

# Militant

10p

THE MARXIST PAPER FOR LABOUR AND YOUTH

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**Carworkers say:**

## NO TO WAGE CURBS

No more wage restraint, an end to the social contract—that was the message coming from last Tuesday's meeting of British Leyland Trade Union Committee, the shop steward's body covering all the plants in that massive company.

The 300 stewards present decided to call a conference in Birmingham of the "broad labour movement" to mobilise opposition to any third phase of the social contract.

They also decided to organise a one-day strike of all British Leyland workers to coincide with the reopening of Parliament on April 19th. Given the messages of support from Ford, Vauxhall, and Chrysler stewards, this lobby and strike is likely to be supported by all the car

*At the joint meeting of the Cabinet and the National Executive of the Labour Party, Jim Callaghan and Denis Healey curtly rejected the NEC overtures of peace that had been outlined in the paper "Agenda for agreement".*

*Callaghan reproved the NEC for being negative, always attacking the government. He strongly criticised the NEC support for NUPE November 17th demonstration against cuts last year.*

*Healey said that there was no alternative to present policies. "Two and two make four, but the NEC thinks it can get two and two to equal six. Obviously I cannot compromise at five."*

*The Cabinet was bitterly attacked by Harry Hickling [GMWU] over its failure to keep unemployment and prices down.*

*But the Cabinet was unmoved. Callaghan delivered the stark message "either we accept a reduction in living standards or we accept an increase in unemployment." In fact we are getting both!*

**By Bob Ashworth**

(TGWU Senior Steward,  
Rover, Solihull)

industry turning it into a mini-general strike.

The depth of feeling against the terrific cut in real wages that carworkers have suffered under the social contract was evident at the meeting.

As one delegate said "we honoured the agreement in our factory but the TUC and the government had not kept to their side of the bargain."

"Inflation continued to rise at a rate of 19%, unemployment was predicted to reach two million this year, and social services were being mauled. Enough is enough!"

The stewards have moved into action not because they wish to see the fall of the Labour government. Quite the reverse. Speaker after speaker made it clear that the aim was to change the policies of the government to save it from defeat, which its present policies were leading to.

The action was also a response to the burning anger on the shopfloor, "if we do not do something now, the shop floor will sweep us aside." That was clearly shown in the spontaneous demonstration of all workers at the giant Longbridge factory in Birmingham who marched out of the factory to tell Industry Minister, Eric Varley, that they would not back any more real wage cuts.

What sparked the demonstration off was the comment of local Labour MP Ray Carter who had said the day previously that Longbridge workers "supported" the social contract. He was soon told otherwise!

Explaining the need for the April 3rd meeting one delegate from TASS, Triumph Coventry said: "This meeting should be the responsibility of the TUC, but they had abdicated that. We now have the responsibility to give a lead. The conference should be a 'rank

reflection of our members' feelings."

But significant as the April 3rd meeting will be, it will not be enough just to record opposition to the social contract and demand a return to free collective bargaining. The carworkers must meet themselves to draw up a annual wage and conditions claim starting August 1st for the whole industry. This must be stuck to whatever the TUC agrees with the government. It is the only way to unite the members in action—the desire expressed at the Leyland meeting.

The movement of the carworkers would be the signal for the rest of the labour movement to follow. Once the real muscle of the labour movement is felt, the pro-capitalist policies of the Labour government would be shoved aside and a programme aimed at raising real wages, and social expenditure could be introduced by leaders prepared to fight for it.

### SPANISH SOCIALIST ARRESTED

Eloi val del Olmo, an electrician, and a member of the Spanish Socialist Party (PSOE) and Young Socialists (JSE) was arrested on Monday 7th February in Vittoria, Alava Province, while distributing socialist material. He was a prominent trade unionist in the famous Vitoria strike. People are usually released from the police station when it is found that they are members of PSOE.

This comrade, however, was not released. Police claim that he had material that was insulting to armed forces. He is now being held in jail [not the police station] and the authorities are threatening to hand him over to the military for court marshal. This could obviously result in draconic punishment.

Olmo is the only member of PSOE in jail at present. This is when PSOE is semi-legal and PSOE leader, Gonzales, is giving full support to the Suarez government.

It seems that Suarez may be making a visit to London next week so protests should immediately be sent to the Spanish embassy. MPs and TU leaders should be lobbied to take similar action.



4,000 Longbridge workers demonstrate against pay restrictions during the visit of Eric Varley, Jack Jones, and Hugh Scanlon. Photo: Dave Evans (IFL)

## WHO SUPPORTS LABOUR RIGHT?

**By Lynn Walsh**

Last week brought to light a remarkable "confidential" letter from two "moderate" Labour MPs associated with the Manifesto group. The letter included an invitation to a secret meeting in Westminster Central Hall, on February 19th—"without the fanfare of publicity"—to discuss the organisation of a new offensive against the left wing in the Labour Party.

The letter said the meeting would be chaired in "an entirely personal capacity", by none other than the Transport Secretary, Mr William Rodgers.

Mr Rodgers, it may be remembered, was the leading light in the Gaitskellite 'Campaign for Democratic Socialism'.

This organisation, backed by secret funds, set out in 1960 to reverse the Labour Party Conference decision on nuclear defence and to bolster the right wing leadership of Gaitskell.

### Secret Letter

The confidential letter clearly indicates that the ultra-right are now trying to revive a similar organisation.

The capitalist press, which has recently devoted acres of print to hysterical attacks on the Marxists in the Labour Party, with all the old allegations of "infiltration", "conspiracies", "plots", and so on, devoted no more than a few obscure paragraphs to these preparations for a secret meeting by the right wing.

Sent out by Ian Wrigglesworth, secretary of the Manifesto group, and John Cartwright, a right wing member of the National Executive Committee and PPS to Shirley Williams, the letter said:

"Since last annual conference many people have expressed deep concern

failure of the NEC to rally support for the government; the lack of a sensible voice in some constituency parties; and the evidence of infiltration by elements alien to the democratic socialist tradition.

"The widespread feeling that something must be done has led us to take this initiative. Our wish is to respond to the strong views expressed to us and to enable like-minded people from all over the country to discuss, without the fanfare of publicity, what action might be taken."

These people, it seems, are under the illusion that they can reverse the profound shift to the left that has taken place in the Labour Party over the last few years. They imagine that they can repeat the dubious success of the Campaign for Democratic Socialism which, under entirely different conditions, played a key part in reversing Conference decisions and consolidating the hold of the anti-socialist Gaitskellites on the leadership of the Party.

Continued on page three

### Deportations Go Ahead

Home Secretary, Merlyn Rees has served deportation orders on American writers Agee and Hosenball. They have two weeks to decide which country they wish to be sent to. The Home Office had initiated the action because they considered the men's activities "prejudicial to the security of the state".

It appears that the appeal board to which voluminous evidence had been submitted on behalf of the two men has had no effect. Agee was an ex-CIA man and had published several books exposing their activities. Hosenball had also published articles dealing with the covert activities of the security forces in Britain.



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## THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND CHARTER 77

The monstrous treatment meted out to the signatories of Charter 77—which demands elementary democratic rights for the Czechoslovak people—coming on the heels of the expulsion from East Germany of folk singer Wolf Bierman has sent shock waves through the ranks of the British Communist Party.

The Executive Committee of the CP has been compelled to condemn the persecution of the Chartists and the letters column of the 'Morning Star' has been full of rank and file denunciation of the Czechoslovak regime. For a Party leadership which uncritically supported the crimes of Stalin and the suppression of the 1956 Hungarian revolution this appears to be a remarkable change in their approach towards the regimes of Eastern Europe and Russia. But the statements of the CP Executive [Morning Star 19.1.77] in one breath detail the persecution of the Chartists and in the next speak as "a consistent friend of the Czechoslovak SOCIALIST REPUBLIC" [our emphasis].

This shows that the CP leaders are incapable of drawing clear Marxist conclusions from the recent events in Eastern Europe. We are asked to believe that the arrests, beating, and smear campaigns against those who profess to be Communists and who merely petition for the implementation of the constitution of the state itself and the UN declaration of human rights are the measures of a "Socialist government". This fairy tale is in the same category as those made by the CP leaders in 1968 that the invasion of Czechoslovakia by a half a million Russian soldiers with tanks and aeroplanes was "a tragic mistake"! The CP Executive asks us to accept that a "Socialist" regime can resort to such measures.

Leonid Plyushch has pointed out that under the "Socialist" regime of Russia something like 600 people are held in "severe psychiatric" wards because of their opposition to the bureaucratic elite of Brezhnev and company. Plyushch was imprisoned in a psychiatric ward and given forced doses of halperidol and insulin to "cure the dangerous nature of his anti-Soviet activities". He was only freed because of the campaign in the West which was supported by the French Communist Party.

Both Bierman and Plyushch profess to be Communists. While criticising the East German state for its "Stalinist ideas" and for its "top heavy bureaucracy", Bierman is also opposed to capitalism. The Russian General Pyotr Grigorenko, speaking as "a lifelong Communist", pointed out that in Eastern Europe and Russia...they persecute Communists as in any fascist country once you criticise the leadership" [Financial Times 9.2.77] This is a more accurate comment on the Stalinist regimes than the statements of the CP Executive.

In reality Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Russia and the other countries of Eastern Europe are horrible caricatures of Socialism. Marx and Engels conceived that the BEGINNING of Socialism would mean that the state—the army, police, prisons, and all means of repression—would begin to wither away. This in turn is only possible on the basis of an economic development higher than the highest level yet reached even by the most advanced capitalism. A world Socialist Federation, by freeing the productive forces,—science, technique and organisation of labour—from the straight jacket of private ownership and the national state, would undoubtedly dwarf into insignificance the achievements of even capitalist America.

But instead of the withering away of the state we have an enormous reinforcement of all the means of coercion in these countries. This is deployed in the main not against those who wish to return to capitalism like Solzhenitsyn and his like, who constitute a tiny handful of the population, but those workers and intellectuals who oppose from a socialist standpoint the gang of bureaucratic usurpers.

The supporters of Charter 77 are merely the tip of the iceberg. There is massive opposition by the working class, and particularly the youth, to the bureaucratic elites of Eastern Europe. To picture these states as "Socialist" is to completely discredit socialism in the eyes of British workers.

On the evidence of the 'Morning Star' letters column a growing section of the CP rank and file also feel this way. Thus one CP member wrote in relation to events in Czechoslovakia: "To remain silent would be to render the discussions on 'The British Road to Socialism' a sham." Another indicated that the CP's connection with the Russian bureaucracy is now an enormous disadvantage....."Our working people used to be sympathetic to the Soviet Union and wanted friendship until they learned of the Stalinist treatment of dissent."

Showing that many CP members are groping for an explanation of the origins of the monstrous Stalinist dictatorship another wrote: "There must have been Communists, in Russia, of whom we never heard, who were brave enough to speak out against Stalin's mass murder." Those Communists who "spoke out" were those like Leon Trotsky and his supporters who fought against the rise of the Stalinist bureaucracy and for workers' democracy. Any honest CP worker can convince himself of the correctness of Trotsky's analysis and programme by reading Trotsky's works. Moreover they provide the key to understanding the situation in Russia and Eastern Europe today.

We call on the British CP leaders to publicly support the anti-bureaucratic programme of Lenin: Election of all officials and right of recall! No official to receive more than the average wage of a skilled worker! Soviets, i.e. workers' councils, to manage industry and society! No standing army but an armed people! Against a one party state and for independent trade unions! This is the programme which the working class of Russia and Eastern Europe will realise in the stormy period opening up.

# Britain Admits Army Tortures



The British Army on regular patrol

The terrible story of the IRA bombers who were convicted of bombing, murder and kidnapping after being arrested in the Balcombe Street siege filled the front pages last week. But these crimes should not be allowed to disguise the revelations about British army tortures in Northern Ireland exposed last week.

In front of the European Court of Human Rights, Samuel Silkin, Attorney General of the British government, admitted that the British army had engaged in torture of suspects in the jails of Northern Ireland.

This admission by the representative of the British government is clear proof of the terrible role that the British army is playing in Northern Ireland, something usually kept hidden from the eyes of the readers of the British press. It is another ugly chapter in the long history of oppression by British imperialism in Ireland which has bred the present terrible sectarian divide between the two communities of working people in the North.

The tortures admitted to by the government included five specified sensory deprivation techniques involving hooding, and "white noise", deprivation of sleep etc.

Silkin claimed that the techniques had only been used twice against a total of

fourteen men in 1971 and would never be used again. He rejected a demand from the Irish government that those responsible should be prosecuted. He said that there had been "insufficient proof" of who actually had done the tortures!

What a terrible condemnation of the government's role! All too easily the press and political parties are ready to condemn the atrocities committed by a foreign government against their subjects whether it be in Chile or Russia. Recently there was even a big outcry against the treatment of murdering British mercenaries by the Angolan government. But there is complete silence on torture in Northern Ireland, and no outcry at the manifest failure of the government to take disciplinary proceedings. The government is deliberately and blatantly protecting torturers.

## Not Isolated

Silkin pledged that these tortures would never happen again. But this is no isolated incident in the activities of British troops in Northern Ireland. Sam Silkin admitted that since February 1972, 218 members of the security forces had been prosecuted and 155 convicted of assault. In a recent case, since the pledges of the government, a soldier convicted of rape while on patrol in Belfast was given a suspended sentence after his commanding officer said he would be pleased to have him back in his unit.

What is clear is that these tortures could

only have taken place with the full approval of people higher up in the army as part of deliberate policy.

In addition the hypocrisy of the Irish government is revealed by the fact that the first case of a breach of human rights brought to the European Court was against that government. In 1961 and IRA suspect brought a case of illegal internment against the Irish Republic.

How is it then that there is little or no outcry? As Silkin said in his submission to the European Court: "We do not dispute that they were wrong. We ask only that they are kept in proportion." With what? With the 177,000 deaths, 5,000 bomb explosions and 25,000 shooting incidents, he said. That is the British government's excuse for army torture—the terrorists' campaign of violence.

The response of groups like the IRA to the presence of British troops has been a campaign of individual terrorism resulting in the maiming and killing of working people in Ireland and Britain. This campaign, supposedly starting from motives of patriotism and concern for the people, has turned into outright thuggery in the hands of sectarian bigots. Thus the disastrously mistaken methods of individual terrorism of the IRA have enabled the British ruling class to get away with its crimes, its own brand of ruthless terrorism.

It demonstrated again the validity of the demands raised by the Marxists of the labour movement both in Britain and Ireland. Only the mass action of a united labour movement can expose the role of imperialism in Ireland, and forge a socialist programme of action that can solve the problems of unemployment, bad housing and low wages which make life a misery for Catholic and Protestant workers alike and which have been used to divide the working class. No small groups of terrorists can do it, even if that is their aim.

The call for the immediate withdrawal of British troops must be linked to the setting up of a trade union defence force to protect working people from the sectarian thugs of both sides who would be left behind. That would only be possible through a campaign involving the whole labour movement in Britain and Ireland along socialist lines to unite the working class.

Bob McKee

## Wide protest against witch hunt

A tidal wave of protest is flooding in to Transport House and trade union executives against the witch hunt of the Marxist wing of the Labour Party. From the response in many parts of the country it is clear that any attempt to expel members will tear the Labour Party apart.

Such a move will be rightly seen as a prelude to an assault on the rights of the rank and file and a weakening of the left as a whole. Already Labour MPs have shown how out of touch they are by voting to keep their privilege of electing the Party leader themselves. Why are the rest of us excluded from electing our leader? Doesn't the Labour Party stand for equality, or are there two classes of membership? The demand of the ranks will be "one member, one vote!"

Attempts to change the constitution to protect right wing MPs from the workers they are supposed to represent and to weaken the NEC will also be easier if the right wing gets away with this latest attack on the left.

Once more we have space for just a few details of resolutions of protest, sent to the NEC and trade unions from 2 areas, we intend to publish more next week. Every CLP, trade union and LPYS must make itself heard. Clause 4 was defended in 1959 only by a flood of resolutions from below—that is the way to defend Labour democracy today!

