

**RUSSIAN
REVOLUTION**
see centre
pages

Militant

THE MARXIST PAPER FOR LABOUR AND YOUTH

ON OTHER PAGES:

- * SPAIN IN CRISIS
- * PORTUGUESE SOCIALISTS
- * POVERTY IN BRITAIN
- * ARMY HARRASS DERRY SOCIALISTS
- * MINERS' BALLOT

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5p

RECALL TUC CONFERENCE MOBILISE LABOUR MOVEMENT TO.....

RELEASE THE PICKETS

The decision of the bewigged capitalist judge Lord Widgery to put the two Shrewsbury building pickets back in jail, after five months of freedom, has caused a storm of protest.

As soon as the news came through on Wednesday last week, 500 workers from the Glasgow shipyards downed tools. Over 200 building workers and 70 other shipyard workers marched to the headquarters of UCATT in Glasgow to demand that the union mount action to free their jailed brothers.

Workers in Liverpool and Edinburgh came out almost immediately, as in numerous other areas and in hundreds of sites, such was the immediate anger at this savage attack on trade union rights, and on working people in general. 3500 UCATT members on Merseyside stayed out over the next week in protest.

Builders, miners, dockers, car workers, railwaymen have all expressed their disgust at the sentences with protest action, resolutions and a flood of telegrams to the Home Secretary, Roy Jenkins, and to Harold Wilson, demanding their immediate release.

Lord Widgery has delivered a good lesson in capitalist justice. These workers were jailed for picketing in the 1972 national building strike under the infamous "catch-all" 1875 Conspiracy Acts. They were jailed for taking bold class action and for no other reason. Widgery shows us blatant class justice at work in turning down their appeal. It is instructive to note what he said:

"This court would be undoing the good work the sentences have done if we decided to set aside the sentences". If the appeal were allowed, "the effect must be to destroy the deterrent effect".

With the present wave of militancy, capitalist judges such as him hope that they can frighten the workers into submission, and cow them with the threat of legal action, leading even to jail, if they persist in militant picketing. But to no avail!

To those who argue that "the law" must be upheld, we have to answer clearly that in this society, with wealth and power concentrated in the hands of a tiny clique of monopolists, "the law" is THEIR law. The courts, the whole legal system, along with the noble judges who run them, are part of the capitalist

machinery of justice which in the last analysis is an instrument to be used against the working class.

The Labour Movement was built, over two centuries, in defiance of "the law". The right to strike, to organise, to demonstrate, to free speech and a free press, the right to vote, to picket and so on ... not one of these has been "granted" without a bitter struggle against the class to which Lord Widgery owes allegiance.

We need mass action to press for the release of these brothers. Those who dispense class justice must be shown that their actions will turn to dust, in the face of the pressure of the working class mobilised to defend its hard-won rights.

Yet this capitalist justice is dispensed under a Labour Government! Like the Admiral who sailed the fleet into Capetown Harbour, firing a twenty one gun salute a couple of weeks ago, they are thumbing their noses at the Labour leaders; in effect telling them who still really rules.

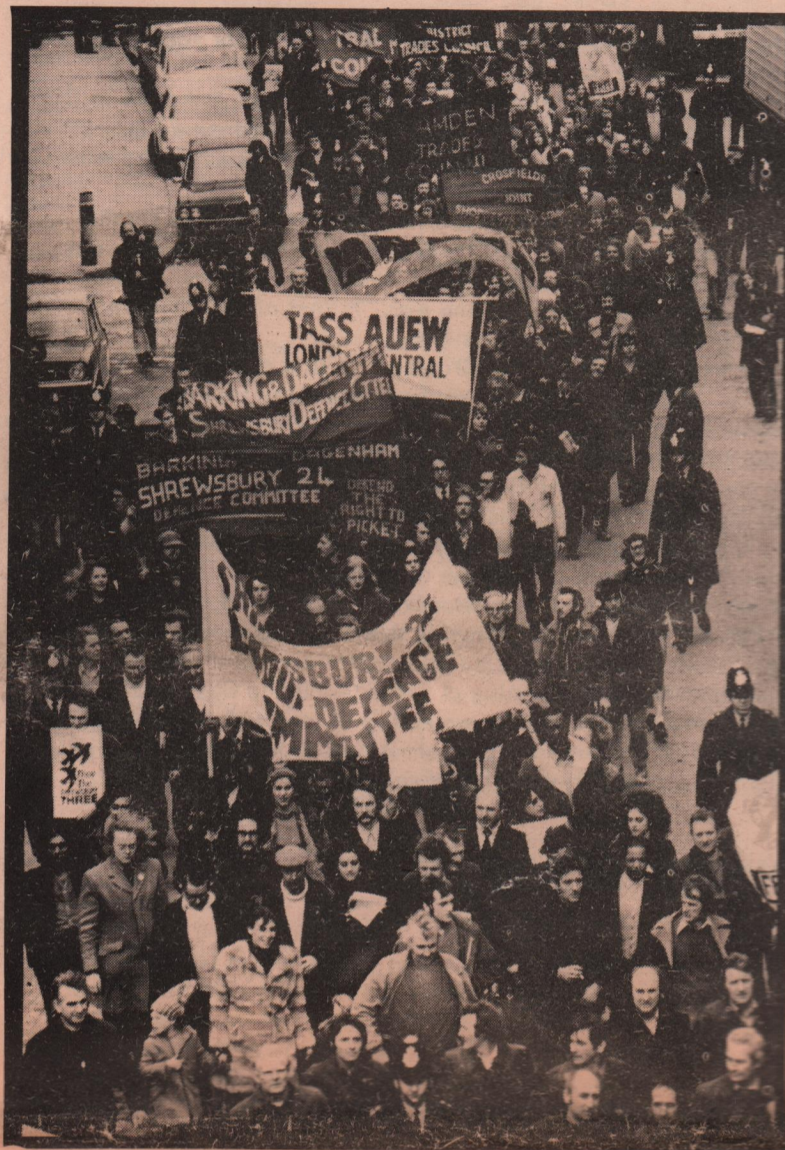
Labour must stand up to these provocations. Already a flood of resolutions and telegrams has reached Wilson and Jenkins demanding the release of the pickets. As the telegram sent by a meeting of over 100 Merseyside shop stewards said: "We supported you in your re-election to Government. We ask you now to support us ..."

ONE DAY STRIKE

All these sentences must be quashed immediately. The Home Secretary has the power to do this. Why does he bow to the decisions of hostile class courts? He is in his position because of the support of millions of workers and the power of the workers' organisations which are now under attack. They in turn now demand that Labour break with the trappings of capitalism and act in their interests.

At its last Congress the TUC pledged to "use all the resources of the movement to ensure that the two men did not return to jail", and the UCATT conference called for "all out strike action" if the pickets were jailed.

It is time these resolutions were put into practice! Two years ago, when five dockers were jailed under the hated Industrial Relations Act, pressure from hundreds of thousands of trade unionists forced the TUC General Council to call a one-day general strike - a threat that forced the bosses' judges to their knees.



Active trade unionists were ready to act in defence of the Shrewsbury pickets when they were first charged and sentenced ... but no lead came from the top. Photos: Jake Sutton

The gates of Pentonville were flung open by the threat of a mass movement beside which the 1926 General Strike itself would pale into insignificance.

Trade Unionists are just as capable of solidarity with building workers as with dockers! There is only one reason why the persecution of brothers Warren and Tomlinson has not provoked the same explosion of outrage as did the jailing of the Pentonville Five.

It is because the leaders of the trade union movement had been forced to campaign and mobilise their forces in the fight against the Industrial Relations Act from the day the original Parliamentary Bill was published. A series of one-day strikes, each bigger than the last, had served to warn the movement of the real meaning of this class law. The jailing of the dockers could not be ignored or glossed over.

But in this case, it is not Warren or Tomlinson who are guilty of conspiracy. It is the tycoons of Fleet Street who have conspired to hush up the truth. How many trade unionists know the facts about these trumped-up charges? The leaders of UCATT and

of the TUC itself have an obligation to rouse the whole Labour Movement, ten-million strong, to the nature of this vicious threat to its rights.

The leaders of UCATT have, belatedly, in the bitter aftermath of the final ruling of the Appeal Court, called for a special meeting of the TUC General Council, and a lobby of Parliament. Having hoped that the Lords of Appeal in their mercy would let them off the hook, they have opted for action that could not guarantee that the bosses would be forced to retreat at this stage. What is needed is a Special Conference of the TUC to rally support for one-day General Strike.

The campaign for such a strike would bring home to every worker the real nature of the conspiracy of Big Business against the trade union movement.

Emergency resolutions should flood in to the TUC and the Labour Party NEC and Conference, to urge that the great tradition of 1972 be upheld, and our brothers released!

BY TAM McVEIGH
(UCATT, Glasgow)

SPANISH SOCIALIST GETS WARM WELCOME

During the ten days that the comrade from the Spanish Young Socialists toured Britain - part of a European speaking tour to alert the Labour Movement to the coming Spanish revolution - he addressed something like 600 people at meetings, visited factories and colleges, and collected about £170. Comrades from the Spanish Young Socialists Defence Campaign up and down the country estimate the figures as follows:

LONDON: Over 100 at public meeting, including visitors from Rochester, Crawley, Portsmouth, Leicester and Leeds. £43 raised in collection.

GLASGOW: Comrade visited Singers, Chryslers, and Babcock and Wilcox. 30 people attended meeting despite bus strike. £11.40 raised in collection.

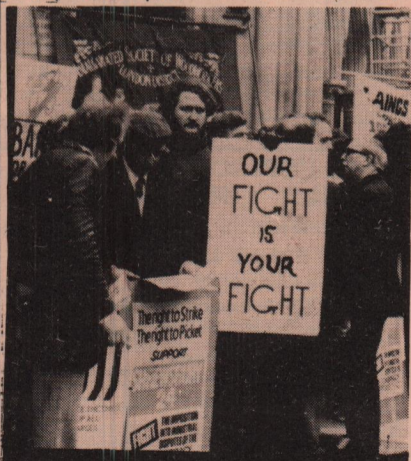
LIVERPOOL: Visited Dunlops, where money has already been collected in support of workers in Spanish Dunlops plant. Meeting at Liverpool University attended by 35 people. £5.37 collected. About 100 people attended public meeting, including visitors from all over Lancashire. £27 was raised in the collection, in addition to about £8 paid for admission to meeting.

MANCHESTER: A hastily organised meeting of LPYS members raised £8.30.

BIRMINGHAM: 115 delegates to LPYS Young Workers Conference, including visitors from Coventry, Nottingham and Leicester, heard Spanish comrade and contributed £46.50 to SYSDC.

BRISTOL: About 100 people attended a meeting at the Bristol University Labour Club and raised £10. At a public meeting in the town, attended by over 50 members both of the LPYS and of the local Trade Union Movement, £13.19 was collected for the SYSDC.

The comrade will return to face the great events impending in Spain with practical evidence of the solidarity of workers in Britain and Europe.



WORKERS FIGHT TO MAINTAIN LIVING STANDARDS

BY TONY MULHEARN
(NGA, Liverpool)

The Scottish Lorry drivers' victory resulted from determined, militant action. The employers totally capitulated to their main demand for £40 for a 40 hour week, in the face of remarkable solidarity.

