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Militant

ON OTHER PAGES

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- * BLYTH ELECTION
- * HOUSING
- * BELFAST MURDERS
- * RACIALISM

THE MARXIST PAPER FOR LABOUR AND YOUTH

ISSUE 200
5 APRIL 1974

5p

LABOUR - BACK WORKERS AGAINST TORY LAW!

TORY LAW COURTS TAKE ANOTHER £47,000 FROM AUEW:

From its first day in power, the Labour Government has been under extreme pressure to moderate its programme and trim the sails of its manifesto to the demands of the capitalists.

Even if the Tories have stood back from bringing down the Government, they are preparing plots and conspiracies for the future, while in the short term they are piling the pressure on to Labour to take over Tory policies.

Every retreat which Labour makes under this pressure gives them hope. In trying to prove that it is respectable in the eyes of capitalism, the Government is playing into the hands of its enemies.

Thus the recent statement of Harold Lever in Parliament can hearten only the rich:

"He assured the House and any Swiss gnome who might be listening that the Labour Government did not consider profit a dirty word ..." (Times 2/4/74).

But not only has there been an enormous pressure to continue with Tory economic policies such as the Incomes Policy, every effort has been made to force Labour to accept the decisions of the Tory Law Courts.

When they were in power there were a series of "legal" attacks on the unions and the workers in general. Both under new legislation and under older "Conspiracy" laws.

Labour must now take action to reverse these attacks.

In particular there were the



huge fines levied on the AUEW, the fines on the Clay Cross councillors with the ban on them holding office for 5 years, the vicious prison sentences, up to three years, on the building pickets and finally, now under a Labour Government, the successful suing of the AUEW in the High Court for £47,000 by Con-Mech.

BY BOB REEVES
(Norwood CLP)

This last is a particular insult: some of the money which the judge agreed was to pay for holidays for the scabs who were under such a terrible strain from crossing a picket line every day!

The capitalist press has been warning Labour not to touch its "Holy of Holies" - "The Law". The Times said in relation to Clay Cross:

"Whatever today's Ministers may think of the motives of the last administration it would be objectionable on constitutional grounds as well as political grounds for any Government to wipe out retrospectively a penalty duly imposed by the courts".

(20/3/74)
They are trying to frighten the movement into not tampering with their system of class justice.

The Labour Movement must insist that the Government stand firm and take as a guide to action, not what the capitalist newspapers say is "constitutional" but what is in the interests of the working class. That is the only code of law which the Labour Movement recognises. In a class divided society there are two codes of law: that of

CONTINUED ON PAGE 8

LPYS RALLY

EASTER '74 AT CLACTON

Already 1200 have booked in for the Labour Party Young Socialists National Conference and Rally at Butlin's in Clacton over Easter. It is going to be an enormous success. We are expecting many more to try to get in over the next week and we are doing everything we can to book more places and arrange for absolutely every last applicant to be accommodated.

Well over 100 delegates from abroad - Germany, Sweden, Austria, Belgium and other places - will be there. Young workers from all over Britain, many sponsored by their unions or shop stewards' committees, others from the LPYS branches along with students from schools and colleges and also quite a few older industrial workers, some with their families, all will be going to Clacton on Friday 12 April.

The conference of the LPYS will begin on Saturday morning, with an opening address from Tony Benn. Then we will have debates on the resolutions and documents submitted by branches and the National Committee on every major political topic: Labour's Programme; housing; unemployment; war and peace; the industrial struggle etc.

After a full weekend's debates, and after a rest on Monday afternoon, we will begin the National Rally. The programme

for this is printed here. But "not by politics alone" will the events be made really worthwhile. The full facilities of a holiday camp will be given over to us; there will be socials, discos, films, dances, sports and more.

For the weekend conference, Friday night to Monday lunch-time the charge is £8.55 and it is £17.05 for the whole week. This is very reasonable for full board today.

For further details contact your local LPYS branch or the National Youth Officer, the Labour Party Transport House, London SW1.

By BOB LABI
(National Committee LPYS)

STOP PRESS: Butlins have imposed a ceiling of 1200; but we are sure that if you send applications direct to Transport House we will accommodate you.

SATURDAY 12 APRIL
9.00 am Opening speech by Tony Benn MP.

To be followed by the LPYS Annual Conference until Monday lunch-time

TUESDAY 16 APRIL
9.30 am "Which way for the Trade Union Movement?"
RAY BUCKTON (ASLEF)

PETER TAAFFE (Editor, Militant)

WEDNESDAY 17 APRIL

Free Day - Sports; films; discos etc

THURSDAY 18 APRIL

9.30 am "Peace and disarmament"

STAN NEWENS (MP for Harlow)

A LAN WOODS (Militant Editorial BOARD)

TUBE INVESTMENTS

Tube Investments raised its profits by half from £22.5 million to £33 million last year. But the engineering group pointed out that after the effects of inflation the true increase were "only" £3.6 million, ie profit were in real terms only £26 million.

But if capitalists can gear the profits to inflation, what about workers' wages? Doesn't this sort of accounting really prove that the increases under Phase Three are leaving the workers way behind the rocketing cost of living?

YORKSHIRE LABOUR CONFERENCE

In resolution after resolution, the agenda of the Annual Meeting of the Yorkshire Regional Labour Party calls for bold Socialist action.

These resolutions were written before the election but they anticipate the election and contain within them the programme which the new Labour Government should follow. It is the best, the most left-wing agenda for many a year.

All the desires and demands of

TAKE UP SOCIALIST POLICIES!

the Labour Movement will be heard in the Conference. It is inconceivable that Conference should reject resolutions 3 and 4 which together

with the amendments call for the re-imbursement of all fines levied on unions.

Those who fought the Tory law deserve praise not punishment. And this is especially so with housing where the victory over the Housing Finance Act must be made complete immediately with "the repayment of all fines imposed under the Housing Finance Act" (resolution 17).

At the very minimum conference must demand that the Labour

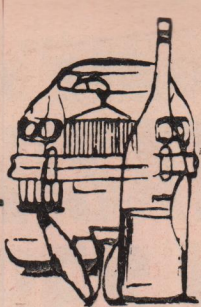
Government "carry out the Socialist policies adopted by the last three Party conferences" (resolution 6).

Conference must not be a show and in particular the whole conference should support resolution no 2 which demands "all decisions of the Annual Conference of the Labour Party should be binding on all members of the Parliamentary Labour Party. Likewise all policy decisions of the General Management Committees should be binding on all Labour Council groups concerned."

By BRIAN INGHAM
(LPYS National Committee)



FROM LEFT
AND RIGHT



ARTIFICIAL SHORTAGES

In the last few months toilet paper has doubled and even trebled in price, and for a short time was virtually unobtainable. All the usual excuses were given: "there is a shortage". Most people knew that, they were anxious to know why.

Facts revealed recently by the *Sunday Times* (24/3/74) show exactly why, and also that as usual, enormous profits are being made out of the situation. While there has been a shortage in Britain, exports of waste paper have doubled, mainly to West Germany and France where the price that dealers can get is £48 a ton as opposed to £18 a ton in Britain. Readers of *Militant* may have noticed recently that the 20p packets of two rolls now on sale in supermarkets are imported from ... West Germany!

So a "free market" beloved of The Tories means that a shortage is created here, the materials are exported to Europe and the finished goods sold back at 3 times the price of a few months ago! On the way, big profits are made and workers lose out.

It is "interesting" to note that the voluntary organisations who collect waste newspapers and sell them to the dealers are getting ... 2 Green Shield Stamps per lb.

A "PAINFUL" TAX

The wealth tax, inexcusably postponed by Denis Healey in the Budget, is already occupying the interest of the rich. If they are worried, they should approach Mr Justice Walton, a very sympathetic High Court judge who quite recently approved a "variation" of the Pilkington Family Fund, with the express intent of avoiding future taxation.

In 1950, William Windle Pilkington (of the Pilkington Glass Company) set up a trust fund. In 1972, £1.4 million was distributed to the grandchildren: £200,000 to each of those married and £100,000 to each of those unmarried. The recent High Court decision was to approve a further distribution of the current £955,000 in the Fund.

Mr Justice Walton remarked that the fund was likely to be: "a sitting target" for a wealth tax. He upheld the plea of Mr John Vinelott QC who argued that the new tax would be "painful", and that the tax would not be retroactive and consequently distribution made now would avoid any stringent effects.

What a rush there is likely to be on the part of the rich to "redistribute" their wealth among their friends and relatives to avoid a future wealth tax! We have consistently argued that the more Labour delay taking stringent measures against the rich, the more time will they have to discover how best to avoid those measures.

Facts like these indicate that it is an urgent question for the Labour Government to deal with the rich and powerful in the only lasting way, by taking over the commanding heights of the economy and bringing all this wealth into public ownership.