Resolutions passed against the witch hunt:

- TASS No 1, Bristol
- AUEW shop stewards, Production works, Rolls Royce
- Warminster branch Labour Party
- Knowle branch Labour Party [Bristol]
- Bristol SE CLP
- Bristol West CLP
- Bristol South LPYS
- AUEW No 7 branch Bristol
- EETPU Avon Neil (representing 5,000 members)
- Bristol Tribune Group

### LABOUR GROUP

We, the undersigned members of the

condemn any attack against Marxists in the Labour Party, or any other grouping which is prepared to conform to the Party's rules and constitution. We therefore regret the NEC's decision to get up an investigation into alleged "infiltrators" of the Labour Party and call on the NEC to oppose any witch hunt against Party members.

- D White ..... Croyden Central
- K Livingstone ..... Norwood
- E Hillman ..... Hackney Central
- D Barker ..... Croyden NW
- F Styles ..... Greenwich
- J Ward ..... Barking

- Iltyd Harrington [Dept leader] Westminster
- A Frieves ..... Lambeth Central
- T Banks ..... Fulham
- R Baile ..... Dulwich
- J White ..... Enfield North
- M Jenkins ..... Putney
- R Young ..... Walthamstow
- L Gillies ..... Tooting
- Phil Bassett ..... Carshalton
- Frank Archer ..... Erth and Crayford
- A Kazantzis ..... Holborn & St Pancras South
- D Chalkley ..... Deptford
- D Collins ..... Alderman

# Scunthorpe Appeal

The officers of Scunthorpe Labour Party were stunned to hear the news that the appeal of Councillor Cyril Nottingham, the former Labour Group leader, against his expulsion by the local party had been upheld by the organisation committee of the National Executive of the Labour Party (see last week's issue).

This decision is to be referred back by left wingers on the NEC at its next meeting. Near millionaire Nottingham, has continued his campaign of vilification of the local party and its councillors since his expulsion.

He joined with the Tories in moving a vote of no confidence in the Labour Health Committee Chairman, Nick Tallentire, because Tallentire had asked if the committee would ever be free to conduct its business.

Nottingham also had the police called in to investigate the housing allocations of Labour Housing Chairman, Cllr. Mitchell, claiming "corruption".

It was revealed in our last report that supporters of Cyril Nottingham had

helped an 'independent Labour' candidate to stand against Labour in a recent by-election. This split the Labour vote and the Tory was elected.

The independent Labour candidate was a Gerald McQuade, a former Labour Lord Mayor of Scunthorpe. McQuade was a founding member of the now notorious right wing Labour "Campaign for Democratic Socialism" which witch hunted left wingers in the early sixties. In fact he invented the title of CDS (see page three).

Scunthorpe Labour Party is now mounting a campaign to explain their case to the labour movement and are to lobby NEC members next week. Finance is urgently needed to pay off court costs and finance the campaign. Every member of the labour movement is requested to help.

Send motions of support and donations to O Duffield, Brigg and Scunthorpe Labour Party, 327, Barrington Road, Scunthorpe DN17 2BJ.

Bob McKee



# WHO BACKED CDS?

continued from front page

The CDS was formed by a group of fervent Gaitskellites in the Summer of 1960. Gaitskell's position as party leader was more exposed than at any other time. His attempt to expunge Clause IV after the 1959 election defeat had failed—though it might as well never have existed as far as his policies were concerned.

In 1959-60 his position was threatened even more by the labour movement's overwhelming support for unilateral nuclear disarmament. Commitment to the military alliance with US imperialism and the arms spending this required was the ark of the Gaitskellite covenant.

The right anticipated defeat at the 1960 LP Conference, and the CDS was formed just before Scarborough to prepare in advance to reverse a decision that went against the parliamentary leadership.

A number of right-wing cliques came together in CDS (as it soon became known). The activists, who made up the steering committee, were mainly young parliamentary candidates, many of them prominent in the parliamentary party today. William Rodgers, secretary of the Fabian Society, International Bureau, was Chairman. Others included Dick Taverner, Denis Howell, and Brian Walden.

The MPs closely associated with CDS were Gaitskell's closest supporters, Tony Crosland, Douglas Jay, Roy Jenkins and Patrick Gordon Walker.

Also among the early signatories was a Gerald McQuade, at that time a councillor from Scunthorpe. It was McQuade who actually hit on the name "Campaign for Democratic Socialism". More recently McQuade stood as an 'independent Labour' candidate against Scunthorpe Labour Party, this splitting the vote to let the Tories in. McQuade's campaign was backed by supporters of Cllr. Nottingham, the renegade ex-leader of Scunthorpe Labour Group who has been expelled from the local party. (See page two)

Among the 45 MPs who later sent a letter to CDS applauding its aims were Frank Tomney and Reg Prentice. This gives sufficient indication of its complexion.

## Double Standards

Although CDS was formed specifically to reverse the Party's position on defence policy, its original "Manifesto to the Labour Movement" made it clear that it was Gaitskellite through and through. Its language was strongly reminiscent of the Socialist Union, a right-wing organisation associated with the journals "Socialist Commentary" and "Forward", which had spearheaded the campaign to revise the aims of the Party.

This had culminated in 1959 in the campaign of Crosland, Jay and others to change the name of the Party, sever its links with the trade unions, and renounce all intention of any further nationalisation.

Defence of the Anglo-American alliance, and the stockpiling of nuclear weapons, was just one—for them important—part of an attempt to turn the Labour Party upside down and empty out its socialist content. The Gaitskellites, who now dominate the Party leadership, wanted something like the American Democratic Party as a more "respectable" and supposedly "popular" vehicle for their parliamentary careers.

When Gaitskell was defeated at the Scarborough Conference, but defied the majority with his threat to "fight

their decision, the CDS had the nucleus of an organisation ready to support him. The CDS represented organised Gaitskellism.

Here, however, we come to the blatant double standard that operates on the part of the right wing—and the capitalist press. In a mass party it is inevitable that there will be different tendencies, and it is in accordance with the basic democracy of the labour movement that they should be allowed to campaign for their ideas.

Yet while the left, as at present, was continually accused of "infiltration", "plotting", organising "a party within a party", not a word was said about the clandestine activities of the CDS which was certainly an open secret among right MPs and Tory lobby correspondents.

While the Bevanites and the supporters of "Victory for Socialism" were frequently on the brink of expulsion, the supporters of CDS had all the praise in the world lavished on them by the leadership—and by the enemies of Labour, the capitalist press.

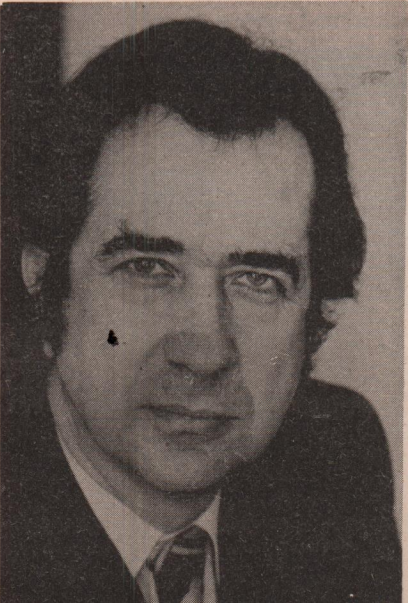
When the CDS Manifesto was sent to likely selected supporters, a card was enclosed for Party members to indicate their support by returning it to the campaign giving details of their LP and TU positions. They were also asked for names and addresses of others in the labour movement who might be approached with a view to enlistment. Nobody was asked to pay a subscription—but then the campaign had other, undisclosed sources of finance.

In one of the confidential letters (January 1961) sent out regularly to supporters, Rodgers reported that "Our confidential directory of supporters (and mailing list) continue to grow."

The letter also provided a model resolution on defence: "This (organisation), recognising that Britain should remain a member of NATO and that the western alliance should not renounce nuclear weapons while the Russians retain theirs, urges the Labour Party to intensify its efforts to bring about all-round multilateral disarmament."

This letter accompanied the first edition of the CDS's monthly journal, "Campaign"—which had an initial printing of 10,000. At the same time about 250 of the keenest supporters in different areas had been hand-picked by Rodgers, Howell, and Pickstock to act as "whips".

Another confidential letter to CDS supporters in the Commons read: "In the meantime it is urgent and essential that we build up the number of good folk in the constituencies receiving "Campaign"...It is even more important



Denis Howell



ant that we are given the names of one or two reliable supporters in your constituency with whom we can maintain liaison.

"Will you please complete the form attached immediately and put it on the board in the inner lobby. (Signed Denis Howell.)"

This organisation, however, was not used to campaign for policies through discussion and debate. CDS preferred to work behind the scenes to persuade trade union leaders and people in key positions to support their policies, especially when it came to voting on policy. They definitely avoided public meetings where they might be faced with opposition. These methods fully justified the comment made by "Tribune" at the time (18 August 1961):

"Instead of being willing to thrash out the great arguments which inevitably rage in a democratic party, they run around organizing groups of 'reliable supporters' who are apparently to be ordered to carry out their hatchet work. The essence of the whole of CDS smells more of the pitch and brimstone of the Inquisition than that of a group of people within a party who join together to propagate similar views."

The convening of a clandestine meeting by the Manifesto group on 19 February can only mean that the right

**The Gaitskellites tried to turn the Labour Party upside down and empty out its socialist content. They wanted something like the American Democratic Party as a vehicle for their parliamentary careers.**

wing of the parliamentary party are once again attempting to use the methods of the CDS. But things have changed.

In 1964, the CDS was wound up on the grounds that the election of a Labour government, based in practice on Gaitskellite policies, meant that they had achieved their objects. Gaitskell's success, with the help of CDS, in ignoring the Party's policy on defence and later reversing it, certainly set a major precedent which the labour leaders have since exploited to the full in riding roughshod over Conference decisions.

But there is another question that should be put to the Manifesto group. Who will be backing them?

## Secret Funds

The most secret aspect of the CDS was who financed it. The original expenses were presumably met by the members of the steering committee. But following the press conference which launched CDS after the Scarborough Conference, it seems that the CDS received a donation of several thousand pounds.

By the November 18th steering committee, they knew that they had enough funds to set up an office [27a Red Lion Street, W.C.1], pay a salary to Rodgers, employ a full-time secretary, and keep them going for a year. The committee also paid the travelling expenses of its members, for the printing of 20,000 well-produced copies of the Manifesto, and for the monthly "Campaign" which was distributed free to supporters. All this must have cost at least £5,000 a year, a considerable amount at that time.

The source of this cash was a closely guarded secret, and even signatories of the Manifesto were not told. William Rodgers assured them it was a "socialist" source. But one of the signatories at least, Bryan Magee (Mid-Beds Parl candidate 1959/69), was not satisfied, and severed his connections with CDS in 1961.

One suggestion has been that much of the finance was organised by John Diamond, then MP for Gloucester, and Treasurer of the Fabian Society, the original stamping-ground of William Rodgers. John Diamond was an active businessman with directorships in several companies, including World Natural Sponge Supplies, Sheffield Cabinet Company, and Capital and Provincial News Theatres.

More significantly, he was the main auditor of the accounts of Socialist Commentary Publications Ltd.—another body which had large funds from undisclosed sources.

It may well be that the CDS's funds came from a perfectly respectable socialist source who/which, from modesty, preferred to remain anonymous. But now, seventeen years later, it is surely in the interests of the movement that we know where the money came from, particularly in the light of the astounding revelations of the US House (Pike) and Senate (Church) Committees about covert CIA intervention in labour movements throughout the world.

The Church Committee (Final Report, Book IV, 23.4.76, No 94-465, page 49-50), for instance, comments on "Clandestine Activities, 1953-61": "Financial support to individual candidates, subsidies to publications including newspapers and magazines



Bryan Magee

involved in local and national labor unions—all of these interlocking elements constituted the fundamentals of a typical political action program. Elections, of course, were key operations, and the Agency involved itself in electoral politics on a continuing basis. Likewise, case officers groomed and cultivated individuals who could provide strong pro-Western leadership.

"Beyond the varying forms of political action and liaison the Agency's program of clandestine activities aimed at developing an international anti-Communist ideology...activities included operations to assist or to create international organizations for youth, students, teachers, workers, veterans, journalists and jurists. This kind of activity was an attempt to lay an intellectual foundation for anti-communism around the world."

It is, of course, impossible to say that the CDS's money came through a CIA "conduit", even without the knowledge of those concerned. But the CDS's secret funds constitute one of several unexplained injections of resources into the Labour Party right wing in the 1950s and '60s.

In 1956, for instance, the journal "Forward", a Glasgow-based socialist journal previously linked with the Independent Labour Party, taking a left-pacifist position, and strongly opposed to German rearmament, was moved to London and, with new editors, reappeared in a much more expensive format—taking a strong pro-NATO line. In its new form, "Forward" carried one of the first and best-known "revisionist" articles by Douglas Jay.

Another example is "Socialist Commentary", a journal with a very small circulation, which by 1970 had accumulated reserve funds of over £75,000—largely built up by deposits of about £10,000 every couple of years. "Socialist Commentary" has been the main journal of the Gaitskellite theoreticians in the Labour Party. A number of its contributors have been associated with the Congress for Cultural Freedom, a know CIA "conduit" in the cultural-political field, and with one of its best known beneficiaries, the journal "Encounter".

These are the questions which surely deserve answers. A number of right wing MPs have voiced concern about "alien elements" in the Labour Party. We hope that right wing organisations and journals have not been financed by alien elements. We invite those concerned to reassure us on this score, providing the movement with all the necessary answers.

# NUPE TAKES ACTION

Divisional Councils of the 632,000 strong National Union of Public Employees are finalising plans for Days of Action against cuts in public spending.

The days of action are NUPE's contribution to the next stage of the inter-union campaign against cuts in public spending and unemployment which was discussed by the General Secretaries of eight public service trade unions at their meeting in December, as a follow-up to the successful November 17 demonstration.

It is expected that the days of action will be supported locally by other trade unions, particularly those represented on the national Steering Committee against the cuts which covers 2½ million members affiliated to the TUC.

The Divisional Councils have decided to call Days of Action on the following basis: **Wales:** Day of Action on 26-February with a demonstration in Cardiff. **North East:** (Yorkshire and Humberside) Day of Action on 9 March

**Scotland:** Day of Action in the second week of March to coincide with the NALGO Day of Action in Scotland.

**Northern:** (Cumbria, Northumberland, Tyne and Wear, Durham, Cleveland) Day of Action in April. **London:** Day of Action 11 May coupled with a demonstration from Tower Hill to Kennington Park. There will be a delegate conference for London NUPE Stewards on 9 March to carry forward the fight against the cuts.

**East Midlands:** Week of Action from 25 April to 1 May linked to demonstrations and leafletting in Derby, Nottingham, Leicester, Lincoln and Northampton. **South West:** Week of Action 30 May-3 June with action in two counties per day during that week. Essex County is to hold a one-day strike on March 1st.

The General Secretary of NUPE, Mr Alan Fisher, has written to the other trade unions represented on the national Steering Committee to ask for their support. The trade unions

Government Officers (NALGO); the Civil and Public Services Association (CPSA); the Society of Civil and Public Servants (SCPS); the National Union of Students (NUS); the Confederation of Health Service Employees (COHSE); the Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs (ASTMS); the National Union of Teachers (NUT); and the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education (NATFHE); and the National Association of Probation Officers (NAPO).

The Days of Action may involve strikes, working to rule, demonstrations, leafletting, and other forms of protest action. Decisions on the form which the campaign should take will be made by the Divisional Councils in consultation with the membership. Divisional Councils have also been asked to arrange lobbies of local authorities when they are discussing their rate demands for 1977-78.





Review of Profits Against Houses (An Alternative Guide to Housing Finance) Published by the Community Development Project—Information and Intelligence Unit.

remedial action of community visitors teams who would not only try and help the area they were serving but make suggestions for other "inner ring areas".