Some drivers refused to go back to work, as at Grangemouth, until their brothers in the National Freight Corporation got the same. Now drivers in National Carriers all over Britain are out for a similar demand. Bitterly angry at the killing of a

fighting on. They have already turned down an offer of £10 on the present £26 as "inadequate". They are even more incensed by the "picket-busting" of the army who have driven "Northern Ireland Carriers" trucks with heavily armed guards, through picket lines.

Midlands drivers have given the employers two weeks to settle and in the North East just one week. There, the union men see the fight as a good opportunity to "close ranks" and organise. Only 5000 out of 15,000 are unionised in the area so far. Reports have poured in of strikes,

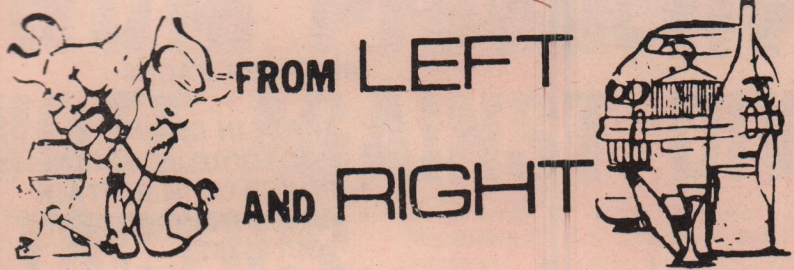
busmen, railwaymen, Hull Fish dockers, engineers at Hoovers, to name just a few. Scottish teachers have just mounted their first ever national strike.

Increasingly, workers refuse to see their living standards dwindle. For seven months the Labour Government was given a measure of "goodwill". Now the workers want results. And they are absolutely right! Over the past two years real wages have fallen by at least six percent, and the struggle for a bare existence is becoming intolerable for the poorest

workers understand that their wages are falling behind prices, not the other way round.

The official rate of inflation between September 1973 and September 1974 was 17.1%. For a worker with two children under 11 on the 'average' industrial wages of £45 a week (attained through overtime etc; millions get much less) take home pay is about £35. To maintain that in real terms requires a gross increase of £9.71 a week, and real inflation of basic goods featuring high in working class budgets is much faster. Thus the demands for £10 now are really modest - "cost of living" increases at best!

Every demand made by the workers for a decent living is in conflict with



EMERGENCY HOUSING

So painful does Mr Crosland find the present housing situation that he was forced to propose an "emergency housing programme" at a meeting of the National Housing and Town Planning Council last week.

At last, socialist action to clear the slums? Not according to Mr Crosland!

"Would not people greatly prefer quicker, cheaper homes to the hopeless, endless wait for a bigger and more expensive house?" He went on to suggest "temporary or, prefabricated homes with less floor space ..." (*Times* 31/10/74).

It is true that homeless people and those living in miserable slums would prefer ANYTHING to what they have, but there are still thousands living in so-called "temporary prefabs" which were thrown up at the end of the war. Is that all the Minister of Housing can offer thirty years later?

The trouble, according to Crosland, is that standards are too high as "the total resources we have available for housing are inevitably limited ..."

But isn't the real problem staring him in the face? He should ask the council tenants living in the concrete blocks if their standards are too high. Resources are not "inevitably limited", they are squandered by the capitalist system which is incapable of solving the needs of millions of people.

There are a record 735 million bricks stockpiled, with up to a third of the brick industry closing down putting thousands out of work. Up to 150,000 construction workers are out of work. Nationalisation and planning of these resources would make it easy, along with the public ownership of land and finance, to launch a real "emergency programme" of at least one million homes a year ... and of better quality than now!

ENOUGH TO GO ROUND

Militant has always pointed out that capitalism is totally unable to satisfy the basic, most minimal needs of the vast majority of the world's population. The United Nations in its report to the World Food Conference, to be held in Rome in early November, shows that conservative estimates believe that 460 million people are suffering from malnutrition and that as a result of the world economic crisis that number could jump dramatically.

At the same time, an as yet unpublished survey by the Economic Research Service of the United States Department of Agriculture predicts that by 1985 there could be huge food surpluses in the developed capitalist world and massive food deficits in the undeveloped countries unless there is a "serious re-evaluation of agricultural ... policies".

The *International Herald Tribune* reported that "according to one projection, a continuation of present trends could result in a 51.9 million ton food surplus in developed nations and a deficit of 47.6 million tons in developing countries by then".

The survey says that the food shortage is caused by "man caused factors". It gives the example of how the USA, Canada, Australia and Argentina between 1968 and 1970 cut their total wheat acreage from 120 million acres to 81 million acres thereby losing over 90 million tons of wheat between 1969 and 1972, so the price would rise and benefit the big farmers.

The US Government report totally condemns the capitalist system when it says that producing the extra grain needed to end malnutrition would be easy, but the problem of getting the food to the people who need it "would be so enormously complicated as to be quite impractical". In other words the food can be produced, but the profit system and the vested interests of the capitalists prevent millions of people from eating. Socialists could not ask for a better condemnation of the capitalist system and a better reason to smash it!

ADVERTISEMENTS...

RATES:
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inch.
All advertisement copy should reach this office by first post Tuesday.
Payments must be sent with all advertisements. Cheques and Postal Orders should be made payable to 'Militant'

GRAND CHRISTMAS BAZAAR SATURDAY 7th DECEMBER

Wimbledon Park Hall, Arthur Road, London SW 19 (nr Wimbledon Park tube)
Contact -

Jo Collins (SE London) 852 5005
Eve Smith (Tottenham) 808 9948
C Reeves (SW London) 671 1694
M Conway (Hornsey) 348 5793
A Herbert (West London) 749 2843
WANTED - Anything, old or new.

MILITANT CHRISTMAS DANCE

Saturday 21st December 1974
Place: Newington Sports Hall. (Manor Place baths)
Manor Place SE 17
(Tubes: Elephant and Castle and Kennington)
Near Herbert Morrison House, Walworth Road.
7.30 - 11pm Admission 50p
DISCO AND LICENSED BAR
RAFFLE PRIZES
Tickets from Bill Webster, 375, Cambridge Heath Road, London E2 9RA

LONDON DISCO AND SOCIAL

The Mother Redcap, London NW1 (opposite Camden Town Tube)
THE MORE THE MERRIER - FOR THE MILITANT FIGHTING FUND

AUEW HEADQUARTERS STAFF why we are on strike

In London during the past six months tens of thousands of workers, ranging from civil servants to hospital ancillary workers, have been forced to take strike action in order to secure a realistic London Weighting Allowance that reflects the cost of living in the capital city.

On Tuesday 29 October, 250 non-salaried staff (mostly members of APEX but including members of the TGWU and Sogat) employed at the AUEW Headquarters, Peckham Road, London, came out on strike to demonstrate their frustration over the question.

When I visited the picket line on Thursday 31st October, I spoke to Bro Peter Davidson, secretary of the APEX branch at AUEW headquarters.

He informed me that a claim had been lodged in April of this year for a substantial increase in basic pay plus London Allowance. At the present time £52 pa London weighting is paid to the staff.

The NEC of the AUEW made the non-salaried staff an offer strictly in line with phase 3 of the Tory legislation: £2.25 or 7%, plus threshold clause. Talks were also promised on the London Weighting claim for £400 pa lodged by APEX. These talks would begin once the Pay Board completed its reports.

At first, the Phase 3 offer was rejected out of hand by APEX. But due to the clause in the Phase 3 legislation on timing of the increase

and payment of thresholds the APEX Branch Committee, on behalf of its members to accept the offer. When the Pay Board published its report on London Weighting the APEX Branch Committee met the NEC to discuss the question. We were told by the NEC that not sufficient information was available to them (ie NEC) as to what other unions were paying their staff!

TUC

The TUC was conducting a survey on London Weighting which would be completed in September. At the meeting in September, Hugh Scanlon, chairman of the NEC informed them that "There could be no re-opening of talks on the current wage agreement. Even if the NEC did agree to an increase in London Weighting this could not be paid before 1975".

Peter Davidson told me that the workers repudiated this statement. They had only accepted the original pay offer on the basis that a substantial increase would come through the London Weighting Allowance. At the end of September, the TUC had completed its survey and they offered £300 to the staff at Congress House - who had formerly not received the allowance.

By this time the APEX members at AUEW were fed up with the continual delays by the NEC. On the 7th and 8th of October a limited stoppage occurred in order to secure a meeting with the NEC. They were told by Hugh Scanlon that, at the

BY BILL WEBSTER

meeting to be held on the 17th October an offer would be made.

In fact, an offer of an increase of £156 pa was made but the NEC was only prepared to pay this amount from 30th September. They refused to back-date this to April when the original claim was first lodged.

This was flatly rejected by the APEX, SOGAT and TGWU members and they decided to pursue their original claim for £400 pa. They also decided, as a means of applying pressure to the NEC, that no unusual movement of labour at work between departments would take place. The reason for this was that because the ballots were being conducted for various posts within the union, including that of General Secretary, the Assistant Office Manager had asked that more overtime be worked by staff outside of the Ballot Department. This overtime included extra night time and all day Saturday.

At the Branch meeting held on the 23/10/74 the offer of £156 was turned down unanimously by the staff. The Management's response to this was to abolish all overtime working!

Peter Davidson pointed out that although the original offer of £156.00 meant an extra £3 per week because of the overtime the staff were required to work, normally 3 hours per week, being cut, this in effect meant that their wages dropped by

SEE PAGE 7

NOTTINGHAM-WORK OR FULL PAY

If you get fed up with the boredom and monotony of your job, or just feel too worn out to turn up one day, you lose a day's pay. If you cannot stand the factory one week more and hand in your notice, or even get sacked for what the employers call "misconduct", you have to wait six weeks for unemployment benefit.

Yet if the bosses can't sell their goods, or the market dries up, they think nothing of making men redundant, or putting the work-force on short time.

The Trade Union answer to this iniquity has been to negotiate "Guaranteed week" agreements. Workers have the right to work and if this cannot be guaranteed then the right to full pay. Shops don't give half-price food just because you are only working half a week.

This whole problem has come to the surface in Nottingham with disputes at two of the biggest factories in the areas - Raleigh Industries (Tube Investments) and John Player and Son (Imperial Group).

At Players, trouble started with a successful five week strike of maintenance men, demanding the right for their union to negotiate separately from the national

negotiating machinery existing between Imperial Tobacco and the largest union, the Tobacco Workers.

As a consequence, factories in Glasgow and Bristol were closed down for two weeks. The employers found a loophole in the guaranteed week agreement (as if they needed one) and workers at these two plants lost a fortnight's pay. So far, the Tobacco Workers Union have organised two one-hour token stoppages which have successfully halted all production. But action has got to be stepped up, for if management can get away with this, then the wages of all employed - production workers and craftsmen are under threat.

At Raleigh's, the only time the guaranteed week comes into effect is when an outside dispute stops production. Two weeks ago when the TGWU drivers came out on strike over pay and better conditions, effectively stopping the inflow of components, over 300 people on the assembly lines were laid off for half a day.

After an overtime ban management eventually agreed to pay us £1 for the time lost. At the present time, 900 piece rate workers are on strike in an attempt to regain parity with other workers after a recent wage

rise, and after only three days, 2,000 workers have been laid off.

No longer must this state of affairs be tolerated! Increasingly in the future the bosses will attempt to put pressure on one group of workers in struggle by laying off others, in an attempt to divide the workforce and to place the cost of the dispute on the backs of workers themselves. One of the best ways that workers can show solidarity with their factory mates on strike, is to refuse to accept anything other than their normal wage, to refuse to be thrown out of work with no pay at the drop of the employer's top hat.

