should be made available not just to rival capitalists, but to IBM's workers. The demand to "Open the Books" must be taken up by the trade union movement as a whole, to demand that all the super-profits which are being squeezed out of the workers by these international monopolies can be exposed. The case for the nationalisation of such companies would be irrefutable!

TORIES' GOOD FORTUNE

In 1955, Arthur Jones, who is now Tory MP for South Northants and chairman of the Conservative Party Local Government and Development Committee, bought the 155-acre Little Park Farm, near Bedford, for £22,000. The following year he was elected to Bedfordshire County Council. He had been a member of Bedford Borough Council since 1949. The farm stood just outside the Bedford Borough boundary.

In 1962, Jones made a planning application to develop 20 acres of the farm for housing. The Rural District Council and the County Council opposed this move, but Jones appealed and the Tory minister upheld the appeal. These 20 acres were then sold to a builder for £159,000! Two years later, (Jones had become an MP in 1962), the County Council asked the government for permission to develop a further 27½ acres of the farm for two new schools. The company in whose name the farm was owned applied for compensation on the basis that it could be reasonably have been expected that had the Council not wished to buy the land, then planning permission would have been granted for housing. The government agreed to both. Jones was paid £187,000 for the land.

The remaining area of the farm was then sold in 1966 to Ronald Gale, Tory Alderman on Bedford Council, for £51,000. He applied for planning permission to develop 25 acres for housing but was refused. The County Council then applied for this land to be used for three more schools. Gale has now just received £511,000 for the land.

So, Tory MP lays out £22,000, sells for £497,000; Tory Alderman lays out £51,000, sells for £511,000. Total profit for the two of them - £935,000. In neither case is it suggested that they used their position on either Council to influence the decisions to acquire the land for schools. It was just good fortune.

LIFE SAVED, BUT LAW BROKEN

The lead story in the *Newcastle Evening Chronicle* on July 16 was about a brave young wife who was alone at night when she realised her baby was being born. There were no lights because the electricity had been cut off 16 months ago because an account had not been paid. "She was frightened and desperate because the house was completely in the dark ... It was then that she succeeded purely by chance in reconnecting the electricity". The baby was born an hour later - without lights it could have died because the baby stopped breathing after birth. And the reward for saving her baby's life? - SHE WAS FINED £10 FOR DISHONESTLY USING ELECTRICITY!

VOTES FOR THOSE WHO DESERVE THEM

In announcing that he will resign as Tory candidate for Putney, Tom Stacey has given a chilling warning of how sections of the Tory Party are beginning to think. "Parliament" he declares, "is less and less able to tackle the bigger issues of our times. A mass electorate must be constantly bought by indulging shallow self-interest. Thus pampered, a decisive part of the electorate becomes so arrogant and volatile as to make the pursuit of consistent policies increasingly difficult."

But what could be more breathtakingly "arrogant" than his solution to the problem - *the abandoning of one man-one vote*. He would like to see "an electoral system used in some colonial countries where different people according to their status are allotted different numbers of votes, or elect members on different rolls or to different chambers."

You don't need much imagination to work out who he would like to see having the most votes! At the moment of course, the official Tory line would be to deplore such a challenge to "democracy", but when, as Stacey puts it, it becomes "a pretty impossible thing to govern this country", then his ideas will increasingly be taken up by the Monday Club wing of the Tory Party.

In other words, when the working class are mobilised to fight for the modest demands which increasingly the capitalist system is unable to meet, then the ruling class will look to extra-

NORTHERN IRELAND - FREE FARRELL AND CANAVAN



Michael Farrell

After nineteen days on hunger strike, in Crumlin Road Prison, Michael Farrell and Tony Canavan members of the Peoples' Democracy, are in a "critical condition". They are protesting against the refusal of Whitelaw to grant them "special category" status as political prisoners.

They were convicted on charges "behaviour likely to lead to a

breach of the peace" in connection with a banned march. They were given eight months and six months respectively. Whitelaw's lame excuse for not treating them as "political" was that their sentences were less than nine months. In fact, it can only be seen as a deliberate political attack on two opponents of the Tory policies in Northern Ireland.

As a result of this decision, the two men are in the same prison as many "loyalist" prisoners convicted on purely criminal offences. This puts their lives in danger. It is scandalous that because their sentences are short, indicating that their offence was not considered very serious, this should be a reason for refusing to grant the protection of

political prisoner status, which has been granted to those convicted of far more serious offences.

The British Labour movement must demand the immediate release of Farrell, Canavan and all other political prisoners in Northern Ireland. While *Militant* does not support the political ideas of People's Democracy, the trade unions and working class political organisations cannot be free from the threat of intimidation and repression, so long as any socialist organisation is subject to the kind of action taken against Farrell and Canavan.

It is urgent that resolutions of support are passed without delay and that a campaign is mounted by the Labour movement for the immediate release of these men.

PRICES FROM PAGE 1

can compete at a cheaper cost of production than its rivals on world markets.

Why is it that German workers can obtain bigger increases in wages and yet German prices remain at better competitive levels than British goods? And German workers have longer holidays and work less hours too! The reason lies in the failure of British industry to invest.

In 1973, the year of the boom, real capital investment in manufacturing is likely to reach £1400 million, an increase of 5% over last year. But it will still be lower than the figure achieved in 1968 and over 12% lower than 1970.

The rate of profit on investment of capital has continued to fall sharply over the post-war period in Britain and has maintained the vicious circle of low productivity and low investment. Increasingly British capitalists invest in speculative stocks and shares, property values and overseas - but not in productive industry, as Lord Stokes plaintively complained last week.

Thus the state was forced to subsidise and maintain British industry by massive state grants at the expense of the taxpayer, ie the working class.

Taxation increased as a burden on the real income of every worker (up to 20% in 1970) and increased the demand for higher wages. British goods could not be sold abroad, creating a balance of payments crisis and leading to devaluation which boosted the costs of imports.

Above all, increased government expenditure to meet industry's needs were paid for by borrowing, ie printing paper money. This year the Tories have raised the deficit to £4000 million. This deficit financed by paper money is not backed by an increase in production sufficient to match it, and therefore it adds fuel to the fires of inflation, rather than push the economy onto a new plane of growth as the Tories fondly imagine.

The Tories now argue that inflation is primarily due to an unexpected and unavoidable rise in world commodity prices, and once this dies down, inflation will stop. It is certainly true that world commodity prices have risen dramatically -

	(1963 = 100)	% increase per year
All items	232	76.7
Food	242	67.5
Metals	311	69.1
Fibres	209	103.3

It is interesting however that food prices are beginning to fall, and have not risen above the overall average in the last year, so the drastic rises in Britain cannot all be explained by world prices. But the effect of world prices is only greater, the greater is the proportion of

Gross National Product. This figure has risen from only 5% in 1950, up to 30% in 1973, which means the rise in import unit value which has been 7½% since December alone has a much greater effect on domestic prices than it might otherwise do.

The reason for this tremendous increase of Britain's dependence on imports lies again in the failure of British capitalism not only to compete on world markets but against its competitors in its own domestic markets.

The weakness of British capitalism is reflected in the phenomenon of the sinking pound. Since December 1971 when the pound was "floated", ie taken off a fixed exchange rate with the dollar, it has fallen in value by over 18%, making an overall depreciation since 1967 when the Labour government devalued of up to 30%!

Devaluation means increasing the cost of imports and decreasing the cost of exports, the aim being to enable British industry to sell abroad. The result however has been to dramatically increase the rate of inflation because of import costs, and create an even larger balance of payments deficit, now running at £900 million a year; twice the size which the Labour government inherited from the Tories in 1964.

WEAKNESS

In other words, inflation is not solely caused by an increase in world prices as the Tories would have us believe, or by "the international monetary situation", but if anything the reverse is true. The weakness of British capitalism has led to a dependence on imported goods and a weak pound and this has led, in a period of world inflation and monetary instability, to increased inflation.

But that initial weakness of British industry lies in domestic inflation caused by higher production costs, low investment and productivity and by the creation of fictitious paper capital through government spending. Unless the British capitalists and the Tory government alter this underlying economic situation inflation will continue.

The latest forecasts of the economists, who predicted the present massive balance of payments deficit, are that unless something dramatic is done, the deficit will reach £2000 million by 1974!

The policy of further devaluations to right this deficit cannot continue, as it does not solve the problem and merely adds to inflation. The more sober strategists of British capital are now calling for cuts in government expenditure and the money supply so that inflation can end, along the lines of the policies advocated by Powell and the right wing Tories.

will mean a return to higher unemployment as British industry grinds to a halt before it has even got going. Unemployment now remains above 500,000 in the biggest boom period for the British economy! Industrial employment has not risen at all - most of the unemployed are women who have no longer registered or have got jobs in service and and leisure industries and not in productive manufacturing industries, where there remains a severe shortage of skilled labour but not unskilled.

The Tories will be forced to return to the old policies of higher taxation, cuts in social services, and credit restraints, unless they have a general election before then. They are now trying to ensnare the trade unions in the gimmick of threshold agreements which would tie wage increases to a price index. Inevitably such thresholds will be too high for the unions to accept and will mean a lag of a year before coming into operation.

The Labour leaders are recommending statutory price control coupled with food subsidies. But such a policy cannot succeed. To control value in a capitalist privately-owned economy is impossible, for inevitably shortages will occur as President Nixon has found to his cost in the United States, and black-market operations will develop alongside a coupon system of rationing.

