

Militant

Fight
the
Threat
to
Dockland
Feature, page 3

THE MARXIST PAPER FOR LABOUR AND YOUTH

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12p

£70 FOR 35 hrs NOW

The fight for a 35 hour week is on!

With their ranks now swollen to 12 million members, the rank and file of the mighty trade union movement intend to take the 1½ million unemployed out of the dole queues and into jobs by sharing out the work.

Firm action by the unions is sorely needed to help the unemployed—no-one else will.

Unemployment is twice as high as it was ten years ago. But the 'hard core' unemployed has quadrupled. In April, 44% of those in the dole queue had been searching for work for over six months and 25% had suffered that plight for over a year. That's how serious the problem is.

Factory closures, redundancies and permanent unemployment loom

The Post Office Engineers are the first into battle in the vital campaign to cut unemployment through work-sharing without loss of pay.



ahead for hundreds of thousands. Many school leavers face the bitter prospect of wasting away

their lives as their grandfathers did in the 1930s. Between 1972 and 1977 the number of 17-year-olds who couldn't find work rose by 120%.

What can we do about it?

Already the Belgian workers have shown the way. They have successfully struggled to reduce the working week and force the employers to take on more labour. Last year, the average Belgian manual worker did 37.3 hours a week. But his British counterpart put in 42.2 hours.

The Transport and General Workers Union has demonstrated that a 35-hour week would immediately create work for ¾ million. That alone would cut the dole queues by half.

Yet the employers, through the CBI and

Continued on
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TORY SPLIT —centre pages

THE GREAT TAX FRAUD

Thirteen out of the top twenty industrial giants in Britain paid no tax last year.

By Lynn Walsh

British Petroleum, for instance, made £1,784 million profit in 1976/77 and should, on the face of it, have been taxed on at least £1,598 million. But their tax liability was put at a mere £138 million—and in actual fact BP paid no tax at all.

This is just one blatant example from a new survey of company taxation. The authors, John Kay and Mervyn King, show that, although the official rate is 52%, for the "average" industrial company corporation tax has effectively been abolished.

So much for the "poor", "overtaxed" companies whose "initiative" and "enterprise" is supposedly str-

ngled by the penal "socialistic" taxes of the Labour Government!

In reality, successive Labour governments have given big business so many tax concessions that the total tax due from all industrial and commercial companies fell from £1,528 million [about 20% of the Inland Revenue's income] in 1969 to a paltry £101 million [only 0.5% of the IR's income] in 1975.

Much of the unpaid tax is classed as "deferred", although Dennis Healey and the Treasury have made it clear that this will never have to be paid. But the definition has an extra

advantage for big firms: they can include their theoretical tax liability in their profit and loss account to preserve their image as "respectable taxpayers"!

"Most successful companies," said "The Sunday Times" [9th July] commenting on Kay and King's forthcoming book, "THE BRITISH TAX SYSTEM", "can claim enough tax relief on their capital investment to continue paying very little tax on their profits for years to come."

If you add all the tax concessions to all the different grants currently being handed to big business, you get a staggering total of about £25 million a day being doled out to these parasites—who still do not invest and who leave a fifth of productive capacity lying idle.

Now the Tories have the gall to demand that unem-

ployment benefits and social security payments should be taxed! The bosses, if the Tories get their way, will still coolly pocket their £25 million a day, while those thrown onto the stones by the utter bankruptcy of the profit system will be forced to supplement the revenues of the Taxman, hard hit as he is by the bosses' dwindling contributions!

Laws grind the poor, as the old saying goes, and the rich rule the law. But when it goes this far we can certainly no longer afford it.

The rule of the big monopolies over the economy must be ended. The frozen grip of big business must be replaced by the creative hand of the working class. Let us take over the commanding heights and plan production in the interests of all. It's the only answer to fraud on this scale!

NF ATTACKS MILITANT OFFICES

Once again the Militant's offices have been attacked. On Tuesday night Fascist thugs smashed two windows with bricks that landed in a first-floor office. "Hackney YNF" and "NF" were daubed on the walls outside.

The attack was at about 11pm in the evening, as the Tower Hamlets Labour Party was holding a very successful Anti-Fascist Public Meeting in the Brick Lane area of East London, where young racist thugs recently rampaged against the Asian community, and where Asian workers were murdered. Militant supporters played a prominent part in organising and protecting this meeting. Militant is sold widely in the area. The Fascist thugs didn't dare

poke their snouts in there, instead they decided to vent their frustration on our offices, half a mile away. No serious damage was done this time. But this is another serious warning that we must have cash to buy all the equipment necessary to effectively protect the building, our equipment, and above all our staff and our visitors.

Once again we are making a Special Appeal to all our readers and supporters, and to all sections of the labour and trade union movement, to rush cash to us to enable us urgently to ensure our protection and to help finance the campaign to sweep the racists and fascists off the streets for good.

BRADFORD TRADES COUNCIL CONFERENCE

"With the return of large-scale unemployment, who today can feel secure? The run down of the old basic industries, the steady decline in manufacturing, the introduction of new methods and techniques in offices and warehouses, all conspire to threaten jobs.

"Few groups of workers remain unaffected, public expenditure cuts threaten public-sector workers, the state-owned steel industry faces massive redundancies, and private industry continues to contract. Clerical and managerial workers face the same prospects as the skilled manual workers."

The two opening paragraphs of the document "Socialism = Full Employment" set the tone for the day-long discussion at the Special Conference on Unemployment organised by Bradford Trades Council last Saturday [8th July].

In the morning session Ray Andrews, AUEW District Secretary, pointed out the drastic decline in engineering—the very industry supposed to absorb displaced textile workers. He related how local trade union leaders were reduced to pleading Bradford's "special attractions", low pay and a docile labour force, to prospective employers.

Bro. Andrews was followed by Fred Dyson, General Secretary of NUDBTW and a member of the TUC General Council and Bill Mullins, senior TGWU shop steward at Rover, Solihull.

Bill Mullins enlivened the first session with a blistering attack on the lack of leadership in the trade union movement as the

biggest single factor preventing an effective fight back against the loss of jobs and falling living standards.

The afternoon session featured Pat Wall, President of the Trades Council, introducing the document with its clear call for a socialist transformation of society as the only permanent solution to the problem of unemployment. Brother Wall also outlined a series of practical, transitional demands aimed at mobilising an effective struggle against redundancies.

Bob Cryer, MP for Keighley and a Department of Trade and Industry under-secretary, taking up Pat Wall's point that the directors of the big monopolies wield more power than cabinet ministers, attacked the elite who ran not only private, but also state-owned industries. Denouncing "offensively high" salaries for state bosses, he added: "Thousands of talented and able people are prepared to undertake tasks at present allocated to an elite."

One thing stood out at this highly successful delegate conference of over 100 labour movement activists: that was the conference's demands pulling the unemployed workers to the labour and trade union movement.

In concluding the conference, Pat Wall promised that, apart from strengthening its own unemployment sub-committee by direct links to trade union branches, stewards' committees, and the unemployed, the trades council were considering convening a regional, or even a national, conference on unemployment.

Steve Davidson
AUEW Shop Steward

MOSS SIDE

It is clearly vital for Labour to hold the marginal Moss Side seat in the by-election this week.

About 40 LPYS members assembled on Saturday (8 July) for a weekend of action, and made a significant impact on the area. In between morning canvassing, the LPYS held street meetings in Moss Side and Chorlton shopping centres.

It was rumoured that the National Front might attempt a demonstration in Moss Side or Chorlton, as the Labour-controlled District Council had refused them permission to hold public meetings in six schools. The only evidence of the Front, in the early

afternoon, was a van driving round the area. At one point the van mounted the pavement chasing several of the 200 or 250 anti fascist demonstrators who had gathered. The van was stopped, but within literally seconds a large squad of police arrived to escort the driver away.

About 80 NF members later huddled together at a disused Park gate—in a neighboring constituency! The Front could not hold a meeting in the Moss Side constituency!

Well over 100 Militants were sold by LPYS members and an encouraging number of people expressed an interest in joining the LPYS.

Margaret Manning

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Anti Nazi League

class issues evaded

The Anti Nazi League's national Campaign Conference, held on Saturday 8th July, was described in advance as the conference which would decide the ANL's strategy in the forthcoming general election.

Instead, the 810 delegates representing trade unions, trade councils and local ANL branches as well as women's groups, etc, were treated to a day of exhortation and encouragement to "action" above all else.

Paul Holborow, the Organising Secretary of the ANL, moving acceptance of the new Declaration of the Anti Nazi League, spoke of the growth of the organisation to its present size of 30,000 members and 250-300 local groups. He highlighted the real reasons for the growth of the Front in Britain—high unemployment, low wages, poor housing, etc.

It was left to Arthur Scargill, the Yorkshire miners' leader, to suggest a practical way of defeating racialism. He brought the conference alive when he called for the trade union and labour movement to "mobilise on a massive scale and take whatever action is necessary to obliterate the National Front".

The final part of the day's programme was taken up with amendments to the conference Declaration. However, scandalously, no discussion was allowed on any of these amendments! Only the movers were allowed to speak, and then Paul Holborow replied to them on behalf of the Steering Committee. The only real point raised by the amendments was contained in the one moved by Alec Biswas which sought to commit the conference to opposition to immigration controls of any kind, at the same time stressing that this would not be binding on supporters of the League. In his reply from the platform, Paul Holborow urged the conference to support this amendment on his personal recommendation while at the same time explaining that the steering committee did not agree with him!

It was while the voting was going on that the carefully maintained facade of unity on all issues, engineered throughout the day by the faceless



Anti Nazi League Carnival

and unelected 'Conference Arrangements Committee', began to crack. The report of the CAC had explained that delegates had to fill in slips if they wished to speak—these were to show name, organisation and desired subject and were handed to a steward before they were sorted out by members of the CAC which passed selected ones to the chairman.

Manipulated

The real problem, however, was the procedure required to amend the Declaration. In order to do this, the amendment had to be in the hands of the CAC by the end of their morning session—two hours after the Declaration was distributed—and each amendment had to be signed by at least 30 delegates! Many delegates thought that the way the platform had manipulated the conference had gone too far, and the frustration began to manifest itself through angry shouts from the floor as Peter Hain the chairman, announced the voting results.

However, in spite of all objections from the floor, Peter Hain declared that all the votes had gone as recommended by the platform. One particularly persistent demand from the floor was acknowledged by the chairman who gave an undertaking that "the steering committee would be democratically elected at the next ANL conference," to take place after the General Election! This conference will be a policy-making conference which will give affiliates the right, for the first time, to have some say in the making of the ANL's policy.

In many ways, the confusion at the end of the conference highlights the dangers ahead for the Anti-Nazi League. The unity of which so much was made during the conference is nothing but a pious hope: the defeat of the NF. It is not a unity which will survive the heat of battle, for it is unity without any real foundation. There are those within the ANL who oppose the NF on the grounds of liberalism, religion or humanitarianism,

None of these is, in the last analysis, part of the workers movement, and none of these can fight for defence of the workers movement. They see only the threat of racialism and do not understand that the eventual aim of the NF, as with all other Fascist parties, is the destruction of the labour and trade union movement.

Similarly, the other main theme of the conference, 'action', is an empty theme as long as the action is not based on a political programme. The dangers of neglecting the need for a programme for the thousands of young people who are becoming active for the first time in the ANL are enormous.

Pop Stars

Fascism cannot be fought on the basis merely of sentimental moralising or by publishing sponsorship lists of important people—pop stars, football managers, bishops, etc no matter how sincere. We would welcome the support of any of these celebrities, liberals, churchmen etc—behind the banners of a mass working-class socialist campaign against racism and Fascism.

But if the ANL proceeds on the basis of consciously suppressing democratic political discussion from the trade-union militants at their base, for fear of frightening away the trendies and celebrities, then the ANL will only make one or two big bangs like the recent non-political 'carnival'—in which the ANL leaders showed a contempt for the intelligence of the tens of thousands of working class youth who came along—and will then rapidly disintegrate, just like the ill-fated Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament on which it is modelled.

The policy conference of the League must discuss all these activities. What must come from that conference is a call for the entire membership of the ANL to carry forward the fight against Fascism and racism into a fight against the social evils of this society which have made fascism possible in the first place.

Tony Roome

Delegate from Paisley Trades Council

NEWHAM NORTH EAST

narrow vote between left candidates



Nick Bradley

At long last, almost three years after our original decision [of July 1975] that Prentice would not be permitted to stand as Labour candidate for Newham North East at the next general election, Newham Labour Party has finally selected a new candidate to fight this safe Labour seat.

In that sense, the selection meeting on 5 July, when Jim Dickens, former 'Tribune' MP for Lewisham West [1966-70], was selected and at which 'Militant' supporter Nick Bradley, was runner up, thus marked the end of one chapter and the beginning of another in the life of a Party which has engaged in a struggle of

Carol Bevan

Newham North East
CLP

general importance to the labour movement nationally over reselection.

Jim Dickens secured 23 votes on the first ballot, picking up right, centre and a section of 'Tribune' left support. Nick Bradley gained 16 votes. There were 5 votes for John Aitkin, EETPU shop steward at Fords, Dagenham, and three other 'Tribune' candidates picked up 13 votes between them. On the fourth and final ballot, Dickens got 37 votes to Bradley's 20.

These 20 votes represented solid support, especially from left-wing trade union delegates, for the Marxist case advanced clearly by Nick Bradley and was a recognition of the contribution made by 'Militant' and its supporters to the struggles of Newham CLP over the last three years.

Clearly, the major task now is to continue the fight for consistent socialist policies and to work for a decisive victory for Labour's candidate in Newham in the coming general election.

At the Selection meeting, Jim Dickens unequivocally supported the NEC Minority Report on Re-selection in line with the CLP's policy.

Mr Horace Cutler, the Tory leader of the Greater London Council has had a brain-wave.

He has announced a £50,000 feasibility study to see if the 1988 Olympic Games could be held in London's now derelict Dockland. Mr Cutler, the Ally McLeod of London politics, doesn't live in Dockland; he may not even know where it is, but he certainly thinks the scheme will be in our interest.

True, there are a few snags. By 1988 the run-down of the docks, already rapid, would have to be completed. The Royal group, West India and Millwall docks would have to close to provide a bigger area of devastation to build the Olympic stadium and villages on.

But the coming of the Olympic circus, he claims, would bring in its wake new roads, a new tube line and most needed of all, new jobs.

COME TO THE ROTHERHITHE OLYMPICS!

15,000 people would be needed to work in "Olympic City" during the games alone. There would be a legacy of a stadium, sports facilities, new housing, transport and so on, to regenerate the area.

Well, that's his story and he's sticking to it. But we have heard the tale of "salvation coming soon" before. Numerous schemes have been offered, most of them differing only in the degree of lunacy, for Docklands' future. No plans for building up an infrastructure of houses and

jobs to save or replace the neglected and underinvested docks.