The bosses won't be half as keen to halt production in an attempt to break a sectional strike, if they know they are going to get the normal wage bill to meet at the end of the week.

Unions must resolutely put forward the demand for work or full pay. If there is not enough work to go around then we are willing to share it, without any loss of pay. If the bosses claim that they can't afford it, make them open the books to see where all the profit has been going.

By JEREMY BIRCH
(Tobacco Workers Union)
& ROB WOOD (G&MWU)

CLASSIFIED

BRIGHTON KEMPTOWN LABOUR PARTY YOUNG SOCIALISTS

Young Workers' Conference
Saturday 14 December 10am-5pm
Opening address by RAY BUCKTON (ASLEF General Secretary)

Room 2, Royal Pavillion Brighton.
Delegates fee 20p. Further details from John Ballance, 64 Coleman Street, Brighton.

CLAY CROSS LP MEETING LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE

All delegates and visitors and all LP members welcome.
Hear: DAVID SKINNER (ex-Clay Cross Councillor)
JOHN DUNN (Secretary Clay Cross LP and councillor)

ARTHUR WELTON (Chairman Clay Cross LP and ex-councillor)
RAY APPS (Brighton Kemptown delegate and NEC candidate)

Chairman: ANDY BEVAN (LPYS Chairman)
Thursday 28 November, 7pm
Chelsea Old Town Hall, Kings Road, London SW3

PUBLIC MEETING "NOLS Programme for Education"

Hear: BRENT KENNEDY (NOLS Chairman)
Friday 8 November 1974 7.30pm
Hammersmith Labour Rooms, 466 Uxbridge Road, ALL NOLS SUPPORTERS AND LPYS MEMBERS WELCOME

NORTH NOTTINGHAM LPYS Clay Cross Sponsored Walk

ILKESTON to CLAY CROSS
Sunday 17 November 9.30am
FROM Ilkeston Football supporters Club, Bath Street, Ilkeston.

To raise money to pay expenses (not fines) of Clay Cross councillors.

All welcome to walk, or sponsor a Young Socialist. Contact: L Carlisle, 22, Dagmar Grove, Mapperley, Nottingham.

Labour Party Young Socialists LONDON YOUNG WORKERS CONFERENCE

SATURDAY 23rd NOVEMBER 10am - 5pm

Conway Hall, Red Lion Square (near Holborn Tube) All welcome: A vital meeting for all young trade unionists. Fuller details can be had from Kathy Gelb, 6 Abersham Road E8 (organiser on behalf of the LPYS regional committee) or from local YS and Labour Parties.

GREATER LONDON LPYS IRISH CAMPAIGN

"Ireland and the British Labour Movement"

Hear: JOHN THRONE (Militant Irish Monthly Editorial Board and Dublin Labour Party)

CHRIS LEEDS (London Regional Committee LP Young Socialists)
Chairman: EDDIE McPARLAND (Sec, LPYS Irish Campaign)
Friday 15 November 1974 7.30pm
Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1 (nr Holborn tube)

Twickenham Labour Party Young Socialists. BONFIRE NIGHT. Food, drink, music and fireworks (bring a bottle if you can). 8 'til late, Saturday, November 9th. 213, Fulwell Park Avenue, Twickenham. Entrance fee 25p ALL WELCOME!

LPYS LIVERPOOL LIAISON COMMITTEE Day School. Sunday 1st December 10.30 am - 5 pm on "What is Socialism?" Speaker PAT WALL (President Bradford Trades Council) at Pirrie Ward Labour Club, Lower Lane, Walton, Liverpool. Tickets from Dot Kinrade

SPAIN: THE COMING CRISIS

BY PAT BONNER
(Queens Park LPYS)



The Spanish Young Socialists Defence Committee have organised solidarity for the Socialist youth in Spain. A London demonstration.

Spain today is on the verge of a revolutionary upsurge. For the last 4 years, the Spanish working class has been through a series of mighty struggles, including local general strikes, pitched battles with police and barricades in the major towns.

A recent wave of strikes throughout Spain, not only for better conditions and higher wages, but in solidarity with other workers and with prisoners on hunger strike, indicates the withering of the power of the dictatorship.

The capitalists are in a dilemma about how to handle the situation: introduce measures of liberalisation as in Portugal, and hope to stay on top until the sea of the workers' movement has calmed, or stand against the tide and be dragged under and drowned as the movement surges forward?

The struggle of the students, intellectuals and professionals, many of whom have been arrested recently, is a sign that the regime has little support in Spain today.

Even the army chiefs have been preparing for their future by having discussions with so-called "democratic bodies".

For the Spanish capitalists today, there is no hope of continuing to rule for long in the old way. "On this simple issue at least the only disagreement is whether it (the regime) will last for weeks or months".

(Financial Times 9/10/74).

The regime has been attempting everything to encourage foreign capital, such as trying to sell off majority holdings in state companies to the big monopolies; but as the workers' movement gathers strength, investment is held back and the situation consequently worsens.

Tourism, a huge foreign currency earner for Spain, is now going into decline. 30% of the hotels on the Costa Brava lay empty this summer, as increased prices chased away tourists and bankrupted holiday firms.

Inflation is increasing and prices in many cases are higher than in

Britain. The table, from *Informaciones* a Madrid daily paper of 12/9/74 contains the comparative unit prices of 9 basic foodstuffs.

TABLE OF COMPARATIVE PRICES

Fillet Steak	£1.07	£1.23
Pork	0.65p	0.58
Potatoes	0.03.3	0.025
Butter	0.23	0.61.1
Margarine	0.21	0.27.2
Chicken	0.24	0.23.7
Codfish	0.45	0.54.4
Bread	0.08	0.06.1
Milk	0.04.4	0.09

Col 1 - prices in London
Col 2 - prices in Madrid.

The regime has lifted wage controls only because these wage controls were ineffective anyway. "Despite previous efforts, industrial workers' wages rose by an estimated 20% to 25% last year. Most experts predict even bigger rises this year. The step (lifting wage controls) was taken in spite of a continuing inflation".

(The Times 16/8/74).

A graphic account of the workers' struggle over a recent period of 5 days went like this —
3/10/74 - Fasa Renault strike continues.

28 political prisoners on hunger strike in Zaragoza; demonstration of support by local population.

More political prisoners begin hunger strike in San Sebastian.

Nuevo Diario journalists strike, along with printers, in opposition to censorship of events in Portugal. Reports were then fuller and freer.

4/10/74 - 30,000 on strike throughout Spain.

1500 in Fasa Renault Vallidolid.

Seville police evacuate 200 workers occupying Fasa Renault in solidarity, but population physically prevents their arrest.

Other factories evacuated in Seville.

100 sacked in another factory - local population hold demonstration.

Barcelona - SEAT stop work for 2 hours as a warning, in solidarity with Vallidolid.

Total numbers of workers on strike for different reasons in Catalonia - 5000.

3500 workers on strike in Bilbao, GE Espara.

Several other factories on strike totalling 8000 workers.

7 political prisoners began hunger strike in Pamplona because of prison conditions.

6/10/74 - police break up assembly of workers and lawyers arresting 70 after one week on strike at Roberto Boch factory.

47 arrested in San Cugas del Valles for illegal assembly, including 2 Italian Fiat workers, 2 other Italians, CP and Work Committee members.

Vallidolid - 13,500 Fasa Renault workers locked out.

5000 construction workers in Bilbao and Eibar on strike for higher wages.

7/10/74 - After 4 weeks, strike ends in Vallidolid but 2 hour solidarity stoppage in SEAT Barcelona.

Most of the capitalists know that the regime cannot last much longer. The diehard conservatives demand increased repression in order to "maintain stability" and point to

CONTINUED PAGE 6

RULING CLASS IN CRISIS

The turmoil in the ranks of the Spanish ruling class was demonstrated by last week's Cabinet dismissal and resignation, with the consequent crisis of dismay in the capitalist press.

Under the pressure of the

the old Falangist Movement which surrounds Franco, Prime Minister Arias Navarro, dismissed the "liberal" Information Minister Pío Cabanillas, under whose Ministry more press freedom had been tolerated than ever before since the Civil War. Recently, press coverage of developments within both Socialist and Communist Parties, had shocked the diehards.

This was quickly followed by the resignation of Barrera de Irimo, Finance Minister and second Deputy Prime Minister, another noted "liberal".

The old Falangists associated with this dismissal are probably the most blind and senile (politically if not in reality) in Spain today. Blind to the storm brewing below, the main speaker at a rally attended by Franco on the day of Cabanillas' dismissal, described "liberal democratic regimes" as "idiotic" and demanded they be avoided "at all costs".

Even the generals and chiefs of police now sense the need for at least conciliatory gestures to the masses. "At all costs"; that phrase conjures up nightmares for the far-sighted sections of Big Business!

The "Tacito" group of conservatives who are pressing for some measure of "transition" towards a "democratic regime", declared on Cabanillas' sacking - "a political line died yesterday". This statement made in the Madrid Daily Ya, was followed by a Barcelona paper which declared that it was "fatal for the evolutionary path that should be undertaken".

But such is the crisis within the ruling class and the regime that Arias was forced to announce that the sacking did not signify any change in policy.

Promised plans in which "workers were to be given a bigger voice in the settlement of labour disputes ... and adequate norms to attend to the just demands of the workers". (Times 31/10/74) would go ahead.

In fact there are only 8 weeks left to prepare legislation to legalise the promised "associations" (not political parties).

Increasingly, with the events of Portugal at the back of their minds, Spanish capitalists are trying to keep their distance from a regime which they sense is doomed. They reason that when the storm comes, the less they are identified with it the better. Images of Portuguese managers hounded by their workers in May still haunt them!

Cabanillas is rumoured not to have been too unhappy at his sacking "in order to enhance his liberal image for the post Franco days" (Times 31/10/74). Such touching faith in the Caudillo and his regime!

Barrera clearly also took his cue ... "If the sniff of real change was in the air, he may well have decided that this was an opportune moment to end his association with the old order ..."

(Financial Times 1/11/74)

He is vice-president of SEAT (Spanish subsidiary of Fiat). It is rumoured that the job of Finance Minister was first offered to his boss, the President of SEAT who turned it down, offering instead his deputy as a dutiful sacrifice to the regime.

With the stormy movements erupting throughout Spain what better sign could we have of the possibilities for a real workers' leadership! The regime is in utter crisis, split, lurching from day to day between repression and conciliation. Big Business is looking for a way out, yet knows that once the lid is lifted a mighty mass movement will flood onto the stage.

The only saving grace they can look towards is that, as the Financial Times editorial of November 1st pointed out -

"The Secretary General of the Spanish CP, Santiago Carrillo repeated this week the offer to work with all forces including the right, the Monarchists and the army to form a Provisional Government ..."

BY BOB REEVES

"UNEQUAL BRITAIN" - MILLIONS IN POVERTY AND DEPRIVATION

'Unequal Britain' by Frank Field
Reviewed by SUSAN MCMILLAN

Frank Field's latest publication on poverty in Britain (*Unequal Britain - a report on the Cycle of Inequality*) is a searing indictment of a system which condemns millions to a life of poverty and deprivation.

By bringing together the findings of all the major research reports published since the war, Frank Field shows that, contrary to the impression given by gentlemen reformers, the 'Welfare State' has not made Britain more equal.

From birth to death, the majority of the working class get a raw deal from the capitalist system.

You may think that we are all born equal. But the pamphlet reveals, for example, that the child of a miner is four times as likely to die during the first four weeks of life as the child of a professional man.