Price control is only possible in a planned economy and planning is only possible with public ownership of the major section of the economy coupled with democratic control and vetting of prices and investment plans.

The aim of the Tories in the wage freeze has been to boost profits so that the owners of British industry will be willing to invest again. This can only be done at the expense of the wages of the working class, as Phases 1 and 2 have proved. This policy will not be altered under Phase 3 as Heath said in Parliament: "The need for an orderly movement of pay increases will still remain when the surge in world price increases abates ... any set of proposals for countering inflation which does not deal with the problem of excessive wage claims is bound to be fraudulent".

The British capitalist economy cannot continue at its present break-neck speed of growth and inflation and even if an international monetary crisis does not interfere inevitably it will come to a screeching stop which could set the scene for a serious slump in employment and the incomes of the working class.

The only solution under capitalism for inflation is deflation or a slump. The growing confrontations on the industrial and political front in the coming period will decide whether the alternative socialist solution of the removal of capitalism in Britain will avoid the capitalist

NATIONAL WAGE AGREEMENT

A mighty industrial and political battle is beginning in Southern Ireland. It has important lessons for the British Labour movement, as the talks between the TUC, the employers and the government are about to commence. The Irish workers' experience has shown the inevitability that in a capitalist society, "agreements" reached by the heads of the trade unions with the bosses and their government will not be in the interests of the working class.

Wage increases in the Irish Republic have been determined since 1970 by 2 year wage agreements. The present one was accepted by the TU movement at a special ICTU delegate conference on July 28 of last year. The agreement included a 9% rise in the first £30 of basic weekly pay and also incorporated a minimum of £2.50 for men and £2.25 for women.

The second phase, to operate after 12 months was a 4% increase in basic wages, plus 16p a week increase for each 1% increase in the Consumer Price Index over 4% in the year covered by the first phase. The agreement contained an anti-strike clause.

CAMPAIGN

The period of this agreement ends for large sections of the Irish working class in December 1973. Already a struggle is on over whether or not there will be another.

A massive campaign has been launched by the ruling class and its representatives in the National Coalition government. They have as allies many TU leaders.

The bosses see another agreement continuing the trend reflected in the statistics concerning man-days

BIG BATTLE FACING IRISH WORKERS



Maintenance men in dispute at Ballingarry

lost in strikes, 1970 - 1,001,000; 1972 - 207,000. These figures must be set against the average increase in profit of 33% for the top 50 Irish companies in 1972.

The central statistics office announcement of June 14 underlined how inadequate were the terms of the NWA and the need for principled opposition to the very idea within a capitalist economy.

This showed that food prices had risen 19.9% in the 12 month period up to mid-May 1973. Clothing rose 15.6% while housing and durable household goods rose by 9.7% and 11.5% respectively.

From mid-February to mid-May food prices rose by 5.2%, showing that the trend was accelerating rather than slowing up.

Along with this, the period covered by these figures ended on May 15,

and therefore excluded the new increases resulting from the budget of the following day. This increased VAT on drinks, tobacco, petrol, clothing, footwear, furniture, cars, TV and radio. While these prices were soaring, workers' wages were being held to 9% by the NWA.

LABOUR LEADERS

The real meaning of such agreements is made clear, to depress workers' incomes while profits soar.

The 1973 ICTU conference held earlier this month in Killarney agreed with a request from the executive to put off a decision on another agreement until a special

delegate conference later in the year. The many resolutions opposing a third NWA showed how the rank and file had learnt the lessons of the past two. Unfortunately this cannot be said for most of the TU and Labour leaders.

Two of these Labour leaders are playing leading roles in the campaign to deceive the workers into acceptance. These are O'Leary, Minister for Labour, and Keating, Minister for Trade and Commerce. Both are Labour TDs.

The former spoke at Killarney and put forward the idea of a National Economic Council composed of employers, farmers' representatives and trade unionists. This council would draw up an economic plan. But as he stated himself the success of such a plan would depend on the "willing assent of citizens".

The capitalist class have shown they will not give their "assent" to any plan which does not give free rein to their drive for profit.

Keating has introduced a "price freeze on some goods and a freezing of the profit margins on others". This has met with the organised opposition of retailers who threaten to withdraw goods affected from their shelves.

"Workers' participation" is another panacea. By this is meant a workers' representative present at all company board meetings. Such an idea is meaningless without access to all books and accounts. Even with this, its only use would be in a propaganda sense to show the amount of wealth produced by the workers for which they receive no payment.

At present O'Leary is steering a Bill through the Dail which will limit the increase in wages of bank officials (Banks Bill 1973). It is feared by the government that if these officials get increases greater than the terms of the NWA, this would have a bad effect on their propaganda campaign.

While many workers may feel sympathetic to restricting the wages of these relatively high paid officials, this legislation must be seen as the state intervening to limit wages. This set a precedent and provides legislation which can be applied to all workers at a later stage. It must be opposed.

MINIMUM

Opposition to another NWA must be mobilised around the demand for a £35 per week minimum for a 35 hour week. This demand related to the real needs of the working class, (a family could not live comfortably on less) and as such must be taken up and fought for by the leaders of the labour and TU movement.

To the apologists for capitalism who claim that such a demand is not "practical", it must be replied that if the capitalist system cannot provide the necessities of life it must be swept aside and replaced by a system which can.

By JOHN THRONE
(Irish Labour Party)

LAMBETH'S HOUSING SHARKS

By PAT CRAVEN
(Norwood Labour Party)

In the London Borough of Lambeth the ghost of the notorious Rachman is still at large. The Labour Council has just revealed a scandalous situation in the private housing sector in the borough.

It has been disclosed that virtually all the privately-rented housing is owned by just three companies, Gerson Berger, Freshwater and Stern. For years tenants have been hoodwinked as to who really is their landlord, as numerous subsidiary companies have been brought into existence to give the illusion of a wide range of ownership. Berger in fact controls no less than 48 different companies.

EMPTY

The council has now agreed on compulsory purchase orders on six blocks. Even the Tory opposition supported this move, in the light of the scandalous way these companies have allowed flats to stand empty. In one group of flats owned by Berger subsidiary, Grandiose Properties, 27 out of 96 flats were found to be empty. Some of this company's properties have been empty for four years. One house to be taken over is believed to have been vacant for eleven years!

Grandiose Properties have



An example of slum housing in Lambeth. This "home" in Brixton was featured in a "Shelter" report.

squatted in their flats.

As Labour councillor Len Hammond told the council, "This company is not interested in people, or leaking roofs or rotting floorboards. All it is interested in is money and property values".

The same could be said for all these companies who feed off the misery of families desperate for a place to live. In the capitalist market place, it is the landlord who has the bargaining power. The

privately rented sector of housing, as part of a crash programme for building a million new houses a year.

On the basis of the nationalisation of land, the building monopolies, building societies and other moneylending sharks, this figure is entirely realistic. That is the only way to put an end to the shortages which enable the Rachmans of South London and elsewhere to rake in

EXTORTION AT CARAVAN SITE

On Sunday July 8, about 50 people were picketing Dunsley Caravans Ltd of Kinver, near Stourbridge, Worcestershire.

This action was a result of a decision by an Action Committee of Allens Caravan Park, Quatford, Bridgnorth, Shropshire. The Chairman of the Action Committee, W. Murray explained to me what was happening.

The caravan site had recently been purchased by Dunsley caravans for £100,000. When the deal was completed, the caravan owners, who are either factory workers or OAP's who come to the site for weekends, received a letter from Dunsley caravans stating that the rent for the caravans and chalets were to rise by between 60% and 75%.

The caravans would rise from £40 pa site rent to £65 pa and chalets £42 pa to £75 pa. This, at the time of a so-called price freeze!

Even worse, the letter also stated that Caravans that were more than 7 years old would have to be removed "in order to make the caravan park one of the best and most up to date in Shropshire". This obviously meant that those who wanted to remain on the site would have to buy a new caravan every 7 years, with the implication that the caravans would be bought from Dunsley Caravans.

As W. Murray explained, such a demand would involve a tremendous financial burden on the tenants, in particular on the

plans to remove the chalets and replace them with mobile homes costing between £3,500 and £5,000, bought from Dunsley Caravans of course.

On receipt of the letter, the site occupiers formed an action committee to decide what action to take. They have decided to picket Dunsley Caravans on the week ends, and have contacted several MPs to see what can be done.

When the site occupiers demonstrated their opposition to the proposed rent rises, they received an invitation from Corbetts of Netherton, who are the managing directors of Dunsley Caravans, for the tenants to come down individually and discuss the plans.

The Action Committee realised that in this way, they could be picked off one by one, so they replied as a body stating that they would discuss the matter as a body, on the caravan site itself, and that if Corbetts were not interested then there would be no further correspondence. And there the matter rests at the moment.

This is only a relatively small dispute, but its very nature shows once again that workers suffer exploitation, not only at work but also at rest, all in the pursuit of the god of profit.

Messages of support to:-

W Murray
105 Foley House
Kingsway
Oldbury

RUSSIA: WHERE IS IT GOING? BY ALAN WOODS

PART 2

Bureaucracy fetters development

The viability of the nationalised property forms established by the Russian revolution has been demonstrated not only by the USSR's survival of the profound dislocations of forced collectivisation and the purges, and of the devastation of a world war in which 27 million Soviet citizens died, but in the rapid reconstruction of the economy, which is now the second industrial power in the world.