# PROFITS VERSUS HOUSING NEED

local authorities to bail them out in hard times (i.e. local authorities buying completed and half completed houses from builders in the early '70s). Council housing has been used by private builders for new ideas such as high rise blocks which brought rich profits for builders and misery for the inhabitants.

Local Authorities have now stopped building "high rise". Instead builders are now using these newly discovered techniques for more lucrative office building and multi-storey car parks.

so-called subsidy to council tenants. Council housing uses a pooled cost system for the calculation on rent. Tenants of newer houses which have been built at 1970s prices are subsidised by tenants of older properties. It shows how council housing is run far more efficiently than "the branches everywhere" building society and provides far better job security for the labour than the building companies.

the needs of workers are governed only by profit. The nationalisation of land, the take-over of the finance houses and the large building companies all under workers' control would "at a stroke" go a long way to provide decent housing for all at a price we could all afford. The market system has failed to provide good houses for everyone. It doesn't now. It never will. As long as it remains there will always be a housing crisis.

The report doesn't give a clear cut policy to change the distortions of the housing market system but shows in a clear way how in a "mixed" economy

Steve Jacobs

## Land Act

The Community Land Act quite justifiably comes in for a beating. It has merely shown that "nationalisation of land within a market economy which otherwise remains untouched" is not possible. The report shows how the Community Land Act Bill became more and more watered down under pressure from the powerful property lobby.

All that is left is that councils in theory can purchase development land at a little below market price and excess profits on land deals can be taxed in some way. Local Authorities in their bid for more land help keep prices high and (as has been seen in the latest report of the SCC) buying poisonous land can always mob up the rubbish! High land prices add an extra burden to Local Authority debts putting up interest payments. In 1975-6 nearly 70% of Housing Revenue Account (a total of £1.36m) went to pay interest on loans. By planning restrictions local authorities have contributed to escalating high land costs and eventually have to pay the price when purchasing land for building.

The report calculates that the "public expenditure on tax relief to 'owner occupiers' is just as much as the

## TORY THREATENS TENANTS GROUP

'The Great Sales Robbery: The case against selling Council houses' price 6p, from SCAT, 31 Clerkenwell Close, London E.C.1.

Following the publication of the Shelter Community Action report "The Great Sales Robbery" [see above]. Horace Cutler, leader of the Greater London Council Tory group has written to many of the sponsors of the report, mostly community groups, tenants federations etc., in order to ask them to repudiate statements in the pamphlet calling on local authority workers to "go slow" on the sale of council houses.

Horace Cutler believes that this kind of action is "subversive" and "unconstitutional". No one expects a Tory to go along with traditional trade union activities to save workers jobs. For the sale of council houses would mean a loss of jobs in local authority housing departments.

But Mr Cutler has gone a stage further. Many groups, including the Association of London Housing Estates, on refusing to repudiate only such items in the report has had another letter from Mr Cutler promising

those groups that as far as possible he would make sure that those groups would have funds denied to them which they presently get from the Labour controlled GLC, if the Tories get control.

Is Cutler representing himself or the whc'e of the Tory group on the GLC? However what is clear is that Mr Cutler who speaks so often on the rights of the individual etc., is using blackmail to gag debate on a crucial issue that affects many council and non council house tenants.

The Association of London Estates who represents over 250 tenants associations will not be stopped in their fight for tenants rights by the use of blackmail. Mr Cutler may be able to cut its funds but it won't stop the eventual truth over the scandalous sale of council houses getting through to the working class.

A NALGO Member

The report, as the back cover explains, is about housing finance, about how profits conflict with the need for homes. It tries "to get behind the experts' junkyard of technical terms to explain how the present system of housing finance works, how profit dictates every move to house people or not."

The report (more like a mini book really) comes out of four years' work in some of the poorest parts of Britain's major towns. In the late sixties the government of the day instituted its own "poverty programme" hoping to heal the huge scars of inner cities by

## CDPs

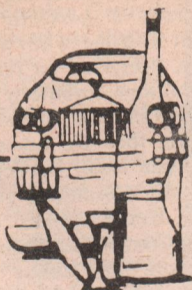
However the government were in for a slight shock as every report either issued singly or jointly by the Community Development Projects were a severe indictment of the way capitalist society operates.

'Profits against Houses' is the severest indictment of not only 'pure' capitalist market to solve our housing problems but also of those reformist policies which have been tried in our "mixed" economy. It shows how builders use council house building as a buffer against hard times by 'allowing'



FROM LEFT

AND RIGHT



## MARCIA WILLIAMS THE DEMOCRAT

In the 'Observer', Lady Falkender [Marcia Williams] said she resented the way right wingers had "rigged the party to the right—just as nowadays I resent those who try to rig it to the left."

So it was interesting to read in the 'Sunday Times' on the same day about what Gwyn Morgan, former international secretary of Transport House, pro-marketeer, had to say. He commented on Marcia's activities when Harold Wilson was trying to get the

Labour Party to support Britain's membership of the EEC.

Morgan said "this involved slipping one important step through the Party's National Executive while they were preoccupied by the vital matter of their expenses. It was Marcia's idea, she decided how it was to be handled."

People in glass houses... Another example of democracy practiced by the leaders of our movement.

How much did Joe Haines get for his book which "raped the Labour Party" with its serialisation in the Tory press? It was not £25,000 says Haines. No, according to the 'Daily Express' it was £50,000.

But that is still short of Wilson's reputed £250,000 for his memoirs. And how much is Marcia to get for her 'exclusives' in the Sunday papers? At last the Labour leaders are redistributing income.

## ROYAL BLESSING ON VORSTER

A quote from Robert Lacey's 'Majesty' about the Queen, serialised in the 'Sunday Times':

"But she has accepted the shedding of the colonies as inevitable and has seen it as one of her jobs to lend as much dignity to the process as possible. Her mother, once Empress, has very different views. She has never made any secret of her sympathy for what the whites of Southern Africa stand for, even after UDI, while Prince Phillip's opinion of many third world leaders is, like his judgement on militant trade unionists, something he keeps strictly for his after-dinner conversation. But Elizabeth II is by any standards a realist and in



## COMEBACK FOR ROYAL COUPON CLIPPER

One royal who is making a comeback in the Jubilee year is Angus Ogilvy, Princess Alexandra's husband. He was forced to retire from business life in the wake of the Lonrho scandal over tax free payments and expenses to Lonrho directors. Ogilvy was a Lonrho director and was found to have been neglecting his duty in not investigating the activities of its managing director 'Tiny' Rowlands.

He is now to become one of the 35 directors of Sotheby's, the fine art auctioneers and the market place for hedges against inflation. The Hon. Ogilvy "has a great appreciation of fine art," said Sotheby's. He also appreciates the money no doubt. The Princess only gets £30,000 from the taxpayer and Ogilvy lost £50,000 in directors fees when he left Lonrho.

It obviously helps to have as a friend Sir Philip Hay of Sotheby's, who is Treasurer to Prince Mich-

## INFLATION BITES HOUND

If you are a regular horse goer, inflation is biting deep. Fox hunting is now no longer open to all (sic). The annual subscription to the hunt for a husband and wife in Sussex has reached £600. A good hunting horse can cost £2,000, a saddle all of £120 and

feed and look after, using several assistants. To keep your horse in an open field costs £3.50 plus extra for feed and shelter (£2.50). New shoes for the horse are £10 every two months and there is the vet's annual check £10, and £10 for the anti-tetanus, if you fall





DEPARTMENT OF TRADE

Report of the  
Committee of Inquiry

on

Industrial Democracy

Chairman  
Lord Bullock

# Reject Bullock 'Participation' FOR WORKERS' CONTROL OF INDUSTRY

The Bullock Report does not suggest that the "sacred" property rights of capital should be destroyed. But so far as the capitalists are concerned they would be scandalously violated.

The basic idea is for the workers in all firms employing over 2,000 workers (subsidiaries or combines) to elect through their trade unions an equal number of representatives to the boards of directors as the shareholders. Together trade union representatives and shareholder representatives will co-opt a third smaller, uneven number.

Where there is any disagreement about these co-opted delegates, an "Industrial Democracy Commission" will conciliate. This nice algebraic formula for muting the class struggle has been abbreviated to the now famous formula:  $2x + y$ .

There is very little doubt which way the co-opted directors would vote. Senior management would have all the facts, figures and arguments prepared for every board meeting to sell to any uncommitted directors. They would canvass before board meetings. And anyway, experience of all other "independent" committees and tribunals, which are supposed to regulate the struggle between labour and capital, shows that they invariably do so in the interests of capital. Just in case something could upset this pattern various safeguards are suggested to ensure power remains with the shareholder representatives.

## Power of Veto

But, in their enthusiasm to give the trade unionists the real feeling of joint power—so that they will more readily take a joint measure of responsibility and blame—the report takes away from shareholders the right to initiate policy. This can only come from the board. Shareholders are left graciously with the power of veto.

That clause alone would be enough to send the capitalists into paroxysms of fury. They want the reigns of "their" property totally and completely left in their hands. The report envisages a world where the classes will contend with argument, not with force. For instance: "We hope that when the board members have worked together for a short period of time, they will have sufficient confidence in each other for it not to matter when a member is absent."

And workers, with their jobs and living standards at risk, should play fair and act like gentlemen. So the committee imagines: "...an employee representative who finds that an instruction to take industrial action amounts in effect to a mandate on him to vote on the matter in a particular way should, on the normal principles of company law, be obliged to declare this to the board and abstain from voting on it."

But the employing class cannot afford to be naive. They have learned through bitter experience that it is the balance and pressure of opposing class forces that ultimately decides any issue. They see the possibility of their interests being stampeded over during crucial struggles. In pitched battles over wages, conditions or redundancies, co-opted directors might be panicked. They might fall under the sway of the trade unions. It is unlikely, but the employers refuse to take the risk.

And they see the suggestion that

absolutely incredible impudence. They demand a majority on any board for the shareholders. They have that majority now. They will fight to maintain it!

But they will not rest at that. The capitalist press daily lambasts us with pictures of the trade unions as terrible ogres dominating British society. And yet the Bullock report calmly proposes that the whole system of worker directors will be built on the trade unions, on the shop stewards committees and combine committees. They think they will persuade the bosses to accept.

But some "enterprises" like GEC and ICI have gone to devious lengths to keep their factories isolated. They give them separate names. They try to pretend that they are competing against each other. All this is primarily to keep their workers apart. All this is to facilitate easier exploitation.

Now, to the horror of the capitalists, the Bullock report suggests bringing all workers together throughout an enterprise. Shop stewards will form an electoral college (a "Joint Representative Committee") which will select the worker directors. If these ideas were ever enacted some such committees may fall briefly into the trap of inter-union rivalry. But the overall tendency would be that once united, the different groups of workers would work even more closely together. Solidarity, joint claims and joint action would emerge. The employing class will never stand meekly by and let such proposals slip on to the statute book.

## Counterbalance

If they have to have worker directors, one of the main benefits they would want would be precisely that of building a counterbalance to the trade unions. But the capitalists are afraid of even that counterbalance having a presence in the boardroom. They fear for their company secrets. Lonrho and Poulson have shown the tip of the iceberg, but organised fiddling and corruption is rife in industry. It is estimated that £1 billion is looted from the inland revenue by big business every year.

They fear the extent of the exploitation of the working class being revealed once workers see all the main books and accounts. They fear the last remaining thin veneer of esteem which workers have for top management being removed. The capitalists will be exposed as parasitic charlatans. It will be seen that the top 3.5% of the adult population who own 90% of all privately quoted company shares, play no useful role in production.

When asked to sacrifice their jobs to satisfy the privileged income of this dead weight on society, trade unions will demand all the more readily measures of nationalisation and socialist change.

The capitalists like to give some

order to prise these leaders away from complete openness and loyalty to their members. But that is one thing. That can be regulated. With workers on the boards more might be revealed than was healthy for the capitalists. The Bullock majority reassuringly explained: "The TUC...accepted without reservation that there were categories of information which must be restricted to the minimum number of people."

But even this shameful belly crawling by the TUC leaders will not convince the bosses. They know that individual class conscious shop stewards would seek election purely to divulge all secret and supposedly confidential information and thus expose the fraud of participation.

If for one moment the capitalists thought there was a chance of the full majority proposals being enacted they would fight as never before. They would shake the economy to the core. They would start a run on the £. Right wing Labour MPs would come under savage pressure to "obey their consciences" and break the Labour whip. Mass torrents of abuse would be hurled by the media. The members of the House of Lords have already shown that they are prepared to sabotage

This is the second part of Brian Ingham's article dealing with the Bullock report.

decisions that affect their lives.

The right wing in the cabinet are loyal to capitalism. They and the capitalists will probably estimate that from their class point of view it is safer to attempt a facelift of capitalism broadly along the lines of the minority report. Hesitantly and reluctantly the capitalists may settle for a two-tier system with minority representation for the workers on the "top" tier.

## Failures

But few systems of class collaboration have ever lasted long in Britain. In the EEC document quoted last week it was noted that: "Profit sharing and share distribution schemes have been adopted in the United Kingdom since the nineteenth century, but...official surveys carried out in 1912, 1920 and 1956 indicated that somewhat more than half of the schemes started had been abandoned due to lack of profit or dissatisfaction and apathy among employees. The average life for

shop stewards. It is workers controlling training and checking management's moves. Elements of this real workers' control already exist throughout British industry, especially in the major firms at which the Bullock proposals are aimed.

Workers' control as a generalised state in society can exist only for a temporary period. Then factory or shop stewards' committees would check the entire transactions of the capitalists. Nothing would be inviolate. All the books would be available for inspection. The capitalists would remain only in nominal charge.

That is only possible immediately prior to or after a socialist revolution. The revolutionary government in Russia in the period following the October Revolution decided on such an arrangement. They wished to allow the Russian working class a brief period of apprenticeship before dismissing the capitalist managers totally and completely.

Workers' control can thus give way to workers' management. Not by stealth in the way of the Bullock report. Not by slipping into the net of participation. Not by the owners of industry giving up a half of their empires, without any resistance. And then perhaps giving up a little bit more later.

Workers' management is only possible by breaking once and for all from the grip of capitalism. It is impossible unless the main levers of state power are held firmly by a socialist government.

Workers' control is a spontaneous movement from below within capitalism. Its strength is rooted in factory or shop stewards' committees. Workers' management on the other hand proceeds from above. It is based in a centralised workers' government and a centralised plan of production. It rests on national and local area workers' committees. It means that the instruments of production, distribution and exchange are nationalised, integrated and organised as efficiently as possible according to the needs of the overwhelming majority of society.

Workers' management would reverse the tide of capitalist destruction. In Britain a six hour day and a four day week would be almost immediately possible. The unemployed would be given work in crash programmes to build schools, hospitals and houses. The working class in their millions would be involved in drawing up the plan of production. They would take part through the local and national committees. Factory committees would act as an auxiliary check on that plan.

## Resolute

That is the only true industrial democracy. Time and again the capitalists have shown that they are resolute in defence of their class interests. The labour movement must act as equally resolute.

Only setbacks and defeats can follow if workers tread the Bullock quicksands. In the years of struggle that lie before us all the elements of workers' control should be protected and built upon.

But everything that has been achieved by the working class stands in jeopardy so long as political and economic power stays with the capitalists. The only way forward ultimately is to break the hold of capital and inaugurate a socialist plan of production. Only then could the labour movement finally be sure that past



Enshrined on the theatre as a great experiment (as in this photo), the Meriden cooperative has had to knuckle down to barriers of capitalist finance. But it still went further towards industrial democracy than Bullock or the bosses will allow.

Labour government policy: They would stand by in reserve.

If the government and the TUC seriously intend these proposals to come on to the statute books they will have to mobilise the entire ranks of the labour movement in support. But then with such confrontation, why stop at  $2x + y$  ie less than 50%? It would be utter nonsense. It would also be impossible. The government would have no alternative but to undermine the resistance of the capitalists by wresting economic power from their hands.

## Gamble

But these developments are hardly likely. The capitalists are confident of pressurising the government into dropping the proposals. The 'Financial Times' sarcastically observed that Edmund Dell "added firmly...the Bullock minority report would not be consistent with [the government's] approach. But, searching for a more comfortable position, he shifted gradually into accepting that none of the minority proposals have been ruled out."