The general reduction in infant mortality rates during this century conceals the fact that the rate is highest for the children of the working class and that the differential between social classes has not changed over the century.

Frank Field's study goes on to consider the inequalities in education, working conditions, health and housing collecting

the "hard-working" company director. Most shop floor workers "because of their intimate concern with the production process, work the longest hours and are more likely to be required to work shifts".

Moreover 98% of workers are required to clock in, as opposed to 6% of senior management; and 90% of workers have automatic deductions from pay if late, as opposed to 4% for senior management. Only 26% of manual workers are paid for time off to attend funerals or because of the illness of husband or wife.

ACCIDENTS

Long hours and bad conditions lead to more injuries at work. "Accidents are very important aspects of inequality at work. Every year about a quarter of a million workers are sufficiently severely injured in accidents at work for them to be absent for three or more days.

"If we also include all those who are injured, but not badly enough to cause absence of this length, it is clear that injuries through work are a major problem. Moreover, about 500 workers a year are killed in accidents at work

The low paid worker fares much worse when he is off sick or on holiday than does the executive. Only 44% of unskilled workers get sick pay at all and even then it is based on the basic rate which comprises only about two thirds of his average earnings.

Looking at the days lost through ill health, the report states that unskilled men of working age are about three times as likely to have suffered from chronic sickness as professional men of the same age group. Low paid workers lose far more days from work through sickness than the managerial strata.

After fifty years at work, workers stand less chance of living to a ripe old age. "Deaths among male pensioners aged 65 to 85 insured under 'work schemes' - schemes for manual workers - exceed those of pensioners insured under non-work schemes by 19% in 1961-1963".

"The most up-to-date mortality statistics continue to show an inverse relationship with social class. The occupational mortality tables give standardised mortality rates for 1959-63 of social class V (unskilled manual workers) which were double those of social

socialists, in a well-illustrated and readable form. But what conclusions does he draw?

The final paragraph reads "If civilised life is to continue, the rich must strike a new social contract with the poor to the extent of breaking the cycle of inequality. The report provides the information for a reasonable - yet urgent - debate. The alternative is to break the cycle of inequality on the streets".

FABIANS

This is precisely the line of argument used by Fabian reformers at the tune of the century. Yet this pamphlet itself reveals that no amount of tinkering has altered the class relations in British society. The last sentence illustrates the author's horror at the thought that the working class might take the solution into their own hands!

Sir Keith Joseph's hysterical call for more birth control for the 'lower classes' underlines the same fear.

The cycle of inequality will not be broken by heartrending appeals to the rich, but only by the working class mobilising to change these conditions by taking control of industry and wealth into their own hands.

57 YEARS SINCE THE RUSSIAN

November 7th is the 57th anniversary of the Russian Revolution. In its results and effects on Russia and the world, this was undoubtedly the greatest event in human history. Nearly three generations since the revolution gives time for an assessment of its results and prospects.

What has been achieved? Russia was one of the most backward countries in the world, industrially and in its semi-feudal autocratic regime. The working class possessed none of the rights which they had gained in Western Europe, USA and other countries by 1917.

From one of the most backward and barbarous countries, with a backward industry, Russia has become the second most powerful industrial nation, and a super-power.

This, despite the terrible destruction of World War, the Civil War and the insane destruction of the Nazis in the Second World War in European Russia, which possessed most of her industry at that time.

Reduced to the production of 8 million tons of steel in 1945 (still double the production under Czarism) as against America's 120 million tons at that time, thanks to the advantages of state ownership and a plan, and thanks to the sympathy and support of the world working class, the Soviet Union survived the war.

Nevertheless it was a remarkable achievement. Despite 25 million casualties, Russia defeated Nazi Germany which controlled the resources of practically the whole of Europe. The war in Europe was mainly and decisively a war between Nazi Germany and Stalinist Russia.

Hitler's fundamental mistake was in imagining that he was tackling Stalin. WHEN WHAT HE WAS ATTACKING WAS THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION!

PLANNING

The advantages of state ownership of the land and all industry, without private control of banks, land, industry were demonstrated in the 2nd World War, but perhaps even more strikingly in the growth of industry and production since then.

Only Japan, for special reasons, shows anything near the increase of production of Russia. Now she too is effected by the general slowdown which has afflicted most capitalist countries. Her headlong growth is slowing to the same pace as that of her major capitalist rivals.

A few figures would indicate the staggering progress which has been made:

The Gross National Product of Russia in 1971 was £140,787 million, as compared with Britain's £55,998 million. But per head of population it was £574 compared with Britain's £1007. Since then, of course, Russia has made further progress in comparison with Britain and the other capitalist industrial powers. But standards of living still lag behind.

However industrial output, including heavy industry is now higher than any other capitalist country except America. In machine building Russia is now first in the world.

In 1913 there were 190,000 students in higher and secondary and specialised education. In 1970 there were 16,841,000 students in these subjects.

If we take as 100, Gross Industrial Production in 1913, in 1971, it was 1283!

The production of steel can be regarded as a rough index of industrial capacity. In 1913 Russia produced over 4 million tons of steel. After the Civil War, by 1929 Russia recovered to nearly 5 million tons. Britain in 1929 produced 14 million tons of steel. Yet in 1973 Russia's production was over 136 million tons compared with Britain's 26 million.

Thus, not only has Russia an overwhelming superiority in absolute production of steel, but has a slight edge in production per head of population. With the sickness of British and international capitalism, at least the capitalists of Europe bid fair to be outstripped in basic production in the coming years!

Comparing at random a few figures with those of Britain, taking into account that Russia before the revolution was far behind and

million for Russia, we find that Russia is catching up in production per head of capital goods, but is still quite a way behind with consumer goods.

Leaving aside the consumption of food, in which there is room for argument, the production and use of certain mass production durable goods is a good indication of comparative living standards. Thus Britain produced in 1971, 256,980 million KWH's of electric energy (Public sector, to which must be added a small amount for the private sector) while Russia produced 858,000 million KWH's

In 1971, the UK produced 1,387,000 radios and 2,390,000 TVs and nearly 2,300,000 vehicles and cars. In 1972 Russia produced for nearly 5 times the population 8,800,000 radios and 6,000,000 TVs.

In 1972 Russia possessed, for a territory 91 times the size of the UK only 16,100,000 telephones, as compared with Britain's 17,570,904 in 1973. Britain possessed, in 1972, 17,510,632 TVs and 17,570,904 radios. Russia possessed, in 1972, 53,200,000 radios and 45,600,000 TVs.

If we compare comparative figures with the USA, which has a population of 212 million against Russia's over 250 million, the position is even clearer. In 1972 the USSR possessed 80,600 million books of all kinds as against America's 36,038 million.

However America possessed in 1971 125,142,000 telephones, 336 million radios and 93 million TVs.

However in comparative figures, considering the population of the Soviet Union, and from the point of view of standards of living, Russia remains far behind America and even her Western European enemies.

The rulers of the Soviet Union and the Communist Parties of the World pretend, or claim, that Socialism has been established in Russia and China and the countries of Eastern Europe.

This is a flagrant distortion of the ideas and theories and the aspirations of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky.

An examination of the fundamental theories of Marx and Lenin and an examination of Soviet reality (also the realities of all the countries claiming to be Socialist, where the same conditions and methods prevail) shows that the claim is intended to deceive the workers of the whole world.

The ideals of the leaders of the revolution, with which they won the support of the Russian workers and peasants and carried the revolution victoriously to the overthrow of Czarism and capitalism were based on internationalism, workers' democracy and a movement towards socialism.

SOVIETS

Lenin, basing himself on the teachings of Marx, laid down certain fundamental principles with which the revolution was to begin.

The "dictatorship of the proletariat" or in modern terms "workers democracy" rested on these:-

- 1) Soviets, or workers' committees, must have the power, with the right of free election and the right of recall if the majority of the electors so decided (similar to the position of shop stewards).
- 2) No official to have a higher wage than a skilled worker.
- 3) No standing army but an armed people.
- 4) No permanent bureaucracy. All jobs of government should be reduced to accounting and control. All jobs at the top should gradually become rotated. "Every cook should be able to be Prime Minister".
- 5) No huge state apparatus but a semi-state. As society progressed towards Socialism, the apparatus of repression would be dissolved into society.

These were the principles with which the Bolsheviks began the revolution. They had confidently expected that the victory of the

economic growth vindicates state ownership and planning but bureaucratic regime retards progress



A meeting of the Council of People's Commissars in 1922, with Lenin seated at the top of the table. Under extreme conditions, discussion and freedom of criticism was general.

revolution by the workers of the more advanced countries of the West.

It is beyond the scope of this article to detail, but because of the policies of the leaders of the Labour Movement, the socialist revolution in Western Europe and Britain did not succeed.

The Russian revolution remained isolated. The country had been ruined by wars of intervention of world capitalism. The working class was decimated and exhausted. More and more, even in the days of Lenin and Trotsky, the millions of officials of the state machine, party, army and managers began to usurp the power and elbow the workers out.

It was in this atmosphere that Stalin (after Lenin's death) put forward the anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist theory of "Socialism in a single country", Russia, in place of international Socialism.

This reflected the interests of the bureaucracy. The Left Opposition of Trotsky fought for a return to workers' democracy, international socialism and a planned building of industry by 5 year plans.

Because of the weariness of the working class and because of the failure of the Socialist revolution internationally, the bureaucracy or the officialdom emerged victorious in the struggle. The consequence was the creation of a totalitarian state where every element of democracy within the Soviets, the Party and in the country was suppressed.

Following on this, not a single condition laid down by Lenin for the beginning of the revolution has survived.

After denying it for a generation, following the exposure by Krushchev, the Communist Parties of the world admitted "errors". Stalin, under the "cult of personality" had conducted a reign of terror, murdering tens and hundreds of thousands of old Bolsheviks and exterminating the whole of the leadership of Lenin's co-thinkers and comrades in the struggle which had carried through the revolution.

The CP leaders tried to pass this off as the personal whims and peccadilloes of the bloodthirsty tyrant Stalin.

But neither the Russian nor the CP leaders internationally explained how one man could have such power.

Without the support of the millions of officials, Stalin would have been



Stalin reflected the interests of the Bureaucracy. Thus not a single one of the conditions laid down by Lenin for the rule of the workers remained intact under the terror of Stalin.

The Soviets were abolished, though the name was retained. Instead of a workers' democracy, a "Parliament" was introduced where only a single candidate was allowed to stand. This was as "democratic" as Hitler's Reichstag! What worker would tolerate only one candidate in elections for his union branch, shop stewards committee, or national union?

The law that no official was to receive a higher wage than a skilled worker was abolished, and under Stalin, as today the difference in wages (leaving aside privileges which are much greater in Russia) between the Russian Prime Minister and the ordinary workers is greater than in capitalist countries like Britain.

Differences in wages and conditions between managers, top state officials, top party bureaucrats and ordinary workers have become greater than even in capitalist countries!

Instead of technical officers and generals, the social division between soldiers and the new officer caste is now greater than in capitalist countries. Differences in wages are greater. Officers have special quarters, batmen, servants, clubs, barbers, while there is "bull" for the squaddies, worse than in capitalist countries.

There is an irremovable bureaucracy with no right of criticism or discussion from below. The state machine and state apparatus has grown to gigantic proportions.