But with the astonishingly rapid growth of science and technology in the West, a whole new series of industries have been established which have altered the face of the modern economy.

Alongside the traditional indicators of economic progress, such as steel, there arose a whole series of others; plastics, chemicals, electronics, computers. These new industries have been particularly important in providing for the needs of consumer industries. But it is precisely here that the gap between the Soviet economy and the capitalist is at its widest.

In a decisive field, such as computers, the Soviet Union has not only not "caught up and overtaken" capitalism, but has actually fallen further behind in the last decade. The third generation computers which have been in use in the West for ten years, are only just beginning to make an appearance in Russia with models like the "Minsk 32" which are still in short supply.

The entire technique of "disc storage", which enormously increases the capacity of the memory to which a computer has fast access, is only in its infancy in Russia. Yet in the West this method has for ten years been regarded as indispensable for many everyday problems.

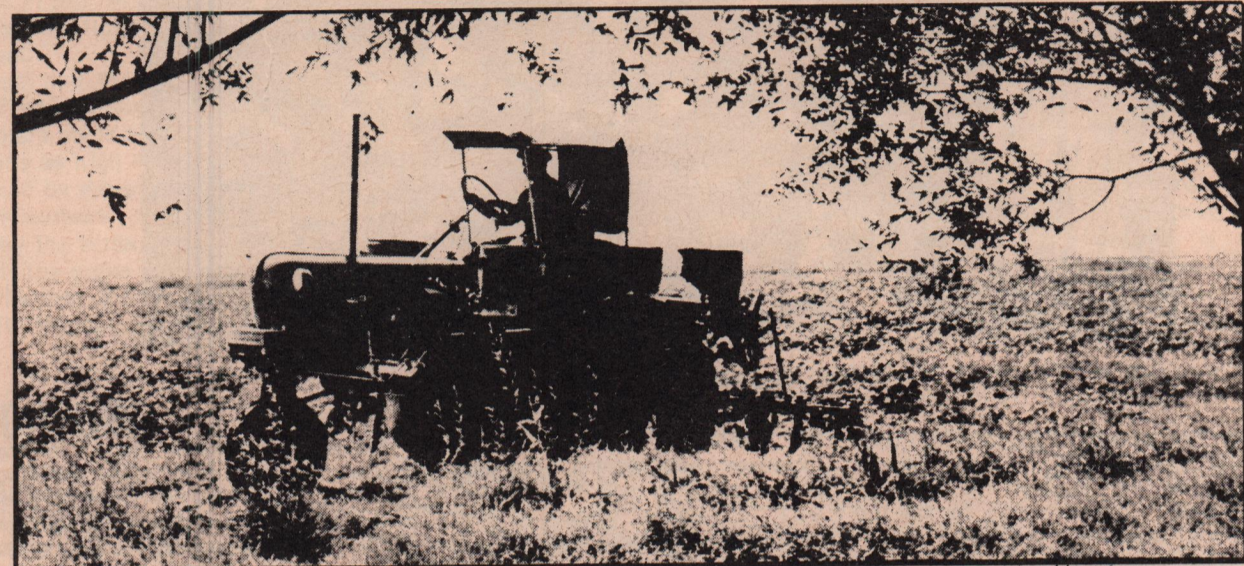
Soviet scientists who have emigrated to Israel have revealed the serious situation in this vital branch of the economy — while the physicists and the mathematicians were of a high quality, the computer specialists had to undergo virtual retraining from scratch. According to an article in the *Sunday Times* (8 June), one such scientist stated that he once had to make four round trips of 1,000 miles from Vilna to Moscow simply to get a punched paper tape copied!

The rule of the bureaucracy, always an enormously wasteful stumbling block has now become an absolute fetter upon the further development of the productive forces in the Soviet Union.

The relatively simple tasks of building up heavy industry have long since given way to the far more complex problem of organising a highly developed, technological modern economy. The problem of relating the different branches of science, technique, industry and agriculture becomes infinitely more complicated than in the past. The Soviet economy of today is a delicately-balanced, sophisticated mechanism. The slightest error of planning can cause untold economic dislocation when it is multiplied a thousandfold by a computer.

The old methods of bureaucratic bludgeoning, "orders from the top, arbitrary norms of production, always damaging, are now nothing short of disastrous.

In the period of the fifties and sixties, the reputation of Soviet science stood at its highest. The



Russian agriculture cannot meet the need for food — huge quantities have been imported

system, of standardisation, of the collective use of resources for the solution of scientific and industrial problems, free from the constraining influences of rent, interest and profit, of the premium put on education in the USSR etc.

In the recent period, the prestige of Soviet science has declined. The space programme — for the time being — has foundered in a series of spectacular failures. The recent disaster in France has dealt a serious blow to the reputation of the Soviet aircraft industry and its prestige project, the TU 144.

Of course, such problems may well be of an accidental or temporary nature. The capitalist press always seizes gleefully upon any failure of the Soviet economy to deflect attention from their own ailing system.

Every thinking worker knows that the Soviet economy possesses enormous strength and resilience, which, correctly managed, could overcome all these problems. But Marxism demands the truth, however unpalatable. And there is at least an equal probability that these "accidents" reflect a growing malaise within the Soviet economy.

ANTAGONISM

A socialist planned economy needs democracy as the human body needs oxygen. It is not a question of sentimentality. Every worker in Britain knows of the enormous waste, corruption and mismanagement that goes on in every large capitalist enterprise. Without the involvement of the workers, without a healthy atmosphere of free criticism, of discussion of plans, targets etc, it is impossible for even the most brilliant management to really organise production efficiently. Of course such participation is impossible in a capitalist system which rests on the antagonism of classes.

It is a different matter with socialism. A central plan which includes all the branches of industry in all their complex correlation, cannot work without the conscious control and participation of the workers at all levels.

How do matters stand in relation to the Soviet Union? Fifty six years after the October revolution, the Soviet workers and peasants do not even possess the limited rights of freedom of speech, assembly,

economy. He is not involved in the drawing up of the plan, the production targets etc. He is expected to "realise his quota" and that is that. A limited consultation is possible with the manager.

But on the real questions of organising society and the economy, he has no more control than his class brother in the West. Added to which there is no right to strike — and those who publish their dissent too openly are put out of the way.

The absence of a workers' democracy in Russia is a reflection of the existence of conflicting interests of different layers of society. The upper stratum of Soviet society have adopted a lifestyle which any Western capitalist would envy. They live in luxurious surroundings, possess limousines and country houses, yachts and expensive suits. Their wives obtain, from special shops, closed to the Soviet public, goods which the average Soviet housewife could only dream of possessing.

It is the existence of this parasitic caste of officials in the Party, state, trade unions and industry which is the real stumbling block to the development of the Soviet Union in the direction of socialism.

Controlling the state, the mass media, the schools and the universities, the bureaucracy has maintained itself in power for more than forty years by playing one section of society against another and above all by playing on the fear of the masses of a return to capitalism. For their part, the members of this elite never doubted their "divine right to rule" — until recently.

The confidence of the Soviet bureaucracy has been shaken by one trauma after another. The death of Stalin, the split in the leadership, the 20th Congress, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the Sino Soviet dispute. Under Krushchev, they hastily threw out reforms to placate the masses. And tied to each reform was a paper tag promising ten or a hundred more — if only they were "left in peace to get on with the job".

For a while this policy appeared to work. The workers were prepared to fold their arms and "wait and see". Sure enough, living standards rose, slowly but steadily. But with the rise of wages, expectations rose still faster.

After all the talk of "building Communism in 20 years", why was it that Western tourists in Moscow

officials ride around in chauffeur-driven Chaikas?

The incessant clamour for commodities assumes the menacing aspect of a demand: if soviet industry can provide the every need of the bureaucrats, why can't it supply the workers also? The amelioration of living standards, the rising wages and growing expectations, far from damping down the contradictions in Soviet society, more and more brings the question of inequalities and privileges under the scrutiny of the workers.

Under these circumstances, the performance of Soviet industry — in particular those industries linked with consumer goods assumed a life-or-death importance to the bureaucracy. And yet, precisely at this time, problems emerged one after the other. The leadership saw no way out but to go cap in hand to the capitalist class enemy and ask for credits and technological assistance.

The situation was aggravated by the agricultural crisis. For the first time in years, bread had to be rationed in Soviet cities. The official press tried to make a virtue of necessity by appealing to citizens to eat less bread and potatoes, to improve their diet as befits the "new socialist man". To the harrassed Russian housewife, at the end of the queue, it must have sounded quite like Marie Antoinette!

EXPLOSIONS

The recent 'diplomatic offensive' of Brezhnev reveals the pressure of intolerable strains within the Soviet Union, the recurring problem of agriculture, the growing technological gap between Russia and the West, the growing expectations of the Russian workers, and the slowing down of economic growth.

All the problems threaten at any moment to produce an explosion within Russian society, which will be the more sudden and the more violent for the fact that there are no safety valves to allow the accumulated dissatisfaction and frustration to "let off steam". The Soviet Union, under the repressive rule of the bureaucracy, represents an immense boiler, whose gauge is nearing danger point.

The introduction of Western capital may temporarily relieve the pressure, but only at the cost of giving a fresh impetus to the expectations of the masses, while binding the fate of the Soviet Union still closer to the

Trotsky often referred to the danger of capitalist restoration in Russia. But despite the enormous dangers posed by the policies of the bureaucracy, this did not take place. The bankruptcy of capitalism on a world scale ruled out this possibility.