There was, however, a scheme to build a safari park in Beckton between the Gas Works and the Northern Outfall Sewer. Unemployment was to be solved, no doubt, mainly through a high turnover in lion-keepers.

Money could be a hitch in Mr Cutler's scheme, what with government cut-backs and the almost inevitable fiddles by private contractors. Montreal managed to lose

£500 million in the 1976 Olympics. They also had strike problems when the workers wanted to get paid. Dashed unsporting of them!

If by a miracle, the Olympic Games did land on our doorstep, who would gain? A few building contractors and numerous smart businessmen selling commemorative badges, T-shirts and so on. There would be a few extra jobs; probably mostly in the police to "protect" athletes from ter- But when BBC TV left the

Rotherhithe Olympics for the last time, the workers would be on the dole again. The jobs are about as permanent as snow-shifting.

Perhaps, though, the Games will reflect the decay which has hit Dockland. The marathon could be run through the deserted dockyards, with the rotting hulks of ships as hurdles.

Perhaps even totally new games could be tried? Running down industry, maybe. Jumping the housing queue.

Certainly; if the working class ran society, we would encourage imaginative schemes to provide jobs, and fulfil our needs; sports and leisure facilities included.

But if the Dockland is to be saved from further destruction, the main activity will have to be preparing the high jump. For Mr Cutler, the Tories and their system.

By Roger Shrives

(Deptford Labour Party)

ADVERTISEMENT

CAMP WITH THE LPYS

The best holiday you've ever had—that is what we're guaranteeing to everyone who attends the first ever National Summer Camp of the LPYS—from Saturday 29th until Saturday 5th August 1978. The camp site is in beautiful thick woodland, near the River Wye, five miles from Cloxford, Gloucestershire. The whole area is enough to take your breath away.

Free afternoons for trekking through the countryside and coach trips. Sporting events: football, netball, tug-o-war, three-legged races etc. Plenty of entertainments in the evenings—films, discos, Club Night, folk nights etc. A drinks licence has been applied for.

This is no hard labour camp! You don't have to peel spuds, wash dishes or cook because 'Professionals' will be doing all that. You'll get breakfast, dinner and tea throughout [from Sunday morning] served in the huge dining marquee. For those who don't have a tent—no need to worry. There will be room in five long ridge-tents we have hired. Everything else is basically provided as the camp site is very well equipped with showers, numerous water standpipes, and disposal units.

There will also be creche facilities on the camp, with games, entertainment and outings organised for the children.

But to go on to the most important aspect of the camp—the political agenda. Excellent debates and seminars have been organised, with speakers from all sections of the labour and trade union movement. There is a debate on the Sunday: 'Which way for Labour' between the 'Militant', speaker Rob Sewell, 'Tribune': Neil Kinnock and 'Manifesto' Group: Ian Wigglesworth. Frank Alaun will be speaking with an NC member on World Peace.

So there will be tremendous discussions on all aspects of policy, international and at home. Everyone will leave the camp having learned from the discussions and shared experiences and from the clear alternative socialist solution to bring an end to the system which causes these problems—capitalism.

Branches should be raising money to pay for school students, unemployed etc as well as help pay for coaches.

The cost of the camp is only £20 all in!!! What a bargain. So book your holidays now!—29th July till 5th August—and remember you have to bring your own camping equipment [tents, lilos, sleeping bag etc].

Deposits of £10 or more should be sent to:

Andy Bevan
National Youth Officer
The Labour Party, Smith Square, London SW1.
(cheques and PO's payable to "LPYS Summer Camp Fund").

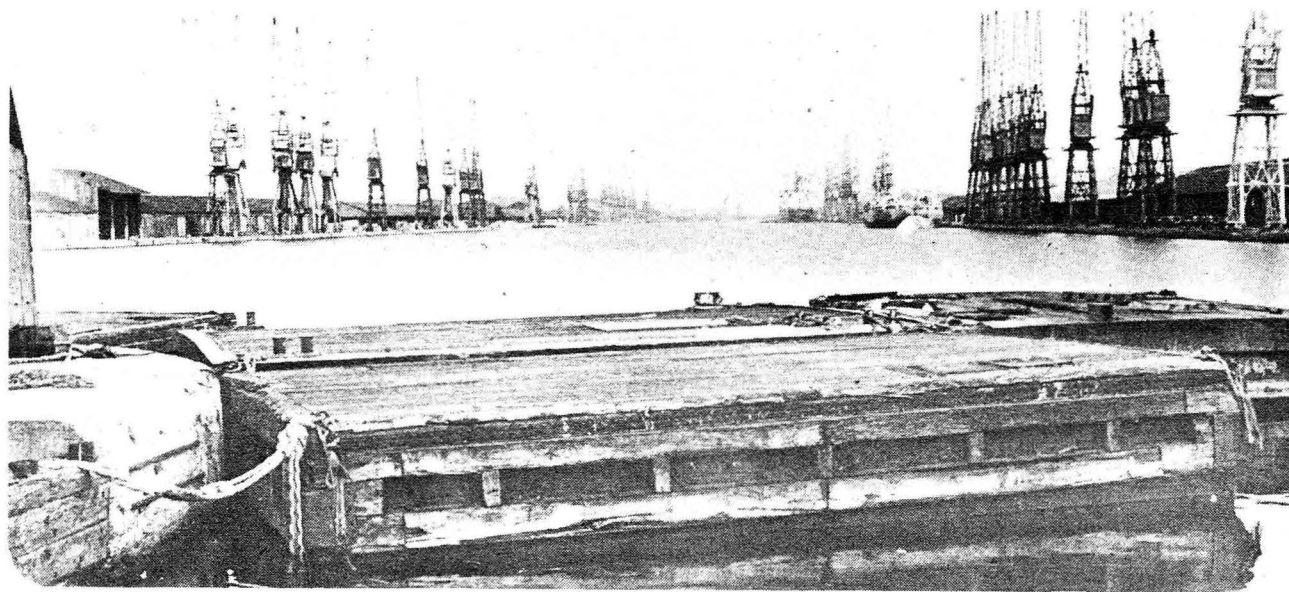
DOCKERS WILL STRIKE AGAINST INTERVIEW CLOSURES

Bob Faulkes interviews IAN OLLEY, [T&GWU Royal docks and member of Newham N.W. Labour Party]

Militant: What is your reaction to a National Dock Strike to save London Docks?

Ian Olley: I welcome it. A lot of other dockers do as well. We've been through all the official channels. It comes back to this as the only way. Talk talk and nothing gets done, we've had—what is it—11 Royal Commissions and god knows how many reports: nothing has been implemented to benefit us.

The Bristow Report recommended a 5-mile corridor either side of the river. It was a step in the right direction but there was no compulsion on the employers to do this. Instead of attacking the closures the trade union officials put in a lot of verbal opposition but it didn't stop any of the closures. The London shop stewards are meeting on the 8th July and are going to the National Ports Shop Stewards probably to call for a one day national



stoppage as a start.

Preston was our last national dock stoppage—against the Tory plans to close it. All dockers can see that this is an attempt by the employers to attack the Port Registration which they hate.

M: How do you see the long term solution to the Dock Industry?

A: A strike would be a

warning that we are not going to tolerate closures. But even if the trade unions' call an official stoppage it will only stop the closures temporarily. Employers will soon attempt to move out again. It has got to be the trade unions, not just the shop stewards who lead the fight. I'm for the nationalisation of all the Ports under workers' control and

management with an Integrated Transport system.

M: What sort of jobs apart from dockers will be affected if the docks were to close?

I.O.: Well there's engineers—maintenance, a few Coopers left (boilermakers), Nalco office workers, lorry-drivers. Bus services would be cut. Local shop-keepers who are feeling the pressure anyway.

Pubs. In fact the whole infrastructure of a community would be affected. Tate and Lyle who have the sugar ships still coming in—it would hit their staff and maintenance men.

The Newham Dockland Forum estimate that about 25,000 jobs would be affected.

YOUNG SOCIALISTS JOIN BATTLE FOR JOBS

"Already there are 33,000 unemployed in East London—now the PLA wants to add thousands more", said Andy Bevan (Labour Party National Youth Officer) at a meeting organised by Newham NE Young Socialist as part of the 'Week of Action'.

Ian Olley, a docker and member of the T&GWU regional trade group, explained the background to the latest proposals by the Port of London Authority to close the whole of the upper docks. He blamed the failure of the T&GWU leadership to fight

against the proposals for the demoralisation of many workers in the docks.

The PLA had completely failed to modernise the upper docks—as a result they were failing to attract general cargo. Now they were wanting a £50 million government loan to help them stay solvent.

It was their hope for a Tory election victory so that dockland could be sold to the

highest bidders—ie speculators—without the hindrance of the Community Land Act. That would bring no benefits to the people of East London.

Ian told the meeting that shop stewards wanted the docks nationalised under workers control. 'We should run our industry', he said.

Andy added that one purpose of the meeting was "to break down the Chinese wall erected by the right-wing

between industrial matters and politics". He emphasised the need for the right of recall in all sections of the movement and added that to achieve anything through Parliament constant pressure on MP's was necessary. With a strong National Shop Stewards' Committee, closures could be fought successfully and unregistered dock workers brought into the struggle.

It was pointed out that workers were not Luddites—but they did want increases in technology to be used for the benefit of working people. Speakers from the floor

emphasised the need for socialist planning of transport and trade and the need for linking of industrial muscle with socialist policies.

The meeting showed a clear determination to fight the closures and demonstrated that the LPYS can campaign to get the rest of the movement locally, and the Labour Council, actively fighting to save jobs in the area.

Next week: Hull Dockers visit Sweden.



SOUTH WALES AUGUST MILITANT CAMP

25th—28th August 1978

Horton, Gower,
Nr. Swansea.
political course on:
"History of
Bolshevism".

Speakers will include **Peter Taaffe** (Editor of *Militant*) This camp will be a follow up to the huge success we had with our camp over the Spring Bank Holiday. The event will not only be successful politically, but socially as well. Cost for the camp will be £6.50 per head (free for under 5's, and between 5—12 it is £1.50). Creche is being organised, and the cost will include coffee, tea and small snacks at meal times. Just bring your own camping equipment along.

Details from **Rob Sewell**, 99 Penderry Road, Penlan, Swansea. Telephone Swansea 33542

MARXIST WEEKEND SCHOOL

Bosses exploit technology

'Third World' Revolution

With most of the colonial world locked in war, revolution or dictatorship, the question of the socialist revolution in colonial countries is a vital one for the labour movement. **Ted Grant**, *Militant* Editorial Board, explained how it is impossible for the under-developed countries to progress under capitalism. This accounts for the nationalisation undertaken by even nationalist and bonapartist governments in such states. However, for successful socialist democracies to be established in these areas, the working class must play a leading role, in unison with the workers of the advanced countries. On an international basis, we could thus see a world federation of socialist states in which all would be guaranteed a decent life. Only then would we see an end to war and oppression once and for all.

The discussion covered a wide range of subjects, including the crisis in the Middle East, Cyprus, and India. All the comrades were inspired to give this complicated subject further study.

Mark Morton

a great success

The Marxist Weekend School, one of the most successful ever organised by 'Militant', was a small landmark for the labour movement in Britain. For 150 who attended, the basic ideas of Marxist philosophy and economics were brought alive by activists in the labour and trade union movement, and added to by discussions on all the major questions facing socialists.

Possibly the best sessions were the debates on socialist economics, between 'Tribune' and 'Militant' speakers, and on 'What strategy for socialism in Western Europe', between 'Militant' and Communist Party speakers. The commitment of those who attended the school to building support for the 'Militant' was shown in an excellent collection for the Fighting Fund of £95 (plus some IOU's), and the sale of over £190 worth of books, showing the enthusiastic demand for information and understanding that exists.

Already plans are being made to stage another Marxist Weekend School next year, offering more courses and theoretical discussions.

Peter Lush (School Organiser)

The Role of Marxism

The school had an impressive opening, with **Bob Ashworth**, a senior shop steward from **Rover Solihull**, speaking on The Role of Marxism in Britain Today.

He explained that the fall in living standards faced by working people stemmed from the crisis of capitalism. In the quest for bigger profits, big business was failing to invest in manufacturing industry, and calling for the share of the wealth of society going to workers to be cut.

The demands for a 35-hour week, a national minimum wage, a guaranteed job for all, and the other demands raised by the 'Militant' were becoming increasingly rele-

vant to the struggles of the trade unions. To realise these things, the socialist transformation of society would be necessary. The Marxists within the labour movement must fight for their ideas; their success in doing so accounts for the witch hunting by the capitalist press against the *Militant* and LPYS.

Comrades in the discussion confirmed that Marxism was not dry theory, but necessary to the working class in their fight for improved living standards. Bob agreed with this, and said the importance of the school would be in helping to arm socialists with a theoretical understanding of the events now taking place in Britain.

Brian Lewis

What causes capitalist crisis?

Mick Brooks traced the causes of the world economic crisis. No matter how hard they try, the capitalists are unable to end the crisis in their system. Since the war, there has been a drop in the rate of profit in the advanced countries. Big business thus neglects manufacturing industry and invests where the profits are highest, as in property speculation. Overproduction has returned, it is

a period of booms and slumps, which promises massive upheavals amongst the world working class. The situation is worsened by soaring inflation, even at a time of stagnation and recession. The only way forward is through a socialist planned economy, with production for need, not profit.

Mick Levene

Geoff Jones [Brighton CLP] introduced a discussion on Marxism and Science. He explained how classical science appeared only to rely on empirical facts, which in reality depended on contemporary views of the universe. Many years ago, of course, the earth was considered to be flat, and the centre of the universe. Any scientist who dared to suggest otherwise was ridiculed.

Science at the moment is used to justify the present division of labour in society at its present stage of development. It is used to boost the profits of big business, using such methods as producing a substance, which, when added to soap powder, makes the water appear dirtier than it really is, hence showing that the powder is better.

Science has now developed to such a stage that whole factories can exist without a workforce, being operated entirely by computers. Under capitalism, this would create mass unemployment. Under socialism, this progress could be harnessed to reduce the working week and increase everyone's standard of living. In essence, scientific progress is being stifled by capitalism. Only under socialism can it develop its full potential.

Dave Campbell

CLASS FIGHTER DIES

Jerry O'Donovan, a member of the National Graphical Association, active at chapel and branch level, and a delegate to Liverpool Trades Council and his local Labour Party, died on Sunday, July 9th, at Clatterbridge hospital, Birkenhead, aged 40 years.

Those of us who were privileged to know him will remember Jerry as a dedicated socialist and 'Militant' supporter who worked energetically for the ideals he believed in.

Jerry earned respect from all who knew him for his quiet yet determined approach in discussions, at meetings and selling the paper, to which he was a frequent and generous contributor.

We have lost a loyal friend and comrade. We will find consolation only by continuing the fight for the ideas that Jerry believed in so strongly.