The capitalists will not pick a battle with organised labour if they feel a safer gamble is available. They have no confidence of being victors. They will only enter battle if they feel there is no other way to defend their property.

The sights of organised labour have been lifted. In the debate that will unfold these sights will not lower.

abandoned schemes was eight years and for continuing schemes twelve to fourteen years."

The Bullock proposals try to be more refined. But the crisis of British capitalism will not now even allow the luxury of a few years to these sociological experiments. A new round of struggle between the classes will not be delayed long. All that it has lost in the last few years, the working class will move to regain. In a few firms some kind of scheme may get off the ground. They will each have baptisms of fire.

The Bullock report and the reaction from the government demonstrate once again the poverty of leadership resting in the labour movement. They have no wish to lead! They wish to conciliate between the classes. They scorn ideas, they fear the independent initiative of the working class. They try to scatter the seeds of their own confusion among the members of the labour movement. The issues of workers' control, participation and management are of fundamental importance for the working class. This report mixes these ideas, blurs the distinctions and then stands everything upside down.

The committee merged workers' control into workers' participation in their report. Now they hope to repeat this in the factories. They hope to thwart the moves of workers to take from management elements of management power. The dam that they hope to build is the dam of participation of workers' representatives on capitalist boards.



# TROTSKY AND THE CHINESE

—an answer to  
from Monty Johnstone  
the British  
Party, by L...

# REVOLUTION 1925-1927

Last week [*Militant* No 342] we printed a letter from Monty Johnstone of the Communist Party of Great Britain. Comrade Johnstone took up a number of points, particularly on the question of the Chinese revolution, that we had made in the Editor's reply [see *Militant* No. 335] to a letter from the Editor of "Cogito", theoretical and discussion journal of the Young Communist League, which recently printed Part II of Monty Johnstone's "major critique" of Trotsky.

most dynamic political force in Chinese society. From the time of the first big strike wave in 1919, the Chinese workers undertook struggle after struggle against their imperialist exploiters and their home-grown stooges. The revolutionary movement that erupted in 1925 brought millions who had previously lived like pack animals on to the stage of history. With enormous energy, and inspired by the success of the Russian revolution, the advanced layers of the workers attempted to find a path to the socialist transformation of society. All the conditions existed for a development on the same lines as the October revolution, with the working class drawing the other oppressed sections, especially the exploited poor peasantry, behind it to complete the unfinished business of the bourgeois-democratic revolution and begin the tasks of building socialism.

## Revolution

In his letter (to which we would ask readers to refer back), Monty Johnstone deals with two main things:

(1) He repeats his attack (originally made in his "Cogito" article, "Trotsky and World Revolution") on "the myth that stems from Trotsky" that the Kuomintang (the party of the national bourgeoisie, led by Chiang Kai-shek) was accepted into the Communist International (Comintern) as a sympathising section.

(2) He also repeats his assertion that, in 1927, Trotsky was not opposed to the participation of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in the Kuomintang (KMT).

Comrade Johnstone is completely mistaken on these points—as we will demonstrate. First, however, we should, perhaps, apologise to our readers for devoting so much space to the refutation of these distortions and misrepresentations, which may seem somewhat obscure and academic. It would certainly be much more valuable to activists in the labour movement to debate the fundamental perspectives, strategy, and tactics of the Chinese revolution and their relevance to the colonial revolution today. We will return to this in later issues of the paper.

But it is Comrade Johnstone who has chosen to surround the fundamental issues with a cloud of scholastic quibbling. Nevertheless, we consider that it is necessary to take him up. The truth is, that by his attempt to discredit Trotsky, Monty Johnstone is attempting in a roundabout way to discredit those who stand on Trotsky's ideas in the labour movement today. For this reason alone it is necessary to put the record straight.

## Background

What was the historical background to this theoretical debate? The Chinese revolution of 1925-27 arose from a magnificent movement of the young Chinese working class. Despite its



General Chiang Kai-shek with fellow generals in 1925—butchers of the revolution.

Leon Trotsky consistently opposed the policies of the Comintern leadership at this time, repeatedly warning of the terrible consequences that would flow from them. It will not be possible within the scope of this article to give a complete account of Trotsky's position. Readers who want to go into it more fully, however, can now turn to the excellent collection, "Leon Trotsky on China" (1976), which brings together all his published writings on China together with previously unpublished material from the Trotsky archive. Here, we will have to concentrate on the issues raised by Comrade Johnstone.

Comrade Johnstone, however, does not raise the vital political issues in his letter. Instead he concentrates on trying to refute the idea that the KMT was ever admitted to the Comintern as a "sympathising section". Presumably, he hopes in this way to discredit Trotsky by showing that he falsified history for the sake of a factional point—as if Trotsky needed to invent a detail like this, which is really incidental to the disastrous policies of the Stalin-Bukharin leadership.

But we will look at the evidence. The facts surrounding the exact organisational relationship of the KMT to the Comintern are, it is true, somewhat obscure. But this is more a comment on the methods that prevailed under Stalin—with the selective reporting of events and proceedings, or even their complete suppression—than on the likely authenticity of this particular episode. The official reports, however voluminous, of the International Executive Committee (ECCI) can by no means be taken as gospel—as we shall see.

In his article "Stalin and the Chinese Revolution: Facts and Documents" (26 August 1930), first published in "Problems of the Chinese Revolution" (1932) and reprinted in "Leon Trotsky on China" (1976) (pp 443-474), Trotsky wrote:

"After the Canton coup, engineered by Chiang Kai-shek in March 1926 and

reduced to miserable appendages of the Kuomintang and even signed an undertaking not to criticise Sun Yat-senism, Chiang Kai-shek—a remarkable detail indeed!—came forward to insist on the acceptance of the Kuomintang into the Comintern: in preparing himself for the role of an executioner, he wanted to have the cover of world communism—and he got it. The Kuomintang, led by Chiang Kai-shek and Hu Han-min, was accepted into the Comintern (as a 'sympathising party'). While engaged in the preparation of a decisive counter-revolutionary action in April 1927, Chiang Kai-shek at the same time took care to exchange portraits with Stalin."

The last "remarkable detail" is confirmed by the copy from Trotsky's archives of a letter (18 April 1927) sent by Trotsky to the Eastern Secretariat of the ECCI strongly protesting at their having sent him the photograph of Chiang Kai-shek with "the request promptly to send him my autographed picture...it is absolutely incomprehensible to me why the Eastern Department of the ECCI—the international organisation of the communist vanguard of the proletariat—occupies itself with such a thoroughly compromising matter as the spreading of portraits of Chiang Kai-shek." ("Trotsky on China" p. 157) Is comrade Johnstone going to claim that Trotsky fabricated such remarkable details to substantiate his case?

## No Myth

In his 1930 article, Trotsky went on to say: "After the Shanghai overturn, the bureaus of the Comintern, upon Stalin's order, attempted to deny that the executioner Chian Kai-shek still remained a member of the Comintern. They had forgotten the vote at the Political Bureau, when everybody against the vote of one (Trotsky), sanctioned the admission of the Kuomintang into the Comintern with a consultative voice." ("Trotsky on

We still have, however, the claim of Monty Johnstone that the acceptance of the KMT into the Comintern as a sympathetic section is "one of the myths of vulgar Trotskyism", stemming from Trotsky himself. Yet nearly ever serious academic authority, the very "authorities" Johnstone is usually only too ready to use when they are critical of Trotsky, accepts Trotsky's account. We may list a few: Julius Braunthal ("History of the International" vol. II, p. 324); Jane Degras ("The Communist International: Documents" vol. II p. 245); Conrad Brandt ("Stalin's Failure in China" p. 57); and also Trotsky's biographer, Isaac Deutscher ("The Prophet Unarmed" p. 320).

Even Monty Johnstone, for that matter, does not categorically assert that the vote in the Politburo referred to by Trotsky did not take place. Instead, he takes his cue from a footnote in E. H. Carr's monumental History of the Soviet Union ("Socialism in One Country" vol. III part ii, p. 766/Penguin p. 792).

But Carr does not refute Trotsky. More tentatively than Johnstone, he says, "if the decision was taken, it was apparently not carried out." Under the circumstances, Carr's "apparently" makes all the difference. There were many decisions, of more fundamental importance than this, that were not communicated to the ranks of the international in "International Press Correspondence" ("Imprecor"). The proceedings of the Eighth Plenum of the ECCI, for example, which in spite of Chiang's bloody coup against the CP claimed that "events fully justified the prognosis of the Seventh Plenum", were never published at all—not surprisingly!

Then, as his own contribution, Johnstone throws in the point that "The Politbureau of the Soviet Party of course had no powers to admit parties to the Comintern." Come off it, Monty! This is an astounding argument!

Whether the Politbureau had the formal authority to affiliate or disaffili-



Photo: Hulton Library



to the letter  
Johnstone, of  
Communist  
ynn Walsh

# 1927



Mass execution of Communists in China after Chiang's coup. Over one million Chinese were killed by the generals in 1927

rade Shao" (as the official record puts it) was greeted with (according to the record) indescribable enthusiasm when, "in the name of the Kuomintang", he declared: "We expect the support of the Comintern and all its affiliated parties... Long live the Comintern! Long live the world revolution!" ("Imprecor" 1 December 1926).

In this way, the leadership of Stalin lulled the consciousness of the Chinese and world working class, lent capitalist butchers the authority of the International, and prepared the way for the bloody defeat of the Chinese labour movement by the Kuomintang generals.

Whether the KMT was or was not formally accepted into the Comintern is, in the light of this, a purely scholastic point. We can go further: if the formal status of the KMT was not mentioned in official Comintern journals, it seems much more likely that it was in order to blur the distinction between full membership and sympathetic status, rather than because the KMT was not in fact a sympathising section.

Yet there is another piece of evidence that has recently come to light. This is a document which records Trotsky's speech to the Presidium of the ECCI on 27 September, 1927, the occasion on which Trotsky was expelled from the Executive—mainly because of his consistent opposition to the leadership's fatal policies in China. This is published for the first time in any language in "Trotsky on China" (1976).

In it, Trotsky is recorded as saying: "Even worse, the Kuomintang, to this day, remains a member of the Comintern. Which Kuomintang? The Kuomintang of Chiang Kai-shek or that of Wang Ching-wei [according to Stalin, a "left" KMT leader, after Chiang had "turned to the right"—L.W.]? But now they have united. Thus the united Kuomintang of Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Ching-wei still belongs to the Comintern. You are in a hurry to expel Vujovic and myself. But you have forgotten to expel the comrades-in-arms Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Ching-wei. Perhaps you will agree to place this question on the agenda today as well." (p. 273)

If the KMT had never been a sympathising section of the Comintern, this would hardly be a very effective point, to say the least, for Trotsky to make in a private meeting to the leaders of the ECCI who were obviously well acquainted with its recent history.

Perhaps Comrade Johnstone will say that this document, which has lain for so long in Trotsky's archives at Harvard, is a forgery, manufactured just to prove Trotsky's point? But then Stalin and the world CP leaders for years denounced Lenin's "Testament", first published by Trotsky in 1928, as a forgery—until after Krushchev's secret speech at the Twentieth Congress, when it was published for the first time in Russia.

If Monty Johnstone does not accept the accuracy of Trotsky's account of the Comintern's fatal policies in China, or the authenticity of the documents he produces, let him apply to the Kremlin bureaucrats for the publication of all the relevant official documents. Why is it that most of the vital minutes, reports and resolutions of the leading bodies of the Soviet Party and the International are still not available, even to scholars, while Trotsky's large archives have been open to inspection for many years?

## Second Point

Now we can turn to the second main point in Monty Johnstone's letter. "As late as May 1927," he writes, "Trotsky

wanted a Communist withdrawal from the Kuomintang 'which is not proposed at all' (Trotsky, "Problems of the Chinese Revolution" p. 24)." By means of this mini-quotation, torn out of context, Comrade Johnstone attempts to demonstrate that Trotsky's position was inconsistent and that Trotsky, by not calling for a break with the KMT in 1927, was as responsible as anyone else for the tragedy that followed.

Johnstone's quotation is actually culled from Trotsky's speech to the Presidium of the Eighth Plenum of the ECCI, in May 1927, (printed later in "Problems of the Chinese Revolution", p. 97; and also available now in "Trotsky on China" p. 231 and Trotsky's "Writings 1930-31" p. 87). By brazenly ignoring the context of this speech, and glossing over its actual contents, Johnstone completely distorts Trotsky's position. While it is true that there was not a formal proposition for withdrawal from the KMT before the Plenum, it is quite untrue to say that Trotsky therefore supported continued CCP activity within the nationalist party.

## Dishonesty?

But Monty's method takes no account of such "subtleties". In his "Cogito" article (page 6), a few lines before he refers to this 1927 quotation, Johnstone quotes Trotsky as saying: "I personally was from the very beginning, that is from 1923, resolutely opposed to the Communist Party joining the Kuomintang." By counterposing these two quotations, Johnstone attempts to "prove" Trotsky's inconsistency and also, by implication, his dishonesty. In reality, however, this example simply reveals the sheer dishonesty of Johnstone's own method.

The last quotation is actually taken from a letter to Max Shachtman, extensively quoted in the latter's introduction to "Problems of the Chinese Revolution" (Johnstone's source), which explains the differences between Trotsky's own personal position and that of the "United Opposition" in which Trotsky was working in 1927. Trotsky explains that the majority of the Left Opposition, formed in 1923, fully supported his position of complete opposition to work in the Kuomintang. But a majority of the "United Opposition", formed in 1925, which included the group of Zinoviev and Kamenev, as well as Trotsky's own group, decided against publicly calling for the CCP to leave the KMT.

## Trotsky's Mistake

"Up to 1926," wrote Trotsky (Letter to (Schachtman), "I always voted independently in the Political Bureau on this question [i.e. work of the CP within the KMT—L.W.], against all the others." Radek and Piatakov, however, two of the leading members of the "1923 Opposition", supported the Zinoviev group on this question. "...since it was a question of splitting with the Zinovievists, it was a general decision [of the "United Opposition—L.W.] that I must submit publicly in this question and acquaint the Opposition in writing with my standpoint. And that is how it happened that the demand [for withdrawal from KMT—L.W.] was put up by us so late, in spite of the fact that the Political Bureau and the Central Committee always contrasted my view with the official view of the Opposition. Now I can say with certainty that I made a mistake by submitting formally in this question." ("Problems" p. 13-14)

This letter, incidentally, also provides an answer to some of the other

repeating the old Stalinist calumnies of the past, levels against Trotsky: for example, that Trotsky's "incorrect understanding" resulted, among other things, from "considerations of a factional character" ("Cogito" p. 4).

Yet here we have clear evidence that Trotsky made what he later acknowledged as a serious tactical error that flowed from his concern to bring together a united Marxist opposition against the disastrous policies of the Stalin-Bukharin leadership. Limiting his public criticism of the leadership, Trotsky attempted to formulate a policy which would allow the Central Committee "to retreat from its erroneous course to a correct one"—without loss of face to the Opposition, or to Trotsky personally.

This is one mistake, published by Trotsky himself in the 1930s, that Comrade Johnstone, who otherwise devotes so much effort to revealing Trotsky's "mistakes", passes over in silence. In a letter to the United Opposition (June 23 1927), recently published for the first time in "Trotsky on China" (p. 249), Trotsky frankly analysed the tactical mistake—"a serious blunder"—that had been made, and corrected it by advocating an immediate open call for Communist withdrawal from the Kuomintang.