'A FULL MORNINGS' WORK'

The recent budget caused howls of anguish from the wealthy. To show how sickeningly hypocritical they are and that the present system allows them to rearrange their affairs to cynically avoid any really penal taxation, we quote the following from the *Sunday Times* (31/3/74): -

"The cries of anguish were certainly going up in the City last week, but were they the right ones? As one well-known merchant banker put it: 'This budget cost me £10,000 a year. It took me a full morning's work to get round that'".

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MILITANT DAY SCHOOL

"Perspectives for the TUs"

Hear: BOB FAULKES
(EEPTU - personal capacity)

"Perspectives for LPYS"

Hear: JEN PICKARD
(NE Regional Committee LPYS)
Saturday 6 April 10.00 am
Gateshead Labour Party rooms
Co-op Hall,
Whitehall Road,
Gateshead
(Opposite Bridge Hotel)

BRISTOL

MILITANT PUBLIC MEETING

"Concorde, Nationalisation and the Labour Government"

Hear: BOB REEVES
(Militant Editorial Board)

BARRIE PARSLAW

(AUEW, Rolls Royce)
Friday 5 April 1974 7.30 pm
Crown and Dove Hotel
Bridewell Street,
Bristol.

LONDON

MILITANT PUBLIC MEETING

"Economic Crisis!
What Policy for Labour?"

Hear: BILL WEBSTER
(GMWU, Militant Editorial Board)

NICK BRADLEY
(LPYS Regional Chairman
and Deptford Labour Party)

Sunday 7 April 7.30 pm
Mother Redcap
(opposite Camden Town tube)

SCARBOROUGH

MILITANT PUBLIC MEETING

Which Way for Labour Now?

Hear DAVID SKINNER
(Clay Cross Labour Party)
PAUL GERRARD
(Yorkshire LPYS Regional Cttee)
Saturday 6 April 1974 7.30 pm
The Huntsman Inn,

Spanish Young Socialists Defence Campaign. London Section

Next meeting: "The Separatist movements within Spain? Labour Party HQ. 95, St Paul's Road, N1 8pm Friday 5 April. All interested welcome. For further information contact John Simmons, 40 Fasset Square, London E8

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MILITANT IRISH MONTHLY

Issue No 22, March, contains articles on: -

DUBLIN TENANTS...PRICE CONTROLLING...N.U.U. STUDENTS' UNION...MURDER OF WORKERS...BRITISH ELECTIONS...ARMY ARRESTS...AFFORDING A HOUSE...WORKERS AND THE ARMY...SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES STRIKES...MENACE OF FASCISM...ITALY ...GERMANY

Sample copy 5p plus 3p postage from 375 Cambridge Heath Road, London E2 9RA

Militant was launched in October 1964 "because of the need to provide a conscious Socialist lead for the Labour Movement, particularly the Young Socialists, in face of the problems that loom before us" (Militant 1)

In order to do this we declared, "the most important thing is that we wish to tell the truth to the working class against the lies and exaggerations of the capitalist class and half-truths of Labour's officialdom".

A glance over the 200 issues of *Militant* will demonstrate that we have lived up to our aims. Other currents of thought in the Labour Movement succumbed either to the virus of opportunism or sectarianism.

While others taught the Labour workers to look through rose-coloured spectacles, *Militant* sought to warn them of the dire consequences of the Labour leaders' policies of piecemeal reform.

In that first issue we wrote ... "The leaders of the Labour Party have pledged themselves only to renationalise steel, road transport and water.

"This would leave control of the major sectors of the economy in the same ruthless hands as at present. Big Business ... would sabotage and undermine any reforms introduced by a Labour Government ... high finance would play cat and mouse with a Labour Government.

"It is high time to launch a campaign to take over the land, the 400 big combines, the banks and insurance companies ...

"Labour may well win without such a programme but it will surely go down to bitter defeat, crushed by Big Business".

On the basis of a Marxist analysis we were able to foresee the inevitable shipwreck of the Labour Government so long as it remained within the framework of capitalism.

As fate would have it, our 200th issue came out within weeks of a new Labour Government coming to power. It would be necessary to change a few phrases and add a new figure - there are now approximately 300 monopolies - and the above lines would apply with even greater force to the 1974 Labour Government.

The 1964-70 Government led to Heath's "counter-revolution" against the rights and conditions of the working class. Failure this time, inevitable on the basis of capitalism, will have even more devastating consequences.

The position of the British capitalists has worsened enormously since 1964. In 1974 Britain's rate of inflation will overtake that of Brazil.

They are looking for the Labour leaders to cut back savagely on the standards of the working class and are prepared to bring down the Labour Government if it fails to do their bidding.

Capitalism offers a grim future indeed for the working people.

The perspective of the "affluent society" of the spokesmen of capitalism still lingered in 1964. In 1974 it has completely evaporated. A mood of pessimism, bordering on despair now permeates the ranks of the ruling class, not just in Britain but on a world scale. Thus The Times can admit that "scarcely a country in the Nine (European countries) has a really popular and confident mandate."

Willi Brandt, hitherto a symbol of the stability of their system has begun to "fear that lights are again going out all over Europe ... he is said to have fallen prey to the suspicion that Western democracy may only have 20 or 30 years of dwindling life before it is engulfed by Communism or Fascism". (Times 20/3/74).

Only Marxism can look towards the future with confidence that the Labour Movement can re-arm itself

SEE BELOW FOR SPECIAL REPRINT OF FIRST ISSUE

with a programme capable of guaranteeing victory in the struggle against capitalism and its agents.

Over 10 years *Militant* has faced up to all the burning issues facing the Labour Movement on a world scale: Vietnam, Chile, Czechoslovakia, France 1968, Poland in 1971, the upsurge of the black people in America - the significance and lessons of all these struggles and many others have been dealt with in our pages.

The increase in the support for the ideas of *Militant*, particularly among Labour's youth movement - has been measured in the growth in size and frequency from a 4 page monthly to an 8 page weekly, the circulation and the content of our paper.

It is our contention that *Militant* is more a journal of the working people, written in their language and by them, than any other paper in the Labour Movement. The great sacrifices in money and time by the supporters of the paper, predominantly industrial workers, is testimony to this.

But there is no room for complacency in the outlook of the supporters of Marxism. Our paper needs to become even more of a workers' paper, reflecting all aspects of their life. We need to carry more articles which can arm the working class with the facts and figures which will enable them to combat the ideas of the capitalists and their shadows in the Labour Movement. There is a great need to have theoretical articles which can arm the advanced workers with an understanding of all the processes at work in society and a perspective for the Labour Movement.

None of these minimum steps can be undertaken without a bigger and more regular paper. It is up to you, the readers and supporters of our paper to ensure that by our 300th issue *Militant* will be the indispensable weapon of tens and hundreds of thousands of working people in the fight for a socialist society.

By MILITANT EDITORIAL BOARD

MAY DAY GREETINGS

Send your May Day greetings to the workers' movement throughout the world through the pages of *Militant*.

The May Day issue will have a special feature of messages from many sections of the movement.

Make sure your Labour Party, Trade Union, Co-op Party, Trades Council and Young Socialist branch gets its message in.

The charges will be a minimum of £1 for every column inch, either vertical or across columns, £13 for one eighth of a page; £25 quarter page, £45 half page; £80 full page.

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TRADE UNIONS MUST FIGHT RACIALISM

How many readers saw the "Open Door" programme on BBC2 on Monday 25 March? Those who did not, missed an opportunity to see what the LPYS Anti-Racialism campaign is all about.

The programme was produced by the Immigrant Workers' Rights Group and interviews showed the real discrimination that does go on in Britain as far as coloured workers are concerned. Here are just a few examples given in the programme:-

Safety regulations for operating machines are ignored - a man's finger was taken off in a machine and the management refused to stop the machine!

In one factory black workers often work 84 hours with no overtime rates, no night shift allowance, no bonus rates which the white workers get!

Black women and youth suffer the most discrimination when it comes to job opportunities. Often women with first class degrees in India come to Britain as factory hands, they can't get jobs using their skill and training. Often when there is a family to look after, the women don't have the time or energy to be active in the trade union movement and fight for better conditions. A widow was quoted as earning £9 for 40 hours sewing blazers, and out of that paying over £4 a week in rent.

The programme outlined to some extent the economic background to the growing problem of



racialism - how immigrants come mainly from depressed areas of the world which usually have been plundered and exploited by Capitalism in the past. Many immigrants have to accept jobs that no white worker would look at, and often live in the worst housing conditions.

In a period of growing economic crisis the employers will use the fact that black workers work for less money in an attempt to hold

back the living standards of the working class and they will attempt to divide the working class along racist lines.