Ray Williams
NGA Liverpool

MILITANT NOTICES

Which way forward for the Labour Left? A debate between 'Militant' and Independent Labour Publications. Speakers: **Geoff Hodgson** (ILP and prospective Parliamentary candidate for Withington) and **Pat Wall** (President of Bradford Trades Council and 'Militant' supporter). Friday 21st July, 7.30pm at Withington Town Hall, Lapwing Lane, W. Didsbury.

DISCO
Westminster and Camden Militant Supporters
Saturday July 15th, 8—till late. The Cock Pub, Diana Place, just off Euston Rd. (nearest Tube: Great Portland St, Euston Sq.)

DISCO
Lambeth Militant supporters Association
Sun and Doves, Coldharbour Lane. July 15th, 8pm. Refreshments. Entrance 50p.

SOUTH MANCHESTER Marxist Discussion meetings. The Albert Inn, Walmer Street, near junction of Wilmslow Rd and Great Western Street. 8.00pm Wednesday July 19th—'Reform or Revolution?'

BLYTH Marxist Discussion Group. 'What is Marxism?'. Speaker: **Robin Jamieson**. 20th July, 7.30pm, 8 Church Street, Cramlington Village.

MANCHESTER Militant trade union forum—'Workers Control in the nationalised industries'. Tuesday 19th July, 8pm. Millstone Hotel, Thomas St., (off Oldham St.), Manchester.

SALFORD Marxist Discussion Meetings: July 19th—'Is Russia Socialist?'; August 2nd—'What is Marxism?'; August 16th—'Where is Britain Going?'; August 30th—'Workers Control and Management'. Contact **Dave Farrar**, 061 737675j.

SUNDERLAND Marxist Discussion Group. Every other Friday starting at 8.00pm. July 14th—'The Future of the Labour Party'. For further details contact **Diane English**, Sunderland 44365.

OUT NOW Militant International Review No 14

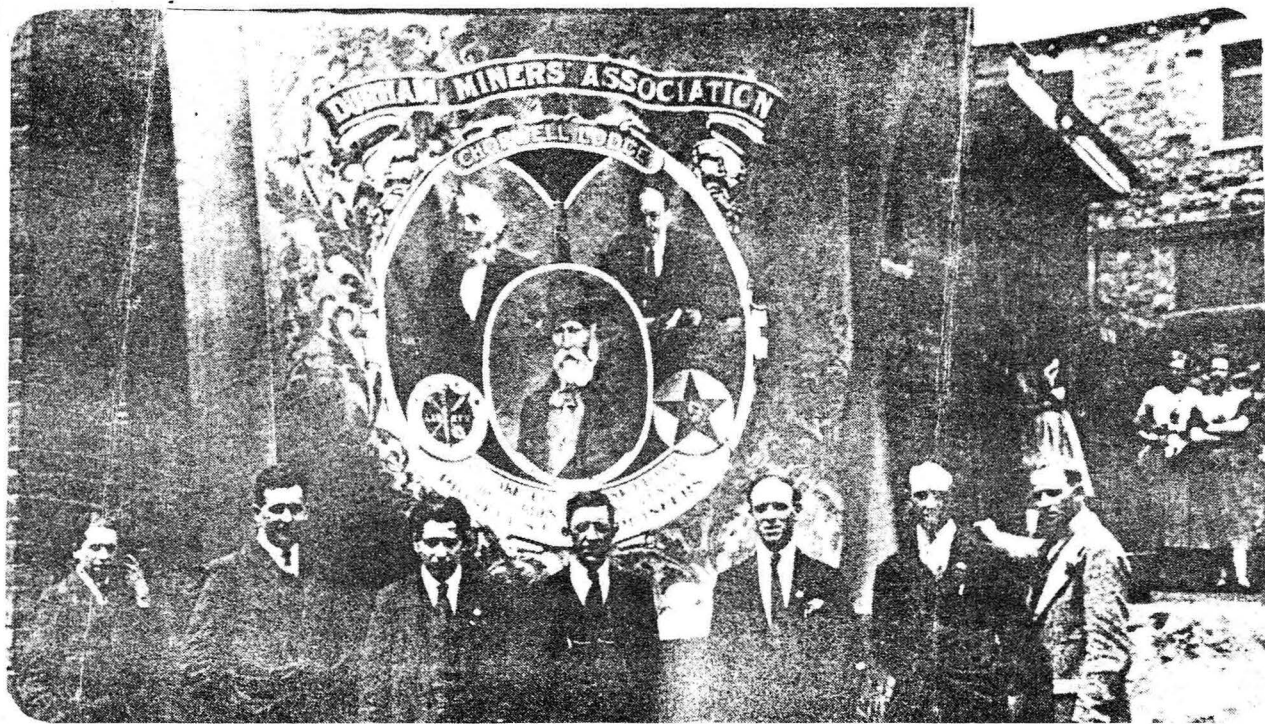
★ Behind the 'Liberal' mask: the brutal face of Toryism.

★ The colonial revolution and the deformed workers' states.

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DURHAM MINERS GALA

Below: Fighting miners of the 1920's with Chopwell Lodge banner.



UNION MUST MATCH FIGHTING MOOD

Every year since 1871 the Durham Miners' Gala has been a focal point for miners lodges in the area.

The miners march into Durham "to claim their rights" and meet on the racecourse for the "Big Meeting".

This year, more than ever, the shrinking numbers of men and banners will illustrate the savage and drastic contraction in the North East mining industry.

In 1872, the first year the meeting was held on the racecourse, over 180 collieries were represented. The total rose at its height to over 300.

In 1972, this number had fallen to 30. (In 1919 there had been 30 from the Bishop Auckland area alone!) Within three months of the 1972 Big Meeting Day, three more collieries were closed, and since then, more have followed.

With one in ten people in the North East unemployed the destruction of the mining industry by the pit closures of the 60's have left a scar on the area. Whole villages are left unemployed.

Most of my village was pulled down after the pit closed to make way for a new industrial estate supposedly to attract jobs to the area. Only two small factories have recruited workers, the rest lies empty and barren, a tribute to British capitalism's failure to invest, despite massive government subsidies and inducements.

Speakers at the gala have included Tom Mann, Prince Kropotkin, Annie Besant, Kier Hardie, Harold Laski and Nye Bevan. More recently Bessie Braddock and Tony Wedgewood Benn stood with the platform party to watch the miners march past.

An anonymous miner in a dialect poem of the 1950's described the scene on the racecourse:

"The speakin' starts at 12 o'clock

We'll hear Clem Atlee's

By Kathleen Hardisty

Durham LPYS.

were affected by these disasters.

The miners fought to improve conditions, wages, etc, and now use the Gala to demonstrate their commitment to the labour movement. Despite victimisations and oppression, they have succeeded in forging their own unions.

The history of just one lodge and its banner illustrates this struggle.

Chopwell Lodge banner (see picture), made in the 1920's, came after the tumult of the Russian Revolution, the miners lock-out in 1921, and the depression of the following year.

The choice of figures on the banner is significant. Lenin as a leader of the international working class, Marx for his socialist thinking, and Keir Hardie in recognition of his work for the eight hour day. The banner was unfurled by Jim Larkin, the leader of the Citizens' Army, and militant General Secretary of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union.

A replica was made in 1954, and the original banner was presented on Big Meeting Day to a delegation of Russian miners "as a token of close friendship between the miners in Britain and the Soviet Union". The banner now hangs in the Trades Union Hall in Moscow.

The nine brothers of the Lawther family in Chopwell Lodge became militant fighters in the miners' union. Two of them were arrested in the 1926 General Strike.

In spite of the fall in the number of miners, from 945,000 NUM members in 1920 to 610,000 after the Second World War, the struggle continues. The miners broke the harsh wage norm of the Heath government in 1972 and led the confrontation with the Tories in 1974, chasing them out of office.

But the manoeuvring of the union leaders over the productivity deal is an attempt to divide the miners, setting pit against pit, and as Arthur Scargill, the Yorkshire leader, has pointed out, has led to more pit accidents. Now, as well, the leadership is edging back on its commitment to early retirement.

The NUM flexed its strength in 1972 and 74, but a section of the leadership have remained out of touch with the needs of the miners. NUM members should press for the election of all full time officials, subject to the right of recall, to make a democratic and representative union. The officials should receive no more than the normal wage plus expenses necessary for the job.

These demands, linked to the building of one mighty union for the industry, will ensure miners have the fighting strength they need to put an end to the attacks on jobs in the coal industry. But no single energy industry can be planned in isolation.

At the moment, the search for profit forces each energy industry into competition with the others.

Coal and electricity compete and have separate boards, when 70% of the fuel that is used by the Central Electricity Generating Board is coal.

Coal mining is the most dangerous, unhealthy way of using human labour to provide fuel. But developing other fuels and alternative work is impossible under the crazy capitalist system. A National Fuel Corporation for coal, oil, gas and electro-power could implement a National fuel policy, by the nationalisation of all the private concerns in the fuel industry under workers' control and management.

But the fuel industry cannot be a socialist island in a capitalist sea. We must link these demands with a political struggle, using the muscle of the union movement, for the socialist transformation of society, for control of the economy and a socialist plan of production.

pattor,
He'll talk about the Government
Or some such vital matter
And if he dis'en't please us,
why
We'll hay him in the watter"

The threat is certainly not an empty one. In the 1920's, from the comfortable sanctuary of the House of Lords, the Bishop of Durham called the Durham miners "Lazy vagabonds". That year, on Big Meeting Day, banners appeared saying "To hell with Bishops and Deans—we demand a living wage". The miners chased a figure (who later proved to be the Dean and not the Bishop) down to the river and but for the intervention of a motor boat from the Bishop's palace, would have "hoyed him in the watter"!

DISASTERS

As long ago as 1666, the miners complained about the actions of the mine owners who would open and close pits at their will. In the early nineteenth century, attempts to form trade unions resulted in miners being arrested and put in the stables of the Bishop of Durham's palace. Families were evicted and the miners were starved into submission.

Alongside the daily struggle has been the record of fatal pit accidents in the area:—
1844—Haswell—95 lives lost
1880—Seaham—164
1882—Trindon Grange—74
1885—Usworth—41
1906—Wingate—26
1909—West Stanley (The Death Pit)—168
1951—Easington—83
Whole families and villages

LEFT & RIGHT

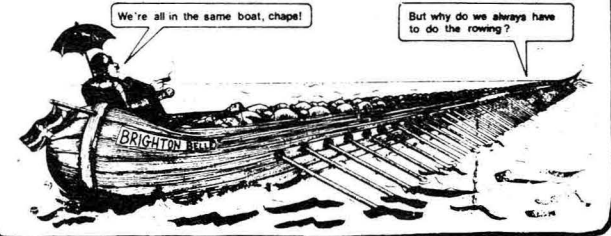
£15,000 FOR WHAT?

For his handling of the steel industry, Charles Villiers is to be rewarded with a £15,000 wage rise to take him up to £45,000. The Chairman of British Rail, on £24,500, is to get £40,000. The Chief Justice merits an extra £11,000 (for increased productivity?). They'll only get 10% of it this year we're told, but how many steel workers' wages will go up by £3,000 in 1978?

The poor old chaps feel left behind compared to the top men in industry. Don't we all? The Chairman of BP is on £96,000 a year, more in one week than most workers earn in six months. Maurice Hodgson, ICI boss, gets £96,000. A rise in pay, they tell us, will improve the quality of boardroom management in the nationalised industries. But the capitalist economy certainly isn't blossoming in the care of their better paid brothers, in the private sector.

With the Post Office locking out engineers and refusing even to consider a shorter working week, unrest growing among railway workers over pay and conditions, and the British Steel Corporation narrowly avoiding a head-on clash with the steel unions provoked by their savage closures and blunderbuss tactics, what are these figureheads being rewarded for?

ARE YOU BEING ROBBED



Leaflet produced by Brighton, Hove & District Trades Council

TORIES v 'WEAK' TRADE UNIONS

The 'Ridley Report', recently leaked to the press, disclosed the plans of a future Tory Government to try and single out "weaker" sections of the Labour Movement in the event of a confrontation between the Government and the Trade Unions. One of the groups given special attention is the Civil Service, but as a recent article in 'The Times' points out, the Tories are unlikely to have things all their own way.

The increasing use of computers in government business means that a few skilled Civil Servants operating departmental computers (could) paralyse essential government business during an industrial dispute. Among the operations now carried out almost entirely by computer are payments from the Paymaster General's office, PAYE tax returns, government communications and payment of unemployment and social security benefits.

Out of 740,000 non-industrial Civil Servants only 14,000 operate government computers, but as 'The Times' points out sadly, "The bulk of them belong to the Civil and Public Service Union, the most militant union, whose Executive moved markedly to the left in recent elections."

It's unlikely that 'The Times' is printing such articles out of concern for the so-called 'weaker sections' of the trade union movement. What they fear is that the Tories under Thatcher will go the same way as the Heath Government did in 1974, badly miscalculating the strength of the Labour Movement.

who are the real scroungers - part 2

Last week we showed that top businessmen are far from being the poor, over taxed creatures the Tories claim them to be. This week Tim Lewis reveals the truth about the so-called social security 'scroungers'—and compares them to the tax fiddlers, who are treated very differently by the press and the state.

The lazy and work-shy are so feather-bedded, the story goes, that people don't want to work. Hard-working taxpayers are subsidising legions of social security fiddlers. The 'welfare state' has taken away the 'incentive' to work and is undermining industrial efficiency.

Let people work or fend for themselves. This is the brutal line of the gutter press. Never mind the sick, the one-parent families, the school leavers without jobs, or those thrown onto the dole by the bosses. Every man for himself.

But as usual, the capitalist press distorts the truth. Every case of social security fraud is

given sensational, moralising treatment. The problems behind cases are ignored. But little or nothing is ever said about tax fiddlers.

Detected social security fraud in 1976 was just £2.6 million. This was out of total benefit payments of £11,500 million. Following a hysterical campaign in the press, there was a crackdown resulting in over 19,000 prosecutions, an increase of 25% over 1975.

What was there in the papers about tax losses? In 1976-77 the Inland Revenue wrote off £28 million as "unrecoverable". The details are as follows:

Income tax	£21,960,000
Corporation tax	£4,285,000
Capital Gains tax	£820,000
Estate Duty	£510,000
Surtax	£580,000
Profits tax	£25,000

Despite the £28 million involved, there were only 194 prosecutions—compared to 19,000 by the SS authorities who lost only £2.6 millions. Could there be more blatant class discrimination?

Fringe benefits

And the £28 millions, remember, was just the Inland Revenue's detected losses. How much more was lost through companies and self-employed directors exploiting legal loopholes or working (undetected) illegal fiddlers?

Workers taxed via PAYE have virtually no opportunity to fiddle their tax, legally or illegally. If anything, they are overcharged and have to wait

for their rebate. But the self-employed can claim all sorts of tax-deductible expenses.