Trotsky (left) and Zinoviev, Comintern leader

Trotsky wrote: "We have proceeded from the fact that the Communist Party has spent too much time in the Kuomintang...but that openly calling for immediate withdrawal from the Kuomintang would even further sharpen the contradictions within our own party. We formulated the kind of conditions for the Chinese Communist Party's remaining in the Kuomintang, which—in practice, if not on paper—essentially excluded the possibility that the Chinese Communist Party would remain with the Kuomintang organisation for a long period. We tried in this way to devise a transitional formula that could become a bridge our Central Committee could use to retreat from its erroneous course to a correct one. We posed this question pedagogically and not politically...this turned out to be a mistake. While we were busy trying to enlighten a mistaken leadership, we were sacrificing political clarity with respect to the ranks. Because of this, the very way in which the question was raised was distorted. The Central Committee did not use our bridge, crying that the Opposition was in fact

in favour of withdrawal from the Kuomintang. We were compelled to 'justify' ourselves and argue that we were not in favour of withdrawal...

"Our basic approach on this question was correct, since we all held to the course for withdrawal from the Kuomintang. Our mistake was in pedagogically watering down, softening and blunting our position on the basic question...We are putting an end to this error by openly calling for immediate withdrawal from the Kuomintang!" This in our opinion, demonstrates with new evidence, long buried, the consistency of Trotsky's position, and the scrupulous honesty of his approach.

## Conclusion

In "Cogito" Monty Johnstone claims that his attack on Trotsky does not necessarily imply support for the policies of Stalin. But how can any Marxist appraise Trotsky's ideas apart from the events and policies to which they were related? In reality, Comrade Johnstone's method, of scholastically disputing details in Trotsky's writings, is a shamefaced way of justifying Stalin's policies—and their continuation by today's leaders of the world's "Communist" Parties. What is at stake, after all, is not theoretical correctness in the abstract, but the fate of the socialist revolution, yesterday and today.

The erroneous policies of the Comintern in China led to the slaughter of thousands of Communist militants, the flower of the working class. While Trotsky fought, at each calamitous new turn of the situation, to correct the strategy and tactics of the leadership, the leaders of the International simply tried to conceal their mistakes, and renewed their onslaught against the Left Opposition as "consolation".

Time after time, the Stalin-Bukharin leadership taught the workers to welcome Chiang Kai-shek as their revolutionary leader, completely submerging the Marxist identity of the Chinese CP, thus disarming the workers in the face of reaction. Heroic risings of the workers in Canton and Shanghai were put down in blood, and the trade unions and workers' parties smashed by the Kuomintang generals.

The Comintern leaders, in short, bound the Chinese proletariat and held its head on the block for Chiang, their own appointed executioner, to wield the axe. It is from this that Monty Johnstone, by concentrating his attack on Trotsky's alleged "errors", is trying to divert attention.

But, as we have previously promised, we will return in more detail to the events of the Chinese revolution, and Comrade Johnstone's polemics, in subsequent editions of 'Militant' and 'Militant International Review'.

## £5 Claim

Finally, Comrade Johnstone owes at least £5 to the Militant Fighting Fund. In his letter he generously, but foolishly, offered £5 to "any reader who can demonstrate one single fabrication in my article." Any impartial reader would surely agree that, even in this short article, taking up a couple of issues, we have demonstrated more than one.



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# URUGUAY— biggest torture chamber in the world

British workers will be familiar with the continuing reports of widespread repression and torture of socialists and trade unionists languishing under the jackboots of Generals Pinochet in Chile and Videla in Argentina. But the extent of political brutality in these military dictatorships has been surpassed by the bestial tortures carried out in Uruguay.

After 3½ years of military rule the people of Uruguay are still gripped with fear. Life is a nightmare for thousands in the country that even an American Senator described as "the biggest torture chamber in Latin America."

Twelve months ago an investigation team sent by Amnesty International revealed that since the military coup in 1973 at least 24 people had died during torture—more have suffered this fate since. At that time 6,000 people were rotting in dungeons as political prisoners including one held captive at the bottom of a disused well. This represents one in nearly every 500 Uruguayans—the highest proportion anywhere in the world.

Details of the horrific tortures to which thousands have been subjected were reported in 'The Times' (8.2.77). "A newspaper editor said tortures included burning with hot irons and cigarettes, electric shocks, beating of the genitals, cuts and even castration. For much of 1976 his newspaper received about eight complaints a month of disappearances or torture."

Such is the civilising role of modern capitalism! The public exposure on television of the wretchedness of these souls was with the deliberate intention of intimidating the population. This was a warning to anyone who might dare to become a Socialist and oppose

the rule of these sadistic dictators, to try to free the people from their misery. 400,000 people have already got out—by fleeing the country. This is a staggering exodus in a population of 3 million in 1973. It is equivalent to a total of 7 million people being forced to leave Britain.

But not all of those who have fled have escaped the horrors of the police state. The terror has followed them into Argentina, where even registered refugees have been driven back across the border and jailed or shot. Among the human debris regularly washed up on the banks of the River Plate were the bodies of two members of Congress, closed down by President Bordaberry after the coup, who had opposed him in elections. Socialists seeking political asylum in foreign embassies have been dragged out of the buildings to suffer the tender mercies of the gangsters in uniform.

## Dead-end

Capitalism can only mean a dead-end for the workers and peasants of Uruguay. It offers only two choices. Under formal capitalist "democracy" the workers and middle class suffered dizzy rates of hyperinflation; chronic unemployment; complete foreign domination of the economy—particularly double-exploitation by American multinational firms and total dependence on N American and European export markets and foreign creditors; corruption in the state machine and fiddled election laws which ushered in the reactionary President Bordaberry in the 1971 election. Under the "nationalist" military rule capitalism offers torture, exile and a budget of which 50% is spent on the security forces.

This is the legacy of the weak, backward

capitalism of a country dominated by imperialism. But the responsibility for these gangsters being allowed to seize power also rests with the Communist Party which had the strength to stop them. The CP had control of the Convencion Nacional de Trabajadores, the equivalent of the TUC. Incredibly, the CNT virtually gave an open invitation to the generals to take over in 1973 when it rescinded an old policy directive that in the event of a military coup the workers should organise strikes and occupy their factories. It was precisely such wavering which gave the generals the confidence to overthrow parliamentary democracy.

The CP made this criminal mistake in the hope that the army would install a 'progressive' nationalist regime such as that in Peru which would stand up to imperialism and carry out agrarian reform, end unemployment and inflation. They were taken in by the cynically "progressive" rhetoric of the armed forces, rhetoric which proved to be entirely hollow. The CP hoped to hitch a ride on the bandwagon once the crusade got under way. This 'military road to socialism' was a short cut, a means of coming to power without having to rely on the independent mass action of the working class.

But if the CP leaders of the trade unions bypassed the workers in search of a short cut, so did the once-famous Tupamaros guerrillas to their left. Hundreds of middle class youths who idealistically and courageously fought for an end to the corruption, exploitation and squalor unwittingly gave the ruling class the excuse and the opportunity to increase repression and wipe out the democratic rights of the working class.

Hundreds of kidnappings, bank robberies and ransom notes at first benefited the poor. These urban Robin Hoods forced the rich employers to hand out food, clothing and money to the poor. But the activities of the armed security forces, stepped up to keep

'order' against the 'terrorists', were soon directed against the labour movement. Inevitably, the Tupamaros were crushed by the superior forces of the bosses' state which, armed to the teeth, then turned against the left as a whole and put a bloody end to the struggles of the workers in the factories.

But some share must be reserved for those groups claiming to be Trotskyists who blindly cheered on the Tupamaros from the sidelines. It was the duty of any Marxist to warn the self-sacrificing but misled idealists of where the methods of individual terrorism would lead. Rather than perpetuating their isolation from the working class—which the Tupamaros hopelessly tried to substitute themselves for—anyone with an inkling of Marxism would have directed any sincere socialist towards the labour movement, into the workers' own organisations. There, armed with a Marxist perspective, they could have fought for the adoption of a socialist programme which could have lifted the workers, the peasants and the middle class to their feet and undoubtedly have led to the revolutionary seizure of power by the masses and the establishment of workers' democracy.

## Crushed

Today the Tupamaros are crushed and thousands of CP workers and trade union militants are in jail. All politicians who held office or stood as left wing candidates from 1967-73 have been stripped of all political rights for 15 years. A 'State of danger' law enables judges to lock away for ten years anyone they consider to have 'left wing inclinations' even if they have committed no offence. Yet like capitalist rulers in any and every country, this government claims the regime is "democratic".

Although political parties and trade unions have been outlawed, the traditional 'white' and 'red' parties are to be revamped by the state to present a joint, single candidate for the Presidential "election" in 1981, with no opposition allowed. It is planned that these two sham 'parties' will present two candidates in 1986, still with no real opposition.

Yet this is a fantasy of maniacs who have lost all sense of balance. Their regime will not last that long. They have lost whatever support they had from the middle class, the church, even the banks and international capitalism. Their only allies are the other unstable, crisis-racked neighbouring dictatorships. Capitalism, whether it wears the lounge suit of parliamentary democracy or the uniform of nationalism and army rule, cannot solve the immense problems of the world economy compounded by backwardness in a country like Uruguay. The collapse of this regime, like that of the Greek Colonels, is inevitable.

What is needed is for a socialist leadership to be carefully built up, based on an understanding of the mistakes made by the workers' leaders up to 1973, which can lead the workers to victory once their wounds are healed and their self confidence restored. If such a leadership can be educated and built, the collapse of this regime could be the opportunity for Uruguay to pass straight over to workers' democracy, the only form of society which could take the economy forward and guarantee democratic rights. A socialist Uruguay could be the spark to ignite the entire continent and lead to a Socialist Federation of Latin America.

Brent Kennedy

## DUTCH BOSSES RETREAT BEFORE STRIKE WAVE

After the biggest outbreak of industrial action for 35 years, the Dutch working class has forced back an attempt by the employers to drastically reduce their living standards. Thousands of workers took part in strikes and small stoppages crippling Dutch industry. The momentum was building up to a general strike until a six hour meeting between unions and employers reached a tentative agreement.

The reason for the strike explosion was the refusal of the Dutch employers organisation to pay any longer the automatic cost of living increases that have been annually made in line with price rises since 1970.

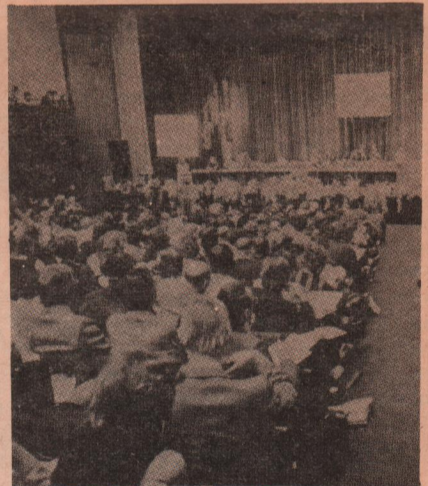
A spokesman for the employers had said that "we cannot any longer commit ourselves to handing out a blank cheque in this very difficult economic period." Already the economic outlook for the Dutch capitalist economy is poor, with lower investment, higher than average unemployment and lower exports.

But this blank refusal of the employers enraged Dutch workers. For the past two years their union leaders have agreed to a wage freeze in return for some promises of government legislation on greater worker participation and more employment opportunities. This year the union leaders had only submitted a claim within the government inflation guidelines. But even that was not enough for the bosses.

The result was a wave of industrial action covering the printing industry, engineering, docks and building companies. There has been widespread sympathy and support from the white-collar unions so far not involved. The Labour Party Congress came out unanimously in support, so placing pressure on the government to support the trade unions.

The Dutch government is a coalition of several parties led by the Labour Party. As a result the Labour ministers are now under pressure to reach an agreement with an election coming up in May.

Up to now the workers had been pacified by the labour and trade union leaders with promises of further worker participation and greater job opportunities. But the bills to introduce these measures have been held up by Labour's coalition partners who have responded to pressure from the employers not to allow the bills



Dutch Labour Party Congress

days of uninterrupted expansion of production and incomes are over in Holland as they are in all of Western Europe. Growing class confrontation is inevitable. As Wim Kok, the President of the FNV (the Dutch equivalent of the TUC) said, "the employers are no longer in a position to buy off our reform demands as they have done successfully in the past."

The employers have now agreed to drop their demand for the abolition of the cost of living payments, providing inflation remains below 6%. But there is still no agreement over the union claim for a 2% real wage increase to compensate for the past wage freeze.

This immediate confrontation has been overcome because the employers backed down before the might of the Dutch labour movement. But this is only the beginning. The employers will be forced to take on the labour movement again if they are to preserve their profits and their share of a shrinking world market. Even more resolute action will be required from the Labour and trade union leaders.

Given the deteriorating economic situation, the Labour Party must turn towards a firm programme of socialist demands involving the takeover of the big banks and companies under workers' control and management. Only a planned economy could guarantee for the future the standards of living that Dutch workers have come to expect.

If the Labour Party went into the election on such a programme after backing this movement by the Dutch unions, it could gain an overall majority. This would lay the basis for

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES

### SPANISH 'LEGALISATION'

Spanish Premier Adolfo Suarez announced that it would not be up to the government to decide but the courts whether any political party could be legalised to stand in future elections. This was seen as opening the door for the legal functioning of the Communist Party.

The refusal up to now of the government to agree to freedom of activity for the Communists has held back other opposition parties from applying for legalisation under the government rules.

Now the Socialist party PSOE has decided to apply and all other parties will follow that lead.

### U.S. STEEL UNIONS

With nearly all the returns in on the ballot for the President of the US steel workers union, it appeared that the 'establishment' candidate Lloyd McBride would win. But that is not likely to be the end of the matter for his main opponent, Ed Sadlowski, has claimed that ballot rigging has already taken place.

Great interest has centred on this union election because Sadlowski stood as the candidate of the

serving steel worker in Chicago, Sadlowski had campaigned for the ending of the national no-strike agreement made with the employers by the present union leaders. He said that they had become detached from the membership by their 'tuxedo' style of leadership.

### BHUTTO AND GANDHI

Both Pakistan and India go to the polls shortly. And in both countries the semblance of democracy has virtually been extinguished. In Pakistan, Premier Bhutto has locked up most of the opposition leaders, particularly those representing outlying provinces who have talked of secession. He and most of his party will be elected unopposed.

In India, Indira Gandhi ended her imposition of eighteen months of emergency powers when the press was censored, opposition leaders arrested and workers forced to submit to draconian measures by employers. Elections are now to be held.

Rail union and Socialist party leader George Fernandez still languishes in jail along with thousands of other political prisoners. As a result her Congress Party is likely to win these elections comfortably despite defections from among her cronies.



# NO JOBS FOR YOUTH

Dear Comrades,

As the 'Militant' has pointed out in recent issues, unemployment particularly affects the young.

In my position as a teacher in a comprehensive school, with special responsibility for 5th form pupils. I have recently been involved in the farce of career's guidance. Each child in his final year at school is given a lengthy career's interview and is given advice on which type of job to apply for.

Given that unemployment in the North East is running at 8%, even the careers officers must be aware that most of these young people have little or no prospect of getting a job. But that does not discourage them from going through the timewasting formalities, no doubt to justify their own position. The pupils are not so innocent of the situation.

Many of those who would normally have stayed on at school to do CSE and GCE exams, with the hope of getting an

apprenticeship or going on to further education, are leaving as soon as possible, in the vain hope of securing a job because they believe there will be less competition at Easter than in the Summer.

Who can blame them when they read of graduates with long lists of qualifications being unable to find employment, and their own teacher's jobs being threatened? An unprecedented number have applied for jobs in the armed forces. Not from choice, but because the forces at least offer them some security of employment.

Those pupils who are staying on at school to do exams have had explained to them, only this week, that if they want to take both CSE and GCE in the same subject, their parents must pay in advance for the GCE exam, purely by coincidence the more expensive of the two! Easter leaver or not, the sixteen year olds in my school just can't win!

Yours fraternally  
A North East teacher

# MERIDEN AND CAPITALISM

Dear Comrade,

Because of a number of comments I have had over the report of my contribution to the Youth Assembly Against Unemployment (issue 341) I feel I must write and correct the impression given.

In raising the question of co-operatives at the Assembly I was asking for a discussion of their viability under a capitalist system. (I have no doubt that for certain types of industry—particularly small scale industry—they are an excellent form of organisation under a socialist economy).