The worst excesses of the Stalinist autocracy have been eliminated. Millions in slave labour camps have been released. A measure of reform from the top was intended to prevent the eruption of the workers and peasants from below.

remains intact. This is a peculiar form of counter-revolution, in the sense that it is based on the great conquests of the revolution; state ownership of the land, banks, factories and the state monopoly of foreign trade.

The income and privileges of the bureaucracy, unlike those of capitalism which stem from private ownership of the means of production, stem from state ownership.

Consequently they are compelled to defend these last remaining and fundamental conquests of the revolution, state ownership and a plan of production and the monopoly of foreign trade.

However the reasons for the victory of the bureaucracy in the past can only be explained in Marxist terms and Marxist analysis. This was brilliantly shown by Trotsky's book "The Revolution Betrayed" which remains as a text-book for revolutionary workers who wish to understand the processes unfolding in Russia in the past and manifesting themselves today.

Marx explained that socialism requires a material basis in the existence of the working class and the material elements of production - machinery, buildings etc.

"A development of the productive forces is the absolutely necessary practical premise (of Communism) because without it want is generalised and with want the struggle for necessities begins again, and that means that all the old crap must revive". (said Marx in his early work; The German Ideology)

The backwardness of Russia resulted in the aberration of Stalinism and of the rule of Brezhnev

BUREAUCRATIC POWER
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REVOLUTION

BY TED GRANT

and of similar dictators in Eastern Europe and China.

Engels in "Anti-Duhring" explains this just as clearly. He finds the division into classes caused by the division of labour in society, especially of mental and physical labour. So long, he says, as a privileged minority control art, science and Government, so long will they use and abuse their position in their own interests.

And this must be so long as the mass of the working class has to work long hours for the basic necessities of existence.

This must be so long as the material basis of production is weak. The great task of capitalism was precisely the development of the forces of production. In a sense, this task was taken over by the privileged bureaucracy in Russia. They do this at a price and in their own interests.

But because of the basis of the revolution which is in contradiction to privilege, they can only maintain this by terrible repression.

Even today there are still thousands imprisoned in concentration camps. The flight of Jews from Russia is an indication of intolerable pressures. Repression of national rights of the many peoples of the USSR - nightmarish under Stalin with the banishment of whole peoples to Siberia - still continues under his successors.

BUREAUCRACY

Even today the "Byzantine splendour" of Stalin's court is continued. Brezhnev has a special swimming pool which is worth tens of thousands of pounds, in his basement! The top bureaucrats, abandoning the simplicity of Lenin and Trotsky, live like millionaires.

What is worse is that when it was a question of a primitive society, bureaucratic methods, even at great



Above: Brezhnev in Cheerful mood. Below: Hungary 1956 - Workers' revolt against dictatorship. Political revolution is inevitable in Russia.

"State ownership requires workers' democracy if it is to be run efficiently. Waste, corruption, mismanagement, nepotism and chaos, inevitably flow from arbitrary rule".

cost, could succeed. Now, with a developed Soviet Union, at the cost of enormous sacrifices by the workers and peasants - the bureaucracy wastes a large part of the surplus produced by the workers.

State ownership requires workers' democracy if it is to be run efficiently. Waste, corruption, mismanagement, nepotism and chaos inevitable flow from arbitrary rule. Occasionally the bureaucracy is compelled to make an example of some of the lower officialdom. Sometimes even higher officials are used as scapegoats for the bureaucratic system as a whole.

Thus madam Furtseva, the Minister for Culture was exposed for "unculturally" using state materials to build a sumptuous mansion for herself. Heads of trusts have been sentenced to long terms of imprisonment for embezzlement of fantastic sums and materials.

Despite all the sacrifices, and despite the achievement, the idea

that Russia can and has built socialism independently of the fate of the rest of the world, has been demonstrated as false.

The Nazis destroyed decades of labour in a few years. Now, with the development of the H Bomb and rockets, Russia could be destroyed totally in a matter of minutes. (It is no consolation that this would mean also as a reprisal the annihilation of America and the rest of the world).

Thus the fate of the Soviet Union like every other country is bound to the fate of the world working class.

At the same time, the entire population groans under the burden of a dictatorial system. The excuses of the past for this repression no longer have a basis in fact. The old ruling class is now dead and its descendants who remained in Russia have been absorbed into the bureaucracy.

Thus the dictatorship and complete loss of rights, including Soviets, genuine trade unions, the right to strike and organise, and the rights of free speech can only be aimed at the working class which today is the majority of the population.

Thus the imprisonment and exile of the dissidents, including many thousands of workers, the expulsion of the reactionary Solzhenitsyn from Russia and the repression of even reactionaries is entirely unnecessary.

The Marxist Movement in Russia is putting forward demands for a return to the principles of Lenin listed previously.

Now because of the enormous industrial progress we can extend these demands to free speech and

laughed at. The totalitarian system is retained purely as a defence for the privileges, power, prestige and income of the bureaucratic upper crust.

The bureaucracy, by the very development of industry has been forced to abandon "autarchy" and participate on the world market. On a higher economic level they are offering joint exploitation (under Russian control) with the capitalists of the big industrial nations, of the still largely unexploited resources of Russia.

Thus they collaborate with the capitalist powers. Detente between capitalist America and bureaucratic Russia (in Trotsky's words, a deformed workers' state) flows from their fear of Socialist revolution in the West. The victory of workers' democracy in any big industrial state would undermine their power completely.

But the bureaucracy, like any other dictatorship will not surrender their power and privileges until they are forced to do so.

Thus the Hungarian revolution of 1956 shows the way events will develop in Russia in the future. The Hungarian workers demanded an introduction of Lenin's principles, plus the right freely to put forward the view of all workers' parties. NO TOTALITARIAN RULE OF A SINGLE PARTY IN RUSSIA! The workers will demand the right of all parties to put forward their point of view on radio and TV and in the press according and in proportion to their support in the population.

Thus political, rather than social, revolution is inevitable in Russia. The Russian workers, hand in hand with the workers of the world will then begin the

PORTUGUESE SOCIALISTS MEET IN LONDON

The Editorial Board of *Militant* - the paper of the Marxist wing of the British Labour Party - gives fraternal greetings to supporters of the Portuguese Socialist Party in Britain.

Militant is supported by the great majority of the Labour Party Young Socialists and by a growing number of activists in the Labour Party and Trade Union movement. Its main call is for the Labour Government to take emergency action to nationalise the land, banks and insurance companies, and the 250 giant monopolies that dominate the economy, with compensation to be paid only on the basis of proven need, under democratic workers' management and control.

We have given the fullest and most detailed coverage to the great events that have shaken Portugal over the last six months. We sent reporters to Portugal a month after the coup, and a leading member of the LPYS helped in the foundation of the Portuguese Young Socialists.

The LPYS has over the last three years mounted a Spanish Young Socialists Defence Campaign, to alert the British Labour Movement to the coming revolution in Spain. As a result we have collected over £3000 for the Spanish Young Socialists.

We predicted that the Iberian revolution would open the way to an explosive period in world history. The beginning of the revolution in Portugal on April 25th rocked both Europe and Africa.

It toppled the precarious regime of the Greek colonels and threw into its final death agonies the bloody Franco dictatorship in Spain. It brought freedom within sight of the peoples of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola, isolating the racist regimes of Rhodesia and South Africa.

The lessons of the last six months in Portugal should be studied by class-conscious workers everywhere. In April, and again in September, the Portuguese working class could have taken power without bloodshed, so weak was reaction and so futile the possibility of resistance from the capitalists. The state machine was paralysed, with soldiers and sailors overwhelmingly on the side of the workers, and the secret police apparatus disintegrated.

But the class collaborationist policies of the so-called "Communist" Party put the revolution in peril. Their policies led to the strengthening of widespread and dangerous illusions in the role of the lifelong Fascist Spínola, who has now already revealed his true nature; the breaking of just strikes for a living wage and the reintroduction of press censorship; the introduction of repressive anti-working class legislation and the shooting of demonstrators; and above all the menace of a reactionary conspiracy, which although for the moment repulsed, poses the threat of civil war in future, unless it is decisively crushed before it gathers momentum.

The rank and file of the Socialist Party have played a very positive role, pushing its leaders within both Provisional Governments to the left. The PSO has been the main force to resist encroachments by the

This is the text of a letter translated into Portuguese and distributed at a meeting on November 2nd organised by the Portuguese Socialist Party.

pose the need for nationalisation of the monopolies and the creation of a Socialist Portugal. That is why it has grown into a mass Party, one of the two powerful political forces in Portugal, attracting to its ranks former CP militants disgusted with that party's opportunist policies.

As internationalists, we recognise the Portuguese revolution as part of our revolution, our struggle as part of a single worldwide struggle. In that spirit, we offer our ideas as a contribution to a comradely discussion that will be springing up in one form or another throughout the world.

We feel that it would have been better if the Socialist Party had remained outside the Provisional Government and rejected any form of alliance with capitalism. The world's monopolies rely on Portugal as a source of cheap labour, they cannot afford to allow a free trade union and labour movement.

Therefore the fight for democracy is a fight for Socialism. Only the working masses have the power to shape a new destiny for Portugal, as they proved in their inspiring mobilisation, even without a clear lead from above on 28 September. The PSP can play a decisive role by struggling boldly for the following immediate demands -

- * Immediate elections to a revolutionary assembly!
- * Occupation of all workplaces, dismissal of old Fascist personnel, the creation of factory committees, to be linked together at local, regional and national level!
- * Election of democratic committees in the armed forces, disarmament of the officer caste, the creation of a militia under the control of the workers' organisations!
- * A decent living wage, tied to the cost of living! Work or full pay!
- * Land to the peasants!
- * Nationalisation of all companies employing over 50 workers, and of all banks!
- * Full practical and political aid to the Spanish workers' organisations fighting against the Franco regime!

In our opinion, the bloody lessons of Spain in the 1930s, of Chile from 1970 to 1973, and of all too many other tragic experiences in the world history of the Labour Movement, confirm the need for such a programme. As the working class moves once again to challenge its capitalist rulers in Portugal, Spain, Italy, France, Greece, Britain and other countries, the trap of "Popular Frontism" is the first obstacle in its path. We must learn from history if we are not to repeat it!

We invite any comrades interested in reading back issues of our paper with material on Portugal and other questions, and to discuss with our supporters while they are in Britain, the interests of consolidating links between socialists internationally, to contact us at the address below.

International Editor,

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DERRY TRADE UNION AND LABOUR PARTY CAPITALIST "LAW AND ORDER" PREVAILS

BY DERRY
TU & LP MEMBER

The week of the General Election saw the British Army policy of harassment focus itself on the Derry Labour and Trade Union Party (DLTUP).

On polling-eve the home of the DLTUP election agent was raided. The reason given was that someone carrying a parcel was seen entering the building and had been followed and questioned.

Reasonable enough! Except that, the person turned out to be the Party treasurer who arrived after the raid had been completed. He was then subjected to the Army's usual threats of arrest, the situation only being resolved by a call to Police HQ.

On Friday 11th October, shortly after the result of the election count, the Army entered the DLTUP headquarters and then they again encountered the Party treasurer, who was manning the office alone, and although he positively identified himself, he was arrested and taken by armoured car to the army station which is actually part of Victoria Police Barracks.

The usual routine of being placed in a cubicle and then being "booked in" followed. This involves signing

a form that you have not been physically assaulted. Next your name, date of birth, and a recent addition, your religion, is requested.

Next the army attempts to photograph you, which is illegal. This was pointed out. The reply was that "the army has every right and you have no rights". It's hard to argue points of law with half a dozen armed soldiers about.