BY JEN PICKARD
(Gateshead LPYS)

With the polarisation of the classes in this society and the development of right wing tendencies, the problem of racism will become more acute.

It is vital that the Labour and Trade Union Movement understands this and begins to fight now against it. Professional studies by Race Relations organisations have revealed that the future is grim for black youth as far as job opportunities are concerned. This is something that must be taken up and actively campaigned on by the LPYS in the fight against racialism and the campaign on the Charter for Young workers.

Even on this programme it was stated that some immigrants would not appear on television because of fears for their jobs, homes and fear of being hounded by the police.

In the programme Mike Cooley of the AUEW stressed the need for the trade union movement to take up the issue as a class issue.

He said "They are treated as second class citizens. When white workers understand the need for immigrants to be treated as equals, then will the working class understand their right to be treated as equals and indeed to run society".

As far as black workers organising separate unions, the programme said that "experience has shown that immigrants don't go outside the framework of the existing unions - white workers should meet the outstretched hands of the black workers". All active trade unionists, in their own interests, should encourage

black workers to become organised in the trade union movement where they aren't already.

The programme ended with four points for the unions to take up:-

1. Trade unions should regard the problems of black workers as a special case (as with women workers), organising special recruiting campaigns.
2. Immigrants should be educated in trade union matters. The British TU movement has a wealth of experience to offer.
3. Trade Unions should actively support black workers on strike as well as white workers - not just pay lip service.
4. Language problems should not be allowed to become a barrier between black and white workers - leaflets should be produced in different languages.

Above all, we must not tolerate racialism in the Labour Movement; it is against the interests of the whole of the working class and must be eradicated. Like the Industrial Relations Act, the Immigration Act is a class act which threatens immigrant workers so they don't take a militant stand in the trade unions. Both Acts must be repealed!

Even though the LPYS demonstration has been postponed, the campaign still goes on - and this programme only highlighted and brought to life the need for the Anti-Racialism campaign to be taken up in all sections of the movement.

NORTHERN IRELAND: FACTORY KILLINGS MUST NOT DIVIDE WORKERS

Interview with James Lillis, branch secretary of White Abbey Branch USDAW about the shooting at the Abbey meat factory.

● Could you explain exactly what happened on the day of the shooting?

On Monday February 11th, five of my colleagues and workmates and a sixth person, a Loyalist councillor's son, were gunned down while attempting to get to their work. Two of these five have since died. One other, a

girl, was in hospital for two weeks and it will be a long time before she is able to work.

The other two escaped with minor injuries. The councillor's son was badly shot.

In a statement the following

TRADE UNIONIST SPEAKS OUT

night the UFF claimed responsibility. If I could tell you about the position of the gunmen's car - We have quite definite reports that it was sitting at the corner of Office Street, opposite the factory gates, from approximately 7.25 that morning.

A number of people going into work noticed it and thought it strange. A few reported it to the

security officer in the factory.

Our five members arrived for work at about 4 minutes to eight. As their car approached the corner the driver noticed the driver of the assassin's car drawing a gun over the top of the steering wheel. He immediately jammed on the brakes, jumped out, as did the passenger in the front seat, and ran. Two men got out of the assassin's car, one with a machine gun, the other with a pistol, and fired after them. The driver was hit in the leg.

They then turned their attention to the other three passengers in the car. They shot the two girls in the back seat and as the other boy, Thomas Donughy, 16 years old, was trying to get out, they shot him dead.

The car in which the councillor's son was travelling ran into the back of the workers' car and he was hit by a stray bullet.

● You say that the car was noticed by workers in the factory before the shooting. Were the police informed?

About 12 men were able to stand and stare out of the canteen window waiting for the police to arrive. They had all been told that the security officer had reported the car. In fact we have definite proof that he did make a call at approximately 7.44 am and another at 7.56, the second of which the police acted on. We have other evidence, not fully confirmed, that the security officer did make a call at about 20 minutes to eight.

● Can you get the Security Officer to verify this?

Unfortunately, no. The shooting happened on Monday 11 February. On the Thursday myself and our branch chairman approached the security man asking for a signed statement. He refused. On the Friday we asked management

Education supplies racket

Militant readers who are parents may have seen the poetry books for schoolchildren called "Voices". These combine striking poems with extraordinarily beautiful photographs.

Those of us who had plodded through the "Ancient Mariner", unrelieved by illustrations, must have been pleasantly surprised. This was one of the many publications of Penguin Education. In addition they aired a number of very progressive ideas in their education specials devoted to the practice of teaching.

The latter were hardly socialist in approach but they did provide the basis for a re-appraisal of the capitalist educational system.

Penguin Education was founded in 1966 as an offshoot of the well-known paperbacks. By 1971 (latest available accounts) the return on capital employed was 51.9% - double the estimated

have recently acquired Penguin Books, declared the education sector unprofitable, and are ceasing publication. A wave of protest washed up from not only those losing their jobs but also from many teachers and educationalists. The implication is that the real reason for the closedown was the "radical" nature of this department that was too much for the new bosses.

BY PAULINE JONES
(National Union of Teachers)

Just as the drug companies are out to make profits out of our health, so are the educational suppliers with our children's education. A book and equipment display once featured some large overhead projector transparencies. There were about a dozen sheets of printed cellophane costing 10p. I asked the publisher's rep-

ringed and interleaved with white paper and the paper alone costs as much as the transparencies, it's very good quality".

So I said: "why not just pack them in cardboard boxes with tissue between them?" "Oh no", he said, "we've a guaranteed sale in several hundred schools and if we made it for 7p the profit at say 30%, would be about 2p and not the 50% we can get at 10p".

In other words they were deliberately making them expensive. In the same city, teachers were not allowed to order books from anywhere other than two local bookshops. One of these happened to be owned by a local Tory councillor (the council was Tory-controlled). It would not have looked so bad if they both had not been so inefficient, with orders delayed for months. Many local authorities negotiate contracts with bookshops to supply

graft for the benefit of certain local dignitaries and their friends.

Educational publishers and suppliers are virtually in a monopoly position which they use to the advantage of their shareholders naturally. What this means is that many parents' taxes going to education merely end up in the pockets of big publishing companies at the expense of their children's education.

Without working-class control of education and of the publishers and suppliers of educational material, there can be no change in this situation. Inevitably this must mean public ownership of the publishing firms under the control of ordinary people through their unions, including the teaching unions. Then the majority decide what is to be produced for educational purposes not the small minority.

MONARCHY-RESERVE OF BIG BUSIN

When Confucius was asked to describe the activities of the perfect ruler, he replied that he "would sit gravely upon his throne, that is all". This sounds like a good description of the British monarchy! A useless, but very expensive, hang-over from feudalism.

But Confucius was talking about the ruler of a powerful and stable empire. What about times of upheaval and crisis? The Chinese emperors did not just sit still on their thrones. Likewise, the Labour Movement must be aware of the way in which the apparently redundant British monarchy could be used at a time of crisis. There are already ominous signs of the potential dangers.

No Socialist can defend the idea of Monarchy! Its existence is incompatible with democracy, let alone Socialism. But the debates about the rights and wrongs of the monarchy are usually at a very trivial level; "the monarchy is good for tourism", "it is old fashioned", etc.

A more fundamental argument is the cost. It is surely a grotesque injustice that the Royal Family, by one means or another, absorbs £4.7 million of public money every year in a country where about 10 million people live on or below the official poverty line.

More is spent on this one family than on the whole of the Family Income Supplement (£4.1m)

Yet even the wasted cash (the point most often raised by MPs like William Hamilton) is not the key issue. Socialists should ask: why does Big Business, which has always demanded "cheap government", encourage this enormous spending on ceremonial extravagance?

The answer is that the monarchy is yet another reserve political weapon, in the past quite a powerful reserve weapon, to be kept for use in times of acute crisis.

In a period of capitalist economic growth and social peace, such as that we are leaving behind us, the monarch plays little or no part in politics. Governments alternate between the two main parties.

But what if there is no clear majority? What if the Labour Party comes to represent a threat to Big Business because of the enormous pressure of working class struggle exerting itself through the party? Then things may be different. Royal prerogatives may be given force.

This is not idle speculation. *Militant* has recently explained in detail all the indications that the ruling class is preparing for the possibility of pressurising the Labour leaders into some form of "national" government. The role that the Queen would play in such a move was recently spelled out by Ronald Butt in *The Times*:

He said that in the (unlikely) event of the Government being defeated on the Queen's speech (note the legal fiction!),

"... the Queen would have been absolutely justified constitutionally had she recognised this (that the country does not want another election) and had

He agreed that this might lead to demands for the abolition of the monarchy. But, he said, "We cannot take it for granted that the Queen would not have refused dissolution simply to protect the monarchy. There are some in a better position to know than I am ... (who is it then, who takes these fundamental decisions? - LW) ... who believe that, in such circumstances, the Queen and those who advise her would put the national interest before an ultra-cautious attitude designed simply to protect the monarchy ...