I was by no means condemning the attempts of workers in forming co-operatives but was pointing to the way in this system they are starved of the necessary finance to really make their operations viable. It was for this reason that nationalisation of banks, insurance and finance is necessary. (The question of wages was not in fact mentioned).

While GEC have now stepped into the breach at Meriden their money also brings

with it their managers. Also to keep going, Meriden are doing assembly work for outside capitalist firms which again puts their system of controlling production under pressure.

Of course, to the Meriden men any work, even if it means the intervention of GEC managers, is better than the dole. However, it is also true that they are working on a smaller labour force than was originally employed at the factory and so have not solved all the problems of all the original Meriden workers.

Up here in the North West, the possibility of forming co-operatives has taken some of the steam out of fighting closures (witness Courtauld's of Skelmersdale). I think we have to show to workers that co-operatives offer only a partial solution and while within a capitalist system of production, not a very stable and lasting solution.

Comradely yours,  
Julie McLean  
Liverpool Toxteth CLP

# PAUL McCARTNEY A RACIALIST?

Comrade,

Many of us will remember with a certain amount of nostalgia the swinging sixties era and those lovable Liverpool lads, the Beatles. Perhaps they were always slightly 'safer' than groups like the Stones as far as the establishment were concerned but it might come as a revelation to discover just how pro-establishment characters like Paul McCartney actually are.

I discovered an article in a now unobtainable import paper-back called 'The best of Rolling Stone' on the film 'Let It Be'. In this article we learn: 'Let It Be' documents a few moments of the Beatles "together awake" and "for real"...one misses scenes like the one in which Paul tells how he originally wrote 'Get Back' as a political song.

"Don't dig Pakistanis taking all the people's jobs, Wilson said to the immigrants You'd better get back to your Commonwealth homes. Yeh-yeh-yeh, you'd getter get BACK HOME."

Despite the facade of being an ordinary bloke, one of the people etc., the reality is very different. 'Superstars' like McCartney are so heavily involved in the whole machinery of capitalism in its most blatantly commercial form that it's obvious where his loyalties lie, as is graphically clear when you look at the original lyrics to that charming little ditty 'Get Back'. For undiluted racist junk you can't get much worse than that.

It's about time that these so-called 'popular heroes' were exposed in their true colours. How can they pretend to identify with the youth of today as they jet off in their private planes and sit by their swimming pools contemplating whether to leave the country for tax reasons!

McCartney is not the only rock star to demonstrate racist tendencies. Eric Clapton, who owes more to black music than he would care to admit has made very denigrating remarks about immigrants and David Bowie has stated that Britain needs an extreme right wing government, or was that just his latest gimmick?

The whole of the entertainment business stinks of this kind of subtle (and not so subtle) indoctrination. It is time for record companies and all the off-shoot industries to be democratically run with a view to helping people with talent entertain people at a price they can afford. Some of the mystique surrounding these 'Superstars' would soon be washed off and they would have to give value for money in order to survive.

You'd think that people would have had enough of silly rock stars?

Fraternally  
Jane Carter  
Reading LPYS

# SPANISH KILLINGS

Dear Comrades,

What is happening in Spain? There seems no end to the astonishing series of events which has shaken the country in recent weeks. A succession of political killings has so angered the masses that they have surged into strike activity the country over. First, the guerrillas of Christ the King, unrepentant fascists, ambushed a demonstrator calling for amnesty and murdered him, and then in the further demonstrations of protest a girl activist was killed when she was shot, in the face, by a smoke bomb fired by police.

On the 26th a group of fascist thugs entered the office of a firm of PCE (Spanish Communist Party) lawyers and machine gunned four of them and their secretary. Workers were already incensed before this happened and strikes had taken place. Now when the lawyers were buried 100,000 turned out to the funeral procession, marching in silence through Madrid. Even more important was the crushing response of the workers. This has been suppressed in Britain, but it looks as though as many as four million took part in protest strikes at the succession of killings. This was the clearest demonstration yet of the power of the workers but what has been scandalous has been the response of the leaders of the Socialist and Communist parties.

The government, stacked with ex-fascists

and making no effort to find the killer gangs appealed to people to stay calm and keep off the streets. The workers leaders have done the same! The anger of the workers has been such that it could have destroyed the government, but the strategy of the 'Democratic Coordination' is to work with 'liberals' and 'Social-Democrats' to achieve democracy. They played the role of braking the movement. Communist leaders of the Workers' Commissions even trying to keep the protests to a one day General Strike. Now the government has banned all demonstrations left or right. It is the workers and their allies who are being murdered, but the government, 'impartially' bans everyone from the streets!

These events are absolute proof that the method of the Socialist and Communist leaders is wrong. Their 'moderation' and reliance on talks is encouraging the fascists. More and more violence will follow. The answer is there in the mass activity of the workers. No compromise or talks with Suarez and his ex-fascist cronies! Mobilise all of Spain in a General Strike to end the regime!

Yours fraternally  
Martin Upham  
(Tottenham CLP)

# GERMAN SOCIALIST YOUTH

Dear Comrades,

In the interests of accuracy, I feel I must reply to comrade H R Buschmann's letter on the German Young Socialists ('Militant' No. 339). Any British worker reading that letter would marvel at the enormous strength of the sister organisation of the LPYS in West Germany, which—with its tens of thousands of members—was "mobilising the workers" and "fighting for socialism". The real picture is, unfortunately, somewhat different.

In 1972, the number of Juso (Social-Democratic Youth Organisation) branches reached an all-time high of 4,000 with around 15 active members per branch. But owing in the main to the poor record of the SPD coalition government in coping with the economic crisis, resulting in a million unemployed and the shelving or reversal of most of the promised reforms, the number of Juso branches has been crumbling away. Although official figures aren't given to the membership, estimates of the number of branches now vary between 2,000 and 2,500.

So even in spite of this terrible decline, the Jusos still have between 20,000 and 25,000 active members. Going on the basis of Tony Saunois, figures for the active LPYS membership of between 4 to 5,000 it would appear ludicrous to suggest that the British organisation was stronger than the Jusos. But as comrade White pointed out in an earlier letter, "it is not numbers that count—it is strength in action."

Comrade Buschmann claimed that the Jusos have 80% of the active trade union youth. Anyone who knows the German unions will take that statement with a large pinch of salt. The Communist Party youth have made large inroads into the trade union youth precisely because the Jusos have never

succeeded in putting forward a fighting, socialist standpoint in the factories. The Juso shop stewards that do exist faithfully follow official union policy on almost every question. Militant Juso stewards are in a tiny minority and receive no help or encouragement from the Juso organisation, and their activities are never reported at rank and file level in the Juso branches.

Were they to use their influential positions in the union organisations to fight unemployment, sackings, speed-ups, rationalisation and public spending cuts, the Juso workers could succeed in drawing into the SPD thousands of young workers to strengthen the left wing in the Party (as the LPYS has done in an exemplary fashion). Such mass recruitment could transform the Jusos overnight from its present student ridden character into a fighting organisation of young workers and for young workers. As it stands, any young worker who accidentally comes to a Juso meeting, is usually immediately repelled by the sterile atmosphere.

As comrade Buschmann rightly says "Nearly all possible mistakes have already been made." The result of the so-called "double strategy" has been to decimate the number of Juso branches and demoralise thousands of members. Let the German Juso comrades study the enormously successful experience of the LPYS under the guidance of the 'Militant' tendency and attempt to draw the lessons for a regeneration of the Jusos on healthy, Marxist, working class lines, rather than smugly counting heads.

Yours fraternally  
T Moston  
(Chairman of the Juso branch in Essen-Altendorf)

# TORY OPPOSES DARWIN

Dear Editor,

A teacher was recently suspended for teaching the 'Genesis' theory of creation and refusing to acknowledge or teach the theory of evolution, which, of course, is accepted by scientists without exception. To my surprise, I read in 'The Times' that the man was being supported by Norman St-John Stevas, the Tory front bench spokesman on Education—saying that he "prefers" the theory of evolution, but it has not been proved conclusively. That horrifying statement from a man purporting to want to be Minister of Education made me naturally wonder what "improvements" he would introduce if he became Minister:

- Chemistry: 'The phlogiston theory and its many uses.'
- Physics: 'A study of the basic elements of nature (earth, air, fire and water).'
- Biology: 'The magic essence of life for beginners.'
- Human Biology: 'How the shape of the skull determines personality.'
- Astronomy: 'Your stars and the future' (special guest lecturer Gypsy Rose Lee).
- 'The dynamics of the sun's rotation about the earth.'
- Geography: "'St-John Stevas's Flat Earth Theory.'
- Perhaps also the Tories will base their defence strategy on skin boats, slings and stone axes! (Some hope!).

John Pickard  
(Bethel of Scientology, St John Stevas)

# POET LAUREATE

JUBILEE

So this is we, in this our land,  
Our way of life forced by their hand.  
We joined the queue again today,  
The factory's broke, least so they say.  
So once again we stand in file,  
To take our pittance from the bosses pile.

So this is we, in the year three,  
Of a Labour Government.  
Our hearths are cold,  
Our collars frayed,  
And all our savings spent.

So this is them eating pheasant hen,  
And aspic glazed salmon.  
With auctioned wine of singular class,  
They paid £2,000 for each glass.  
They gave £600 for such good reason,  
The few spuds of the new season.  
They dance and gamble and merry make,  
And wine and dine on veal steak.

So this is them how they survive,  
In the year of their Queen twenty five,  
Enquire what is asked of them.  
They'll have some more.  
Of the same, again.

Richard Kilbride

# CALLAGHAN ON PANORAMA

Dear Comrades

I am writing this letter in order to calm myself down after listening to the disgusting performance of Mr Callaghan debating, laughing and joking with representatives of the Tory press on Panorama and is so doing denying every principle on which the Labour Party is based. Surely the reason workers vote Labour is because they feel that this party will defend their interests and that is the reason we pay subs and union levies.

But Mr Callaghan made it clear that these were not his priorities. He boasted that workers' living standards had fallen this year and were guaranteed to fall again next year. He boasted, too, that public spending cuts were greater now than under his predecessors and he would be sure to continue cuts over the next few years. That may reassure big business but he didn't spell out what it means in terms of suffering to the ordinary person when health and education cuts and housing spending cuts really begin to bite.

I am particularly infuriated to hear that there are some in the Labour Party who don't believe in 'democratic socialism' and these people, i.e. those who support the 'Militant', need to be checked although he noted that it is necessary to try to get on with the left as they are needed at election time!

It really doesn't surprise me that Mr Callaghan needs the left. Certainly his fiery speeches aren't going to encourage

All Mr Callaghan can offer is a future of sacrifice and belt tightening though he did go out of his way to promise management a better deal in the future as he felt they had suffered particularly badly!

The reason he put forward as being against the Tories coming to power was that they would not be able to manage

the social contract and that there would be a wages free-for-all. Well Mr Callaghan won't be able to manage either if he continues to gloat on how he manages to cheat the TUC and hold out on their demands.

Yours fraternally  
K Galashan

# STOP THE FEUDING

Dear Friends

Recently a member of the Young Socialists at my request passed on two copies of your paper. A personal viewpoint is that any witch hunt against any section of the Labour Party can only play into the hands of our political opponents. The advance into the egalitarian society which we seek will not be achieved overnight, nor will it be achieved by any one group, be it left wing, right wing or the centre of the road so-called 'moderates'.

Coming as I do from the grass roots of the labour movement as a child and later as a young man, I liked the style of Anueran Bevan. The blood, fire and venom that he spat at his political enemies fired my veins and warmed my heart. When he was joined by Harold Wilson it really looked that after many

would go from strength to strength, but what is happening? Internal feuds within the party have destroyed many of the gains which the labour movement has made or could reasonably have hoped to make.

From the opposition benches the Labour MPs can howl and scream about human rights, peoples' dignity or anything they like, but they can change nothing. It is only by retaining the power of government that we can achieve socialism. Until I know considerably more about 'Militant', I can only offer qualified support. I hope it survives the witch hunt. But let us all remember, a united party can attain our ultimate goal, a divided party cannot.

Yours  
Dannv Rogan



# Militant

MARXIST PAPER FOR LABOUR AND YOUTH

## WHAT WE STAND FOR PUBLIC MEETINGS

### Ted Grant in Birmingham

### Wolverhampton

Ted Grant in reply to a suggestion that the Labour Party was too much in the grip of bureaucrats, said that increasingly workers were seeing the need to transform and retransform the Labour Party in the light of their own experience. There was no short cut around this process. The meeting of nearly twenty raised £6.50.

### Chesterfield

Peter Taaffe [Editor Militant] spoke to a meeting of nearly twenty, the first ever held in Chesterfield. One supporter of the Communist Party suggested that there was completely passivity by workers to everything, except the page three of the 'Sun'. But only that day, it was pointed out, the Notts miners had agreed to oppose the social contract and fight for a minimum wage of £135 a week.

Nearly 100 people turned out to hear Ted Grant explain the ideas of the 'Militant' in Birmingham last week. Another fifty were prevented from attending because of Labour Party meetings. Ted explained that the movement of the carworkers in Birmingham demonstrated that it was the beginning of the end for the social contract.

Inflation was caused not by wage increases but by budget deficits and devaluation, among other reasons. The working class had been deceived by promises of more jobs and stable prices if they accepted wage restraint. The result had been a fall in average real wages of £10 a week. Workers would no longer put up with it.

The collection raised £50. Earlier in the day Ted Grant spoke at meetings held in Birmingham University and Birmingham Polytechnic.

# London Young Socialists

## Adopt Marxist Programme

While Margaret Thatcher was addressing the Young Tories in Scarborough about the benefits of 'free enterprise', eighty-two delegates from 47 branches plus 150 visitors attended the London Conference of the Labour Party Young Socialists.

### Walk Out

This conference was not addressed by Jim Callaghan, but when Andy Bevan, the former National Committee member for London, and now newly appointed National Youth Officer of the Labour Party, rose to speak, the London Regional Youth Officer, George Catchpole, walked out under the instructions of the National Union of Labour Organisers. They are still applying a boycott of Andy Bevan.

The Tory press saw fit to publish only

this incident of the day's proceedings but there were other more important events. In the debate on the conditions of young workers Conference gave full backing to the Youth Campaign Against Unemployment. The arguments proposed by supporters of the 'Clause 4' tendency for import controls and a National Enterprise Board as solutions to the economic crisis were rejected as inadequate. The 'Militant' programme for a 35 hour week, £60 minimum wage, and a programme of public works, all financed by a planned nationalised economy, won overwhelming support.

### Ireland

Conference also supported the call for a trade union defence force to stop sectarianism in Northern Ireland and called for a class solution to problems

there. They rejected an amendment to delete the call for a socialist alternative.

In his address to Conference Andy Bevan attacked the Tory press for their red scare campaign against the LPYS. The conference proved that the campaign had backfired and there was new enthusiasm for the ideas of the LPYS and the 'Militant'.

This was vindicated in the elections for a new National Committee member when John Bulaitis, a 'Militant' supporter, was elected by 32 votes to 7 over 'Clause 4' nominee Alan Griffiths. 'Militant' supporters also took a clean sweep on the Regional Committee.

A collection for Grunwick strikers raised £18.

### Tony McGinty

(Holborn & St Pancras Sth LPYS)

## SELLING THE 'MILITANT'

For a few months now I've had a regular paper sale at a maintenance depot near the Oval [South London]. The buyers are council workers [NUPE, EETPU].

As I was selling the other day one of the workers approached me saying he had seen me selling 'Militant' over the weeks, but had never bought one. "I saw the programme on the TV the other week about you, do you hold communistic views? Not that it matters to me."

I explained our position briefly, of fighting within the Labour Party for socialist policies and trying to get the Labour government to implement its manifesto etc.

He nodded. "What do you think of this money they've given to royalty?" I replied, "It's complete hypocrisy. Workers are having to accept wage restraints, cuts etc. while royalty and big business carry on the same, no reductions for them." He nodded again.

You could feel the anger in just the way he raised it. "I remember years ago on Empire days they used to give us parties and flags to wave while whole families were evicted with all their possessions thrown on to the streets.