On the other hand the resilience of the nationalised property forms was demonstrated, despite all the mistakes of the bureaucracy, in the Second World War.

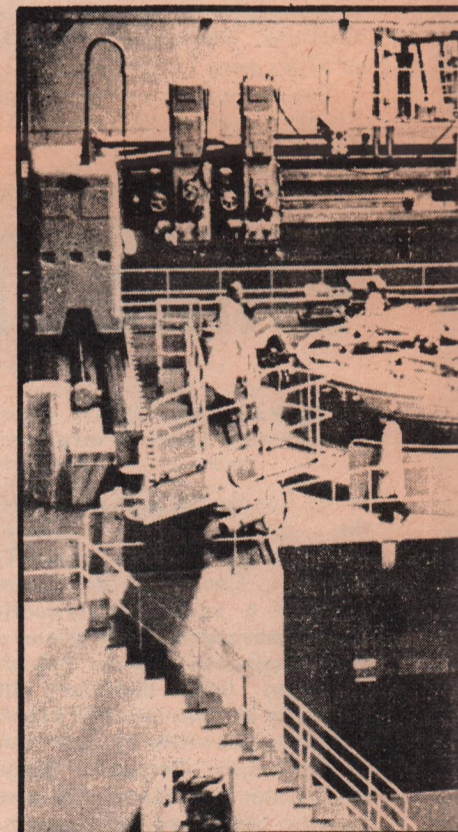
Since the war, the decay of capitalism on a world scale has assumed a profound and permanent character. With the exception of a handful of very wealthy, developed nations, capitalism has proved utterly incapable of going forward. In one country after another, nationalised property relations have displaced private ownership. Even in those countries where capital still rules, "private enterprise" exists only on crutches, supported by the state.

The whole tendency of the last period has been towards the statization of the economies of the capitalist world. This fact alone illustrates the decadence of private ownership of the means of production.

The possibility of a capitalist restoration in Russia or any of the bureaucratically deformed workers' states is ruled out under these conditions.

The increasing dependence of the Soviet Union upon the capitalist world market does not signify a step towards capitalism. But it does underline the bankruptcy of "Socialism in one country" and the bureaucratic sabotage of the Soviet economy, which necessitates holding out a hand to Western 'private enterprise' at the very time that that "enterprise" is exhibiting the same signs everywhere of incurable sickness.

It is a striking paradox that fifty years after the October revolution, after undergoing an enormous economic upswing, the mighty Soviet Union is going back to take lessons in the school of capitalism. There is talk about introducing new



"A highly developed, technolog..."

methods of planning and management based on economic incentives and THE PROFIT MOTIVE! This, also does not represent the restoration of capitalism, but the bankruptcy of Stalinist bureaucratic planning methods which have gone a long way to cancel out the benefits of the planned economy.

What the Soviet economy needs is WORKERS' DEMOCRACY: the fresh air of criticism, of freedom of speech, of workers' control, of the involvement of the whole of society in drawing up the plans of production. Short of that, all the twists and turns of the Brezhnevs and Kosygin will be in vain.

The Soviet Union possesses enormous resources, in raw materials in industry, in skilled manpower, in scientists. But unfortunately, the correct application and exploitation of these resources is rendered impossible by the totalitarian system, the bureaucracy, the privileges and

system or the qualities of individual scientists. They are created by the same bureaucratic control that stifles all free creative thought, all individuality, all open, honest criticism, that prefers a lackey to a genius, 'reliability' to originality. But for science, as for the arts, these are precisely the qualities that are necessary for great discoveries to be made.

It is a disgrace that the decrepit system of capitalism, with all its faults, is able to obtain better results from its scientists than the Soviet Union, whereas the opposite should and could be the case.

The answer to this was recently given by Dr Andrei Sakharov, the famous Soviet scientist father of the Soviet hydrogen bomb, on a recent interview with Swedish television. Sakharov, who has been persecuted for his opposition activities, stated that "Soviet socialism" was "nothing more than empty words and propaganda for internal and foreign consumption", and that the USSR was bedevilled by "excessive bureaucracy and irrational administration" (The Times 13 July)

The contradiction within Soviet society is growing increasingly sharp, as attested by the sweeping wave of arrests and political trials of oppositionists all over the Soviet Union, the biggest wave since the death of Stalin.

And this is taking place at the very time when Brezhnev and Nixon are cooing like doves about the virtues of "detente"! What the Imperialists and the Stalinists understand by "detente" is a "gentleman's agreement" to carve up the world into spheres of influence, not to disturb the status quo, and not to meddle unduly in each other's internal affairs. Thus, the Soviet document at the Helsinki European Security Conference insists that "No state will intervene in the internal affairs of other states, EACH PARTICIPATING STATE WILL RESPECT POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL FOUNDATIONS OF OTHER STATES." (my emphasis - AW).

What do these words mean? That we, the leaders of the Soviet Union agree to the continuation of capitalist property relations in the

international proletarian revolution.

From this point of view, the Kremlin's dealings with Franco Spain - "peaceful coexistence" in its most naked, counter-revolutionary form - represents nothing more than a policy of conscious strike-breaking in the guise of commercial relations.

The Russian bureaucrats, no less than the Western capitalists, are petrified at the prospect of any sudden overturn which could throw everything into the melting pot. That explains the reason why - at this precise moment in time - their interests happen to coincide on many points of diplomacy, military needs and economics.

For both sides, the burden of arms expenditure represents a colossal drain which is imposing a severe strain on their economies. For the Russians, it limits their potential for growth. For the Americans it has meant a veritable catastrophe, which has pulled down the almighty Dollar, and is still gnawing at the vitals of the economy in the form of inflation.

For the moment, the fear of the consequences of unchecked arms expenditure outweighs the consideration of the fundamental contradiction between two opposed social systems. Both sides express their anxiety to limit further military expansion. But how long will this last?

When pen is put to paper, it will not reverse the objective reality of a profoundly divided world. It will not stop the other powers - as it is intended to do - from developing their own nuclear weapons. China, as a little warning to both sides, nicely timed her latest H bomb test to coincide with the talks.

The popping of champagne corks in the Chateau de Rambouillet were merely the prelude to France's big bang on Muratoo Atoll. Japan will be next. And meanwhile no amount of surveillance can stop Russia from developing multi-headed missiles (MIRVs), or all the powers secretly evolving new nightmares of chemical and germ warfare.

And tomorrow? All the calculations of the Brezhnevs, Nixons and the Pompidous will be upset by events. The present world situation is extremely unstable. The world monetary crisis showed just how fragile are the links which hold the world economy together. The snapping of that thread at any point would mean a catastrophic end of the delicate balance which has been maintained since world war two. New and terrible convulsions would effect all the capitalist countries.

CONVULSIONS

By linking the Soviet economy closer to the capitalist world market, the Soviet leaders are engaging in a desperate and dangerous game. In their frantic search for stability, they have laid the Soviet economy open to the effects of the convulsions which will affect world capitalism in the future. The more they intervene, the deeper will be the shock.

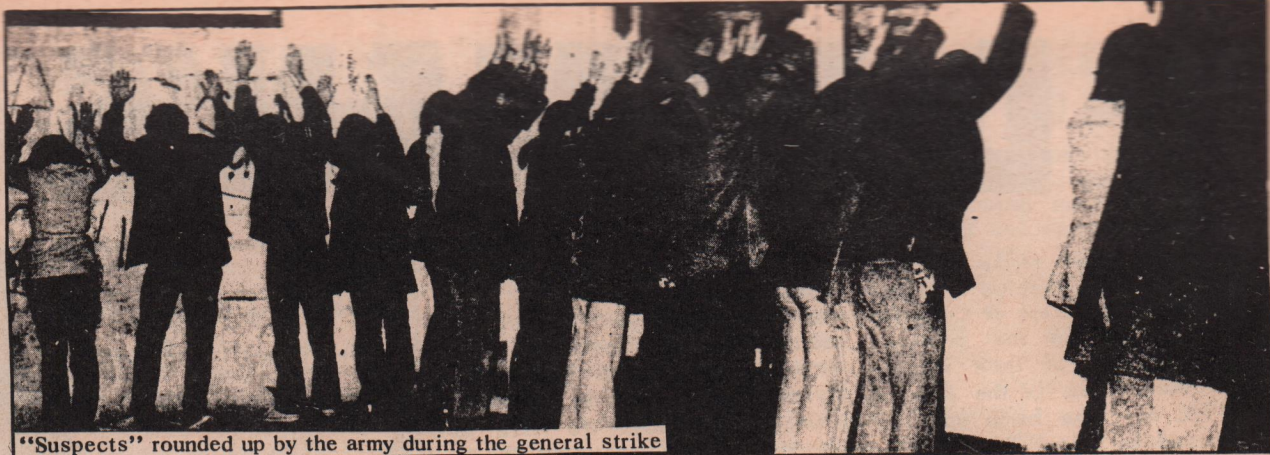
As they bind themselves to the chariot of world capitalism, so the Soviet leaders will look with dread upon every economic fluctuation in the West. Even more than at present, they will see their own fate bound up with that of their capitalist rivals.

Attempts to throw out the lifebelt, as in Spain, will become more common. Such attempts may have a temporary effect, but only at the expense of piling up new contradictions for both sides in the future.