"... I can conceive of a possibility of a situation in which another general election would be so undesirable that it might be right to make the attempt to form a coalition in this Parliament".

Such a crisis situation would "call for the free and neutral use of the Queen's role as umpire of last resort ... After all could anyone devise a more disinterested guardian of the Constitution".

(*Times* 21/3/74).

The Queen is, or rather, is built up to be, an impartial arbiter who can decide what is best for the country in a crisis.

The way in which this "impartial umpire" acts, or is used, in a crisis, when more is at stake than the survival of the monarchy, can be seen from past bitter experience of the Labour Movement.

To show that Ronald Butt is not just a Maverick with wild ideas, and we are not just paranoid about the monarchy, we will take evidence from some of the most respectable political and constitutional historians.

Walter Baghot, whose "British Constitution" is a standard work, but nevertheless brilliantly illuminates the question, understood the importance of "a retired widow and an unemployed youth", as he called Queen Victoria and the Prince of Wales.

BY LYNN WALSH
(Ardwick Labour Party)

He pointed out the way in which the royal family could be exploited: "It brings down the pride of sovereignty to the level of petty life" enables the ordinary people to identify with them, at least in their imagination.

At the same time, "The Monarchy by its religious sanction now confirms all our political order ... It gives a vast strength to the entire Constitution, by enlisting on its behalf the credulous obedience of enormous masses". It all assisted in keeping real power in the hands of the "upper ten thousand". The attention given to the marriage of Princess Anne and the interest of the popular press in the royal family at the moment, are witness to the fact that Baghot is far from outdated.

The way in which the "sanctity" of the Monarchy is cynically used to help secure the "credulous obedience" of the masses was clearly revealed by George V's role in the formation of the 1931 National Government.

The whole world had been shaken by the Russian Revolution. Alarmed by the growth of Socialist ideas among



"it's existence is incompatible with democracy, let alone social

made a conscious attempt to modernise the monarchy to retain its hold over the middle class and the less politically aware sections of the workers. Lord Stamfordham, the King's Private Secretary, told him in 1917:

"We must endeavour to induce the thinking working classes, Socialist and others, to regard the crown, not as a figure-head, and as an institution which, as they put it, "don't count", but as a living power for good".

The Labour Movement must campaign for the complete abolition of the Monarchy (together with the House of Lords) not because of abstract Republican sentiments but because the Monarchy is a deliberately manufactured obstacle to the road to a Socialist society.

George V's prestige was put to good use in 1931. In the situation of profound economic collapse, and the mounting anger of the workers, which faced the ruling class, they decided to try to use the Labour leaders to inflict savage cuts in living standards on the workers.

Sir Herbert Samuel (the Liberal leader) told the King that: "In view

economies would prove most unpalatable to the working classes, it would be in the general interest if they could be imposed by a Labour Government".

But MacDonald was unable to get his Cabinet to agree to the cuts. Baldwin, the Tory leader, and other representatives of Big Business set to work to get the King to persuade Ramsay MacDonald, the Labour Prime Minister, to form a National Government. George V did not

business to get the country out of the mess, and to dwell, with any flattery that he liked, upon the opportunity and the responsibility ...

"I thought it was everything to get a plan of national economy put out by a Labour Government, since it was the only course that would have a permanent effect in reversing a policy of extravagance".

You may be sure that the editor of *The Times* was not the only one who phoned up saying what must be done. The result was (according to George V's official biographer): the King "impressed on the Prime Minister that he was the only man to lead the country through this crisis and hoped he would reconsider the situation". And MacDonald agreed!

Thus the King played an important part, and not at all unwillingly. The main responsibility for the National Government must, of course, be placed on the shoulders of the Labour leaders who were prepared to sell the interests of the Labour Movement.

They used their influence with the workers to defuse the struggle, at least temporarily. But the King played an important part, first in pressurising MacDonald to form a National Government, and then in helping to gain acceptance from the sections of the population swayed by the royal influence.

Ever since "experts" have argued about whether the King's action was "Constitutional" or not. But it is beside the point. In any case, the Constitution, as

wield the real power. He was simply the instrument of others, carefully disguised as an "impartial umpire", but all the more useful for that.

Geoffrey Dawson, the editor of *The Times*, telephoned Sir Clive Wigram, the King's Private Secretary at the time: he wrote that he "respectfully suggested that His Majesty should impress

WEAPON LESS

telling us, is flexible. The point is that the King did not, as was customary, seek the advice of the existing (Labour) cabinet.

In this crisis situation, the representatives of the ruling class advised, or rather directed, the King to take action which they knew would split the Labour Party and which also secured a predominantly Tory House of Commons for a whole decade.

Perhaps this is all in the past? No, not so. Although not much is made of the Royal prerogatives in "normal" periods of political calm, the "experts" have always carefully preserved the formal rights of the Monarch, expressed in the form of various rituals.

In 1950 when a Labour Government was returned with a majority of only 6 there was a big discussion in *The Times*

ible with alism"

and other papers about the powers of the Monarch. The last word was had by Sir Alan Lascelles, then the King's Private Secretary, who wrote in *The Times* under the pseudonym "Senex" (2/5/50).

He said that the King had an entirely personal choice; but "No wise Monarch would deny a dissolution to his Prime Minister unless he were satisfied that: (1) the existing Parliament was still vital, viable, and capable of doing its job; (2) a general election would be detrimental to the national economy; (3) he could rely on finding another Prime Minister who would carry on his government, for a reasonable period, with a working majority in the House of Commons".

WHO DECIDES?

But who decides these vital questions? Who decides whether or not a general election will be detrimental to the "national economy"? In this context "the national economy" means "the interests of big business". This makes it clear that the powers of the Monarchy represent a means, covered by a cloak of regal legitimacy, by which the ruling class can suspend the working of democracy when their position is threatened by mass working class pressure.

A body like the Privy Council, having little function in "normal" times consists, according to Whitackers' Almanack of ...

"certain eminent persons ... members of the Cabinet must be Privy Counsellors, and they principally form the active Privy Council. The Council consists of ..."

the demise of the crown, and many matters are referred by the Sovereign to Committees of the Council ... "

The list of members, several hundred long, contains all living ex-Ministers and a host of titled gentlemen along with some Archbishops.

The Queen is not politically neutral. The enormous wealth of the Royal Family make it part of the fabric of capitalist power. Although everything is done to foster the illusion of the power of the Monarch, she is in reality firmly controlled by the ruling class.

She is "advised" for instance, by her Private Secretary. We have mentioned the actions or views of some past Private Secretaries. The latest is no different:

"The political side of the Queen's life is controlled by her Private Secretary, Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Michael Adeane, a person who has been connected with royalty most of his life.

"At thirteen, when at Eton, he was page of honour to King George V, and he became assistant Private Secretary to King George VI in 1937 when he was twenty six. He used to be one of the twenty best shots in the country and apart from shooting, his active hobbies are unremarkable: fishing, wild-fowling and water-colour painting". (A Duncan "The Reality of the Monarchy" p 154).

Obviously a thoroughly reliable fellow!

In 1969 a Tory MP, Norman St John Stevas, provided yet another clear warning of the way in which the Monarchy could be used against the Labour Movement: "He (George V) played an important but wholly constitutional role in the formation of the National Government in 1931. In the present precarious economic state of Britain, this aspect of the Monarch's role might well emerge again. If for example the devaluation measures fail to achieve their object, a coalition might be the only alternative left for Britain and the Queen could play an important part in bringing this about".

Unfortunately some of the Labour leaders are ardent supporters of Monarchy. It was the last Labour Government which, to its shame, spent nearly half a million pounds on the investiture of the Prince of Wales at Canaerwon. This was not even a traditional ceremony. The only other time it had taken place was in 1911, when Lloyd George thought it up and arranged it to ingratiate himself with George V with a publicity stunt in his constituency.

When a number of Labour MPs protested about this ridiculous and wasteful expenditure, George Thomas, Labour Secretary of State for Wales reminded them of their oath of loyalty to the Queen! The great mass of people are not so credulous as in Baghot's day.

The Labour Movement is much stronger. Nevertheless, Socialists must campaign for the complete abolition of the Monarchy (together with the House of Lords) not because of abstract Republican sentiments but because the Monarchy is a deliberately manufactured obstacle to the road

HOUSING CRISIS IN NORTH-EAST

BY JOHN PICKARD

(Gateshead Labour Party
Young Socialists)



Two views of the "Great Wall of Byker", one still under construction.

Newcastle workers who live in a wall!

"Man they're like pigeon crees! I wouldn't live in them if I was paid!" "They're lovely inside - the bathroom and toilet and everything!" Two different reactions to the same thing, but complementing not contradicting one another.