The photographer then proceeded to take some impromptu snaps. The period of detention was very short due to the fact that six members of the party arrived at Police HQ and insisted that the Chief Constable secure an immediate release. This began another series of incidents involving a police sergeant and an interview with the Chief Constable.

At the inquiry desk the sergeant suggested that if the DTULP stopped shooting policemen and soldiers they would not be subject to arrest. That the RUC, who claim to be accepted by the total population, should, at Sergeant level, be so totally ignorant of our policies is amazing.

The interview with the Chief Constable was a revelation of the inadequacies of "law and order" for the worker. It should be heeded for

the warning it sounds, not only here, but in Britain.

Firstly, regarding the sergeant's behaviour; any formal complaint would be dealt with by an outside police officer. No great hope of satisfaction there.

What were a citizen's rights on rights on being stopped by army or police? He was required to give his name, address, and an account of his movements (ie where coming from, where going to).

ARMY'S RULE

Who was in charge of "Law and Order"? The police. The army's role was to support them.

Were the questioners obliged to identify themselves? The police, yes. The army, no.

If they were arresting someone, how should they do it? By quoting the section and Act under which arrest

is made.

Was it within the law to be asked for your date of birth, or religion? No.

Was it legal to take your photograph without your consent? No.

It was then pointed out that the Party Treasurer had been illegally arrested, the officer in charge and the arresting officer both refusing (probably not even knowing they had to) to give any reasons, even though they had radioed HQ asking for clarification. He had been illegally photographed, illegally asked for date of birth, religion. Indeed having positively identified himself, was practically abducted from Party HQ.

Having informed the Chief Constable of these acts of law-breaking, we asked him what steps he was prepared to take. We should, he said, see a solicitor. Was he prepared, in his capacity of charge of police and army in the area, to stop illegal photographing (on his own premises) of citizens, ensure that the Police

and Army worked "within the law", end illegal questioning and harassment.

He said that he could only issue orders, that he had no control of how Police and Army operated at ground level. He repeated that we should consult a solicitor.

The interview ended there, "law and order" was shown for what it really is - an instrument used by the state (ie capitalism) to repress the working class. The DLTUP fought the General Election on a programme of working class demands, one of them being on "Law and Order". This demand was for the release of internees and political prisoners; workers control of courts and the judicial system; tenants and trade unionists to control and organise policing on a community basis, co-ordinated by an elected central committee, subject to recall.

The army and police campaign of harassment, their refusal to allow even basic legal rights to their "suspects", the continuing of internment without trial, reinforces again and again the demands for a trade union defence force controlled by the TU movement, tenants' associations etc.

Only such a force could reach across the sectarian divide, end harassment and internment, defend the lives and rights of workers, give unity and security to the working class, end the reign of the various paramilitary organisations, provide the basis for the workers of Northern Ireland to come together and move forward to a more just society.

WORKERS' CONTROL AND THE POST OFFICE

In the next few months we hope to publish a series of articles on the nationalised industries, which deal with the vital question of how these industries should be managed and controlled in the interests of the working class. This article, the first of many, is written by a Scottish Post Office Engineer.

"Whatever advantages we have been able to secure for the postal workers have been wrested from the state .. in order to safeguard the position of the workers, there should be a steady demand for democratic control in respect of all the public services taken over by the state"

The above statement, the type described in the Labour manifesto as "radical reform", is in fact a resolution put to the 1915 TUC Conference. Today, with the Post Office under public ownership and 16 years of Labour Government behind us, we have still to realise the objectives of half a century ago.

With the forthcoming retirement of Sir William Ryland as Chairman of the Post Office Corporation, there is talk of a shake-up in the boardroom. *The Times* Business News of 23 October suggests the rumoured successor to be Campbell Adamson of the CBI, Lord Rothschild or Chris Chataway, former Tory Minister of Posts! While we would demand that no such "nominations" be considered, it is indicative of the pressures being placed on the Government to play the game by the capitalist rules.

For the workers in the industry, always subject to Government interference - through successive wage policies and recently through Tory investment cuts - there is clearly no common ground with any of the mentioned names for this £23,000 pa appointment.

Unfortunately, there is trade union wooliness as to the alternative to the present structure. Tony Carter, General Secretary of the Council of Post Office Unions, repeats the formula of half the board being "nominated" (not elected) by the unions, the other half being Government appointments; the Board Chairman would also be appointed and would be assumed never to cast his vote "save in the most extreme circumstances".

The fact that "extreme circumstances" would only arise on issues of vital importance to

These half-baked formulas show the confusion on this question.

This confusion is certainly not shared by John Stonehouse, a past Labour Post Master General. He said "We must establish a clear distinction between workers' participation and workers' control. The former is acceptable; the latter is not".

To the fainthearts of the Labour Movement, as to the Big Business barons, there is no question of the workers having a real say in the running of their industry. To socialists, the Post Office should not be a state enterprise with rule by a bureaucracy, but a public service with effective management by the working people.

The Board should consist of one third representation from the trade unions within the Post Office (which itself begs the question of union rationalisation), one third representation from the TUC (whose membership complete with their families comprise the majority of the population) and one third from the Government.

All trade union representation must be on an elective basis, with right of recall; no representative must be paid more than the skilled rate in the industry, with the exception of necessary expenses; trade union representatives should sit on the Board on a secondment basis, being able to return to their old jobs after their period of delegation.

Even on this basis, it is impossible to talk of a planned development of the Post Office without the nationalisation of the manufacturing side of the telecommunications industry. With the three major monopolies (GEC, STC and Plessey) who presently milk the Post Office, integrated in a public tele-communications industry, with a democratic workers' management structure as part of a planned economy, the Post Office is capable of improving beyond all present bounds - and providing the kind of service that the people of this country need and deserve.

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SPAIN FROM PAGE 3

Portugal to prove their case.

Since Carrero Blanco was blown up, Franco shifted the Government to the right, bringing in people like Arias Navarro as Prime Minister, and dismissing more "liberal" elements. Arrests have increased and the right wing Fascists are blowing up bombs which the regime and the press have blamed on Basques and Communists.

The incident in a Madrid cafe recently, where a bomb killed 12 people and injured 70, sent the police trailing round the Basque country arresting almost 200, until conclusive evidence came from the police in the South of France that the Basques accused had been resident there for six months and signing at the police station every week!

The Communists were then accused, with the same result. Since the cafe is frequented by police from the nearby police headquarters, the attempt is to harden the opinion of the police against moves towards "liberalisation".

The question is posed for the Spanish ruling class: promote a movement from above, or risk an explosion from below.

"When stability and freedom for investment were everything, Franco was their man, but now that investment exists and Spain has become a developed economic power, it seems more important to improve access to European markets by establishing the conditions that might lead to Spain's association with the EEC".
(Sunday Times 21/7/74)

But the establishment of these conditions is precisely the difficulty for Spanish capitalism. Whichever way events develop the momentous intervention of the masses is inevitable.

But the removal of the dictatorship in and of itself will not solve the profound economic problems facing either Spanish capitalism or the Spanish working class. Only the elimination of capitalism which itself spawned the regime, will save the working class from further attacks and lay the basis for increased living standards.

The Spanish Communist Party has published figures which support this point. Santiago Carrillo, the Spanish CP leader, in his book "Hacia El Post Franquismo", says "It is anticipated for the first time that a balance of payments deficit for 1974 may be in the order of \$2000 million. Also, there is the expectation of a reduction of income from tourism and of the remittance from emigrants, a reduction of exports and an increase in unemployment".

Unfortunately, this analysis is not backed up with a socialist

this year said that the CP posed no threat to international monopoly investment in Spain, and welcomed further investment from them!!

The fact escapes him that in times of crisis, as now, the monopolies cut back on investment, especially in turbulent countries like Spain. The pre-requisite for investment is the possibility of extracting profit and in the developing crisis that means cuts in workers' living standards. Carrillo himself pointed out that the masses will struggle "against the attempt at solving the crisis in favour of the monopolies, at the people's expense" and that this struggle "places the bourgeois government and the present capitalist system against difficulties which make it impossible to carry out coherently their propositions".

"DEMOCRATIC JUNTA"

How then can the CP lead the working class into a "democratic junta" with the representatives of capitalism and even former members of the Franco regime? On what basis does Carrillo support the programme of this Junta, which is to take power on the downfall of the regime, to hold elections within 12-18 months after the regime's collapse, and to integrate Spain with the EEC?

Unity with so-called "progressive capitalists", generals and even worse "reformed" elements of the old fascist regime is a dangerous illusion and a trap for the workers of Spain.

Their interests are irreconcilably opposed to those of Spanish Big Business, who, seeing the collapse of the regime is inevitable, plan for the best way to ride the coming storm so that they can retain their position in society unscathed.

They are forced to look to the leaders of the working class, in particular to that of the Communist Party, to provide them with a shield, against the storm when it erupts. The idea behind the

"Democratic Junta" like the Provisional Government in Portugal, is that it should divert the energies of the workers into safe channels. In this sense they know what they are doing ...

"The Spanish CP is one of the most reformist and tactically moderate in Europe ... and its influence could enable Spain to avoid any desperate structural upheaval in Franco's wake ..."
(Sunday Times 21/1/74).

Only by warning against false capitalist allies in advance, explaining the dangers that they pose, can their leaders prepare the workers, not only for the overthrow of Franco, but for the system that spawned him.

Instead the CP leaders sow the same illusions in the "Professional honour and patriotism of the armed forces" as do their counterparts in Portugal, even after Spínola! They propose, with the Junta, a "neutral armed force to be used only for the defence of the country". This naivety was the prerequisite for disaster in Chile!

Never in history have such alliances as proposed by Carrillo led to anything but bloody defeats for the workers. It is behind such smokescreens that the ruling class prepare to seize back from the workers what has been wrenched from them in struggle. Already this process, which took place under the Spanish Republic of 1931 to 1933 and then even more dramatically under the Popular Front of 1936, is beginning in Portugal.

It was the power and fighting spirit of the workers which threw back the Portuguese reactionaries. So it will be on a grander scale in Spain.

By relying on this colossal force alone, the workers' leaders could prepare the workers to take power and begin the construction of a socialist workers' republic which would immediately join hands with the workers in Portugal.



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LETTERS

BRITISH CALEDONIAN

Dear Comrades,

It may come as a surprise to some workers at British Caledonian that on television, senior management stated quite clearly that everyone concerned in the present difficulties had been consulted as to a remedy for their problems. It was unanimously agreed that redundancies and cuts in service were the only answer.

But whom did management say they consulted? The Bankers and the major share-holders — moneylenders, parasites, the lot!

Quite rightly, the unions concerned call for nationalisation.

But they must go further and campaign for the books to be opened while nationalisation proceeds under democratic workers' control.

Compensation to be paid only on proven need, or perhaps consult these proposed 800 redundant workers and let them decide on who deserves compensation!

Yours fraternally
JOHN TAYLOR
(Elland LPYS)

HOUSING NONSENSE

Dear Comrades,

Tonight I decided, for a change, to listen to a bit of nonsense. The nonsense in question being Lord Goodman's lecture on "Housing and who is to blame". (BBC 22/10/74).

It seems that although there are 4 million homes unfit to live in, the only hope these families have got is to wait until some great leader rises out of the slums and leads them all to the housing manager's desk, and in a great "passionate" demonstration, demand that something be done.