Directors and top management also have what are known as "fringe benefits". A Royal Commission reported that, for people earning over £10,000 a year in 1974-5, fringe benefits were often worth at least 30% of a salary. They are either tax free or taxed very minimally.

Take for example, pension schemes. Top company directors expect a pension of two-thirds of their salary on retirement. A director earning £50,000 can get a pension of £33,333 or £641 a week. Sir Rowland Wright of ICI was earning £93,500 in 1976. Meanwhile a single pensioner gets £17.50.

The Tory press is silent about the real scroungers. It is also silent about the millions of workers, many of them living in dire poverty, who do not claim what they are perfectly entitled to

because they cannot face the humiliation associated with welfare benefits in capitalist society.

Nearly 1 million people [including 600,000 pensioners] fail to claim supplementary benefit which they are entitled to. This was valued at £240m in 1975. But hush! Not a word of this to the workers.

Less than half the unemployed are getting unemployment benefit. Yet we all know about the means tests and investigations into our home life to make sure we don't fiddle 10p a week on the rent.

Tax havens

The first £5,000 of any redundancy payment is tax-free, just to ensure we all can benefit. Unfortunately, while J A Payne of a big meat company, received a golden hand-shake of £205,000, the average redundancy payment

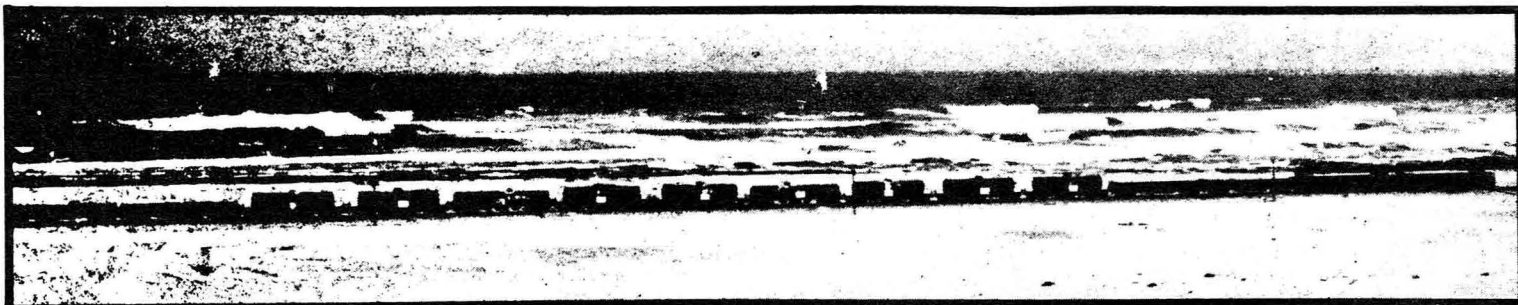
for workers in 1976 was only £624.

Another favourite is tax avoidance, by registering a company in a "tax haven" like the Channel Islands or the Isle of Man.

When Sir Keith Joseph attacks "scroungers" he should look to his own camp. In the Lornho scandal, it was revealed that Tory MP Duncan Sandys, a Lornho director, had been paid huge fees via the Cayman Islands. It is not surprising that the Tories vehemently attacked a Labour Party NEC policy statement aimed at ending the tax-haven status of the Channel Islands and Isle of Man.

If you have a lot of spare cash and this hasn't persuaded you to give it to the 'Militant' fighting fund, you could do worse than buy a copy of the Economist Intelligence Unit's 'Tax Havens and Their Uses'. It has reached its 21st edition, and despite costing £15 is still selling well in the City.

DEATH ON THE OCEAN WAVES



Freight train crossing desert sand along the magnificent Namibian coast between Swakopmund and Walvis Bay

Over the last few weeks the subject of the pollution of the seas has been in the headlines of the press.

First the 'Amoco Cadiz' ran aground, spilling many thousands of tons of oil into the English Channel, ruining holiday beaches, killing thousands of birds and fish, jeopardising the livelihoods of fishermen in Northern France and leading to massive demonstrations of workers in Paris.

Then, before the 'Amoco Cadiz' was out of the headlines, another oil tanker, the 'Elaine V', ran aground off East Anglia. More oil spilled, more beaches (and therefore holidays) ruined and more marine life killed.

It's only when disasters of this nature occur that pollution reaches the headlines. Yet this only scratches the surface of what is a very serious problem.

Oil spillages caused by tanker disasters are just a 'drop in the ocean' compared to the 2.2 million tons of oil deliberately deposited by refining operations and by tankers illegally washing out their tanks. In fact, the latter accounts for 80% of all oil

spilled in the sea.

This oil remains in the sea for about two years, causing the destruction of marine life and holiday beaches. Yet oil spillage is a relatively minor part of Marine pollution. The main danger comes from other, sometimes surprising sources.

Among the most dangerous substances tipped into the seas are the 'Heavy Metals', Lead, Tin, Manganese, etc. The most common being Mercury, a deadly poison widely used in many industrial processes.

In 1953, several cases of severe disorders arose in the Miniata Bay area of Japan. By 1970 there had been 111 cases leading to 41 deaths—mainly fishermen and their families. It was later found, that the cause of the illness was the high Mercury content of the waste dumped from a Minimata factory producing PVC resin. This had built up in the tissues of the fish in the area and was taken up by the people who ate the fish, a major part of their diet.

Lead, too, causes nervous disorders and brain damage, and the Lead in the surface layers of the sea is seventeen times higher than the natural level, mainly due to 'fallout'



Soldiers cleaning up damaged beaches of Brittany after Amoco Cadiz spill

from petrol fumes.

Another extremely dangerous class of pollutants are the Poly-chlorinatedbiphenyls (PCB's), widely used in industry in sealants, adhesives, paints, printing inks, etc. Before 1970, when restrictions were (belatedly) int-

roduced, between 80 and 120 thousand tons were produced every year, and losses to the environment have been enormous—30 thousand tons to the air, 60 thousand tons to the sea and 366 thousand tons dumped on land since 1930. Their high chemical stability,

which makes them so useful in industry, has meant that only about half of the PCB's dumped into the sea since 1930 have decomposed into harmless products. Hence 30 thousand tons are still present in the sea.

PCB's concentrate in fish

and build up through the 'food chain' to dangerous levels in fish eaters, leading to human illness and even deaths. These are only a few examples of the sources of pollution in the sea—there are many more. The effects are obvious: yet nothing is done. The reason is a simple one: the root of all problems in our society, from unemployment to pollution, the profit motive. It costs little to dump untreated waste into the sea, either directly by coastal installations, or indirectly via rivers.

The problem could be resolved easily by treatment of the waste to remove or breakdown the dangerous constituents before dumping. In most cases the processes exist, and where they don't, research could soon find them. Yet this is not because these processes cost money which would reduce the capitalists' profits.

This was graphically illustrated when in May 1971 American business leaders warned President Nixon who was then trying to use pollution as a 'votecatcher', that pollution—controls would 'price American products out of the market', ie their profits would be reduced.

The damage they are doing to the environment does not worry the capitalists. They would gladly see the sea turned into a lifeless cess-pool providing they can keep up their rate of profit.

A Socialist society would not allow this to occur. The necessary measures would be taken. Socialism is not only desirable but necessary if we are to prevent the destruction of the seas.

By Mike Slater
Chorley LPYS

reselection controversy

Victor Schonfield says: "Militant has consistently connived with the establishment in defending the present system at the expense of mandatory re-selection."

Dear Comrades

Ray Apps claims "Militant ... are not frightened of arguing our case and taking up criticism." Then why doesn't

he answer CLPD's criticism, namely that 'Militant' has consistently connived with the establishment in defending

the present system at the expense of mandatory re-selection?

The reason mandatory re-selection enjoys such massive support is that the present system is totally discredited. Mandatory reselection would make every Labour MP accountable to the labour movement for the implementation of Labour policies, whereas the present no-confidence system merely makes it possible to replace a few individuals—only two MPs have been unseated as candidates in the last four years.

Ray's obsession at Annual Conference and on the NEC Working Party with coupling the two procedures simply divides mandatory reselection

supporters, and prevents a clear vote on the principle.

The other way his Minority Report breaches the NEC's commitment to "automatic reselection in the way and in the sense" of the 68 identical constitutional amendments is by preventing reselection until eighteen months after an election. This could mean no reselection for over three years in the case of a short Parliament—and even longer if that was followed by another short Parliament.

CLPD deplores the way Ray used the secretive proceedings of an unrepresentative working party to put forward individual proposals which ignore the clear wishes of the labour movement. Why didn't he stand by the NEC's

promise which he helped to gain, instead of lending a semblance of credibility to the squalid manoeuvres which led to the promise being broken?

Lastly, Ray is ill advised to use my letter during Annual Conference to allege any inconsistency on our part. He knows perfectly well the only reason a meeting of Conference delegates [not CLPD] temporarily accepted a composite which did not reflect their views was because it at least included support for mandatory reselection. Unfortunately he had already succeeded by his efforts at the compositing meeting in preventing Conference from debating the clear-cut proposals put forward by one in five of the Conference resolutions

submitted [and most of those represented at the compositing].

Ray is surely experienced enough to realise that sometimes one must support a resolution even when it seems half-baked, and my letter made it clear that the meeting unanimously opposed his composite being put to the vote in any case. So much for this misrepresentation of both CLPD and the Conference delegates concerned.

Yours fraternally
[signed] Victor Schonfield
Treasurer,
Campaign for Labour Party
Democracy
24 June 1978

Ray Apps replies: "The truth of the matter is that the 'establishment', the party officials concerned and the right wing of the NEC, having no intention of introducing mandatory reselection, gleefully accommodated the Campaign for Labour Party Democracy's obsession with deleting Paragraph [B]."

Victor Schonfield, like some of the other leaders of CLPD, is surely seeking scapegoats for his own confusion and bungling.

The possibility that we may finish up with less democratic control over MPs than we have at present has been brought about by their obstinacy and refusal to admit mistakes, the greatest of which is to under-estimate the opponents of extending the democratic control of Constituency Labour Parties over MPs.

Victor Schonfield says I have an obsession with Paragraph (B). It is true I have consistently fought for the retention of this clause and will continue to do so. However, it has never been at the expense of my support for mandatory automatic reselection. The two complement one another.

Instead of making unsubstantiated allegations, Victor Schonfield should ask the CLPD supporters on the Working Party how hard I battled for mandatory reselection, which is the main theme of the Minority Report. Incidentally, the issue of automatic reselection was decided by the Majority

before we went on to discuss and vote on what was to replace Paragraph (B).

I warned CLPD some months before last year's Annual Conference that I believed they were giving a hostage to fortune by calling for the removal of the right of a CLP to pass a vote of no confidence in their sitting MP at any time of their own choosing. This democratic right, providing the proper procedure is carried out and used properly, can be a powerful weapon in the hands of the Party rank and file.

This should be retained as an essential "reserve power". It became all the more necessary to fight for the retention of paragraph (B) when it became clear that proposals of the working group majority in effect amounted to no more than the right to move a vote of no confidence in an MP once in the life of a parliament.

Victor Schonfield accuses me of conniving with the establishment. The truth of the matter is that the 'establishment', the party officials concerned and the right wing of the NEC, having no intention of introducing mandatory reselection, gleefully accommodated CLPD's

obsession with deleting Paragraph (B). Sixty-eight resolutions called for its deletion, they assured me. The Party 'establishment', for all my supposed 'conniving', came down firmly on the side of Victor Schonfield in this matter. "Ray App prevents a clear vote on the principle," CLPD repeat ad nauseam. If that is the case, why did Conference vote against the reference back when Victor Schonfield himself moved it (with my support) so that the so-called clear principle could be put? Where was the massive majority there?

If CLPD had listened to our advice, given long before they framed their model resolution, those 68 resolutions would have been taken. CLPD, not us, effectively disenfranchised 68 CLPs. They should explain that to their supporters.

Who really speaks for the CLPD? Victor Schonfield accuses me of lending credibility to squalid manoeuvres by producing a Minority Report

Here, Victor Schonfield glosses over another important point. Once the resolution was referred back to the NEC with an assurance from the Chairman that new rules would be formulated, it was obvious that the NEC would have to appoint a

sub-committee or working group to put forward proposals.

When, as CLP delegate who moved the resolution debated, I was invited to sit on the working party, should I have refused this opportunity of defending the views of the rank and file in the body that was actually given the task of drafting the new rules? Should Jo Richardson and Bernard Kissen also have refused to participate? Why does Comrade Schonfield not say explicitly what his views is on this?

While on the working group I did not for a moment cease to argue for our position, either in the meeting or in the Party generally. Let me repeat: the Minority Report was written in conjunction with Bernard Kissen and Jo Richardson MP. EC member and vice-chairperson of CLPD. Does Victor Schonfield now disown them? We fought together tooth and nail for mandatory reselection and, as the infamous compromise evolved, came to see the vital importance of retaining Paragraph (B).

The Minority Report is a measured and practical alternative to the two-stage procedure of the majority. We called for a mandatory reselection conference not earlier than eighteen months

after an MP was elected to Parliament for the very good reason that an MP, after selection by a meeting in the CLP, should be given the chance of show his or her true colours or earn their spurs, whichever the case may be, and secondly to stop careerists holding a selection conference in the euphoria of an election victory. Paragraph (B), if retained, would still be there as a safeguard.

Victor Schonfield accuses me of misrepresentation by quoting his letter (see 'Militant' 411) in which he assured me that "The meeting [of conference delegates supporting the CLPD's resolution] endorsed your shrewd tactics in exploiting the situation to get the best possible assurances out of the NEC, and confirmed wholehearted support of the composite."

How you can misrepresent someone by quoting him in full is beyond me. Now he says he didn't mean what he said in the letter. How do you answer someone who argues like this?