The second quote is typical of many of the residents of Byker, in Newcastle as they are re-housed from their old terraced houses.

These houses which have stood rank upon rank for decades are mostly lacking in the basic amenities of indoor toilets, hot running water and so on. Only now are such people within sight of living in a house with clean, new amenities - hence the pleasure. Did I say house? Sorry, I meant wall. And that explains the first quote.

Because among the housing schemes at present undertaken by Newcastle City Corporation is the "Great Wall of Byker". This wall is about one half a mile long (so far, and they're still building) and about 30 feet wide, cut through here and there by roadways big enough for double-decker buses to pass under.

The wall, of course, is populated. The purpose of the wall is to provide a sound barrier between a housing estate on one side and a new bye-pass 70 ft away on the other side. Although the tenants of the great "experiment" are gifted with double-glazing and supposed sound-proofing themselves, they will soon become disillusioned when the road is built and they realise that their flat - like most new council flats - is made of cardboard and ticky tacky.

The point of this story is not that Newcastle council are particularly wicked men - the point is that under capitalism, where councils have to borrow money on the free market from banks and insurance companies, where the building and allied

a good "killing" - the only people who suffer are the working class.

For millions of people re-housed over the last few years by council house schemes, these estates, built for cheapness more than anything else, lacking public amenities, lacking in open space and parkland - are the best that capitalism can give. They are concrete and cardboard jungles "purpose built" for boredom, lack of fresh air, vandalism and guaranteed deterioration into slums within five years. And that does not even count the actual structural failures which seem to affect every "new" house these days - damp, doors not fitting etc.

In the year 1972/73, Newcastle Corporation collected £6.02 million in rents and paid in debt charges, £6.30 million, 17% of the total council spending. That is why councils build for cheapness under the present system!

MORTGAGES OUT OF WORKERS' REACH

The situation is just as bad for house-buyers, whereas it used to be difficult to get a mortgage, it is now almost impossible. In Newcastle recently a couple with three children tried to get a mortgage for a £10,000 house from the council. They were told the husband's net pay would have to be £88 a week!

When they asked for the wife's income also to be considered (not surprisingly his income was not up to scratch) they were told "Yes, if she is sterilised". The horrified couple have given up trying to buy a house.

For the overwhelming majority of working class couples, it is now impossible for them to buy a new house and extremely difficult to buy an old one.

These examples relate to Newcastle, but there is no reason to suppose that Newcastle is unique in terms of its housing

known that areas such as London and the South East are much worse.

Look at the picture as a whole - millions of families still live in Victorian slums, hundreds of thousands are homeless altogether those re-housed are, as often as not, pigeon-holed into some grey estate (or "wall") which will be a slum in a few years, and at astronomical rent. Those working class families buying their own homes are weighed down to breaking point by mortgage payments - now threatening to reach a record 13%.

This is a crisis situation! The Labour Government must take crisis measures! The Labour Government was carried to power on a wave of anti-Tory feeling, chiefly because of the soaring cost of living, including rents and mortgage payments. The Labour Government have the responsibility to do something about the situation.

Land, the building companies and supply industries should be nationalised along with the building societies, the banks and the insurance companies. Empty offices and hotels should be taken over for emergency accommodation, the large private landlords should have their properties taken over with compensation based only on need.

The whole industry on this basis could be re-organised, on the basis of workers' control and management, and would then be able to build houses good enough and quickly enough. Would the Liberals and Tories dare to bring down the Labour Government on this issue?

Let them try, because a Labour Government defeated on such a programme - which would benefit all working people - would be swept back to power with a huge majority! The time is long overdue for sweeping away the system that scoffs at squalor and wallows in profits.

The election of Eddie Milne as an "independent" candidate in Blyth, the seat which he had formerly held for Labour, raised a number of questions in the minds of Labour Party members and workers generally.

This was doubly so as Milne dressed himself up as a "left winger" in the campaign against the official party candidate, Ivor Richard well known for his right wing, pro-Common Market views.

The anti-Labour bandwagon created by the capitalist press to boost any dissident who stands against the party, has unfortunately been joined by many who call themselves "Marxists". But one thing stands out a mile - none of them are really acquainted with Milne, with the issues in Blyth, or have the honesty to say so!

The general impression given is that Milne was a left-wing socialist, fighting corruption and kicked out by his local party because he threatened to uncover a hotbed of municipal corruption and was attempting to clean up the local party.

Milne has repeatedly claimed to have "evidence" of local corruption but has to date refused to produce it.

PARTY DEMOCRACY

Those who have criticised the supporters of Militant, most especially Peter Doyle, the NEC member for the Labour Party Young Socialists, for campaigning for the election of the official Labour candidate, once the party had selected him, know little or nothing about it and have simply reproduced the half truth and distortions which the capitalist press has done so well in spreading.

To begin with, the split which now has occurred in Blyth Labour Party has been simmering for a few years. In fact there were official moves to get rid of Milne long before he ever mentioned Poulson or anyone else. Milne has only raised the issue since it became obvious that sooner or later the Party would get rid of him.

Secondly, judging by papers such as the *Chartist*, anyone would think that Eddie Milne had a monopoly on honesty in the whole North East! In fact the LPYS representative on the Regional Council of the Labour Party, moved a resolution from the LPYS calling for a party enquiry into the Poulson affair.

In addition the Blyth Labour Party itself has repeatedly called on Milne to give his "evidence" either to the Party or to the police. The vast majority of Party members want this slur of corruption removed and would honestly welcome the publication of any evidence which Milne possesses.

As long as such evidence is not presented and as long as it is the main campaigning weapon of Milne, then it is easy to suspect that it is in fact no more than a campaign gimmick - for which some of the "lefts" have fallen. If it is not a gimmick then let the honest party members see some evidence so they can use it!

Now let us examine some of the issues which were not even touched upon by the "left" press. What about the general issue of Party democracy? The fact that the MP supported an anti-Labour "independent" candidate in a local election against the Labour Party last Spring seems to have been over-

Seaton Valley local Labour Party when he was not selected as a candidate for the council elections.

He then stood for and won the seat, as an Independent, after much local press publicity accusing the Labour Party of undemocratic procedures in the selection of candidates - accusations which were unfounded.

In his campaign this renegade, who refused to abide by a majority decision, and who stood on the right wing of the party, was supported by Milne. He denied that he endorsed the independent candidature, but he wrote a letter which appeared in most of the local papers expressly thanking MacManus for his assistance and praised his work

party should be compared with his acceptance of nomination in the first place when he didn't question the democracy of the meetings that selected him. Only when things turned against him, did he challenge their credentials.

Militant has stood consistently for the right of any Constituency Labour Party to replace the MP if they saw fit and since the decision to oust Milne was taken by a majority of the Party (another point overlooked or deemed irrelevant) then *Militant* supporters in the constituency will stand by the majority decision and campaign for the Labour candidate, at the same time continuing to put forward inside the party Socialist ideas, and pressing for a worker with a Socialist position to stand

decisions or make way for those who will.

That is why the demands raised in the Militant are so important: * Recall over MPs by local Parties.

* Restriction of their income to the level of an average skilled worker.

Even if Milne's accusations were correct, and the image drawn of him by certain "revolutionary" newspapers as a doughty left winger was accurate, what difference would it make? We would have had to say: "You are making a mistake by splitting from the movement. What can you as an individual offer to the workers of Blyth in the enormous struggles which will break out in the Labour Movement not just locally but nationally in the next few months and years? Even if defeated, your job is to stay in and fight to build enough support for clear socialist policies."

DIRTY TRICKS

But Milne hardly fits the description! The truth of the matter is that as far as the local campaign was concerned, by putting forward a right wing candidate, the Blyth Party gave ammunition to Milne, and, so it seems, some of his irresponsible, ultra-left backers. If they had reselected a worker standing on a bold, socialist programme, Milne might not have won. And what would the ultra-left have done then?

Once again, those who criticise our position have overlooked Milne's personal publicity campaign. He organised meetings to drum up support for himself before he was kicked out.

It was just as well he did this because among the people who were personally invited to attend these Milne band-wagon meetings were individual members of the Tory Party and Liberals.

It is no accident that enormous publicity was given to Milne's "independent" campaign by the capitalist press, locally and nationally. Every dirty trick was used to undermine Labour support, and the Blyth campaign cannot be excepted from this.

All those so-called "Marxist" papers which have criticised the position of *Militant* supporters in the area, have relied exclusively on the capitalist press for their information. Because the story spread by them coincided with their prejudices about the official Labour movement they were prepared to swallow it and, even worse, have the gall to use it against us.

"Comrades" who write the reports to the *Chartist*, *Socialist Worker* and *Red Weekly*, none of whom are or have ever been in Blyth Labour Party and rely on gossip and half-truths, should make at least some attempt to take the words of Trotsky to heart - "The motor force of progress is truth and not lies."