By the way it is a waste of time trying to educate children living in these slums, and the only way to help them is to close down the schools serving them, use the schools' money to build decent homes and then you can re-open the schools. (This would just about close down most working class schools, and certainly the money saved would be nowhere near sufficient to provide decent homes for all).

Of course, you cannot build houses unless you have land to build them on. Well, apparently the price of land went up when we were all busy fighting elections,

and so no one noticed. Planning permission was the apparent miracle that enabled this to happen and we didn't know how to stop it!

But the crux of the matter lies in the endless delays caused by courts, appeals committees and local authorities etc and what is even worse, we haven't got any intelligent planners, who can devise plans that are simple enough for workers to understand and implement!

Lord Goodman said that words failed him to describe the misery of people he met living in these slums.

They don't fail me! If we have got to wait, with our children outside closed schools, whilst a great leader is born, who will be able to talk to the intelligent planners (when they arrive), before we can get decent houses to live in, then it is time we kicked you and your class and your pathetic excuses into "history's rubbish bin".

Yours fraternally
MAUREN GOLBY

ITALIAN CP

Dear Comrades,

Pete Ruheman performs some subtle gymnastics in his guarded defence of the Italian 'Communist' Party's tactics in the present crisis — however he invariably lands up on his head.

The total votes of the Italian Communist and Socialist Parties add up to at least the percentage gained by Labour in the British election, which hardly suggests that the Italian working class is any more ideologically divided than their British counterpart despite their allegiance to different trade union confederations. (The same, incidentally, is true in France).

Pete, rather ludicrously, then compares the situation in Italy to that in Ulster where the working class is politically, incomparably more divided. It is interesting to note, however, that Bleakley of the NILP once entered a Tory Coalition hoping for that very same "opening for the Left". Whatever happened to Bro. Bleakley?

Pete's reasoning must end with the conclusion that where left wing parties cannot gain 51% of the vote they must make pacts

with all sorts of opportunists, progressive capitalists, or those with some degree of support in the working class (ie in Britain, the Tory Party).

We, on the other hand, call for the true workers' parties to campaign ceaselessly on a socialist programme and in that way win the support and allegiance of the overwhelming mass of the people. This, the Italian CP have consistently failed to do.

Currently their programme stands to the right of the British Labour Party's — and, to quote Stan Orme at a YS weekend school — "talking to Berlinguer (Italian CP leader) is like talking to Roy Jenkins"!

Pete's "charitable conclusions" have no place in a revolutionary epoch like the present.

Yours fraternally
TONY HYAMS
(London Regional Committee LPYS)

"GET STUCK IN"

Dear Comrade,

I enclose a cheque for £5 as a donation to the Militant fighting fund.

The need for the paper is now more urgent than ever considering the present political situation in which the rank and file in the trade unions and the party have to fight tooth and nail for the implementation of socialist policies by the Labour Government.

I've been reading the paper for some years — but now I feel that it is critically important for people like myself, who have previously been on the fringe of your activities, to get stuck in and do a lot of hard graft.

With best wishes.

Yours fraternally
REG RACE
(Labour Candidate, Ruislip-Northwood Constituency, February and October 1974).

NATIONALISATION

Dear Comrades,

I too disagree with comrade Ward's recent letter when he opposed nationalisation in a capitalist system. His suggestion that it is only "relevant in a socialist society" raises the question of when does capitalism become socialism? Is there a clear line between the two? When is it the correct time to nationalise and when isn't it?

It seems to me that workers will demand their rights when they see fit to do so, not when a clearly defined date has been reached.

The demand for job security, a sane economic policy, more say in their industrial life etc, all symptoms of an uneven development of consciousness, will determine the ferocity of their claims, and they are to be supported and sustained by socialists working through the trade unions and Labour Party.

The fact of the nationalised companies not functioning properly in a capitalist society is to be continually argued, but not from

the sidelines, it has to be on the pitch, in the team. This includes further demands to increase workers' control of the existing nationalised industries by changing the existing boards to include one third elected delegates from the workers in the industry, one third elected TUC delegates and one third Government representatives, thus ensuring workers' control of at least the nationalised boards.

Further steps at lower levels of management to democratise the structure could be initiated by the Board. Of course, even this is not Socialist nationalisation, but it is a step forward for the workers, one of many that will have to be made by the class as a whole to emancipate itself from capitalist society.

The struggle for a socialist society entails continual effort to enlarge the control of the working class over industry, its trade unions and its party, there is no beginning, no end, the fight is now!

KEN WALLACE
(Teesside TASS member)

NOTTINGHAM SUPPORTS MILITANT

Dear Comrades,

North Nottingham LPYS recently passed a resolution reaffirming our support for the Marxist programme and the ideas expressed in the pages of Militant. We also agreed to each give a 5p donation to the fighting fund at every meeting (although comrades may feel free to give more if they

AUEW FROM PAGE 2

nearly this amount!

The branch committee decided to call a meeting of all non-salaried staff for Monday 28th October to discuss the withdrawal of the overtime.

The management refused them the right to hold a meeting on the premises. Permission would only be granted for such a meeting provided the Branch Committee decided to recommend that normal working was to be resumed and that the staff would co-operate with the ballot.

The committee then asked for permission to hold a meeting in a courtyard at the back of the premises. After leaving a meeting with the EC of the engineering section (who informed APEX that no talks could take place whilst strike action was taking place!) at 3.45 pm on Monday they discovered that the fire exits to the courtyards had been locked by the management!

The next day a meeting took place of the non-salaried staff and they decided, in the light of the NEC of the AUEW refusal to meet their just claim, that immediate strike action would begin. The majority in favour was 2 to 1.

On Thursday 31 October, the APEX members employed in Divisional Office throughout London came out in solidarity. The APEX members employed at TASS Headquarters in Richmond are giving the strike financial backing.

The local official of APEX was willing to meet the management at

After four meetings this is already £2.60 (enclosed). If every Young Socialist branch in the country was to do the same (not to mention TUs and LPs), the paper would be guaranteed a substantial and rapidly increasing regular income which is necessary for its growth in size, circulation and influence throughout the Labour Movement.

AGAINST INTERNMENT

Dear Comrades,

At a meeting of the New University of Ulster Labour Club held in the university on the 17th of October, the following resolution was passed:

"This club supports the workers of Derry in their action against internment, recognising that it is only the organised working class who can effectively bring an end to this repressive system. It is in the interests of all workers to be actively involved against internment and all repressive legislation which might be used against the Labour and Trade Union movement in the future".

Yours fraternally,
MAIRE CROSS
(Press Officer,
NUU Labour Club).

AUEW headquarters at any time, but so far his offer had not been taken up by the AUEW leaders.

Peter Davidson said that he hoped that APEX would make the strike official.

The Tory press is trying to use this strike as a means to discredit the leadership of the AUEW and the TU Movement as a whole.

The rank and file of the AUEW should flood Peckham Road with resolutions. They should demand that their leadership meet the claim of APEX in full.

All messages of support and donations to the strike fund should be sent to:

P Davidson
19a Southampton Way,
London SE 15

CORRECTION

Due to a technical error, a line was missed out of last week's article on the Queen's speech.

On the back page, immediately underneath a sub-head 'TRIBUNE' the sentence should have read:

"If *Tribune* had a majority in the Cabinet, they also would be forced to submit to the pressure of *Big Business* or launch a campaign to mobilise the working class around the demand for the Labour Government to nationalise the monopolies..."

The section in italics was omitted.

PAST £9000 - BUT ONLY 8 WEEKS LEFT!

AREA	Received	PERCENTAGE OF TARGET RAISED	TARGET
LONDON	1477.39	100%	1500
SUSSEX	689.64	100%	700
LIVERPOOL	342.01	100%	350
NORTH EAST	445.80	100%	450
WEST YORKS	225.62	100%	230
SCOTLAND	454.39	100%	460
WEST WALES	333.30	100%	340
MANCHESTER	321.45	100%	330
HAMPSHIRE	356.93	100%	360
BIRMINGHAM	232.94	100%	240
WIRRAL	181.57	100%	190
ESSEX	265.20	100%	270
EAST YORKS	171.44	100%	180
LEICESTER	361.21	100%	370
COVENTRY	230.40	100%	240
IRELAND	242.62	100%	250
NOTTINGHAM	231.42	100%	240
OXFORDSHIRE	179.70	100%	180
EAST WALES	146.40	100%	150
BRISTOL	190.33	100%	200
KENT	42.78	100%	45
GLOUCESTERSHIRE	44.00	100%	45
SHEFFIELD	82.56	100%	85
DEVON	33.30	100%	35
HERTFORDSHIRE	56.11	100%	60
LANCASHIRE	50.86	100%	55
OTHERS &	1000.00	100%	1000

We've just made it to the £9000 mark! At the last minute, seeing this week's donations taking us up to £8999.05 a London building worker came to the rescue. He had already given up a day's pay to join the mass protest at the re-jailing of the Shrewsbury pickets, but his enthusiasm for the Militant got the better of him and we got the 95p!

The final total of £233.77 is made up from similar contributions from supporters who are determined to see us reach the £15,000 total by the end of the year. But that means £6000 in eight weeks! It means all the plans for fund-raising activities being put onto an emergency footing. The comrades from Southampton, Liverpool and Huddersfield have shown the way, with jumble sales, socials and folk nights.

And it means a word in the ear of every worker who sees the Militant. If every reader, shown the state of the little black lines on the chart, puts in 95p, or even rounds it up to £1, we can make it.

asking supporters now to give us a fiver for Christmas. The pensioners' £10 Christmas bonus, inadequate as it is to alleviate their desperate lives, has become almost a national tradition. We want the same to be true of our supporters' Christmas bonuses for the Militant. Send them in now. Let's see the £5s make the necessary 500% increase in our weekly income. And let's see those areas who have contributed nothing this week, make up for it - Get those little black lines moving!

Special thanks this week to:- Birmingham supporters, E Short £7.40, B Debus £1.50 Mike Newman 50p, Mrs Short 50p Others £1.90 Cardiff LPYS and ULC £9 Harlow's "rattling tin" £3 Southampton LPYS, an excellent £33 from jumble sale and raffle. Irish supporters (including TU officials at LP Conference) £16.75 Leyland (Lancs) LPYS £2 Leicester supporters:- P Champion 10p Tina 10p

J Hicks £1.30, Rosie 30p Anon £7 Discussion Group 60p and pub floor (!) 10p. Liverpool (including Folk night) £8.2 £23.10. Nottingham £1.50 Brighton an excellent £45 (including £31 from jumble sale). Huddersfield, Readers' Meeting and Social (plus £1 from R Norris) £13 Swansea supporters £30 (inc C Connick's £20) Wirral £2. London supporters £26.67, including R Race £5 Islington LPYS £2 Wobey's 50p J McLaughlin £6 D Wilkinson (Uxbridge) £1 CPSA and LPYS member (We London) 50p Walthamstow Discussion Group £2.5 and spare jumble from SW London £4 PS Oxford supporters have right pointed out that one entry of £66 was missing from their total and this has been rectified with apologies!

NUM Productivity Deal VOTE AGAINST DIVISIVE TACTICS

The NEC of the NUM last Wednesday decided to put the productivity issue to a pit-head ballot; with the recommendation that the members reject it. At last they have seen what we in Yorkshire, among other areas, have maintained all along! That this proposed scheme is the most divisive tactic ever devised by the NCB.

Furthermore, one would assume that all members of the NEC will abide by this democratic decision, and recommend their respective areas to vote for rejection.