One thing is certain; the growing together of the productive forces internationally, the unparalleled development of the world division of labour, which is also increasingly dividing the Soviet Union, China and the other bureaucratically deformed workers' states in its wake, absolutely guarantees the international nature of any revolutionary movement of the proletariat.

Far more than in 1848 or 1917, the revolution in any major country will spread like wildfire. That is the real conclusion to be drawn from the present world situation, and not the paper utopias of the Brezhnev's.

The events which impend in Russia and internationally will transform the whole world situation. The victory of the workers in any country would have a profound effect all over the world. The international socialist revolution is the only event which can put an end to the threat of the



"Suspects" rounded up by the army during the general strike

LESSONS OF URUGUAY GENERAL STRIKE

BY ROGER SILVERMAN

value of the currency was eroded.

The Gross National Product actually dropped between 1960 and 1970. In the last ten years, inflation was officially estimated at 6457%! The price of housing rose 34 times, of food 66 times, and of clothing 92 times! In 1972 alone, the rate of inflation was about 85%. Since 1968, the value of the peso has fallen by 91%, even in terms of the ailing US dollar. It was devalued five times last year.

Every gain that the workers made was eaten away from day to day, and they were faced with dire poverty. Out of a total population of 2,800,000, no less than 250,000 workers are unemployed. Another 280,000 are on miserably low pay, and 400,000 are languishing on state pensions of about £4.50 a month.

In the late 1950s and 1960s, the facade of social harmony began to crack. A new constitution was introduced and then withdrawn. The ultra-conservative Blanco Party (which has itself come out against the new regime) was returned to office after an interval of 94 years, and then forced to resign.

The traditional government, the liberal Colorado Party, began to impose emergency measures in the late 1960s, under the impact of bitter strikes, and splits began to open up within its ranks. In 1970 there was a general strike. A clear political party, rooted in the industrial workers and determined to put an end to the diseased social system, could have carried through the socialist revolution.

But what was the leadership of the trade union movement (CNT) doing? Following the policies of the so-called "Communist" Party, it was abysmally inadequate. In strike after strike, it pushed the workers into a wild goose chase after higher wages, without warning them that sooner or later the ruling class would seek to crush the trade unions, or preparing them for the impending coup.

We have seen the class collaborationist policy of the "Popular Front" perpetrated time and time again, but never more wretchedly than in Uruguay. Its rotten local variant, under the name of the "Broad Front" tied the workers behind the political banner of a clique of "respectable" liberals, led by the Generals Balinas and Seregni!

The following episode shows how "progressive" these characters proved to be when they came under fire. The army captured the radio and television transmitters in Montevideo last February, to dictate a 19 point political programme to the government demanding, among other things, "protection of the country from the influence of Marxist-Leninist doctrines".

General Seregni, who was the "Broad Front's" Presidential candidate last year and was supported to the hilt by the "Communist" Party, went so far as to make a public announcement that he warmly approved of the military "reform programme".

Arismendi, the CP leader, has gone out of his way to insist that the "Broad Front" "is not a question of a temporary pre-election coalition, but of a genuinely popular movement". In the same speech, to the 1970 CP Congress, he asserted

The Queen has dissolved Parliament and General Kitson is dictator. Troops are swarming all over the Palace of Westminster. More than ten million workers are on strike and occupying their factories in defiance of the new regime. Students are boycotting their classes, and the newspapers have stopped publication for a day in solidarity with the workers.

The strike is supported not only by the Labour Party, but also by a large section of the Tory Party. The Guardian has been suppressed for criticising the coup. The Church of England and the Catholic cardinals oppose the regime. Three Cabinet Ministers have resigned in protest, and large sections of the armed forces themselves are discontented. The House of Commons is planning a clandestine meeting to impeach Mr Heath ...

That is exactly how the situation in Uruguay three weeks ago would look if it were transplanted on to British soil!

Some British workers may react; "But Britain is not Uruguay. Latin America is always having military putsches and general strikes". But no socialist can afford such an insular attitude. The British Labour movement will face crises equally dramatic in the next few years, and the lessons of these events are crucial.

Uruguay does not by any means fit the Ruritanian "banana republic" stereotype. Its record of social peace and public welfare earned it the nickname of "South America's Sweden", and made it the most stable country in the continent. Britain, too, once had such a reputation - and stagnating investment, raging inflation and repeated devaluations are rapidly sweeping it into similar social upheavals.

For 15 days the half million striking workers stood firm. Troops forced them out of the factories bit by bit, and worked the oil refinery themselves. They even arrested bank employees in their homes, interned them in barracks and forced them at gunpoint onto the buses that transported them to and from work. Hundreds of militants were rounded up and imprisoned in the capital's biggest basketball stadium.

One 16 year old Socialist Party

day, workers and students came out on to the streets. On 6 July, the eighth day of the strike, a crowd of 8000 were chased through the streets by armed cavalry, who galloped into their midst firing into the air.

The next day, 40,000 people - the equivalent figure in Britain would be 800,000 - turned out to brave the batons, the tear gas and the machine guns. Even when all workers were offered an all-round 20% wage increase, the strike remained solid. Power was already in the hands of the workers. All that was missing was a political leadership ready to link up the factory committees in local, regional and national workers' councils, and establish a workers' democracy.

With a leadership too cowardly to lift a finger to carry the struggle forward, the strike was called off. An empty gesture had been made. The workers were fifteen days poorer and demoralised by the victory of the junta over one of the strongest trade union movements in Latin America. Another reactionary stronghold had been built on the borders of Argentina, where a protracted period of revolution is opening up.

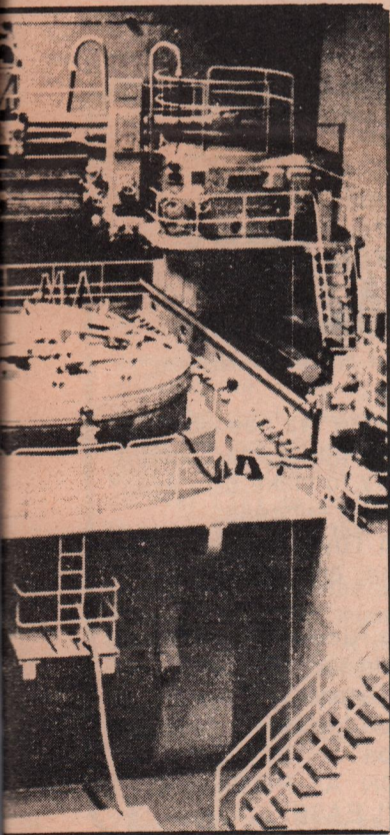
REFORMS

As in France in 1968, the workers' leaders had snatched defeat out of the very jaws of victory..

Never before in Uruguay's history has there been a case of direct military interference in politics. Parliamentary elections have been held ever since 1830, and already in the early years of this century impressive social reforms had been won which were the envy of the teeming millions in neighbouring countries.

Pensions, dole, a free health service, free and universal education, family income subsidies - all these reforms were granted on the basis of the abundant resources of the Uruguayan economy. There was a high demand on world markets for Uruguayan beef and lamb, dairy products, wheat and wool, and a dynamic industrial life developed around the production of related commodities - processed food, meat-packing, leather, textiles etc.

But the economy was dominated by American and British monopolies, and landlordism and capitalism were incapable of developing society to the point where the



ical, modern economy"

West, providing that you, the capitalist powers, do not interfere with our control over Russia and Eastern Europe and do not attempt to overthrow us.

The foreign policy of the Kremlin, the so called 'peaceful co-existence' policy is a typically bureaucratic and conservative attempt to freeze the present world balance of forces, while at the same time attempting to prop up the capitalist system - and themselves - by trade deals.

The commercial relations between the Kremlin and Franco Spain far exceed the norms of what would be permissible in any truly revolutionary foreign policy. For the leadership of a healthy workers' state there would be strict limits imposed upon the concessions granted in order to secure diplomatic or trading agreements with capitalist states. To begin with, such a policy should never run counter to the interests of the workers or the revolutionary movement in the country concerned.

A DUSTMAN'S LIFE

BY DAVE PATCHET

The seven week strike of three years ago enabled refuse collectors and drivers at Coventry to catch up on the previous lagging behind of their wages. Since that strike in the Autumn of 1970 our take home pay has increased by about £4, ie 17%, whilst the cost of living has increased by twice that over the same period.

A major proportion of the increases we have had are due to increased bonus payments gained by the acceptance of a Work Study scheme. This scheme involved a changeover from dustbins to black plastic bags, which has benefitted the management to the tune of a 40% increase in productivity.

The rosy picture painted by the management after the strike on how working conditions would improve under the new system proved to be a fabrication. Coventry's dustmen now have to face such worsening conditions as: -

Muscle fatigue - the new method means tremendous strains on the arms, neck and back of the collector through having to carry five or six bags at a time out of jetties. When bins were carried, the weight balanced neatly on the shoulder.

General increase in refuse - housewives easily obtain extra plastic bags and will use them rather than burn extra rubbish.

Garden rubbish - we get far more now, often hidden in tied bags.

Cuts - plastic bags offer no protection from glass and other sharp objects so cuts have increased dramatically. It is only a question of time before there is a really serious accident.

Faulty bins - none of the management's promises to replace or correct faulty bins have been kept. Until recently they were still issuing bins with inverted handles to council houses. Sometimes we have to struggle like all-in wrestlers to get the bag out of the bin.