BLYTH: WHY WE SUPPORTED OFFICIAL LABOUR CANDIDATE

as a local councillor. This letter then said ...

"I was disturbing to learn of the proceedings at the meeting which led to Councillor MacManus deciding to contest the district election on June 7th as an independent candidate ... I look forward to the day when it is possible for him to return to a local Labour Party that has recovered its basic principles of democratic socialism ..."

What else is that but support for a local "Taverne" coupled with a damaging attack on the local party? Is that really the action of an honest left winger fighting for democracy in the party?

To show Milne's utter contempt for the democracy of the movement at a public meeting, organised by himself, to which he invited Tories and Liberals, he agreed that he would resign as MP if the Constituency Party demanded, but only ...

"If I was convinced that the Blyth Labour Party was a properly democratic and mandated body ..."

(*Blyth News* 20/12/73).

in the next election.

The fact that the candidate selected in Milne's place was Ivor Richard, a well known right wing pro-Common Marketeer, is not the fundamental issue. Support by Marxists in the Labour movement was for the election of Labour, not for individual candidates.

BY DAVE COTTERILL
(Blyth LPYS)

Do those who criticise our support for the official Labour candidate here, seriously suggest that we should select which Labour candidates to support? That we should have opposed those candidates who did not stand on a socialist position? Where do they suggest we would begin and end?

The main question is not this or that individual but the struggle for the acceptance of socialist ideas inside the movement and the firm control over MPs and other representatives by the rank and file, so that they either carry out the movement's

ALL SOCIALISTS SHOULD READ ...

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ISSUE NUMBER 8

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KILLINGS

FROM PAGE 3

bring the man to a meeting which they did. We asked him again, in front of management, to give a statement. He again refused, saying he had given a statement to the police and was advised to speak to no-one else.

Later that afternoon he handed in his notice. He left the following Tuesday and flew to London. Sometime later that week he flew from London to Australia.

●Had he ever indicated before that he was thinking of leaving?

No, this is one of those jobs which elderly ex-policemen like him get and keep until they retire. No-one was more surprised than management that he handed his notice in. He was monthly paid and should really have given four week's notice.

●Could the police have got there in time had they acted on the call?

Driving at 25 mph it takes 2 minutes to get from White Abbey Police Barracks. That is allowing for the police to get out of the barracks, into the jeep and open the gates. In fact you could do it at 25 mph in less than a minute. You could have crawled down quicker.

The police had actually been informed before the victims had left their homes that morning and they had to travel a little over two miles.

●What was the reaction of the workers in the factory to the shooting?

The morning it happened everyone went home. No-one worked. The factory was closed. Next morning myself with other branch officers called a meeting at 10 am in the workers' canteen. Every employee attended. Also there was our area organiser and our general manager.

I opened the meeting, firstly condemning the murderers, or as I called them "faceless people". As our factory is very well mixed and as there has always been good relations, I asked all of the people there not to let these people achieve their aim which, we believe, was to turn the Catholic workers against their Protestant colleagues.

I then went on to condemn the police for their lack of efficiency and asked them to publicly confirm or deny allegations made against them since they claimed they had only received a call two minutes beforehand.

Much to my surprise all the people there stood up and clapped this point.

●Have you any other comments you would like to make?

Only that the assassins, before they left that morning shouted that they would be back. They kept their word. Two nights later they did come back. At the bottom of the same road they shot a barman as he was coming from his work. That, along with the shooting of five Catholics twelve days earlier, at Rush Park only 1 mile away, to my mind, points clearly to these people's aim, as I have stated before: to divide one section of the working population from the other, Catholic against Protestant, and vice-versa.

As a trade unionist I completely deplore these actions and stand for the unity of the working class.

LPYS CAMPAIGN REPORTS

BRIGHTON

By JOHN BALLANCE

We have had a terrific response in our efforts to get young workers to attend the YS Conference and Rally. Over 30 are definitely committed to go. We have young workers representing NATSOPA, AUEW, POEU, TGWU and EPTU.

Our thanks to the Kempton, Pavillion and Hove CLPs for financial assistance most needed. We could double our numbers if we could find the money to assist all the young people who would like to go and can't afford it. We are holding a sponsored swim to raise money to help as many as we can, we are pulling out all

the stops. It is going to be a great week.

NOTE - We are bringing up some footballers who reckon they will kick the pants off any other area.

ELLESMERE PORT

By KAREN CHAPMAN

Since the election we are a thriving branch of 25 attending regularly - this has led to us being able to get 17 to attend conference, of which 5 are staying for the week.

The YS has managed to raise almost £90 from TU donations and discos to pay for expenses. All members are fully involved in YS activities - weekly sales of the paper, fortnightly social activities and regular covering of LP and TU local meetings.

£2,000 REACHED

We are past the £2,000 mark, but it still leaves us quite a way to go. Already, three months have gone by and we needed to raise £3,750. This means we must collect £5,500 by the end of June. This is no easy task but if every area took a leaf out of the books of other areas then we should have no trouble.

Already, Leicester is just on the edge of passing 50% of its target and we want to give them special thanks for the hard work that has gone into this, although they usually shrug it off as just a matter of regular "collections from readers of the paper". That may be so, but the important thing is that every area follow suit.

Another idea which should also be followed up and which we have mentioned before is the guarantors fund. £7 was collected from *Militant* supporters at Liverpool University Labour Club for the *Militant* Fighting Fund. The collection is organised on the basis of each supporter paying 10p a week.

Wirral supporters managed to raise £20 on a jumble sale and also £2 from the sale of chess sets and £2.04 from knitting as well.

Collections at *Militant* Readers' Meetings should also be treated as a first priority on the agenda and this attitude raised £11.23 at a *Militant* meeting held at the Scottish Labour Party Conference, and £23.85 at a Birmingham *Militant* Day School.

It is always useful to keep somebody fit at a social to make

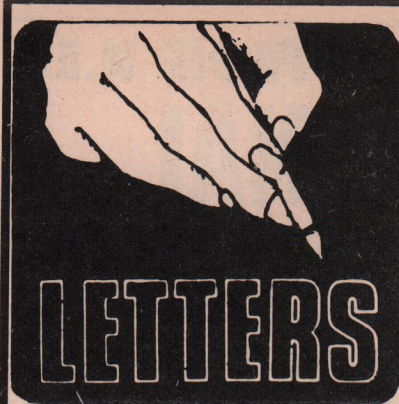
an appeal for funds as well and perhaps this accounts for the fact that we were able to raise £29.17 at a London social.

Of key importance to fund raising has always been donations given to us on the initiative of individual readers or LPYS branches. A substantial amount of our funds have been raised in this way and we urge every reader or LPYS branch who has not sent us any money to do so at once: a pound from every reader would get us to our target in no time.

We have about 40 weeks left to raise nearly £13,000. This may sound like a long time but when you realise this means that we must raise at least £325 every week from now on, it is plain that there is no time to waste. Time waits for no one and with the urgent political tasks facing us now we are no exception. Rush in those donations: we can assure you as we have proved before that not a penny will be wasted.

Thanks to the following for their donations: -

- East Wales £1.30
- Chester MRM £2
- R Mason (Prestatyn) £1.20
- K Grimwade (Taunton) £2
- Supporters in Strabane £1
- Beryl & Chris Kendrick (Bristol) 50p
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- Leicester Univ. Labour Club £5
- G Fimister (Glasgow) £1
- Nottingham £15
- Mike Howard (London) £7



THE FUTURE UNDER SOCIALISM

Dear Comrades,

The role of Socialism is not just the overthrow of the capitalist economic system and the creation of a materially fair and beneficial society throughout the world. It is also the creation of a society where every individual can develop himself fully.

Under Socialism we will build a world where life is - "not only fully sufficient materially and becoming day by day more full but an existence guaranteeing to all the free development and exercise of their physical and mental faculties" (Socialism Utopian and Scientific, Engels).

It is essential to guarantee a socialist state free from the stifling by bureaucracy of individuals and the working class which has so far marred the countries that have had a partial socialist transformation. These failings are not only a tragedy for the people of these countries but this lack of freedom is a highly effective propaganda weapon for the capitalists against Socialism.

There have certainly been great gains in material terms and in some places improvements in liberty in comparison to the situation before. However there can be no delusions that the people of the Western capitalist countries are on the whole freer than anywhere else in the world.

It is true that these freedoms have only been gained by long struggles and exist only as long

as capitalism can afford them, where the economic situation is desperate these liberties disappear.

The philosophy of "personal freedom" was an integral part of the rise of capitalism. There is no reason to reject this philosophy because of its parentage, just as no Socialist would reject industrialism. Socialism takes the tools and ideas of the past and brings them to fruition for the benefit of all.