I was handed that letter on the morning of the debate, and went to the rostrum believing what it said: that I had the wholehearted support of the Campaign for the composite I was moving. I didn't ask for their wholehearted support but was glad

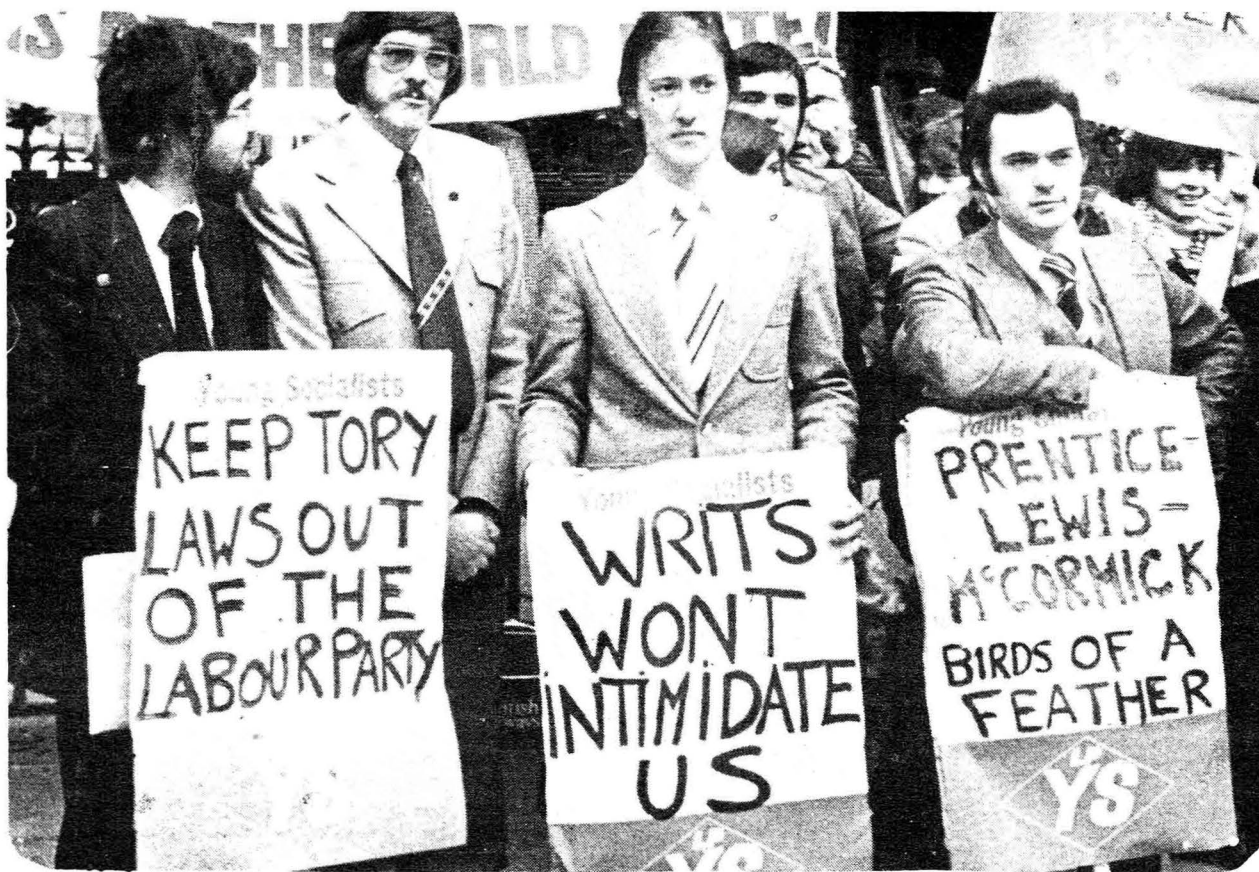


photo: Andrew Wiard (Report II)

Newham NE Labour Party members at the High Court during their long struggle to remove Prentice under paragraph [B]. Newham NE's management committee recently voted decisively in favour of supporting the Minority Report. [see Militant 7 July].

to have it.

Yes I am, to use Victor Schonfield's words, experienced enough to know that sometimes you have to support a resolution you don't fully agree with. But you should always make clear your support is critical.

If you want to win the trust and confidence of the movement, total honesty is essential. Even at this late stage I appeal to CLPD supporters to put aside personalities, and in the interests of the struggle for reselection to support the Minority Report.

By Ray Apps
(Brighton Kemptown Labour Party)

WHAT LIES BEHIND

"...the change of leadership makes no difference to my determination to install a Conservative government once again in office," said a tight-lipped Ted Heath reading from a prepared speech last Wednesday. "I wish Mrs Thatcher and her colleagues every success," he dutifully forced out the words.

But behind this cosmetic reconciliation, designed to give the Tory party an image of unity as a likely General Election approaches, lie splits and divisions. Here Peter Taaffe outlines the perspectives for the Tory party.

"Nowhere in Europe does sanctimonious hypocrisy—cant—play such a role as in Great Britain. The various political groupings are accustomed in their struggle with each other not to touch upon certain questions and not to call things by their proper names.

"The reason for this is that from time immemorial the political struggle has been conducted in the ranks of the upper strata, who have never forgotten that the third estate is listening to them". Thus wrote Leon Trotsky 52 years ago.

This hallowed tradition of the British ruling class and their representatives in the Tory Party has continued right up to the recent period. Behind the scenes—at the Carlton Club, at dinner parties and "private gatherings"—the different wings of the Tory Party conducted their—sometimes quite vicious—struggles. The substance of these differences invariably revolved around how best to defend capitalism against the pressure of the labour movement and the working class.

Great care was therefore taken to prevent the working class from discovering the grim class realities which lay behind the bromide public utterances of the Tory leadership. Attacks from one wing on the other were conducted in the spirit of Mark Anthony's attack on Brutus: "Brutus is an honourable man..."

Yet this cardinal principle of Toryism seems to have been completely abandoned recently in the conflict between the Thatcher and Heath wings of the Tory Party. Something like open warfare has raged at all levels within

pressing Mrs Thatcher to dismiss those alleged "liberals" like Patten who have clung to key positions at Tory Headquarters. This worthy, who was in a position to influence the Tory election manifesto, has been removed from his position as minute secretary to the Shadow Cabinet. The air is thick with accusations and counter-accusations.

What is the explanation for this almost indecent round of public back-stabbing within the Tory Party? It is to be found not just in the personal animosity of Heath and Thatcher but in the division over policy and methods for rescuing the ailing British capitalist system. It mirrors the divisions within the ruling class itself.

Industrial decline

British capitalism is probably faced with the worst crisis in the whole of its history. It is beaten and outstripped not just in world markets but in its own backyard. Thus between 1967 and 1977 imports of finished manufactured goods have increased from 19% of total imports to a staggering 32% ('Economist' 27th May 1978). Semi-manufactured goods constitute a further 27% of imports. Thus astonishingly 59% of total imports into Britain are manufactured and semi-manufactured goods! A roll-call of all the key manufacturing industries shows the same picture.

According to the 'Sunday Times' (21st May) imports as a percentage of consumption in Britain between 1970 and 1977 have risen in the **chemical industry from 18% to 27%**, in **mechanical engineering from 19% to 32%**, in **electrical engineering from 18% to 36%**!



How the Tories would like to deal with strikes. Unfortunately for them, even cavalry could not budge the masses ranks of the unions on the Grunwick mass picket.



The TWO ugly faces of capitalism

American, West German, Japanese and even the French capitalists are beating the decrepit British ruling class in their own home market. One group of capitalist economists from the National Institute of Economic and Social Research, express the utter demoralisation of their class: "Not only do foreigners not want our goods, neither do we" (Financial Times 29th June 1978)

This in turn has wreaked havoc in the lives of millions of British workers. Between 1966 and 1976 the labour force in manufacturing has been cut by 1.3 million. Only 28% of the employed population work in the manufacturing industry, the lowest percentage of any other European country and much less than Japan. This is directly linked to the complete failure over the last three decades of the capitalists to re-invest the surplus extracted from the labour of the working class. The greedy and shortsighted ruling class have refused to re-tool and re-invest on the same scale as their rivals.

This year manufacturing investment, according to the most favourable estimates, is predicted to increase by 10 to 13% compared to last year. Yet this will be significantly lower than in 1970 which in turn was low in comparison to the average post war rate of investment. The consequence of this bankruptcy can be seen in clapped out British industry and the return of mass unemployment. And this is despite the enormous bonus which the capitalists have received in the past four years with tax handouts, subsidies and the cheapest labour of all the advanced countries of Western Europe.

Finance Capital

But even the figure of one and a half million unemployed pales beside the nightmarish predictions for future unemployment, if British capitalism continues on the same path, made by capitalist economists themselves. Thus a group of Cambridge economists have estimated that three million will be on the

dole in the 1980's. They estimate that the vehicle and engineering industries will collapse and drag down with them the steel industry! They gloomily conclude: "Even the most effective package would leave a 9.7% annual decline in the motor vehicles industry between now and 1985, with a 2.3% drop in electrical engineering and a 3.3% yearly drop in the iron and steel sector" ('Financial Times' 29th June 1978)

Yet the British ruling class and its strategists have closed their eyes to this calamitous situation. This is epitomised by the Tory Party leadership. Both the Thatcher and "liberal" wings have viewed the collapse of manufacturing industry with equanimity. They have recently advocated the virtual abandonment of the manufacturing base of British capitalism and a concentration on "services"—i.e. the income from the banking and insurance "expertise" of the City of London, from shipping etc. In so doing they reflect the narrow interests of finance capital. Like the French capitalists in the past they want to turn the British economy into a rentier economy. The French capitalists were able to do this because of their Empire and also because they feared the development of the working class through the growth of industry.

For British capitalism to pursue such a policy in this modern world would lead to catastrophe. The Tories have forgotten that the real ultimate source of wealth is production itself. Their "economic" strategy, if followed, would lead to the complete destruction of a manufacturing base and the reduction of Britain to an offshore island reduced to eeking out a

THE TORY SPLIT?

living from tourism and basket weaving! The income from "services" would not compensate for the loss of the steel, engineering, chemical industries—not to say the absence of new industries like electronics.

Tory Thatcherite guru Joseph has even opposed the limited development of an electronics industry under the National Enterprise board! "Private enterprise" has been shown to be utterly incapable of developing this key industry. With the class they represent the Tory leadership is, in the words of Leon Trotsky, "tobogganing towards disaster with their eyes closed".

Class policies

In the past, the representatives of the ruling class displayed a sureness of touch and confidence in their approach towards the working class. They cleverly disguised their pro-capitalist policies behind a demagogic smoke-screen about "One Nation". But Thatcher has torn away the mask to bare the ugly visage of real Toryism. With her high priest Joseph, she has threatened a reversal to brutal and naked class policies.

"Let the market rip" is her watchword. The idol of past Tory leaders, Keynes, has been condemned by Mrs Thatcher in a recent speech as a "socialist". In line with the theories of the new witch doctor Friedman she has promised to "control the money supply" and "set cash limits" in the state industries, which is a polite way of saying that social services will be cut to the bone and an iron grip will exercised over the wages of workers in nationalised industries. Moreover, heeding Friedman's advice Joseph has recently promised that a Tory government would sell off some of the nationalised industries, particularly the profitable ones like the telecommunications section of the post office and North Sea oil.

Thatcher's acolyte Patrick Jenkins gives just a glimpse of what will happen in the field of health: "there will be no more money for the NHS under a Conservative Government" ("Times" 17th May 1978). The 600,000 on hospital waiting lists—40,000 of them conservatively estimated to be urgent cases—can go hang so far as the Tories are concerned.

In fact, in their lust for power, the Tory leadership has attempted to whip up support by supporting every reactionary issue, the latest being hanging. The "liberal" Whitelaw has joined hands with Thatcher in the vile campaign against immigrants. Moreover, in the most open and base fashion Tory spokesmen now don't hesitate to link "law and order" and crime with the "foreigner": "much of it [crime and violence], I say this plainly, seems to me to have been imported" (Tory MP Eldon Griffiths, 'The Times' 19th May 1978). The real criminals are those like Griffiths who inflict the violence of unemployment and poverty upon working class youth, particularly on black youth.

Massive further handouts to the rich, if a Tory government comes to power, were indicated by the recent tax changes the Tories forced through on the Budget. The Tories posed as the friends of the over-taxed working men and women but only those who earned in excess of £10,000 really benefitted while those with incomes of £50,000 a year gained a massive £5,000 a year!

But the British working class will not tamely stand aside while a Tory government attacks its living standards and wrecks the social services. Through the 11½ million strong trade unions it will resist the Tory onslaught on its rights and conditions. Thatcher and her lieutenants have anticipated this and are busily laying plans to meet, and attempt to defeat, the resistance of the working class and their organisations. This has been demonstrated to even the most sceptical worker in the now infamous Ridley and Carrington documents which spell out Tory plans to deal with the trade unions.

The ruthlessness of the ruling class and their representatives, its preparedness to lie and cheat in defence of its system, is shown by just one sentence in the Ridley report: "Return on capital figure should be rigged so that an above average wage claim can be paid to 'vulnerable' industries" ('Economist' 27th May 1978). The scheming and conniving of the Tories is shown by the following: "The eventual battle lines should be on ground chosen by the Tories, in a field they think could be won (railways, British Leyland, the civil service or steel)". In reality, even in these industries a Tory government could be defeated.

Strike breakers

In the first period of a Tory Government, even Thatcher would be compelled to seek an agreement with the trade union leadership. But such is the desperate straits of British capitalism she would eventually be forced to launch an offensive against the working class and its organisations. Ridley indicates this "in the first or second year after the Tories' election, there might be a major challenge from a trade union either over a wage claim over redundancies".

They indicate that this may come in the mines and therefore propose: "(a) build up of maximum coal stocks, particularly at the power stations; (b) make contingency plans to import coal; (c) encourage the recruitment of non-union lorry drivers by haulage companies to help move coal where necessary; (d) introduce dual coal/oil firing in all power stations as quickly as possible." Right-wing Tory MP Ronald Bell summed up Thatcher's attitude towards the trade unions: "Strike-breaking must become the most honourable profession of all" (Sunday Times 11th December 1977).

Even more ominous is the reference to special strike-breaking plans by the police. With Grunwick no doubt in mind, the Ridley document states: "There should be a

large mobile squad of police equipped and prepared to uphold the law against violent picketing. Good non-union drivers should be recruited to cross picket lines with police protection" ('Economist').

General Strike

Thus behind Prior, cooing like a sucking dove in the direction of the unions, are the anti-union thuggery and the strike breakers like Ridley and Thatcher.

But the weakness of the Tories and the capitalists in the face of the combined weight and power of the working class and its organisations and in comparison to the past is also emphasised. Thus, in 1926 the Tory government of Baldwin patiently prepared over nine months, confident that it could defeat the miners and the working class. Churchill organised his scab army in the Organisation of Maintenance and Supply. Even then the ruling class was taken completely by surprise by the effectiveness and support for the strikers, with the trade union leaders desperately holding workers back who wanted to come out in solidarity. With each day the scale and numbers of workers involved grew. Only the betrayal of the strike by the General Council of the TUC led to the defeat of the strike.

Yet today the labour and trade union movement is immeasurably stronger than in 1926, both in numbers and social weight in society. This is what Carrington wrote in his "secret" report to Thatcher (which was promptly splashed across the front page of 'The Times'): "Strong unions and advanced technology operated by their members, particularly in fuel and power, mean that no government these days can 'win' in the way Mr Baldwin's Cabinet triumphed during the General Strike of 1926 by maintaining supplies and services." ('Times' 18th April 1978)

The weakness of the capitalists is underlined by the reference to the Army: "(the) group examined the possibility of using the Armed Forces to break strikes. It concluded that such a practice could not be adopted on any large scale for two reasons: first, that Britain no longer had enough troops and second that it would permanently damage the fabric and practice of the country's politics".