Closer contact with rubbish - it is now impractical to wear gloves, and what with bags splitting and spilling their contents over our clothes we come into closer contact with some of the filth that we come across, such as stinking water, left dinners, maggots and their slime and dogs' excreta.

INTOLERABLE

The seasons - on freezing mornings we work with numb hands. If it rains overnight we get soaked from carrying wet bags even if it is sunny. If it is hot the bags melt round the rim of the bins and tears apart in our hands. If it is windy we have to clean up the mess by the kerbside when the bags are blown over. Dogs often attack the bags that we have pulled out ahead of the lorry and urinate on them for good measure!

Carrying of unused bags - the management told us we could carry ten or so bags in our pockets, which shows the distance from reality with which they view the work. We have to carry a hundred at a time on a sling around our necks and two hundred before Bank Holidays, when the job becomes intolerable.

Working hours - we even work an extra hour a day now

Dustmen and other council workers marching during the strike in 1970.



(11am-12pm) compared with three years ago.

The refuse collectors' resentment of their deteriorating standard of living and working conditions is further aggravated by the antics of Works Study, who cover up the overall accumulations of property and rubbish per property that has built up in the city, with complicated calculations and a terminology which is a language of their own.

For example, my own round has gained 700 premises since the introduction of the scheme by a process of the taking in of new estates and revisions, ie Works Study gerrymandering. For this extra six or seven hours of work we have gained £1.50p. Now they are proposing to siphon off a mere 60 premises in exchange for a 50p wage decrease.

Presumably other rounds also suffer from this type of Works Study anomaly.

The management's attitude to all these problems, egged on and confused and surrounded by the paraphernalia of the Works Study team is one of "You have never had it so good".

Despite having virtually a closed shop at the City Engineers, it is difficult for the shop stewards to inform and organise their members as there is often no shop floor as such. And there are many built-in divisions, ie drivers are in a different union branch from the collectors.

The Shop Stewards Committee's potential as a unifying body has unfortunately been neglected. Each section tends to hold separate meetings even on issues

that affect others. Consequently actions decided upon often only succeed in confusing and annoying other sections, so increasing isolationist attitudes.

Unless the Shop Stewards Committee can become involved by the calling of an emergency meeting at the outset of any dispute, unless representatives of all affected sections are invited to attend the meetings of a section in dispute, and unless unity and not independence is preached, the shop stewards' effectiveness as representatives will be hindered through lack of communication, misdirection of energy and consequently, lack of support.

ROLLS ROYCE WILLESDEN-24 LAID OFF

This statement was issued by the Joint Shop Stewards Committee of Rolls Royce motors (1971), Willesden.

Following the Rolls Royce company being declared bankrupt in 1971, the profitable section, cars, was hived away from the parent company and Rolls Royce Motors (1971) came into being as a totally separate company. Just how profitable? Estimated profits forecast 1973/74 - £4,500,000.

To ensure the success of the new company, the workers were called upon to give of their best; those at the Willesden Coach Building section have answered the call with increased effort and production to the limit of the capacity of the Willesden factory.

To meet the continued demands for their cars, additional premises were taken over at Hythe Road, Willesden, 'C' site, with the objective of greater and speedier production, so cutting down on the three year waiting list for the cars.

The company's reaction to our co-operative efforts was firstly to attack the piece-work system and replace it by a system of measured day work which in our opinion will be uneconomic for both management and workers.

To facilitate the movement of jigs, equipment, tools and to get the jobs under way, an agreement was negotiated between the management and men to pay an approximation of their average

piecework earnings, whilst this was completed for a period of 5 weeks. This time was to be used for negotiations to reach agreement on any alternative schemes for working and payment.

At no time during this period did management seriously attempt to implement this. Since the end of this period management have arbitrarily imposed their new plans. The representatives of the workers have at all times insisted that until there is agreement the traditional method of payment must prevail.

Resulting from this impasse and the consequent loss of production management have laid off 24 men (the Advance Section) until such time as they work in the

exact fashion that the directors decree. The remaining workers at the Willesden factory amounting to several hundred, are still working in spite of this unilateral action of the company.

Good industrial relations are only possible when both sides of industry can discuss and resolve the differences that arise.

Until the new directors of Rolls Royce learn this fundamental lesson those who wish to purchase the product of good British craftsmanship, will regretfully have to suffer delays.

F JAMES Chairman
R SEARS Convenor

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Porchester Hall 17 November

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AS SOON AS POSSIBLE
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URUGUAY

FROM PAGE 5

that "there are no contradictions between the democratic gains we seek today and the revolutionary perspective".

Tragically, we have seen the bitter fruits of such a policy. The workers could have taken power this month without spilling even a drop of blood, so unanimous was the will of the population to resist the dictatorship. Instead, after an inspiring struggle, they have been beaten, for the time being at least, deprived of practically every democratic right they ever had.

Lenin often said that the workers' movement pays for opportunism with ultra-leftism. In Uruguay, the timid conservative policies of the CNT leaders provoked a reaction among the radical students and intellectuals. They turned to pure adventurism - the organisation of the

army of "urban guerrillas" in history. With a membership that reached up to 6000 at its peak, it achieved spectacular exploits on behalf of the people.

The Tupamaros raided civic banquets and distributed the food to the poor. They kidnapped powerful executives and diplomats and extracted big ransoms, which again they handed out to the poor. They exposed the dirty rackets of financiers and politicians who speculated in the currency, and lined their pockets at the expense of the masses. Undoubtedly they had the sympathy of the workers.

But they too bear a responsibility for the defeat of the workers. Marxists have always argued implacably against the romantic notions of terrorism and guerrillism as principal weapons against the ruling class.

The Tupamaros, like their predecessors in other countries, were in reality nothing but liberals with guns. They organised ingeniously effective charity work. They were the modern equivalent of Robin Hood and his band of

the poor."

But they made no more contribution to the socialist revolution than Robin Hood did. The more successful they were, the more they kept the workers passive and unprepared for the crisis that was to face them. Marxists affirm that nobody can liberate the workers but the workers themselves.

COUNTER-TERROR

But the main danger posed by the tactic of individual terror is that it will inevitably provoke a greater counter-terror from the ruling class. The capitalist state can always mobilise a mightier force of repression, which strikes down not only on the guerrillas but on the whole Labour movement. Nowhere has this been more graphically demonstrated than in Uruguay.

The political intervention of the Uruguayan Generals began in April 1972, when they declared a "state of internal war" against the Tupamaros. In the five years 1968-72, the

million pesos into the fight against them - to say nothing of the cost of looting, ransoms and explosions at their hands. The army set up military courts and shot down Tupamaros in the streets. By February dozens of them had been mown down and nearly 2,500 had been incarcerated in detention camps.

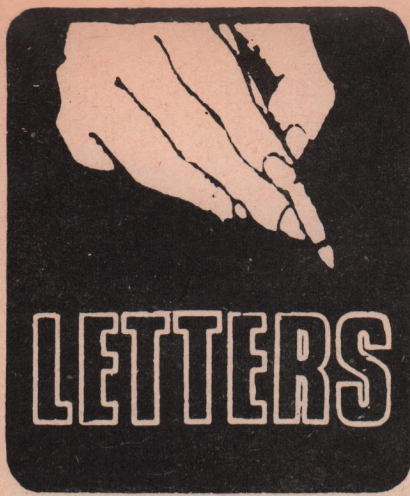
The officer caste had contempt for the humbug and intrigue of parliamentarianism, and they forced one concession after another out of President Bordaberry. After prising information out of the interrogated prisoners, they learned of the financial corruption among the elite, and mounted a demagogic crusade to "purge society". They arrested bankers, and Montevideo City councillors, turning deaf ears to the President's "instructions" to release them, and they issued brutal public threats to senators who dared to criticise their activities.

Breathing ever more closely down the neck of the elected President they finally turned him into a puppet, tamely acquiescing to every whim and caprice. When the Congress refused to allow them to arrest

it down. Uruguay was transformed into a military dictatorship.

We have reported before in the Militant on the plans being made by the military strategists and Tory theoreticians for civil war in Britain at a later stage. This is not an immediate threat, but undoubtedly when they find the trade unions an intolerable obstacle to their plans, they will stop at nothing to suppress them. WE MUST BE PREPARED NOW.

In Uruguay the military edged closer and closer to power while the workers' official leadership was urging them to put their trust in capitalist politicians like Seregni, and while those who could have built up an opposition to it were, in effect, playing cowboys - and Indians with the army in single combat. Workers can only defend their interests if they learn from the experience of their class all over the world. Uruguay 1973 is rich in lessons.



TWENTIETH CENTURY SLAVES

Dear comrades,
I am a school student and although in November I will be 18 and classed as an adult, I still have to rely on my parents for money in order to be able to afford the necessities of my life. Although I worked on a Saturday, the money I earned was used for my social life (very restricted) and because of this I could not save for my holidays. As a result I took a holiday job at the local factory and later, after being laid off due to a transport strike I found holiday employment at a printers. At the time when big business and the capitalist press is rejoicing over booming Britain there are people who are treated as twentieth century slaves, to whom the boom in Britain means nothing but hardship and struggle in order to survive.

It is a lesson to any professed socialist to work in such places as the above if he is to understand the position, to any degree, of workers today.