The scope of what is meant by personal development and freedom is vast. The first essential is ensuring the material well being of mankind. But it is essential to beware of a "Brave New World" type of society, in which all are fed, clothed etc but none are free. Culture is one of the great attributes of man and culture is the product of struggle and freedom.

One of the first tasks of Socialism would be the improvement of physical amenities. There would be a massive building programme - schools, houses, hospitals, libraries, community centres etc. As well as being well built and pleasant for the users, they should be well laid out and be pleasant in appearance. Public transport would be vastly improved, enlarged in coverage and made free.

This would rid city centres of most of the cars - this would leave much more land for pedestrian precincts, parks and open spaces.

Pollution is a very "in" topic at the moment. Most conservationists quite rightly point out specific problems but as they don't attack the economic system they are unable to present a comprehensive alternative to pollution.

Although industrialisation inevitably causes pollution, the greed for profits of capitalism prevents effective counter-measures which are available for most forms of pollution. Another problem is the vast quantities of waste. A lot of this could be easily eliminated by bulk selling, reducing wasteful but profitable packaging, an end to advertising and eliminating planned obsolescence.

What waste remained could be recycled, composted, burned in central heating incinerators or used for fuel.

A planned Socialist economy would enable a reduction of the hours spent at work and an increase in leisure. Capitalism exploits leisure. The breweries, cinema and bingo chains, pop

music firms and holiday firms operate to make a profit, not primarily for pleasure.

They use distortion in brochures, hard sell techniques and monopoly control in order to further profits. Just one instance of the improvements possible under Socialism is holidays.

Public transport will make it possible for everyone to get cheaply and easily - no 10 mile motorway queues - to their destination whether it is London or Glen Coe. At many of the holiday places a lot of land is closed to the public because it is privately owned. This land would be nationalised and some of the large mansions used as hostels thereby removing some of the present strain on facilities by spreading the load.

These same gains would be possible throughout leisure activities from drinking cheaper and better beer to improvements in evening classes and further education.

The most blatant example of repression in society is the treatment of women: "the degree of emancipation of women is the natural measure of general emancipation" (quote from Fourier in "The Holy Family" by Marx and Engels)

When people are free to develop without prejudice, much of the neurosis of modern society will disappear. Obviously in any society there will always be personal problems but Socialism will be able to give proper help. There will be good, well-staffed hospitals, clinics and out-patient facilities.

The community will also be able and willing to help, in contrast to the trend today for people not to know their neighbours.

It is essential that Socialism remembers the individual. We should not allow the situation in the USSR to develop here. Every person should be free to express their opinion, even if it is counter-revolutionary.

The press and media should be truly free, all fields of art encouraged and the law should be classless and allow total individual freedom as long as it doesn't threaten the rights of others. This freedom should extend to sex and morals. Socialism is not puritanism!

Socialism is the breaking of all the chains of all mankind.

Yours fraternally
BILL HOPWOOD
(Newcastle North LPYS)

STRIKE BREAKERS

Dear Comrades,

I think the article on the 1924 and 1929 Labour Governments was very instructive and pointed out the lessons that we must learn very clearly. One other feature of that period and the coming period was and will be the rise in industrial disputes involving large sections of the working class and the possibility of a general strike.

Under these circumstances we should help to explain the issues - that a successful general strike poses the question of who runs the country in its most glaring form and that unless defeat is to follow, the working class

must take state power on the basis of a socialist programme.

It is undoubtedly true that the Tories at least began to construct a strike-breaking mechanism which would co-ordinate the activities of scabs throughout the country. This was the case when Labour came to office in 1924.

1919 and subsequent years had seen enormous industrial unrest, and unlike our own leadership the Tories had learnt some lessons from the past and began to construct central strike-breaking machinery. This work was completed by the time Labour came to power.

The Tories were worried that their stream-lined "Supply and Transport Committee" would be demolished by Labour. Davidson, the Tory Chief Civil

Commissioner begged Josiah Wedgewood, the Labour MP appointed to this office, not to scrap the STC, that "it was his duty to protect the constitution against a Bolshevik general strike".

On returning to office after the fall of the Labour Government, Davidson asked what Wedgewood had done about it. He replied "I've not done a bloody thing".

The Labour Movement must ensure that this does not happen again, and that all such machinery must be scrapped.

I enclose £2 donation for the *Militant* Fighting Fund given during the course of paper sales and £1 from myself.

Yours fraternally
ROD CAMPBELL
(Chorley LPYS)

MUSIC PROFITS

Dear Comrades,

After reading an article on the music industry in one of the music papers, I realised that music lovers are going to have a terrible time over the next few years under the present capitalist system.

Peter Bowyer, one of Britain's leading promoters has predicted that by the end of the year, major rock venues in London could be

charging £3 a ticket! Elsewhere it would be £2.50. This is a 100% increase in ticket prices over 2 years.

Polydor records are the first big company to raise their prices by nearly 10% (and this is the 2nd increase of the year). The paper also states that an album will have risen 30% to £3 over a two year period.

A quotation, typical of the capitalist class is "I don't see £2.50 as too much to see a top band in concert. People have had it too good for too long". It may be all right for

him and companies like Decca, who in 1973 made over £19 million profits and Pye in 1972 who made £16.4 million, but what about the workers and students like myself who find it hard enough to raise the money at today's prices!

The only answer is a Socialist one: nationalisation of the music industry under workers' and musicians' control. This would certainly lower the terrible price of records and concerts to a decent level.

Yours fraternally
JOHN SWEENEY
(Queen's Park LPYS)

AREA	Received	PERCENTAGE OF TARGET RAISED	TARGET
LONDON	411.13		3000
SUSSEX	124.50		1000
LIVERPOOL	96.92		900
NORTH EAST	83.89		900
WEST YORKS	62.60		900
SCOTLAND	95.34		750
WEST WALES	247.30		650
MANCHESTER	58.73		600
HAMPSHIRE	54.74		550
BIRMINGHAM	61.12		550
WIRRAL	53.87		500
ESSEX	50.18		400
EAST YORKS	52.75		400
LEICESTER	198.00		400
COVENTRY	51.00		300
IRELAND	23.50		300
NOTTINGHAM	63.87		250
OXFORDSHIRE	29.25		250
EAST WALES	12.30		250
BRISTOL	33.58		250
KENT	1.13		200
GLOUCESTERSHIRE	5.00		200
SHEFFIELD	4.24		200
DEVON	13.00		100
HERTFORDSHIRE	2.00		100
LANCASHIRE	10.17		100
OTHERS & NATIONAL EVENTS	210.89		1250

LPYS REPRESENTATIVE REMOVED FROM N.E.C**BUT...****ORGANISATIONAL MEASURES WILL NOT STIFLE YOUTH**

Peter Doyle, the first representative of the Labour Party Young Socialists on the National Executive of the Labour Party has been removed from that position because he is now over the upper age limit of 25 years.

He is to be replaced by Rose Digiorgio, from Birmingham, who, as runner up for the position in the election at the annual LPYS Conference got 12 votes to the more than 140 for Peter Doyle. That fact alone will provoke concern about the democratic representation of the youth on the NEC over the next few months.

Readers of *Militant* should not be left with a single doubt that the removal of Peter from this position was as a result of anything other than a manoeuvre by the political opponents of the majority of the LPYS, so embittered by their total failure to win any support, that they have stooped to low tactics.

Nor should the emergence of the issue of his age in the last week be regarded as accidental. It was provoked on the day before the last meeting of the NEC at which the whole issue of the Clay Cross council was discussed, and from which Peter was consequently excluded.

Not only Clay Cross, but now with a Labour Government, the question of the relationship between the NEC and the Cabinet has become vital.

A mistake was made in putting forward a representative who would be too old by the end of his term of office, although Peter was within the age limit when he was first elected and when he was re-elected at last year's Conference.

The constitutional position — a candidate is elected at Easter but doesn't take the seat until October — in practice means that whoever takes such a position must be 24 at the time. This even further works against the LPYS getting the most experienced representative, which is really needed to undertake the gruelling job of fighting for the youth's rights and political views.

But why was Peter on the NEC? To further a career, to rub shoulders with the high and mighty? Peter Doyle's record itself is an answer to that.

Firstly, the job involved massive sacrifices of time and financial security. Secondly, and most importantly, look at what effect

having a fighting youth delegate has had in the past couple of years.

On the issue of the "25 companies" it was the YS's vote which swung the balance and forced the NEC to take up a position. On the Clay Cross question it was Peter Doyle's initiative which pressed the NEC to agree to set up a Fighting Fund. Without a representative to argue our case the proposed demonstration on racialism along with the national campaign, would almost certainly have been abandoned under the pressure of the right wing officials.