The last reference to the possible damage to the "country's politics" is a rebuke to Thatcher for her strident class policies by Carrington, a leading follower of Heath. The Heath wing correctly fear that Thatcher will arouse, indeed, has already aroused, the labour movement to fury. Heath has pointed out that if Thatcher and Joseph have their way two or three million will be unemployed. In that case, the youth will not blame "socialism" as Thatcher imagines but capitalism, he has argued.

And even the most fervent past supporters have begun to criticise Thatcher. Peregrine Worsthorne, for instance, ultra-right wing writer for the 'Sunday Telegraph', recently

launched a blistering attack against Thatcher in an article with "Too Blue for her own good" as a headline. 'The Times' has reported the mutterings against her in, of all places, the City of London while the 'Financial Times' has declared: "Mrs Thatcher has moved dangerously far to the right—perhaps even to the point where she may throw away the Election".

The dagger is poised and if she stumbles in the Election: "The only real certainties are she will be out" ('Financial Times'). It seems that Pym—"the Atlee of Conservatism" (Economist)—is front runner to replace Thatcher. If these criticisms can creep into the sober capitalist press, imagine the ranting of a section of the ruling class behind the scenes.

In a desperate gamble for power she threatens to polarise society along clear class lines. This is what the capitalists fear. This could arouse the advanced workers to turn out in the Election, and they in turn could mobilise the inert and politically backward sections against the Tories. Fear of the consequences of a Tory Government, together with a loyalty to their traditional mass party—and not support for the politics of the Labour leaders' right wing—could result in the defeat of the Tories in the Election. But even if she manages to creep into power, some of the strategists of capital are worried that she will lead them into a head-on confrontation with the labour movement.

ers like Duffy in the engineering union. "Show me who your friends are and I will show you who you are".

But all the best laid plans of mice and men can come to grief when they confront gross reality: The trade union and Labour Party right wing—and their allies in the Tory party—imagine that they are set to return to the 1950's and early 1960's. But the social and economic situation of British society is entirely different today. Events will blow them and their plans sky high. The desperate straits of British capitalism will compel it to launch further attacks on the working class which will be resisted. They will look for action from the trade union leadership and if that is not forthcoming the struggle will develop through the shop stewards and combine committees.

Democratic rights

Nevertheless, the present Tory split is an anticipation of a possible future open division into two or more parties or factions. The worsening of Britain's position could result in the hiving off of the Monday Club and even the remnants of the "liberal" Bow Group—whose members could easily move sharply right under the impact of an economic and social crisis. This could easily become a fascist or neo-fascist party. Already the "liberals" are complaining about "extremist infiltration into the Conservative Party by the National Association For Freedom (said) Mr William Van Strau-



The miners warning to the Tories

The Heath wing, as demonstrated by one of its prominent spokesmen, Walker, prefers to lean on the right wing trade union leaders as a means of keeping the working class in check. He recently gloated over the fact that the "militants" have been defeated in the trade unions, which he claims are now in the hands of "responsible" lea-

benzee, MP for Wokingham" ('The Times' 26th May 1978).

In the final analysis, the real difference between "left" and "right" in the Tory Party is over how best to "put it over" on the working class, what methods can be used to limit its power and cut its share in the wealth produced by its Labour.

In this respect there is

nothing to choose between either wings. The sheer viciousness of the "liberal" wing, for instance is demonstrated by the writings of "liberal" luminaries like Ian Gilmour. In his book ('Inside Right') he calmly discusses the pros and cons of abandoning "democracy" i.e. the democratic rights of the working class to strike, to vote etc.

The very openness of the split in the Tory Party is itself an indication of the crisis affecting British capitalism. "Revolution always starts from the top", wrote Marx. The discontent of the working class infects the middle class with a mood of opposition. The ruling class in turn searches for ways of heading off the coming revolt of the working class. It splits into factions and parties. We are at the beginnings of this process in Britain now.

The surface calm in British society is completely deceptive. The last four years of rising unemployment and savage cuts in living standards has stoked up an enormous anger amongst the working class and the middle class. No matter what the outcome of the Election, this will be given vent to in the period up to and following the Election. The threat of the steel workers to call out all the workers in the industry if the closure of Bilston goes ahead is an indication of the changed mood which has developed. "So far and no further" is the attitude of these workers and the working class as a whole.

Both wings of the Tory Party—but particularly Thatcher—have given sufficient notice of the horrors they will inflict on the working class if they come to power. Together with their party and their system they are obsolete. In its progressive phase capitalism developed society by developing industry. Now on the contrary, the Tories promise a future of stagnation and decline in industry and unrelieved misery and gloom for working people.

Socialist plan

If this was spelt out in a clear way in an election, and the socialist alternative of a planned economy put in its place, this would mean that Labour would be invincible. Not by "out-Torying" the Tories but only by posing the need to take over the handful of monopolies which control the economy, with compensation only on the basis of proven need, can Labour guarantee victory not just over the Tories but over their system as well.

A socialist planned economy, drawn up and implemented by committees of trade unionists, shop stewards, housewives and small shopkeepers would result in a massive housebuilding programme, a vast scheme of public works to build homes, schools, hospitals and eliminate poverty.

Such would be the advantages of a planned economy that the rantings of Thatcher and her Tory crew would be just a reminder of a bygone age, with no attraction for the overwhelming majority of the population.

PERU

PERU: WORKERS STAKE CLAIM TO POWER

There's a lot more to Peru than their victory over Scotland in the World Cup. The sports writers all agreed, the Scots were surprised by their opponents' skill and speed. They just had not checked Peru out thoroughly enough beforehand.

Probably few in the labour movement have checked Peru out of late either, but in fact it is about the most troubled country in that troubled continent of Latin America.

Since the stamping out of the movement towards social change in Argentina and Chile, no country in the continent has seemed to occupy the centre of the stage. The limelight could well now fall on Peru.

Just consider the events of the last few months. At the end of May after a week of rioting in several of the main cities accounting for well over a dozen deaths, a 48-hour general strike was called, which was overwhelmingly effective.

The military government reacted with the imposition of the customary 'state of emergency', the arrest of several thousand of its left-wing opponents and the deportation of 20 of them. This only two months after an amnesty had been declared and several previous exiles allowed to return.

But no wonder the Generals were on edge, for June 4th had been set as the day for the first elections for 15 years. The events of May caused the postponement of polling day for a fortnight; but how could the Peruvian military dare put it off longer, or even contemplate shelving the idea completely?

Elections were quite a desperate gamble to satisfy the masses' appetite for change but still to keep the old order intact and its defenders with their uniforms and dark glasses at the helm. Twelve months ago the Generals promised elections for a Constituent Assembly within a year, and on the basis of a constitution drawn up by those elected, a general election and a vote for the President in 1980. But where

By Jeremy Birch

Selly Oak Labour Party

did their sudden conversion to democracy come from?

The dictatorship of General Francisco Morales Bermudez has been beset with one crisis after another. Political, economic crises and worse the crises provoked by the anger of the workers and peasants.

Almost exactly a year ago riots similar to those in May and a one day general strike, rocked the confidence of the officer caste. It was shortly after this and after five days of a national miners' strike that the return to democracy and civilian rule were announced.

'Controlled'

The military are prepared to tolerate civilians in top positions providing they have the final say. Indeed, it seems a useful ploy to stick some civilians in the firing line, perhaps even as President, and let them take the blame for the insuperable problems with which the country is beset. A tame, controlled democracy was their aim.

It would appear that the election results might at last bring them some comfort. Top of the poll was the American Popular Revolutionary Alliance, a party at one time showing similarities to the populism of the Peronist



International demonstration against repression in Peru, held in Costa Rica

movement, but having moved well to the right in recent years.

A further 25% of the votes were cast for the Popular Christian Party, the direct political representatives of big business. But ominously for the generals, one third of the seats in the Assembly will be occupied by the parties of the left—which for socialism is an electoral success only bettered in the whole history of the continent by Chile in the sixties and seventies.

That alone provides proof of the storms and stresses that lie ahead for Peru and its rulers. Particularly in the capital, Lima, the leading socialist

als don't like too much democracy, the results might not be to their liking. As if nightly curfews, imprisonment and banishment were not obstacles enough, all party political broadcasts were pre-recorded and subject to censorship.

Three of the 12 parties contesting the elections were not allowed to hold public meetings. A left wing rally on the day before the elections was broken up by the police, while the PSR leader was arrested as he went to vote.

In fact the government now is in real difficulties—what should it do with the number of newly elected Assembly

tary dictatorships and US domination, the Peruvian generals appeared to bite at the hand that fed them. A nationalised mineral company was established and some of the largest sugar plantations and the important fishmeal industry were taken over.

Foreign capital, with its stranglehold around the decisive sections of the economy did not escape either. The interests of the International Petroleum Company and Cerro Pasco Corporation were expropriated for example. But the Generals went further, carefully involving the masses to support themselves against the opposition of capital. Large demonstrations greeted the news of the nationalisation of Cerro.

All this was unheard of in South America, although in the rest of the non-metropolitan world it was by no means unique. The Peruvians were starting along the anti-capitalist road, already mapped out by several other nations. Nations that had come to the conclusion that imperialism offered them no future, but in which the voice of the organised workers was still too faint and the words of marxism went unheard. Into the void have stepped many strange champions of state ownership, even sections of the military elite.

But the path to a publicly owned economy held obstacles too many for the Peruvian Generals, for all their fiery talk.

A year after expropriation generous compensation terms were renegotiated with the American Marcona mining company. In 1976 an amalgam of Swiss banks loaned Peru 40 million dollars to repay Swiss investors in the publicly-owned power, telephones and cement industries.

The officers tried to reach an accommodation with everyone—the workers and the capitalists, imperialism and the Eastern bloc, but still in the end keeping Peru under the profit system. 1975 marked the consolidation of the 'moderate' trend in the country.

Unrest within the police force led to the ousting of Velasco in a palace putsch led by Bermudez. No more public ownership has been attempted since, and indeed the fishmeal industry has been put back into private hands.

A sweeping land reform was carried out by the

generals in order to break the conservative obstacle of the most reactionary section of the ruling class, the big landowners, and to secure a base of support from the peasantry, but always keeping the peasants' movement under their own control and limits.

Land

This radical measure was necessary because of the disastrously disproportionate ownership of the land. Before the land reform, hundreds of thousands of peasants had either no land at all or so little that their abject poverty excluded them from the rest of the economy, limiting the demand for manufactured goods. As soon as sufficient numbers were satisfied, the land redistribution was halted.

Likewise with the state ownership of industry—much of it under-capitalised. The net result of Peru's "National Revolution" was not an ending of exploitation but a stabilisation of capitalism in a smaller but profitable private sector backed by the state taking responsibility for the highly expensive but essential heavy industries and utilities. Internationally, the result was not a freeing of the Peruvian economy from the domination of American imperialism but a shift in that still imbalanced relationship—a 'renegotiation of terms'.

Thus Peru's military rulers followed the example of Nasser's Egypt in attempting to build firmer foundations for native capitalism rather than the Dergue in Ethiopia which saw that capitalism offered no future and therefore carried through a social transformation eliminating landlordism and capitalism.

'Communist' support

So capitalism has been badly mauled but it still lives, and consequently all the economic problems it creates still live on as well. The generals have been compelled to go peaked cap in hand to the IMF, accountants for world capitalism. Last year they tried to negotiate a 143 million dollar loan, but as the Labour government in similar circumstances found, IMF loans have tight strings attached.

The generals were given their orders—cut public spending and reduce sub-



Hugo Blanco, member of FOCEP, and one of several deportees since elected to the Assembly

party, the Popular Front of the Workers, Peasants and Students, (FOCEP) won substantial victories over all other parties, attracting vast support from the industrial workers. Overall it secured 12% of the votes, the Revolutionary Socialist Party (PSR) 7% and the Communist Party 5%.

But in no way did the elections allow a genuine expression of the feelings of the discontented masses. Voting is compulsory in Peru except for those unable to read and write.

But at least 25% of the population, mainly the rural Indians, are illiterate. Would they, the most oppressed and impoverished in all Peru, have registered a vote of confidence in the parties of capitalism?

But the workers' and peasants' parties were also held back by the continued harassment during the election campaign. Peru's gener-

members who are in jail, in hiding or in exile? This election marks a serious blow to the prestige of the military dictatorship—in reality it is a defeat.

All this is a far cry from the demagoguery of the so-called Peruvian revolution launched a decade ago. A revolution which according to the President, General Juan Velasco, was "neither capitalist nor communist". He was trying to balance somewhere between.

Nationalisation

The military stepped in a decade ago to end what they saw as continuous corruption, inefficiency and inability to develop the country. But once in power they found that it was not the capitalist politicians they replaced that were to blame, but the whole system of private ownership.

So in the heart of the continent of capitalist mili-

ZIMBABWE / IRAN

sidies granted on several essentials of life. It was the sharp increases in the price of food, transport and petrol that sparked off the strikes and demonstrations both this year and last.

Even the Communist Party and trade unions it controls helped organise their expressions of opposition. Yet since 1968 the CP had praised the generals as 'progressive', 'left wing', and closed its eyes to the often brutal repression which was the other side of the regime's character.

Lessons

Internationally, the Communist movement drew encouragement from Peru. In Portugal the CP proclaimed in the period of 1975 that it was repeating the Peruvian experience. The revolution there went much further than in Peru with the CP for a while playing the part of self appointed advisors to the radical officers.

But the story in both countries has been the same. The final chapter may not have yet been written, and the workers may still have the last word, but not unless they absorb the lessons of events so far. No confidence can be placed either in the most leftward sounding army leaders.

In a backward country the forces of change that they unleash perhaps may go through to the transformation of society, but without the conscious involvement of the workers' organisations at every stage in the revolution, the new state would be accountable to no-one, and not worthy of the name of socialism. But the process could just as well falter halfway perhaps allowing imperialism to retake full control and to do so with a vengeance.

Internationalism

For Peru the warnings have been given, one South American ambassador in Peru has been reported as saying: "Peru will probably go the way of Chile. They're going to need a lot of policemen."

After the elections Peru could be entering a decisive period, perhaps a pre-revolutionary period. The workers and peasants have staked their claim to power by the votes that they cast.

Now their parties must frame an independent class programme, based on maintaining the public sector that exists already, but extending the gains to the rest of the economy, but more—putting the industries under the management of the trade unions. They must look too, towards the ranks of the army this time for support, to involve the "oppressed in uniforms" in the struggle for socialism.

But the workers in Peru must also look outwards to the rest of the continent with its tradition of struggle, to the strongest working classes in Chile and Brazil. Real socialism in a Peru democratically run by the workers and the other exploited classes would be an example to these countries to throw off the yoke of military rule and to combine in the construction of a Socialist Federation of Latin America.