In the factory, the packing and dispatch departments were run almost entirely by women who

are exploited as such. The working week is 40 hours in which the day begins at 8 O'clock and ends at 4.30, with half an hour for lunch and a ten minute break in the morning. In most of the jobs standing up has to be maintained all day; all of the jobs are boring and purely manual and mechanical.

For this work the basic wage is £15.40 (before tax deduction) but if you have the ability to work harder a bonus can be made which is still under £20.

Girls who are under 18 are not only exploited as women but as cheap labour. Although they do exactly the same work as the others, they earn about £1.40 less. Many of the women are married with families. It is not through choice that they go out to work, but they are forced to due to astronomical prices of necessities today. At the end of their very long working day they go home to face another full time job of looking after their families. The single girls still have to rely on their parents to subsidise their wages even after leaving school.

The printers' job, I discovered, was far worse than that in the factory. The working day was from 9 o'clock until 5 o'clock, again with half an hour for lunch and ten minutes in the morning. The facilities are close to none. Sanitary conditions are very poor and there is one vending machine for various drinks. The work is just as boring and mechanical, of which there is more than enough to do.

Overtime can also be done, for which you are paid time and a quarter. The disgusting pittance you are paid is 25p an hour, or in more blatant terms, £10 a week, £520 a year. No wonder people such as Edward Heath can talk of "booming Britain" when they get over £200 a week! I was not surprised to discover that this

printer finds it difficult to keep staff.

The workers' livelihoods are forfeited time and time again in order for the capitalists to maintain their profits.

To me and the other socialists of Britain (and the world) two conclusions can be drawn from the above. Sixth form school students should be paid a living grant, and that the 300 big monopolies should be nationalised under workers' control. Nationalisation and workers' control are two halves which make a whole. A wholly united Britain in which the boom will apply to not just a few but to every one.

Yours fraternally
CAROL STANLEY
(Swansea LPYS)

"SECOND HOMES"

Dear Comrades,
"House Prices Soar" "People camp out all night for houses"; these are headlines much too commonplace for anyone's liking. On hearing this, the local governments have started to slow down on council house building. The people in towns and cities like London and Manchester have been affected by this price escalation for years. But now there is a new problem. This problem has been with us for years, but only came to light in the recent housing crisis.

How many young couples, working on a tight budget, have tried for a house in the country, often in their home village, and have been outbid by the better-off city "country-lovers" out for a second home. If there was a strict clampdown on these "second homes" we would be quite a way towards bringing down house prices outside the big cities.

Many small villages have been "picked on" by the money-grabbing estate agents as "ideal

country villages". After this the village is bombarded with middle class pleasure seekers, who can afford to pay higher prices, thereby forcing up the price of land and house prices until the local people cannot just afford to pay and have to move out, or are forced into renting privately owned houses at extortionately high rents. Therefore there should be a clampdown on the amount of second homes for middle class "mini-tycoons" and give more people a chance to live in decent accommodation.

Yours fraternally
RAYMOND BAXTER
(Baildon LPYS)

CAETANO PROTEST

Dear comrades,
It was many weeks ago that a motion (proposed by a supporter of the *Militant*) was passed at the British Museum CPSA branch calling for opposition to the proposed visit by Caetano. Another "token" motion, we feared, which, like most such efforts, would end up filed away in the archives.

But on July 18th all our fears were shown to be totally unfounded. For on that day a wide section of British Museum workers showed their disgust at the presence in their workplace of a Fascist murderer.

From 10 am onwards a picket line was manned outside the museum gates by numbers consistently around thirty or more. Members of the CPSA, CSU (library assistants) and ASTMS all manifested the official support of their branches, while individuals from other unions showed their personal solidarity.

The enthusiasm at the picket line had to be seen to be believed. One girl library assistant turned up at the picket line even though she was on holiday for the day, while a steady flow of literature was handed out to the public despite the harassment of the Museum authorities.

Many younger workers entered the political scene for the first time while a large number of older staff seemed to rediscover their "youthful radicalism". Well paid and not-so-well paid stood shoulder to shoulder as did black and white - what an example to the movement as a whole. The pathetic sight of a well-dressed woman passer-by declaring that she "hated all foreigners" received the wrath and contempt of the working people as did the various brickbats from the seemingly endless supply of "Alf Garnetts".

Caetano was due to turn up at 5.15 and as the time drew near the mood started to change. With the crowd growing to 1,000 plus, the normal, affable "worker in a blue uniform" was replaced by the massed ranks of the heavy brigade. Horses, Special Patrol Group, Special Branch and other brands of political police combined to force a safe path for the Lisbon dictator.

The now familiar cry of "Caetano Assassino" reached an emotional fever-pitch as his well-protected car slid into the forecourt of the museum. Fireworks went off, smoke bombs were thrown and the inevitable arrests made and the SPG boys showed particularly brutal attention towards well known British Museum militant, Janet Druker (ASTMS secretary) and Ron Ramdin (CSU chairman) all making for an eventful climax.

The message to Caetano and the British ruling class came across loud and clear from the BM workers - "NO TO CAETANO", "NO TO FASCISM" "YES TO A SOCIALIST BRITAIN AND A SOCIALIST PORTUGAL"

Yours fraternally
TONY HYAMS
(British Museum CPSA)

WORKERS FORCED TO MOVE

Dear Comrades,
So many campaigns and demands are being made by the working class and on their behalf against the Tory government and the system it represents, that it becomes difficult to isolate one particular case and ask that some kind of special response be made within the Labour and Trade Union movement.

But for all that, attention must be drawn to the plight of hundreds of thousands of workers of having to go in search of work. In many cases this can mean travelling the length and breadth of the country, of uprooting ties with the family and home, simply to satisfy the craving desire of the capitalists to make profit.

Dotted all over Britain there are many sites - construction, engineering, chemical - where men are isolated, living on ships, in caravans and huts, in "digs", working ten hours a day, seven days a week, in order to earn a wage. The jobs are always insecure and any tradesman can find himself "paid off", and forced to go back on the road looking for another job. Because of the constant changing of the labour force the unions are never in a strong position and, due sometimes to the actual situation of some of the sites, find it hard to maintain strong links with shop floor representation.

Needless to say, the management can exploit the situation, to such an extent that Factory Acts can be totally ignored. Coupled with this is the fact that when a new factory or site is established, the firm tends to rely for its labourers on the local population.

Usually this consists of rural folk who have not experienced the trade union movement and fall easily into the trap of "high wages" - a farm labourer earning £18 a week will not demand any more off his employer if he is getting £45, even though he is working a sixty hour week. For tradesmen, they know that, with the high rate of unemployment men will be forced to travel, no matter what this means in terms of the effect it will have on the family, not to mention the men themselves.

Consequently, feeling isolated as they do, the men become depressed and vulnerable.

It is up to the Trade Union movement to make sure that workers in this situation do not feel left out or separated from their brothers in the trade unions, nor from the actions the movement takes.

But even more important, the Labour and Trade Union movement should campaign for a minimum wage. No worker should be forced to work weekends in order to make his pay packet decent - £45 for a 40 hour week.

Campaigning on this demand, the whole system of capitalism from its mouthpieces like Heath to its apologists like Feather, will be thrown into relief. It will demonstrate the necessity of Socialism and what it will provide - workers' control over the economic process which at present dominates our lives.

Yours fraternally
GERRY DAWE
(NILPYS & NUU Labour Club)

£4000 BY NEXT WEEK

After last week's dip of £76.85 we are very pleased to say that we received £189.68 this week in donations. This, we hope is the beginning of a big upward swing over the next period; we have collected up to now a grand total of £3,728.48: this leaves us over £271 to collect in order to reach £4000 by the end of this month.

The summer months are usually regarded as quiet months in the Labour movement. A measure of the crisis the capitalist system is facing is the fact that the last few months have been

anything but quiet. That is why the relentless effort to build up the Fighting Fund cannot be slowed down for one minute. It is our duty to be prepared for the great events ahead of us.

Our supporters have made an excellent intervention in every struggle of major importance that the working class has gone through; but even this has been a dress rehearsal for the future. A serious struggle to reach the £10,000 target provides the means by which we can carry out a serious struggle for a socialist programme throughout the length

and breadth of the Labour movement here and abroad.

This week, a total of 27 donors sent us in money. This is good but we also urgently need donations from those many readers who have not yet sent us a donation. If the *Militant* is worth reading, it is worth fighting and paying for!

We want at least £272 next week to take us to £4000. This is a challenge that must be taken up. There are still too many areas below the 30% mark on the chart; they above all must pull out all the stops and ensure that we reach £4000 by next week.

Thanks to the following for their donations: -

Dublin £13
London £6.04
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Cardiff £14.50
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Brighton £31.37
Manchester £22.73
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How's your area doing?