"I'm getting on a bit now and I'm getting more fed up. These Labour tops, they seem to be more mucking in

with the Tories; there's only a thin line between them ain't there?" He bought a paper saying he would probably buy a regular copy.

PS 16 papers sold in half an hour, including three new buyers.

### Bob Faulkes

## NYE BEVAN'S SISTER OPPOSES WITCH HUNT

On Saturday February 5th over 200 people crowded into the Miners Welfare Hall in Pontllan Fraith for a meeting called by Bedwellty Labour Party to celebrate 'Tribune's' 40th Anniversary.

The first speaker Richard Clements (Editor of 'Tribune') spoke vaguely about the need for 'a socialist press' without really spelling out how this was to be achieved or what policies such a press should advance.

Arianwen Norris (Aneurin Bevan's sister) spoke of the campaign to obtain regular sales of 'Tribune' in Tredegar in 1937. Describing the impoverished social conditions of working class people at the time, she explained how the newspaper was well received.

Arianwen recently gave support to a resolution passed unanimously by Ebbw Vale CLP opposing the witch hunt against 'Militant' supporters. To her credit she has not abandoned the socialist traditions of the early pioneers of 'Tribune'.

Fred Evans MP for Caerphilly drew strong applause from the audience when he attacked 'the conspiracy of the right wing of the party, and the Tory press to deny that Marxism is a legitimate part of the traditions of the Labour Party.'

The final speaker Ian Mikardo began by describing the swelling opposition to the right wing policies of the Labour government from the movement.

He said that every month the NEC

receives around 100 resolutions critical of government policy, some sharply so. Unfortunately Comrade Mikardo spent most of his speech explaining that however bad this government was, it was better than any Tory government. It is extremely doubtful whether one single member of the audience needed this explanation.

Although references were made by various speakers to "the alternative strategy" of 'Tribune' not once was an attempt made to justify or explain this programme. Despite the good intentions of the organisers, such meetings can in the final analysis only serve to frustrate the attempts of the movement to formulate alternative policies to the present disastrous policies of the government. In particular the absence of questions and discussion from the floor was a poor example to the movement.

Because of Callaghan's links with South Wales, the 'Militant' supporters in the area, particularly within his own constituency have been singled out for attack by the press. This seems to have rebounded as 120 people from the meeting signed a petition condemning the witch hunt, and those party members who use the Tory press to attack other party members. Over 60 copies of 'Militant' were sold.

### Andrew Price

(Cardiff South East Labour Party)

Due to the action of the now victorious postal workers in East London, our post is still depleted. At least we hope that is the reason! Otherwise, the total of less than £150 for the Militant Fighting Fund this week would indicate a serious crisis looming for our paper.

The target of £50,000 for 1977 was set with the aim of covering increasing production costs and accumulating the resources to expand the 'Militant' into a bigger and/or more frequent paper. The CIA is pouring its funds into the right wing of the labour movement to carry out the dictates of imperialism. It is vital that a paper written by workers in the labour movement for workers in the labour movement gets the cash it needs to step up the struggle for socialist change. And there is only one source this cash can come from—the worker-readers themselves, whose £s and pences are not easy to part with.

Most of this week's contributions are those that have been handed in from London supporters. The biggest single donation was an excellent £20 from A Williams. Just as welcome were the £5.25 from K Myers, £1.50 from J Hinchcliffe (Camberwell) and M Shaw (Stratford railwayworker), £7.50 from S Norris of Hornchurch LP Young Socialists, £3 from P Stephens of Greenwich CLP and £1 donations from S Murphy (Hornsey), B Wilkins (Dagenham CLP), P Cawley (Islington) and Mr and Mrs Wobey (Hackney).

Cllr J Boyle of Norwood gave £1 for his copy of 'Militant'. B Gunsham (Edmonton) has given £1.50 with the promise of 50p every week. A passer-by gave 40p to a 'Militant' seller outside the Tribune Birthday Rally. They all add up: 1,000 copies of the 'Militant' sold for £1

## SOCIALISM GRADUALLY

Over one hundred people in Harlow heard Ian Mikardo MP, Bob Wright (AUEW) and Stan Newens MP for Harlow speak.

When asked whether the left of the party should be stronger in dealing with the right and so introduce more democracy to the movement, Mikardo replied that it was a process of "wearing away the stones slowly".

On the economy Mikardo explained that the investment strike by British capitalists had not begun recently but had been applied

for over seventy years. He continued that many things had been tried by successive governments to get investment going, tax incentives etc., but nothing had worked. The NEC was still considering methods.

Somebody shouted out "what about nationalisation?" Mikardo replied "Well it's in our programme." 40 copies of 'Militant' were sold.

### Bob Edwards

# Regular Donations Needed

## This Week: £150

Fund. 1,000 50p donations plus 500 £1 donations = £1,000. 1,000 25p donations, 500 50p donations, 250 £1 donations plus collections at meetings, fund-raising events etc. = well over £1,000!!

And there are many more combinations that would come up with the same result which is why we are confident that 1,000 a week can be won for the 'Militant' if every reader is convinced by everyone else!

Supporters in East London, for example, scandalised at the level of unemployment have started a "protest drink fund". Instead of having a pint, they put cash in for the 'Militant' to fight unemployment by exposing the facts and spreading the arguments for an end to capitalism. This week they sent us £3.

Supporters in Deptford also campaigning against unemployment arranged a performance of a play by the Greenwich Young People's Theatre about life on the dole and raised £11 for 'Militant' in the process.

The 'Militant' cartoon calendars are still available and bringing in cash for our funds. Again, all that has reached us for these this week has been paid in the London area.

From outside London we received £11.50 from E Kilbride (including a 'fiver' from D Churchley), £16.68 from Nottingham ('fivers' from M Draper from his grant and J Singh, 'anon' £2 and other donations); £2.22 from Middlesborough (miscellaneous), £1.02 from Scarborough including Tote card sold to readers) and £10.93 from Bristol.

And these Bristol supporters really do set an example; £2 came from a collection amongst Labour Party Young Socialists, £5 was collected from Labour Party and YS

fund-raising at Schweppes Factory and 18p meticulously kept to one side as extra pences on the sale of 'Militant'. The importance of pences is yet again demonstrated by the list given of readers donating sums like 6p, 4p, 10p, 20p, 25, 40 and 50p—students and Rolls Royce and BAC workers alike—all sent in with £1 from E Meredith (Schweppes) who has promised a regular donation.

This is the key—establishing regular donations—large and small—from readers—and making sure they are sent in every week, so that when the post does come through we will find ourselves on target to the sort of expansion every 'Militant' reader wants to see.

## ADVERTISEMENTS

### RATES

CLASSIFIED: 5p per word. Minimum 10 words.

SEMI DISPLAY: £2 per column inch. All advertisements copy should reach this office by first post Monday.

Payments must be sent with advertisements. Cheques and Postal Orders should be made payable to Militant.

## MILITANT NOTICES

Gloucester Militant Readers Meeting "Fight Racism with Socialist Policies" Speaker: Mumtaz Khan (Hackney LPYS) 7.45 pm, Tuesday February 22nd GMWU Offices, Worcester Street, Gloucester

Militant Public Meeting "A Socialist Programme for the Trade Unions" Speaker: Pat Wall, President, Bradford Trades Council Thursday February 24th 7.30 pm Brighthouse Labour Club, 46 Bradford Rd,

Cardiff Militant Readers Meeting "What Future for Social Contract" Speaker: Bob Ashworth (SSC, Rover) Friday 25th February, 7.30 pm Rhymney Hotel, Cardiff

Salford Militant Readers Meeting 'Socialist Answer to Crisis' Speaker: Gerry Lerner Wednesday 23rd February, 8.00 pm Black Horse, The Crescent, Salford

## CLASSIFIED

Grunwick's Benefit Social Disco and Dance. Saturday March 5th, 7 pm - Midnight. Abbey Hotel, North Circular Road, N.W.10. Nearest Tube: Hanger Lane. Bar available. Tickets £1 from Brent Trades and Labour Hall, 375 High Road, Willesden N.W.10, or at door.

## ST MARYLEBONE LPYS DISCO

Saturday February 19th. At 8pm. 'Cambridge' Pub (basement), 48 Newman Sreet, W.1. (Corner of Newman Street and Gooch Street. 2 minutes walk from Gooch Street Station). Music—'Dick's Disco'—Dancing—Bar extension until midnight.



The shops, press and TV all seem to be competition with each other to exhibit new souvenirs for the Queen's Jubilee. But you don't hear much about the workers who make such medals and trophies—for wages that should be a national scandal and in conditions unchanged since Queen Victoria's Jubilee! For example, the 12 workers from Morton T Culver Ltd in the heart of Birmingham's Jewellery Quarter were sacked at the beginning of January for being members of the National Union of Gold, Silver and Allied Trades [NUGSAT].

Ray Shakeshaft, Birmingham District Secretary of NUGSAT, explained what had happened. "Late November, workers from Morton T Culver, which employs about 30 persons, came to the Union asking about their wages which by anybody's standards were remarkably low—about £20 a week. Many of the employees joined the union. On December 2nd the union wrote to the company asking for recognition and offering to meet the directors to explain what this meant. On January 5th we wrote again to the company, asking for a reply to our letter of December 2nd 1976.

## Sacked

"On Thursday 6th January one of our members was told verbally that if she didn't earn more, she would be sacked. She worked piece-work, and earned between £13-£16 a week. The management said she could earn £35. Her more experienced colleague, who was not a union member, found it impossible to earn more than £20 because the rates were so low but had never received such a warning.

"The next day, our member got a written warning that she had to increase earnings or be sacked. Rather than sign, she discussed it with other union members. With no top management available, rather than leaving the issue, they came to the union office at about 4.30 pm. But with no officials there, they went back to work. The management had now returned. The members said where they had been, to which the director replied that they had 'sacked themselves'. They were told to get their belongings and to get out.

"On Monday 10th January one of our members tried to report for work, but her clock card and those of her colleagues involved in the Friday afternoon matter—nine in all—had been removed. When we phoned the management, they claimed our members had broken their contracts (none of them had ever signed a 'contract') and so had 'sacked themselves', and then slammed the phone down.

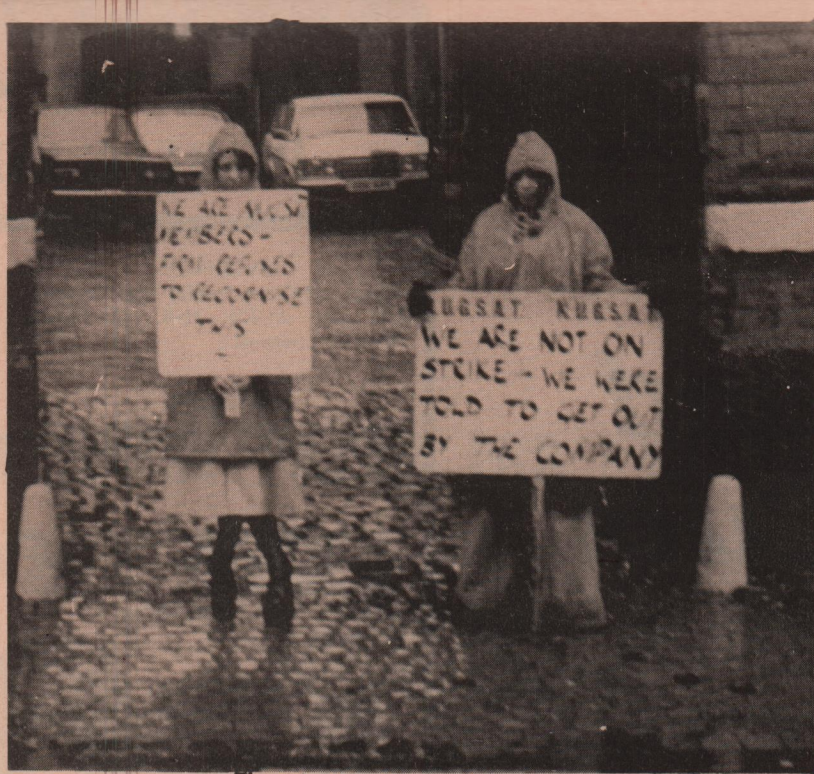
"That Monday, we also received a letter from the directors in reply to our earlier letters saying: 'As our employees are not members of your union and have no wish to join it we see no reason to meet you and therefore consider the matter closed.'

## Pickets

"Since then, management have refused to talk to us. However, we know that the management have reduced hours from 42½ to 40 a week, and increased wages by £5 for the workers who stayed in. So the non-union members have benefited from our members' action!

"Our demands are: we want all our members to be able to return to their jobs and the verbal and written notice to one of our members to be rescinded, and a proper investigation into whether it is humanly possible for an average worker to earn £35 per week on their prices.

"Our members have picketed the works for the last five weeks. The TGWU have



The girls picket Morton Culver Ltd

# THE REAL FACE OF JUBILEE YEAR

blackened deliveries. Trade unionists in other works have supported the dispute through collections and help on the picket line.

"We have contacted the Advisory, Conciliation and Arbitration Service of the Department of Employment, but we won't be getting a hearing until April."

The LPYS in Birmingham has offered its full support to these workers, most of whom are only 17-19 years old. Two of the sacked girls, Karen Price and Carol Aspley, told us what it was like working at Mortons. Carol said: "I did press work, stamping the badges, trophies and medals. It was mostly brass and copper. I started doing things for the Jubilee just before we were sacked."

## Mice in Sink

Karen said the wages were: "Trash! Most of us were walking out with about £16 a week. Older workers were getting about £21 a week on piece-rate. I was there about 1½ years. Other places, workers are getting £50-£60 a week." Carol added that there was "no hot water. Mice in the sink. Mice ran under your feet when you were working. There's no canteen. In the press-shop, where you've got to eat, there are oily tools. We had to put paper down and change it every

day. There's no vending machines. We had to eat where we worked, amongst oily tools. As for the safety of the machines Carol described "the big knuckle. When you are stamping on it, the gate is supposed to shut. Well, one of the women [who is out with us now] was working on it. She was taking a medal off the die, and the forge came down on her hand. The gate never shut. It chopped her finger off."

The appalling wages and working conditions at Morton T Culver are not an exception in the Jewellery Quarter. Victory to the sacked workers would give a great boost to the fight for a living wage and decent working conditions throughout the area. NUGSAT have called for support to get these young workers reinstated. The LPYS in Birmingham appeal to all sections of the labour and trade union movement, especially in Brum, to support these workers with donations and support on the picket line.

Messages to: Ray Shakeshaft, Dist. Sec., National Union of Gold, Silver and Allied Trades, 19/23, Pitsford Street, Birmingham B18 6LJ

## Nic Boulter

(Northfield Labour Party)

# COMPULSORY 60 HOUR WEEK

(Interview with a Reliance Cables worker, Leyton, London)

by Robin McArthur

## Q. What is it like in your factory?

A. I have only been there a month. The hours are too long. It's a company condition that you must work 60 hours. I do 8.00 am till 8.00 pm, five days a week. There is a night shift which does the other twelve hours. My grade gets 75p an hour which brings £60 for 60 hours but for only 40 I would get £30.

## Q. That's bad. Is it a small firm?

A. No, there are about 3,000 workers. The company is part of BICC. The union is weak though. About 20% seem to be in the G&MWU but all they talk about is the heating. I'm still in the T&GWU but it's not recognised. There was a strike about four years ago but it was defeated and most of the stewards got rid of.

## Q. Why did you go there?

A. Because of unemployment. We are all here because we could not get anything better. Many of the workers are immigrants.

## Q. What would you like to see happen in the factory?

A. There are a few of us who want to get better organised and have a recruitment drive for the union. We want mostly a cut in hours to 40 but we want more than £60 for it.

## Q. This would break the social contract as it now stands. How do you feel about that?

A. Most companies pay £1.40 or £1.50 per hour so how are we breaking the social contract? Workers in other places are demanding a 35 hour week so why doesn't the G&MWU take action against the company to press them to reduce hours to 40? I would like to know what it is doing in the rest of the country because it does not seem to be working right in London.