ZIMBABWE: SMITH'S "KIDNAP" STORIES UNMASKED

Last year the BBC had a "sensational" story. Over 450 children had been abducted from Manama Mission School, in Rhodesia, and marched against their will through the night into Botswana. This mass "kidnapping" we were asked to believe, was accomplished by three or four unarmed schoolteachers!

The Rhodesian government promptly sent a fleet of buses to bring the children back. But only 50 could be persuaded to return to their parents.

What the BBC and the Tory press presented as a forced exodus was in fact a massive vote of "no confidence" in the Smith regime. The so-called "internal settlement", under which the "moderate" nationalist leaders Muzorewa, Sithole, and Chirau have accepted Smith's fake version of "majority rule", has done nothing to halt the flight of children and young people from Rhodesia.

There are now over 10,000 children under 16 alone in two camps in Zambia. Most of them come from Matabeleland, in the south-west of Rhodesia, in which the guerrilla forces of the Patriotic Front (ZAPU and ZANU) are very active.

Rhodesian counter measures, which include strict curfews and the herding of

people into "protected villages" (as in Vietnam), have caused a stream of refugees to flood across the border with Botswana. From there they are ferried, at the rate of about 200 a day, to Zambia, out of reach of the Rhodesian army.

One girl told the Sunday Times (in June): "The curfews were very bad. If we forgot

our registration certificates, the security forces treated us very badly. We met some guerrillas over the Christmas holidays and in January we decided to go. Three of the four teachers came too, and they helped organise us.

I think the older children left because they wanted to hit back, and the younger ones just to get out of trouble. We left one evening and we walked all night and the next day, with Rhodesian planes and helicopters over us, to Francistown in Botswana."

Over half the children are

said to be orphans, but many have parents who are fighting with the Patriotic Front. Despite the hard conditions in the camps, they show no inclination to go back.

"Everyone has a story to tell, either direct or indirect, of the treatment they have experienced in Rhodesia," said one of the camp organisers.

One six-year-old girl, Sibongo Dube, explained why she had fled: "There were three white soldiers and five Africans. They arrived in our village and wanted my mother

to boil them eggs. My father said there were no eggs and they accused my parents of giving them to freedom fighters.

When my father tried to speak to them they shot him. My mother ran towards him and she was shot.

My little sister and I hid in an oil drum. Then we walked westwards without knowing where we were going, for two days and nights eating nothing. My little sister Mabel was crying now, and the Botswana police found us."

Since the 3rd March this year when the "internal settlement" was agreed, the Rhodesia police have detained at least 202 Africans on "security" grounds. But the fact that such measures are necessary to suppress opposition to the "settlement", and the fact that tens of thousands of youth have voted against it with their feet, demonstrate what little chance Rhodesia's white capitalist regime has of clinging on to power for much longer.

He who has the youth has the future. It is certainly not Smith or the diehards of the Rhodesian Front.



These were the 50 African schoolchildren from Manama Mission School who decided to return. 400 others joined the freedom fighters.

Iranian secret police spy on students

There is now growing evidence that SAVAK, the Iranian Secret Police, is actively involved in operations in this country. A catalogue of incidents is reported in the bulletin 'State Research No 6'.

In 1972, 'Sunday Times' reporters actually taped a conversation between SAVAK and the Iranian wife of a then Executive Committee member of the National Union of Students, Mrs Eli Povey. SAVAK were inviting Mrs Povey to supply details about discussions and activities involving Iranian students.

Oil

In 1976, documents revealing the use of bugging and burglary in surveillance of emigrés and students were discovered by Iranian students while occupying SAVAK's Geneva Headquarters.

They also discovered that an Educational Counsellor had been in contact with Mr Chris Hale, a lecturer at Kent University, for the purpose of conducting a survey of 3,000 Iranian students at colleges throughout the country. This survey was carried out

last year.

Although the NUS have requested academic authorities not to supply embassies with information about foreign students there is no evidence that this request has been conceded.

The British government is also less than eager to investigate the activities of SAVAK in this country. Despite the fact that 40,000 prisoners languish in Iranian prisons and an average of 2 executions per week take place there, it merely reminded the NUS of the important economic links with Iran, which supplies a quarter of Britain's oil.

Amnesty International have information about students who have been arrested and imprisoned on their return to Iran. And in 1976, a former Sussex University student was executed for "unpatriotic activities". Not surprisingly, Iranian students are becoming afraid to speak openly in Britain or to allow their names to be published even by sympathetic organisations.

Ian Sugerman

Oxford Labour Party



photo: Angela Phillips (IFL)

LETTERS

FALLING UNEMPLOYMENT



photo: John Sturrock (Report)

Dear Comrades,

The figures for the total unemployed in Britain in June 1977 and 78 respectively show there has been a drop in the number of unemployed. In the East Anglia region, which has the "least" unemployed, there has been a rise of 312 in the last year, they say.

On Monday 3rd July, over 300 school and college leavers turned up at the Peterborough Labour Exchange alone, to register as unemployed. Many signed. Numerous others turned away in disgust at the size of the queue.

How much longer are we going to be subjected to the threat of being unemployed? The queues at the offices alone say nothing. In areas of Lincolnshire the unemployed living out of easy reach of a Labour Exchange make out their claims by post.

The answer lies in our hands comrades, 'Mobilise' is the message for youth and all workers; unite to fight unemployment and forge ahead with our socialist programme.

Fraternally
Bruno Cassiato
Fletton Labour Party

FIREMEN DEMAND ACTION

Letter sent to Merlyn Rees M.P.

Dear Sir,
As you may be aware, the introduction of a 42 hour week into the working conditions of firemen is producing an atmosphere incapable of supporting compromise or common-sense. The Employers' side in the negotiations are obviously instigating another confrontation with the Fire Brigades Union with their untenable views on how the 42 hour week should be achieved.

I am writing to you in the hope that, as a member of the tripartite talks during the strike, you can bring pressure to bear to prevent further industrial action later this year. I need hardly add that any subsequent action taken by the Fire Brigades Union in pursuit of a shorter working

week (which if achieved will still be some four and a half hours longer than the national average) will be carried out in such a way as to make the use of troops as fire-fighters both impracticable and impossible.

One very obvious solution must be to nationalise the Fire Service and so preclude the present farcical situation whereby the responsibilities of the Fire Service are governed by the Home Office, yet the working conditions of the firemen and the necessary capital to carry out those responsibilities are governed by individual Local Authorities.

As you know, the Fire Service is now grossly undermanned, a fact which not only ensures much greater difficulty in bringing about a shorter working week, but

also means that the public are not getting the fire cover they need and deserve, and those firemen remaining are placed in far greater danger.

I assume that you are aware that the Employers' draft proposals include a plan to reduce fire cover during those periods of the day when statistics show there is less chance of a major fire breaking out. I defy them to show me the flame that has heard of statistics!

I pray fervently that you are aware of the highly-flammable situation presently fermenting in this country's Fire Service and that you have the power to prevent an otherwise inescapable holocaust.

I am
Yours faithfully
Bruce C.S. Hollands

STARTING ON THE RIGHT FOOT

Dear Comrades,

Why is it that Tories (and unfortunately, until quite recently the Labour Party) in Local Government are unable to see what has been known by educationalists since the days of Robert Owen's New Lanark experiment? To me it seems obvious that unless people are helped from the start, no amount of correction (at later schools, or borstals) is going to help them achieve their potentials.

If you want an accurate (?) analogy—think of people as

feet. When young they can do almost nothing, they seem to be useless—if cute.

They have to be constantly supported—but when older, they support our society, and if they are jammed into ill-fitting, badly designed, cheap shoes at an early age, they become deformed.

But then I suppose you don't need to worry about feet if you get driven to you Independent School.

Yours comradely
Owen Tudor
Kingston LPYS

Rhodesian massacres censored

Dear Comrade,

I have just read Lynn Walsh's article in *Militant* 412 about the unpublished massacre of 600 people at Cassinga, in Angola.

In this connection I would like to quote a piece from a recent article in the *Financial Times* (28th June 1978) concerning the killings at Umtali. "To the blacks it is a bitter example of the double standards both of the whites within the country, and of the international community. The missionaries were killed less than a month after the killing of 22 unarmed villagers at Domboshawa, a community just outside Salisbury itself."

"On that occasion, reports of the killings were censored by the military authorities, because it was Rhodesian troops who were responsible. In the case of the missionaries, the Rhodesian security forces provided facilities for maximum press coverage."

The pro capitalist, pro Smith press in Britain have overlooked the Domboshawa massacres, and hundreds of others probably. It is "safe", of course to publish it in the pages of the *Financial Times* far away from the eyes of the readers of the *Sun*, *Express*, *Mail* and *Mirror*.

Yours fraternally
Bob Wylie
East Kilbride Labour Party

DARK HORSE

Dear Comrades,

I happened to turn on the TV halfway through a news item on South Africa. It featured a horse race meeting at which Ian Smith was present. Some film from the horse race was actually shown.

It was the final furlong, a group of black horses were in a bunch fighting for the lead, suddenly out of nowhere up

came a white horse, all on his own, and won the race. With black and white being segregated and white coming first, it was South Africa all over.

Is this a new twist on RACE discrimination?

Yours fraternally
Kevin Duncan
Harlow LPYS

Tory Assault in Hayes

Dear Brother/Sister,

An extremist right wing Tory administration has been returned to office in the recent Hillingdon council elections and is posing a dangerous threat to working people in our area by its reactionary policies.

The Tories have started to implement their plans for a drastic cut-back in council services which are vital to working people.

★ Council house building has been stopped;

★ council house sales are under way;

★ social services establishments are being reduced by the closure of an old age pensioners' dining centre and a home for the handicapped;

★ charges are being introduced or increased for many social services;

★ the battered women's refuge and the Law Centre have been earmarked for closure.

In general the Tory axe is being wielded against those

that are least able to defend themselves. For this reason at the last meeting of the Hayes Labour Party it was agreed that we could not just stand by and watch our people suffer.

It was decided to call together all the organisations in the area which represented working people—the trades council, trade unions, various political parties, tenants' associations, women's groups, parent teachers' associations and any other representative bodies—to launch a campaign to monitor the Tories' actions and to fight to protect our people from this Tory assault on their well-being.

A meeting was held on Tuesday July 11th. If you require any further information do not hesitate to contact me at home—West Drayton 42775 or at work 01-387-7631.

Yours fraternally
John McDonnell
Hayes and Harlington CLP

PLAYING 'MONOPOLY'— WITH OUR LIVES.

Dear Comrades,

I read with interest the article by Pete McNally of Ladywood LPYS (Militant No 411) on the problems facing young people looking for a place to live in.

I have recently had some experience of what he describes. With demand far outstripping the supply, landlords can get away with charging huge rents for bedsits and flats—some of which might have been condemned as unsuitable for a dead dog to occupy, never mind a human being.

It's pointless to express disgust of course. The landlord just shrugs his shoulders and turns to the next person in the queue. He knows that someone will be forced to take it.

But even for those lucky enough to get a house or a flat the problems are only beginning. In the same week that Pete's article appeared a 19 year old girl threw herself to her death from a high rise block of flats in Liverpool.

She had been driven to depression at the prospect of bringing up her baby in what she called "a shoe box". Her 21 year old husband, who witnessed his wife's death is unemployed.

How many people simply suffer appalling living conditions in silence? After all, what can you do about it?

We can start by pointing an accusing finger at the people who cause such conditions to exist—and who live in luxury themselves. Landowners, financiers, property speculators and construction companies who between them restrict the number of new houses that get built and make sure that those that do get built are nice and profitable to themselves.

It is a scandal that, after all the years Labour has been in power since the war, the housing problem hasn't even come close to being solved. We should have a crash programme to build a million new homes and nothing

should be allowed to stand in the way of this. If the banks or the building societies or the construction companies are unwilling to co-operate, they should be nationalised immediately and the resources they are squandering put to good use.

For the tycoons, housing is only so many squares on their Monopoly board. For the rest of us it is one of the necessities of life. It is too important to be left to the anarchy of the "free market".

Yours fraternally
George McDonald
Hall Green LPYS

FOOD PROBLEMS

Dear Comrades

Reading a Sunday paper the other day an article on the Lord Mayor of Liverpool came to my attention.

This mayor was suffering from a hazard facing all British mayors—that of over-eating. In his year of office he had tucked into 416 lunches and dinners and endless buffet meals and snacks. This left him tipping the scales at 21 stones.

There was a person complaining about having to do something which a lot of people would like to be able to do—have decent meals all the

year around.

With these mayors having these plush meals and getting a fat salary into the bargain it is just plain scandalous that people should have the worry of where they are going to get enough money for the week's food or the rent or kiddies clothing etc. It is only under socialism that we can rid ourselves of this waste of public money and make sure there is enough so everybody can have decent meals all the year around.

Yours fraternally
Clifford Smith
West Bridgford LPYS

Thirteen out of the top twenty industrial firms in Britain pay no Corporation Tax at all, or only a token amount.

In 1975 it accounted for just 0.5% of all money due to the Inland Revenue, whereas—only six years earlier—in 1969 it had been 20%. This is a remarkable achievement on the part of the tax advisors to big business. By exploiting the concessions and loopholes allowed them by the Labour government, they have managed to save the bosses £1.427 million in six years [not taking inflation into account] and have got them to the stage where they can legally leech from society without even contributing to the state that looks after them so well.

But another remarkable achievement—and more encouraging for those fighting to rid society of these parasites—is the recent progress of the Militant's Fighting Fund. In the last three weeks its weekly total has leapt from £685.40 to £1,277.03 to £2,470.31—just 10p short of the week before the first quarter's target.

This time it included the £818.60 made on the recent Holiday Raffle. Unfortunately, it still left us £8,739 short of the half-year target to reach by July 8th. The overall total stands at 38% of the year's target but seven areas have done better than that.

Hants & IOW have reached 70%—just £100 short of their 3/4 year target!!! A 'fiver' from J Turnbull of Southampton, £9 from badge sales (IOW) and £2.20 from a pub darts game in Dorset form just part of more than £300 that came in from there this week. No signs of complacency here!!

More 'fivers' from the Brighton area, 'back pay' of £14, 'Board and Lodgings' £10, 'Drink for the Fighting

£2,470.31 it can be done

Area	Target 26 wks	Target 52 wks	Received
Eastern	2,200	4,400	1,168.03
Hants & IOW	1,050	2,100	1,476.82
Humberside	1,100	2,200	909.89
Lancashire	750	1,500	306.03
London: North	3,850	7,700	2,574.97
London: South	1,900	3,800	1,499.17
Manchester & District	1,450	2,900	672.02
Merseyside & District	2,250	4,500	1,173.27
Midlands East	2,000	4,000	1,372.48
Midlands West	2,700	5,400	2,687.42
Northern	2,450	4,900	1,799.96
Scotland East	1,250	2,500	708.18
Scotland West	1,450	2,900	807.12
South East	1,150	2,300	1,175.16
South West	1,150	2,300	950.84
Thames Valley	850	1,700	772.63
Wales East	1,000	2,000	773.17
Wales West	1,150	2,300	779.95
Yorkshire	2,600	5,200	1,370.73
Others	1,500	3,000	3,349.14
Total	35,000	70,000	26,326.98

Fund' £6.53, etc. plus £6 from J Panting, Kent put **South East** over their target too with 51%.