AREA	TARGET	PERCENTAGE OF TARGET RAISED	Received
LONDON	2,500	26.20	625.02
LIVERPOOL	700	20.94	145.66
SUSSEX	700	57.92	405.34
NORTH EAST	600	40.92	245.55
SCOTLAND	500	19.44	97.23
HAMPSHIRE	450	33.00	148.76
MANCHESTER	450	52.13	234.15
WEST WALES	450	20.00	90.00
WEST YORKS	450	23.33	105.00
BIRMINGHAM	300	40.77	122.31
ESSEX	300	24.09	72.29
WIRRAL	300	51.30	153.98
CARDIFF	200	37.97	75.94
BRISTOL	200	35.35	70.70
COVENTRY	200	27.10	54.22
EAST YORKS	200	40.58	81.17
IRELAND	200	21.85	43.70
KENT	300	55.00	165.00
LEICESTER	200	58.50	117.00
NOTTINGHAM	200	46.20	92.40
GLOUCESTERSHIRE	150	16.67	25.00
OXFORDSHIRE	150	43.00	64.50
CAMBRIDGESHIRE	100	14.00	14.00
DEVON	100	8.60	8.60
HERTFORDSHIRE	100	13.90	13.90
OTHERS	100	22.70	22.70

BRISTOL Labour Party Young Socialists PUBLIC MEETING

- on -
PORTUGAL
Hear: A Portuguese worker (TGWU International Branch)
Andy Bevan (LPYS National Chairman)
Date Tuesday July 31st
Time 7.30 pm
Place Transport House (Small Hall)
Victoria Street

NORTH WALES BUILDING WORKERS-

POLICE CASE DEMOLISHED

As a preparation for the trial in Shrewsbury later this year of the 24 building workers (members of UCATT and the TGWU) who face a total of 210 charges arising from alleged incidents during picketing in the building workers' strike last summer, 12 men have already faced over 20 similar charges during the last few weeks in the rural backwater of Mold, Flintshire (famous for the Allis Chalmers sit-in of 2 years ago). The major charges are under the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act 1875, with other assorted charges of assault and damage to building sites.

This dress-rehearsal for the Shrewsbury trial (which is to hear offences alleged to have been committed in Shropshire) took the form of 3 separate trials examining each picketing incident where alleged offences occurred in Denbighshire and Flintshire. In fact only six of the most minor charges, relating only to damage to equipment on the Brenig Reservoir construction site, have been proved against just five of the twelve, while the 15 or so other more important and sinister charges under the Conspiracy Act

have all been dismissed.

Several factors in the general weakness of the prosecution case all played a role in showing that the men were innocent of the charges, and these factors occasionally turned this dress rehearsal into a full-scale comic opera.

BY GORDON McKEOWN
(Chester LPYS)

During the first trial of the Brenig 8, a prosecution witness suggested that something like Gestapo tactics were used by the police in questioning him. The defence counsel lost a plea that there was no case to answer after the prosecution case had finished, but they then contrived to demolish the prosecution case on the ten most important charges of affray, intimidation etc.

Fines totalling £195 were levied on five of the eight who had admitted to damaging equipment. The other three were discharged.

While the jury was out considering this case, they returned four times for direction from the court as to the

interpretation of the Conspiracy Act. However, such was the uncertain nature of the law and the weakness of the prosecution case, the judge was unable to enlighten them and not guilty verdicts were returned.

During the second trial, the Padeswood 3, the prosecution offered no answerable case against one and he was discharged during the course of the trial. Identification evidence was brought to a farcical level when one of the prosecution witnesses, asked to point out any three men that he recognised as being on the picket line, identified two of the three in the dock ... and one of the jury!

Of course the juryman had nothing at all to do with the incident - but it certainly reflected the quality of the prosecution evidence. The three policemen who appeared for the prosecution testified that nothing out of the ordinary had taken place and that it was "peaceful picketing" - The men were arrested 6 months later. Unanimous not guilty verdicts were given on the two charges that each man faced.

The third trial by jury involved only one man (how do you conspire with yourself?) who faced intimidation charges under the Conspiracy Act and a charge of assault.

Identification evidence consisted of the person assaulted identifying the accused from photographs. He was shown two photographs of bearded men, although at least six pickets had full beards. He identified the

accused as he recognised the other photograph as someone he knew previously by sight. There was not even an attempt at an identification parade.

The trumped up nature of the charges was nowhere better demonstrated than by the prosecution witness's account of the assault on himself. He described the incident as the accused getting hold of the bottom of his tie. After about five seconds he pulled the tie out of the accused's hands, and added that "there was no nastiness in the accused's attitude" during the incident. That - according to Gwynedd constabulary - constitutes assault. The jury thought otherwise and he was acquitted.

So the showpiece trial due in Shrewsbury in the Autumn faces disaster for the "majesty of the law" in the light of these trials at Mold. But other factors are relevant. The case is expected to last six months at least! It is supposed to be going to cost at least £1 million.

Twenty four men still under charges will have to travel at least 100 miles daily. They will not receive any pay from work, and the only social security will be for their wives and kids, and this is nothing considering that they will have to pay for

travelling and meals.

The lessons from these events are obvious. When the working class take to industrial action to achieve justifiable wage claims (and £30 for 35 hours work on a building site was a modest claim when related to the property speculators' and money lenders' bonanza over the past few years), if any effective threat is posed to the capitalist system, then the state machine will be prepared to do everything within its power to re-inforce the capitalist class and attack the workers by any means at its disposal.

Only when the building industry and the financing of it is in the hands and daily control of the workers, accompanied by workers' control and management, can the building workers look forward to a comfortable and secure future and not continually have to fight the threat of bad working conditions, bad pay, bad housing, blacklisting and midnight arrests on trumped-up charges hanging over their heads.

CLAY CROSS PICKET

Judgement on 11 councillors expected on MONDAY 30 July.
Picket - Strand Law Courts
10.30 AM

Campaign throughout industry

BY TERRY WILSON

(East Leeds Labour Party)

AGAINST STEEL REDUNDANCIES

On 10 July the managements of River Don, Grimsthorpe and Scottish works called a meeting to announce the BSC Foundries Rationalisation and Development plan.

A year ago the BSC had five foundries - Hallside, which is now closed, a medium and light foundry at Craigneuk (Lanarkshire) a light foundry at Tollcross (also in Scotland) and the light, medium and heavy foundry at Grimsthorpe. Tollcross employs 319, the two foundries at Craigneuk employ 283 and 290 men, and Grimsthorpe employs 615.

BSC plans to close the Grimsthorpe and Tollcross foundries with a minimum loss of 472 jobs: 380 at Grimsthorpe and 92 at Tollcross. This is one of three options contained in a document which has been given to union representatives. The reason for having three separate plans, while obviously BSC has already decided which one it wants to implement (option C is clearly "unsatisfactory in profitability terms", option B is "sociologically unjustifiable") seems to be to provide a basis for a possible fight between the workers in Scotland and Sheffield as to which area is to suffer the redundancies!

Bro Tony Hope (convenor of the River Don works in Sheffield which includes the Grimsthorpe foundry) however, made it clear to me that no redundancies would be accepted wherever they occur, and that there was to be a meeting between shop stewards from Scotland and Sheffield in August to discuss joint action and a possible approach to the National Action Committee with a view to action nationally.

Option A, which BSC is hoping



Shotton steel workers demonstrate against closure of their plant

Craigneuk and heavy work at a new foundry at River Don, following closure of the Grimsthorpe Foundry: 198 of the Tollcross workers would be transferred to Craigneuk which would mean either moving or travelling ten miles to work with only a country bus service! There would be work for 235 men at the new River Don foundry, but management point out that this is based on a production requirement of 4500 tons per annum and that further redundancies will follow if the requirements fall short of this.

A mass meeting of the Grimsthorpe workers on 13 July decided unanimously to reject all three of the management's proposals and to fight against all redundancies and the closure of the foundry. Thus the River Don complex - scene of a bitter and victorious struggle against redundancies only 18 months ago - threatens to erupt again.

Bro Hope emphasised that it would involve not only the Grimsthorpe workers but the whole of the River Don complex.

The management wanted to conduct negotiations with the full time union officials alone, and before any chance for consultations with the men at mass meetings. The shop stewards forced them to put back a

negotiate direct with them. "If anybody is going to win this fight it is the lads on the shop floor".

The "Foundries Rationalisation and Development" plans of BSC are a threat to the industry as a whole. The belated attempt to modernise the steel industry means the loss of 79,000 jobs at least, over 15 years, and possibly over 100,000 (the 79,000 is based on the most "optimistic" outlook for the industry - see Militant 138).

The EEC initially demanded denationalisation and the breaking up of BSC, but on seeing the dismal performance of the industry, decided to drop its anti-monopoly restrictions. The total production of the European Coal and Steel Community increased 9% in 1972 compared with Britain's 4%!

Bro Hope says that the Grimsthorpe Foundry is "antiquated". This is typical of British "private enterprise" and especially true of those parts of industry which have had to be rescued through nationalisation like BSC.

"The management has hardly changed since before nationalisation. It is the workers who built this industry, they should run it, and management should be elected by them. They are the

Hope.

In 1971 the management gave Grimsthorpe 2 years in which to prove its viability. This the workers achieved; a loss of £467,000 in 1970/71 has been transformed into a profit of around £63,000 in 1972/73. The Times (15/7/73) reports that BSC has moved into profit in 1972/73 after a loss of £68 million in 1971/72.

The workers at River Don are determined that no more jobs will be sacrificed - they created the wealth and they should benefit from rationalisation and modernisation, by cutting of the working week, sharing out the work available without any loss in pay.

Asked what the next Labour government should do Bro Hope replied: - "Nationalise all but 25 of the major firms - that 25 being the smallest!"

The AUEW Engineering Section is committed to fighting all redundancies, and organising "the fullest possible support to unions resisting closures within the steel industry". It is time for a campaign throughout the industry against further redundancies - too many jobs have already gone!

* No redundancies - Share available work without loss of pay!

* For a shorter working week and longer holidays!

* For workers' management of the nationalised industries!

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