We, the ordinary members, now have the chance to reply to the NCB's attempt to split our union. A massive vote of rejection — no retreat on the gains made since the National Power Loading Agreement.

The scheme engenders immense dangers. Viz, to once again set pit against pit; area against area. To surround this scheme with such a miasma that miner will fight miner and will be so atomised, so disjointed, that the real enemy escapes, thereby ensuring that never again could we achieve the degree of national unity that was present in 1972 and 1974, and, furthermore, the destruction of the NUM as we know it.

Also, it would lead to a decline in the living standards of our comrades in such areas as Scotland, South Wales, North Derbyshire, Yorkshire and Kent, who, because of adverse geological conditions, are unable to increase production. This is because those pits that would benefit from this scheme — and, at least in pure monetary terms, there would be some — will be used as the lever to lessen the pressure for a substantial national claim.

It would not, contrary to that great Socialist Woodrow Wyatt, ensure that those who work hardest get paid most. Because, owing to the peculiar nature of the mining industry, it is invariably those who work hardest — due to geological adversity — who produce least coal. Which also gives the lie to what that doyen of Labour history — who just happens to be the NCB Industrial Relations officer for the Nottingham area — Phillips — says.

That is, that high levels of safety and high production are co-terminous. Of course they are! Because high productivity goes hand in hand with good conditions.

The money benefits — for the few — depend on some vague production norm, which is to be

determined by those defenders of impartiality: "a method study". However, we all know on what criteria they work: effective machine cutting time.

This is determined from the maximum machine cutting speed and the maximum time at the work-place; after deductions from "snap" time, travelling time and rest periods. From experience, we know this gives a totally unrealistic target, simply because no account is taken of geological conditions or mechanical breakdowns.

These production norms will be used to increase production without increasing wages. How will this arise? Quite simply; men being men, they will have a go at attaining the target, in order to increase their wages. Now, if the target, as we expect, is too high to be reached consistently, production will increase far in excess of the payments the men receive.

ISSUES ARE CLEAR

The last sentence at first sight may appear to vindicate the NCB's, and sadly, some of our leaders' statements, that men are deliberately holding down production. This is not so. Production, in the present context, can easily be increased. That is, if elementary safety regulations are totally disregarded, which is what would happen under the proposed productivity scheme. The end result; more coal, more blood.

But why, after years of negotiations, after numerous schemes have been rejected — schemes, we may add, no different from the present one — is agreement suddenly reached? Why now?

Why not in the period immediately following the 1966 NPLA when production was increasing at an annual rate of some 6%?

The short term aim, bearing in mind the low level of coal stocks, is to avoid a confrontation with the miners this winter. This scheme, therefore, is seen as a way of taking the pressure off the national claim.

The long term aim is as follows. We, as an industry, have, at most, 10 years boom. After which, owing to North Sea oil, massive pit closures will once again become the order of the day (shades of the 60s). The pits that will be closed, are the old, unproductive, bad geological, units.

The industry's future, we are told, will be in the hands of the new, hyper-productive units, eg Selby. The present scheme, therefore, is designed to make men more amenable for transfer to such units, with the lure of high pay. This scheme is designed purely for these new large units, and the large units in general.

The rationale behind this productivity scheme is, that somehow

BY R FLETCHER

(Orgrave Branch, S Yorks NUM)

the miners have held production down; consciously sabotaged production. This we reject totally. Underlying the present lull in production are:

1 Lack of production workers, ie those who are directly responsible for getting the coal — all underground and surface grades.

2 "Overmanning" in non-productive grades, ie under-officials, senior management and NCB "staff" in general.

Therefore, if increased production is, as the NCB maintain, so essential, the solution is simple:

1 A massive, across the board, wage increase — Yorkshire's claim of £42.50 is not unrealistic.

2 A moratorium on further addition to the non-productive grades mentioned above.

There is, of course, tremendous pressure being exerted to get the miners to accept this scheme. They run the whole spectrum from Gormley's "reds under the bed" to Ezra's threat of a cutback in investment.

Gormley's hysterical outburst is completely illogical. His reference to the Communist Party interfering in our union is the height of folly. While not agreeing with the policies of the CP, surely this line of argument can be used against the influence of the Parliamentary Labour Party.

Remember Foot's statement prior to the election? That Wilson if re-elected, would expect the miners to sign a productivity deal, which is within the guidelines of the "social contract".

Furthermore, Gormley's outburst is designed to circumvent the NEC's democratic decision to recommend rejection of this scheme.

In respect of Ezra's statement, so what? We, if we are honest, know that this is coming anyway. Therefore we should be more resolved to obtain, while we still have the power, a realistic wage for our members.

The issues at stake are quite clear. Do those of our members, at the big production pits, vote for this scheme merely relegating their comrades in the less productive pits to a cut in living standards? Or do we, a union united, press for Yorkshire's claim of £42.50 a week? Which, in the present situation is not, we repeat, unrealistic.

On this basis, while our bargaining position has never been stronger, we should vote overwhelmingly to reject this divisive scheme.

need "an incomes policy .. as a last resort".

With the mounting tempo and anger of the workers that "last resort" might come very quickly! The fear of a freeze was one reason that the Scottish lorry drivers stuck out for an increase now rather than after Christmas.

While the Government remains on the standpoint of capitalism, only further crisis and misery lie ahead. We warned that it would be ground between the pressure of the monopolies and of the workers unless it broke completely with the system and mobilised the workers to take over the 250 monopolies.

If a weak British capitalism cannot afford even to maintain workers' standards then what argument can there be for propping it up? A socialist plan of industry involving the workers and people generally could solve all the social problems, and begin to immeasurably raise the living standards of the people.

* FULL SUPPORT TO THE WORKERS WAGE DEMANDS!
* FOR A SLIDING SCALE OF WAGES!

* TAKE OVER THE 250 MONOPOLIES, BANKS AND INSURANCE COMPANIES UNDER WORKERS' MANAGEMENT AND CONTROL!
* INTRODUCE A SOCIALIST PLAN!

CLAY CROSS: An article by John Dunn on the latest situation in Clay Cross will be

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BRIGHTON BUSMEN

ACTION FOR A BETTER SERVICE

Busmen who work for the Brighton, Hove and District section of the National Bus Company are stepping up action for better pay and conditions. Brian Avey (the chairman) and Peter Marshall (a committee member) of 1/402 Branch of the TGWU produced this report in discussion with a Militant reporter.

The background to this dispute is a long story. For several years we have been operating with a staff shortage which has now reached twenty percent. This means that there are a lot of journeys missing every day and the men are doing much more than the normal work-load. This is a result of the poor conditions and the fact that drivers can go to haulage firms, for example, to earn more money without shift work. The job does not attract people and the turnover of staff is enormous.

In the last year busmen have grown really annoyed about the conditions. Our branch Committee produced a charter of demands a year ago which contained ideas not just to improve our jobs but to improve the service which has deteriorated terribly, with people waiting up to an hour on roads where there should be a ten minutes service. Such a service is no joke for the public or the crews who have to take the brunt of the passengers' annoyance.

We called for a basic wage of £35 for a 35 hour week, a proper meal break on each shift, rather than the present system of 5-10 minutes "stand down" at the end of each run, and properly subsidised canteens — one of our garages does not even have a canteen! There were also other demands such as incentive payments for weekend working.

After considerable delay, the local management offered us some improvements in conditions but said that the cut in productivity caused by these would be equivalent to a wage increase of £2 and this was their only offer. Our only conclusion is that the management is not serious in its attempts to recruit staff.

In fact our basic demands in the charter are the same as those in a national busman's charter that was produced by the TGWU in 1963. Our union says that 35 hours is quite enough for a physically taxing job and no individual should be asked to spend more than four hours at a stretch behind the wheel — in 1972 this charter called for a basic minimum wage of £25. We feel that in the light of present economic circumstances we need at least £35, just to keep pace with the cost of living.

What encourages our members is

that they are not alone. They see in newspapers (like in Militant 227) that busmen all over the country are taking action for similar demands. In Sheffield, Newcastle, Glasgow, Gateshead, Mansfield, action has been taken.

We are trying to help these actions with our own branch news-sheet Waybill, a genuine rank and file paper which is being extended to other branches in the area. We built up our own branch by putting forward our ideas on it and we sent copies all over the country and got a great response.

We are also going to try to bring our campaign to the attention of every other branch in this region by lobbying the Annual Delegate Conference of Southern Regional Bus Branches in London on November 13th. A large number of our branch members will be there to explain our views. We feel there is some inertia in our own Union on the question of a decent basic wage. The mood is there among the busmen, but it is not always reflected in the committees.

Of course the capitalist press says that we don't care about the inconvenience we cause. Whenever a worker in a service industry takes action the public is hit straight away. But we see it this way; the public are suffering every day from bad services and our men are suffering from a bad job. It is quite obvious that the interests of busmen lie in the same direction as the interests of the passengers.

If we are ever going to get anything like a decent service we have got to take this sort of action and we need the support of the public. We are appealing to them via leaflets and via the Trade Unions and Labour Parties locally to put the pressure on the management of the National Bus Company. We know it is hard. We are going to start with a number of lightning stoppages and our members feel very strongly that this is the only way.

Our negotiations have dragged on for over six months and we have bent over backwards on our side, but there comes a time when we have to say "enough is enough".

The busmen's dispute in Brighton will continue for some time. It will be only one of the many struggles of working people against attempts to solve the capitalist crisis at the expense of the working class.

For further information, messages of support etc, contact:— Chairman Brian Avey, TGWU 1/402 Branch, 24, Hardwick Road, Hove, Sussex.

FROM PAGE 1

the needs of the capitalist system in crisis. Inflation is the responsibility of those who own and run this society — the 250 monopolies and banks — not the workers who bear the brunt of the crisis. At the present time the capitalists are desperately seeking ways to cut real wages. They face a "crisis of profitability" which can only be resolved by huge cuts in workers' standards; hence their bitter resistance to, and dread of, the current wave of militancy.

Since the election, the daily fare dished out by the capitalists to both Labour Government and workers alike has been blackmail and threats. "Low wages or no wages" is the choice they want to give the workers. Thus they speak of several million unemployed as the only means to "curb inflation".

They have put a shotgun to the Government's head: huge concessions plus the lifting of price controls or factory closures and an investment strike!

But even if the £2,400 million this year and the £3,750 million next which the CBI demanded in tax concessions and price increases were granted "...it still does not promise that there would be no company bankruptcies and heavy redundancies this winter ..." said Ralph Bateman on 29th October. What better proof of the bankruptcy of their system can there be? Even if real wages and social services are slashed to pay for these massive handouts ...

Even the maintenance of present living standards threatens the stability of the capitalist system. The whole movement must answer with one voice: if they cannot afford the just demands of the people then we cannot afford them a minute longer.

The union and Labour leaders only have a responsibility to the class that put them where they are. They must support every demand coming from the rank and file. They have no responsibility to help the capitalists keep down their wage bill.

A sliding scale of wages with take-home pay rising in line with a cost of living index worked out by the labour movement is the only guarantee of maintaining standards.

SOCIALIST PLAN

No redundancies can be tolerated. Every company that threatens to close down must be nationalised with minimum compensation and placed under workers' management.

With a bold fighting programme like that, the leaders could sweep aside the resistance of the capitalists who are threatening to sabotage and discredit even the mild measures which the Government has proposed.

The alternative is grim. The urgent demand to 'restore profitability' of industry will increase as workers fight back. Big Business will press Labour mercilessly to hold back the

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