## Q. What are conditions on the shop

floor like?

A. I used to work in Fords. Compared to that they're miserable. Most of the machines are over 50 years old, and many of them don't have guards. We don't get any tea breaks although the trolley comes round twice a day. Dinner is 45 minutes. We don't get to eat from 1.00 pm till we get home after 8.00 pm. The works director and the chairman sniff about the floor every day to make sure we're all working.

## Q. How long is it since you met 'Militant' and what do you think of it?

A. About a year ago. It represents workers in all walks of life and prepares them for socialism because that's the only solution for survival for our future generation. We have seen what capitalism gives us. The Labour Party was formed by workers for workers' rights and the benefit of ordinary people. The left wing of the LP should get into power for the benefit of the people. That is my point of view.

# 800 OCCUPY FACTORY TO SAVE JOBS

"I've heard of the Bullock report but I never thought I would be in the boardroom so quick," said one of the stewards at the knitting machine factory Wildt, Mellor, Bromley (WMB) in Leicester, where 800 are sitting in after management decided to close the plant.

Last Friday after eight hours of fruitless discussion, stewards were told of the closure. Over the ensuing weekend the stewards committee had several meetings where they planned the takeover of the factory. They planned the occupation of the plant and organised food supplies.

First thing Monday morning they told the workforce of the plans. The gates were manned and mass meetings held. The call was "stand and fight or leave now." Only one man left.

Bill Jones, AUEW senior steward and active Labour Party member, explained that WMB was one of the largest engineering plants in Leicester and until recently the best paid and organised. But in 1970 the men had agreed to drop a bonus scheme which reduced wage levels.

WMB is part of the Bentley group which is owned by Sears Holdings, the Charles Clore empire. Bentley has already suffered major redundancies over the past two years when workers were split and divided.

WMB management want to move

work for some jobs in Surrey where wages are lower and to give out other work to sub-contractors. This is despite evidence that WMB is profitable. Sears Holdings made £50 million in the first six months of 1976.

As one worker said "We've been lied to, cheated and robbed. This is the last straw. There is £2 million of machinery inside. We've finished bargaining on their terms. We're not prepared to lose jobs from the city. The management is bloody incompetent, a new lot every three months. I bet some did not know what we are producing!"

Confidence is high in the factory. The wives of the men sitting in have organised a support group to back up their husbands. The local Labour Party has made an initial collection and passed a motion of support calling for the opening of the books to union inspection. If the books show that the firm is bankrupt, the demand then should be for the nationalisation of Sears Holdings to save jobs.

Victory here could be the turning point in the fight against redundancies in Bentley and across the city. Send motions and donations to WMB c/o AUEW, Vaughan Way, Leicester.

## Rob Mears

(Leicester Labour Party)

## GRUNWICK—ACAS report rejected by bosses

The long awaited report from the government's Advisory Conciliation and Arbitration Service (ACAS) on Grunwick Ltd, the film processing company, was finally released last week. The six month strike has been by mainly Asian workers over the right to form a union and end low wages and bad conditions.

The ACAS report recommended that the workers' union, APEX, be recognised to negotiate with management. It rejected the management's claim that the strikers had no right to take part in the ACAS ballot over union recognition because they were "not workers" in the factory. The vote was overwhelmingly in favour of a union.

The management have now announced that if these recommendations become part of the official report still to be made, then they will fight the decision in the courts.

The delays could be up to another six months. So while strikers are boosted by the recommendations, obviously they should not have to stay another six months on the picket line.

The demand will now be raised for the postal ban on the company to be reimposed and that the labour movement back the postal workers against any injunctions or victimisation that could follow.

It is now obvious from Grunwick's reaction that they are not prepared to accept the ACAS recommendations. It is now clear that all the long, long waiting by the strikers with all the twists and turns has resulted in a dead end.

The only way now to bring this reactionary employer to his knees is to take up the 'suspended' mail ban by the UPW and to

"mobilise the labour movement to support that action against any moves for injunctions, courts order that maybe served up by the NAFF must be met by united action from the labour movement.

The promises of the TUC, including Len Murray personally, must now be taken up. A long legal wrangle, through the courts etc., which could go on anything up to five months would be disastrous for the strikers. That's if any were left at the end of this period to enjoy a victory.

## NORTHANTS JOURNALISTS

After ten weeks on strike seventy journalists at the 'Northants Evening Telegraph' won their demands in a new house agreement. But before they return to work they are insisting on strengthening their trade union organisation.

The members of the NUJ chapel are adamant that a rule against members resigning from the union during a dispute be enforced. Nine members had left the union to join the Institute of Journalists, and the strikers are demanding that they rejoin the NUJ.

This is important if the chapel is to maintain its strength for the future, as any division among the journalists would be to the employers' advantage.

## CUTS CONFERENCE

The Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions has called a national conference against the cuts. The conference is due to take place on Saturday, 26th February at Friends House, Euston Road, London. It starts at 10.00 am.

Rank and file trade unionists all over the country are becoming restive and bitter in the face of continuing wage restraint, the cuts and the vicious levels of unemployment.

In increasing numbers, workers are searching for debate and discussion on the current economic and political crisis. They are looking for a viable programme of action. They are seeking a way forward.

For this reason a large number of shop stewards committees and trade union branches have decided to send delegates to the Liaison Committee conference.

'Militant' has criticised the past Liaison Committee conferences precisely because they have been unable to

offer the constructive alternative policy that delegates were seeking. They have always merely offered "immediate" utopian policies for tinkering with capitalism.

It is therefore important that supporters of the policies advocated by 'Militant' turn out at this conference in some force in order to intervene both with sales of the paper and from the rostrum. Only a clear socialist alternative programme can show a way forward. That programme must be injected into such meetings as the Liaison Committee conference.

Applications for credentials should be sent, through bona-fide trade union organisations, to the Secretary of the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions, Jim Hiles, 137 Wanstead Park Road, Ilford, Essex, together with a stamped addressed envelope and 75p delegates fee.

## Brian Ingham



# Militant

## Two Thousand Protest at Cuts

Last Monday nearly two thousand workers in the telecommunications and electronics industry [mostly women] converged on Euston station chanting and singing. They came from Merseyside, the Midlands and Wales.

Their banners showed they came from all unions represented in the industry but particularly from the electricians [EETPU] and engineering staffs [TASS] who had called a one day strike for that day.

They were protesting about the 20,000 redundancies faced by the industry following the cutbacks in the ordering of communications equipment by the Post Office, upon which companies like GEC and Plesseys depend.

At a mass meeting in Westminster, Frank Chapple, General Secretary of the EETPU, who is usually out of place at demonstrations like this, felt it necessary to attack what he called the "rent a mob" brigade who were turning the march into a "common protest!"

But he did go on to outline the decline in the industry along with other union officials. But most platform speakers merely called for more government subsidies to GEC and Plesseys. Chapple went so far as to suggest that shipbuilding which "was a thing of the past" should not be saved and the money would be better spent on telecommunications!

When workers were left with the call to lobby their MPs and no guarantee of further action, there was a spontaneous reaction against the failure to allow the rank and file to have their say.

Some jumped on to the platform to protest at the lack of a lead and called for more democracy. One impromptu speaker raised the need for the nationalisation of the industry as the only way forward.



Workers march through London against cuts in the telecomms supply industry.

Photo: Andrew Ward (Report)

## AIRCRAFT WORKERS LOBBY MPs

This Wednesday, February 23rd, about 600 Hawker Siddeley workers will lobby Parliament demanding NO REDUNDANCIES at their factory at Brough, near Hull, and more work for Humberside, where the unemployment rate is now over 10%. This will follow on from the almost unanimous decision of the factory's 5,000 workers taken at a mass meeting on Thursday February 3rd to sanction the movement of any finished parts to other factories. This drew almost immediate concessions from the management. Within hours they agreed to suspend the individual redundancy notices due to be served at the end of the month.

450 redundancies were announced at the beginning of this year, following months of speculation and rumours in the factory. The demoralisation amongst workers in Hull because of recent closures and redundancies at Imperial Typewriters, Drypool Engineering, Needlers and in the fishing industry, together with the expectation of these redundancies, meant that at first many of the workers almost accepted the sackings without a fight.

But now the mood has changed. Encouraged by the decision of the Joint Trade Unions and shop stewards committee to accept no redundancies from the word go, the shop floor and drawing offices have been united with only 20 odd voting against the sanctions proposed at the mass meeting. Remembering the work-in two years ago over the HS 146 project, the very threat of industrial action has made the management step back, which has already increased the workers' confidence.

Bill Ashton, AUEW convenor, said: "The position now reached by the workers at Brough is one of having won the first round in a very long battle to stop a giant Multi-National company HSG from making its employees redundant because its massive profits might be slightly affected."

"The position has been achieved by

the joint action of all members, but it is not enough that one factory should attempt to alter either HSG or government thinking on redundancies, it has to be an industry-wide action.

"At the proposed meeting of Manual and Staff union representatives at HSA Kingston on 24th February, it will be the intention of the Brough delegates to get national action initiated and thereby bring to bear the sort of pressure necessary to win the battle."

### Nationalisation

This dispute must be seen against the background of the Nationalisation Bill. The employers refused to invest in the HS 146 civil air-bus or to seek new work for the Brough factory. On top of these 450 redundancies, if expected orders for Harriers and the Ajax Pod do not materialise, then further redundancies are expected later in the year.

Yet at the same time, union delegates from the Manchester factory have revealed that they have detail and design work available which the Brough management when approached, turned down. Now the Manchester management is having to farm this work outside the Group. So obviously the management are trying to run down and sabotage the industry before it is nationalised, but this has only been made possible by the government's vacillation in the face of the opposition of the Tory House of Lords. If the Lords will not allow the government to carry out its manifesto then they should be abolished. The Aircraft Industry must be nationalised immediately, but not rationalised with it, as seems to be the suggestion of Lord Beswick, the chairman of the National Aerospace Board to be.

The question of the loss of military aviation and defence work has been raised by management. But as a joint APEX and ASTMS statement points out, "we may conclude that the present situation arises directly from the Company decision not to proceed with the HS 146 civil airliner, a decision which was made in spite of the union's strongest opposition because HSA is only interested in guaranteed profits underwritten by the government and is not

willing to risk its own private capital in order to win contracts in the private sector."

Obviously we must oppose military arms expenditure and sales to South Africa etc., but this is only a viable demand if alternative work in civil production or other engineering work is made available.

The Temporary Employment Subsidy (TES) has been seen as a way of saving some jobs but the company has only asked for this to cover 100 workers. What a cheek! A company which makes annual profits of £30-40 million is asking for £20 a week for 100 workers in order to exploit them for a further 26 weeks with no guarantees after that. This must be rejected as a way out, even if the TES was made available for all 450 workers.

So too must the statement of the District Secretary of the CSEU who issued a statement that members were contemplating through their unions, to withdraw from paying their political levy, to withdraw their support from the local Labour MPs and to even consider alternative candidates to the Labour Party at the forthcoming elections.

While this move indicates the frustration and disgust at the policies of the present Labour government, such action would be the height of folly. The Hawker Siddeley workers should, instead, be directed into the Labour Party to fight for socialist policies and a more democratic party.

### Depression

But this call by Walter Ioester is just another reflection of the growing demand for Regional Development status for Humberside, which is obviously attractive given the Depression-like level of unemployment we now have. But on looking at other areas with this aid such as Merseyside and Tyneside, it is obviously not the answer. Unemployment is now a national problem and requires a national answer, a socialist solution.

The Hawker Siddeley workers are prepared to take whatever action is necessary to ensure no redundancies. The Labour government must be as equally determined in immediately nationalising the industry and guaranteeing all the workers' jobs.

**Alistair Tice**  
(Hull Trades Council)

## WHAT WE STAND FOR PUBLIC MEETINGS

**LIVERPOOL**  
Hear: Ted Grant, Sunday 20th February, 7.30 pm. AUEW Hall, 48 Mount Pleasant, Liverpool 3

**HARLECH**  
Hear: Gerry Lerner, 6.30 pm, Sunday 20th February, Room S/2, Coleg Harlech, Gwynedd

**LIVERPOOL UNIVERSITY**  
Hear: Ted Grant, Monday 21st February, 1.00 pm, Students Union, Ladies Lounge, 2 Bedford Street North, Liverpool 3

**CAERPHILLY**  
Hear: Ray Apps [Brighton Labour Party] Monday, 21 February, 7.30 pm. Railway Hotel [in bus station], Caerphilly

**SWANSEA**  
Hear Ray Apps [Brighton Labour Party], Tuesday 22 February, 7.30 pm, AEU Buildings, Orchard Street, Swansea

**SHEFFIELD**  
Hear: Ted Grant Wednesday 23rd February, 7.15 pm. Transport House, Hartshead [Next to Telegraph and Star Building], High Street, Sheffield

**IPSWICH**  
Hear: Clare Doyle [Militant Editorial Board], Friday 25th February, 8.00 pm., Room 2, Town Hall, Ipswich.

**GLASGOW**  
Hear: Ted Grant [Militant Editorial Board]. Sunday 27th February, 2.00 pm. McLellan Galleries, Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow.

**NEWCASTLE**  
Hear: Lynn Walsh [Militant Editorial Board]. Sunday 27th February, 7.30 pm, Bridge Hotel, Newcastle.

**COVENTRY**  
Hear: Brian Ingham [Militant Industrial Reporter]. Monday 28th February, 7.30 pm, Elastic Inn, Lower Ford Street, Coventry.

**ASHINGTON**  
Hear: Peter Doyle [President, Gateshead Trades Council]. Tuesday 1st March, 7.30 pm, YMCA, Beside Portland Park.

**NEWPORT**  
Hear: Rob Sewell [National Committee, LPYS], Wednesday 2nd March. Details of venue next week.

**DURHAM**  
Hear: John Pickard [Gateshead West Labour Party]. Wednesday 2nd March, 7.30 pm, Elvet Riverside Room 145.

**HUDDERSFIELD**  
Hear: Gerry Lerner [Salford Labour Party] Thursday March 3rd, 7.30 pm, Fraternity Hall, The Co-op Rooms, Alfred Street, Huddersfield.

**EBBW VALE**  
Hear: Andrew Price [Cardiff South East Labour Party, personal capacity]. Friday 4th March. Details of venue next week.

**SUNDERLAND**  
Hear: Robin Jameson [North Tyneside Councillor]. Sunday 6th March, 7.30 pm, Labour Party Rooms, Grange Crescent, Stockton.

## TUC Youth Conference

The TUC Youth Conference was held last weekend. The 118 delegates were mostly appointed by the union executives. Nevertheless there was overwhelming criticism of the TUC failure to campaign against unemployment and the cuts.

Len Murray, TUC General Secretary, spoke briefly and said "unemployment was a scar on our society" but had no solutions.

The conference for the second year running passed a resolution for a democratically constituted TUC Youth Advisory Committee, with the right to submit motions and vote on them at annual conference. LPYS speakers were very prominent in the proceedings, particularly Alan Walker (TGWU) and John Dale (ASTM).

## Don't Forget Mike Lynch

Mike Lynch, LPYS member, is still languishing in Pentonville Prison for his conviction for alleged assault on the police during the "Right to Work March". Messages of encouragement would be welcome.

Next Tuesday and Wednesday February

22-23 there will be a picket outside Willesden Magistrates Court in the morning to support nine pickets from Grunwicks who face charges for obstruction after a police swoop on strikers before Christmas. Contact Brent Trades Council for details.

[Grunwicks: see page 11]

## March Against Racism!

The National Front are to hold a rally and demonstration in Stechford, Birmingham, against immigration and for immediate repatriation of all immigrants, before the coming by-election. The rally is taking place on Saturday, February 26th.

Birmingham Trades Council

have organised a counter demonstration, with the backing of Birmingham District Labour Party. This was initiated by Birmingham District Labour Party Young Socialists. The counter march assemblies at Adderley Park, Stechford, 12 noon on the same Saturday.

# Militant

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