We have argued time and time again for an extension of the age limit to 30 years so that those with experience can continue to represent the youth. We have so far failed to alter this point in the constitution, but the constitution seems to be interpreted by many Party officials as and when it suits them.

BY TONY AITMAN
(Vice Chairman LPYS)

What, after all, is a constitution, but a scrap of paper? It is intended to regulate the development of the Labour Movement so that its work can proceed effectively. It is being wielded as a club against the political position of the LPYS in this case.

It has been an "open secret" that some prominent representatives of the right wing have been over-age in the past. James Curran, who led the attack on the Marxist majority, with much help from sympathetic officials, at the Skegness conference in 1971, was 27 years old at the time, according to a letter in *Tribune* appearing just after the conference.

We select that as an example, but also make it clear that we have always fought for our position on a political basis, and have defeated politically those who have now stooped to the lowest and dirtiest tricks possible.

We have never resorted to organisational manoeuvres in order to stifle political opposition.

Ian Davidson, defeated as Chairman of the National Organisation of Labour Students, removed from his position on the National Committee of that body, yet still — because of a peculiar constitution — the full time chairman of NOLS until the summer, has spent the time for which the Labour Party pays him in his full time capacity, searching out Peter Doyle's birth certificate.

This failed candidate for the Scottish seat on the LPYS National Committee and defeated leader of the

Labour students hypocritically masquerades as a guardian of party democracy but in fact is prepared to use any weapon in the arsenal to defeat the supporters of *Militant* ...

any weapon, that is, except that of political argument and campaigning! The very emptiness of his politics is indicated by his incapacity to conduct a political campaign for his ideas.

This person claims to stand with the Tribune wing of the Party. Yet he has been prepared to organise a bloc at the NOLS Conference even with Tavernites, now out of the Party and part of Taverner's campaign, in opposition to the supporters of the *Militant*.

That is how far he is really concerned about Party democracy! It is high time that the supporters of *Tribune*, and the paper itself, said what they thought of the activities of such supporters. Not only have they damaged themselves in the eyes of rank and file members of the party, but they have damaged the movement.

They have tried to turn back the leftward development in the Party.

But although this is a blow to the youth and a blow to all those who are fighting for Socialist policies in the Labour Party, it is by no means a drastic set-back. We are firstly confident that at the LPYS conference, in just over one week, the delegates will back a new representative for the NEC, who will continue the work begun by Peter Doyle.

We will fight the situation where Rose Digiorgio, with the support of 12 votes only, and those a year ago, will represent the LPYS on the NEC for another 6 months. We will fight for whoever is elected at this conference to immediately take the position. At the NEC meeting last week, Ian Mikardo, the new PLP chairman, moved that that procedure should hold in this case, but unfortunately he was defeated.

The elected representatives of the LPYS at a national and regional level, obtained their positions on the basis of an open political struggle for their ideas, in fact often in the teeth of organisational manoeuvres against them. It is high time that the "yesterday's men" in the Labour Movement, who have been decisively and openly defeated in a thoroughly democratic manner, accepted the reality of the situation and above all accepted that the movement will push aside as intolerable those who try to cheat and manoeuvre their way out of the democratic decisions of the majority.

The LPYS has never been more united or more successful. We are heading for the most successful conference and rally ever. The present leadership has the overwhelming support of the membership and I am confident that this will be clearly shown over Easter. We will not be defeated by such actions!

FIGHTING SPIRIT AT SCOTTISH LP CONFERENCE

By NADIA FERGUSON
(West Stirlingshire CLP delegate)

The Scottish Labour Party Conference over the weekend 22/23 March at Ayr, began with assurances from the Labour Party General Secretary Ron Hayward that ... "There will be no compromises ... it is more important to stick to your principles than to stick to power".

An overwhelming majority passed a resolution from West Stirlingshire CLP, which, among other things said:—

"This Conference rejects, as inadequate, the previous policy and future proposals of a Labour Government of giving massive handouts of public money to the private enterprise in an attempt to bribe them into setting up

Government implements a Socialist Programme for the development areas based on the extension of the nationalised industries and the setting up of new state owned industries, run and controlled by the workers and trade unions".

In other words the conference was determined to hold the leadership to Ron Hayward's words!

Despite the frantic attempts by the platform to discredit the resolution, and by Willy Ross, the Secretary of State for Scotland, this was passed by an

against a regional policy based on bribes to Big Business and for a real Socialist policy.

A resolution which took up the case of those councillors who had defied the Tory Housing Finance Act was, unfortunately, defeated, but only narrowly and after a card vote.

Jane McVeigh, received tremendous applause, when she was introduced to speak on behalf of the Regional Committee of the LPYS, showing the enthusiasm felt by the delegates for the fighting spirit shown at

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TORY LAW FROM PAGE 1

the Law Courts, with their judges and magistrates, unelected representatives of the employers, and the other, the law of working class solidarity based on that which advances the interests of the workers.

What is now at stake is more than the savagery of the individual judgement. It is whether or not a Labour Government is to stand up to capitalist pressure and revoke these blatant class actions.

The argument that the law is above class interests is a pernicious myth maintained by the capitalist press to confuse the issues in the minds of the workers. In a capitalist society in which wealth and power is concentrated in the hands of Big Business the institutions of the state are directly or indirectly under their control. The Law courts and legal system are no exception.

Under a Tory Government the class bias is blatant, witness their legislation and the kind of judgements such as those at Shrewsbury. But under a Labour Government, as long as wealth and power is still in the hands of the rich, what has changed? What else does the £47,000 grabbed from the engineering workers mean but that the same system of class justice is maintained?

The ruling class are so far tolerating a Labour Government. But they are making it absolutely plain that they must not tamper with what they regard as "their preserve". The implications of the Tory argument on the law is that the Labour Government is restricted by a capitalist system of laws and constitution in what it can do.

The working class do not elect a Labour Government on that basis.

MILITANT MEETING

For the 37 delegates and visitors who attended Saturday evening's Militant meeting at the Scottish Labour Conference in Ayr, it was undoubtedly the high spot of the weekend. This was the largest public meeting ever held by *Militant* in Scotland.

Pat Craven of the Militant Editorial Board described the grave economic crisis in which the minority Labour Government had come to power. Plans were being hatched by Big Business and the Tories to sabotage it at the first opportune moment, as the last thing they can afford at the moment is a strong Labour Government with a big majority.

A fruitful and lively discussion followed, in which supporters of the "mainstream left" criticised points in *Militant's* perspective, doubting that it would be possible to prevent the capitalist class from sabotaging a Labour Government carrying out a Socialist Programme, and warning that the run-down of the world's resources could mean a lower level of consumption for everyone.

Other speakers replied that it was precisely a refusal to carry out decisive measures of Socialism and to have faith in the ability of the working class to carry them

Labour must push the objections of the capitalists aside and take firm action to revoke those judgements mentioned. The movement expects action from the leaders on this.

Unfortunately the leaders of the Labour Party themselves contribute to the situation by their open acceptance of capitalist arguments. The Labour Attorney General, Sam Silkin, at the time of the debate in the Labour Party about Clay Cross, wrote a memorandum outlining his "legal" objections to retrospective indemnification of councillors. He said that to do so would:

"contravene all constitutional practice and would set a dangerous precedent ..."

Those who argue like this should remember that the Labour Movement was built by the blood and sacrifice of those who were prepared to defy all the "constitutional precedents" and fight for the working class. The right to organise into unions, even the right to vote, were all won as a result of enormous struggle against capitalist laws designed to hold the movement in check.

A Labour Government must not stand back while the rich men's courts still dispense their class justice. As a beginning the following must be implemented:

* Repayment of all fines levied under the Industrial Relations Act.

* Repayment of all the fines and and surcharges levied under the Housing Finance Act, along with the removal of the bans on holding office.

* Release of the jailed pickets.

through, that would enable the ruling class to manoeuvre to retain its power.

This was, perhaps, an 'historic' meeting in another sense. It was the first readers' meeting attended by a Government Minister — Norman Buchan, Minister of State for Agriculture. He spoke in the discussion, arguing that the case for Socialism had to be made relevant to the workers if it was to be accepted. Labour had failed in the past to explain the need for public ownership.

Harry Selby, new MP for Govan, spoke from the platform. He said that the industrial and political whips of the workers' movement should work together.

At the end of the meeting £11.23 was collected for the Fighting Fund. A splendid end to a splendid meeting!

FOOTBALL TREBLES COMPETITION

We apologise for the delay in announcing the winners of the football trebles competition over the past few weeks. In fact, there were several weeks that produced no winners, meaning that the prizes mounted up:

For Mrs Miller of Peacehaven, Sussex ... £25
For Mrs Jenkinson of Portsmouth ... £10
For Mrs G Wood of Llanbethery, Wales ... £5

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