Next comes **Thames Valley** at 45% with enormous amounts like £79.49 raised at a jumble sale and £54 at a social last week. **Humberside** and the **South West** are neck

and neck with 41% each, helped along by raffle ticket sales and a host of readers donations, including from Bristol—R Hartill £5, P Clapp £1, R Bull 60p and others totalling £32.49, £5 from J Stevenson and £2 D Sutton both of Newton Abbott, £1's from B Harris

(Brixham LP) and N Jope (Plymouth, Sutton YS) and £6.02 from others in that part of the West Country.

£240 took **South London** up to 39% of the year's target. £7.44 was raised by Lambeth Central LPYS at a Summer Fair, £1 donated by Penge YS and by readers A Ward, J

By Clare Doyle

Short (GMWU), A Darnton (USDAW), £10 contributions from F&B Kidd (Wandsworth GMWU), £5 from N Leach (POEU) together with £43 from a Jumble Sale and £24 from a disco in the Woolwich area and £40 from 'catering' at the Marxist Weekend School in Lewisham.

A big effort from **East Wales** supporters lifted them from 32% to 39% and messages of money raised for the half year target were still coming in. Donations that arrived in time included tenners and fivers from all over the region, one £5 from a World Cup sweep, £1 from Mrs George of Cardiff and £1.50 from selling scrap!

A 'Greek Evening', a Trade Union 'honourarium', Newcastle YS, sponsored walk money and one donation of £21 all helped **Northern** to reach 37%.

Just behind comes **West Midlands**, with several 'fivers' and other individual donations, 'profits' from a meal, a Jumble Sale, donations from Stafford and Stone YS members and numerous other sources being tapped. Total £241; 36%.

West Wales' line crept forward, with £35, to 34% of its way across the chart.

£1 from Ray Buckton of ASLEF was one of the many donations to Militant collected last week in **North London**. 'Fivers' came from V Parsons, S Dark, M Wedderburn and G Hensby. J Turner gave £1, A Adetorower £1.20, Hackney YS members 90p and C Warren £1. A whole day's pay of £8 was given up by one reader in response to our appeals to build the Militant. These and other contributions totalled an excellent £318 but still means just 1/3 of the year's target achieved.

East Midlands will have to do better. A few small donations means 31% of target now reached.

Both sides of **Scotland** are on 28%. £78 from the **West** included £25 from I Malcolm,

£5 from T McNally, £4 from D Williamson and £7.79 from 'Greenfingers' Williams! £1.81 'extras' and £49.60 from the raffle was all that was added on for the **East** this week.

£1 from A Simpson, £58.10 from the raffle and a few other £'s was all from **Eastern**, now standing at 27%.

Yorkshire and **Merseyside** are level-pegging at 26%. **Yorkshire** was helped by a 'Nurse's pay rise' of £5(1), £1 from R Haycock, £5 from a Wakefield LP member, a Jumble Sale, '50 club' and other miscellaneous amounts. **Merseyside** was helped by £1.50 from L Galashan, £1.34 from R Burke, £1's from P Holt, M Dowd and Sefton YS members plus £17 from Chester supporters and another £5 from Sefton. But the Militant needs much more help than this!

Manchester supporters only managed to reach 23% by last Saturday. They sent just £4.55 apart from £5 from R Stanforth and the £43.90 they gained from the raffle sales in their area.

Lancashire actually made a loss on the raffle tickets supplied to them and sent nothing in this week to compensate. 80% of a year's target to achieve in the second half of the year will be an uphill struggle. Hants and IOW supporters might even be able to help out, if they can maintain their excellent record.

The 'Others' total went further off the chart with an excellent £95 from the Marxist Weekend School.

But, generally, if readers in the South can so successfully get in the cash to support their paper, there's no reason why every other area can't get back on target for three quarters of the way through the year—7th October on our Fighting Fund calendar. That means getting £2,000 a week.

The latest total shows it CAN be done—if EVERY reader helps.

LPYS BREAK THROUGH



For several weeks an intensive programme of leafleting and paper selling has been carried out by LPYS members outside our local schools, youth clubs and in the High Street. These efforts were rewarded when well over 100 people marched through Brentwood under the LPYS banner, against the evils of racialism and fascism. This represented

a tremendous achievement when you consider the character of Brentwood, a town steeped in Tory traditions.

Public Meeting

After the march a successful public meeting was held with Tony Saunois (LPYS NC) leading the debate. During the debate one

could be used for building houses and new hospitals.

In his summing up Tony said that these industries were inefficient but had they been nationalised under workers' control thereby eliminating the problems caused by big mass bureaucracies and state monopolies, the situation would have been very different. He also pointed out that we were still paying compensation to shareholders of firms nationalised in 1945.

young worker criticised the 'nationalised' industries for being inefficient and using up vast sums of money which

Over the past few weeks a big breakthrough has been made in drawing new layers of young workers and students into the Brentwood and Ongar LPYS. Several YS meetings have seen attendances of over 20 despite the exam period. The culmination of our membership campaign came when, after the demonstration and public meeting, over 20 young people applied for more information on the LPYS.

With more young people looking for solutions to the decaying capitalist system it is essential that we continue this work to build up the LPYS into a mass organisation to carry forward the fight against racialism and the bosses system together with the fight for socialist policies through out the labour movement.

By Nick Toms

Brentwood & Ongar LPYS

ADS

RATES

CLASSIFIED: 5p per word, minimum 10 words
SEMI-DISPLAY: £2 per 2 column centimetres
All advertisement copy should reach this office by SATURDAY
PAYMENTS must be sent with advertisements. Cheques and Postal Orders should be made payable to 'Militant'.

WORLD BOOKS
Book service for the Labour Movement
New Publications.

Grant—Menace of fascism. 40p
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Please add 5p postage for each pamphlet.

ENFIELD Demonstration
Black and white unite!
Stop the racist attacks!
Saturday 15th July
Assemble 11.00 am,
Knights Lane (by Edmonton Town Hall), N.9.
Rally—2.00 pm, Chase Green
Enfield Town

AFTER THE DEMO IN ENFIELD
come along to a
GRAND SUMMER PARTY
to celebrate Mike Cleverley's 21st(?) birthday
Dance to our disco!
Join in the singing of labour movement songs!
★ Real ale available ★
Only 50p (30p for unemployed)
Cold buffet provided
From 8 pm, Saturday 15th July
14 Howard Road, E.17.

Blyth Labour Party Young Socialists are organising a Sponsored Cycle run from Newcastle to the Young Socialists National Summer Camp in Coleford. We are planning on three riders setting out on 24th July 1978 and arriving for the beginning of the Camp on 29th July 1978. This would mean on average travelling 60 mile a day. On the way we plan to stop at Leeds, Nottingham, Birmingham and Bristol.

The money we raise will be used to pay for young unemployed and school students to go to the Camp and to other events in the future. We appeal to all organisations in the labour movement to sponsor this event (forms available from Dave Cotterill, Treasurer, Blyth LPYS, 8 Church Street, Cramlington Village, NE23 6qq).
LPYS CAMP: see advert, page 3

35 HOUR WEEK

Take up
POEU lead

Reports by Kevin Patterson POEU Leeds Internal Branch Secretary, Mick Poulter, and Ron Southby, Secretary, York Internal Branch (all in personal capacity).

The struggle by POEU engineers for a 35 hour week is now reaching its climax.

This year's conference decision to escalate industrial action and include all new equipment and underground cable in the 'blacking' has resulted in members being sent home.

This reaction by the Post Office seems to be an attempt to test the strength of the union by picking branch after branch and seeing how they respond. In Sheffield and Edinburgh there was an immediate walk out with the demand that the P.O. take back the suspended members.

Many members are still suspended and there is now a national overtime ban with the possibility of a work to rule.

Why is it that POEU members are willing to take strike action for a shorter working week? The answer lies in the modernisation programme planned by the Post Office.

Telephone engineers are very conscious of the threat to their jobs posed by the new technologies. Too often, modernisation of an industry has not been used to benefit the workers but to reduce manning levels and boost profits.

What is needed now is a real campaign by the TUC and the Labour Party for the introduction of a 35 hour week throughout industry, taking up the lead given by P.O. engineers.



POEU workers on the march in London, during half day strike.

photo: Julian Mckitrick

Today our colleagues in the York Telephone Area, some 800 in number, struck in sympathy with 2 of our brothers in Scarborough, who were victimised by management for carrying out loyally the instructions of the National Executive Council, and the Conference of the Post Office Engineering Union.

They refused to introduce new cables which were declared blacked, and when instructed to disobey their union's policy, they loyally backed

York back victimised members

their brothers. For their impudence in challenging the totally unreasonable demands of the bosses, they were immediately sent home and deprived of earning a living.

Our struggle is as important now as any that has been undertaken by trade unionists since Tolpuddle. We wish to shorten our, and I hope

everyone else's working week, because we see this, and lowering the retiring age, as the only way we can ensure that people and not capital are the most important consideration when we are faced with a technological revolution that threatens all our jobs, both inside and, as GEC know, outside the P.O.

It is vital that the conservation of jobs and the reduction of the dole queue is the prime concern of all socialists and I am proud that my union is at the spearhead of this. Colleagues you will soon find out that your fight is our fight and that to avoid the 4 million dole queue we must unite and struggle for what we know is right. Messages of sympathy and support may be sent to Mick Poulter, 22 Melbourne St, York.

LONDON MILKMEN -Strike victory

Last Wednesday a lightning strike meant no milk leaving the Mitchum Processing Plant of the RACS in South London. Trouble had been brewing for some time over the national wage claim. Shop stewards explained to 'Militant' why milkmen were so angry.

Dennis Beddows: "We've had a number of proposals put to us on our wages—all of them rejected, including £7.30 as a weekly supplement. The vote against this in a national ballot was overwhelming al-

though it had been recommended by our (USDAW) executive. That must be why they never gave us the figures when the result was announced on June 12th.

"But then we found out, less than two weeks later, that our officials has signed and sealed an agreement for £5.20 on the basic! The blokes were up in arms, even the ones who had voted for the £7.30!"

Alan Darnton: "In our yard, the feeling against the £7.30 was so strong that the morning after we'd been to a meeting on it, before the

balloting was finished, the vehicles were all still lined up at 6 o'clock. No-one had moved or even loaded up. They were fully expecting a strike and were ready to walk out the gate. The Royal Arsenal (Co-op Society—RACS) certainly realised and before the end of the week gave us an extra £1.50 regardless of what could be agreed nationally."

Dennis: "We as a shop stewards committee deplore the actions of our officials. Even if it was agreed to by the Negotiating Committee, it's

obvious they're not laymen from the milk industry or they would never have accepted the figure. We decided on a work to rule, or rather working a 5 day week.

"It's just accepted we'll work weekends. With a basic of £37 and overtime at £11.10 a day you get less for a Saturday and Sunday anyway! It's about time we got a decent rise and full consolidation. That's what we wanted.

"And there wasn't even a recall conference, so who gave the officials the authority to settle? It's a fundamental right of the trade union movement that the members should decide. We want officials who are in touch with what the membership require."

The one day stoppage in Mitchum took place before the rest of the Co-op milkmen had started their action. But it was extremely effective. No lorries crossed the picket line and three tankers carrying 48,000 gallons of milk were turned away.

Thirteen depots were affected the following day but by 7.30 that evening, another £2 had been wrested from the RACS management. They had hurriedly called a meet-

ing in the morning, pleaded poverty etc. but obviously wanted the action called off.

Dennis again commented to 'Militant'. "It shouldn't have reached the situation of local bargaining, but we've shown what could have been done if united action had been taken. We won't stop here. We need to link up nationally and are trying to form a dairy workers' Action Committee—inter union and inter company.

"The industry is being killed. In the negotiations we're told that there's been a 5% drop in gallonage. But we can't be held responsible for the increase in skimmed milk powders being put on the market—tinned rice puddings, custard you make with water etc. We can't be held responsible for the price of milk going up—from 5p to 12½p in 3 years! We certainly haven't had anything like 150% increase in our wages in the last 3 years!

There's an overwhelming case for getting together in this industry, also for nationalisation. A way must be found of achieving both."

EVANWOODS LOCK OUT - black products

"What I think about the management is unprintable", said one of the 130 workers locked out by Evanwoods Ltd, one of the many small engineering factories in the heavily industrialised Black Country. Although small, Evanwoods made a £½ million profit last year.

Management refused to implement a pay agreement (which would have given the workers only the £2.50 increase agreed between the Employers' Association and AUEW). The workforce gave management five hours to change their minds, but they did not, so work was stopped.

This was before the Spring Bank Holiday. After the holiday the workers returned to work but found they had been locked out! Four weeks later this is still the position.

Management has refused to negotiate and has issued letters stating all 130 had sacked themselves and giving P.45's!

The AUEW have given official backing to the dispute. Even the Employers' Association has asked the Company to open the gates (no doubt only a polite request and without sanctions).

The workforce are determined to fight every inch of the way until they are reinstated and get their bonus. At Lucas, Evanwoods' biggest customer, the workers have agreed to black products and resolutions are being put forward to call a one day strike of AUEW members throughout the West Midlands, in support.

The conclusion drawn by Convenor Carlo Piccarelli and the workers at Evanwoods is that management is trying a test of strength with the union, mindful of the battles that lie ahead for the labour movement, whether a Tory or Labour Government is elected. They hope to smash the union's power before that prospect draws nearer.

The labour movement must demand:-

- ★ Blacking of all Evanwoods products.
- ★ Full reinstatement and implementation of bonus payments.
- ★ Full compensation for loss of earnings during the lockout.
- ★ Nationalisation of all firms threatening redundancies.

All donations and messages of support to:- Bro. W. Darby, Blackheath Branch Secretary, 48 Throne Crescent, Rowley Regis, Warley, West Midlands. Cheques and P.O.'s payable to 'AUEW Engineering Section'.

By Alan Anderton (Edgebaston LPYS)

CUT THROAT CAPITALISM

At a recent management-shop stewards meeting of Wards Bros., Sherburn near Malton, the subject of disclosure of information was raised pertaining to a new rolling mill.

The steward pointed out that it must have taken months to order, and that the workforce should have been notified. Back came the reply from 'management'. Half of the managers did not know about it.

The project department had been told not to divulge the "secret", and to tell the

suppliers it was for a client in Saudi Arabia. The reason for the secrecy was that the company who at present supplied the rolled steel, would hold up the orders for Ward Bros. so as to give them a bad name.

A shop steward said "I did not think things like this went on in the free enterprise system". The production manager replied "Competition means that you have to bankrupt your competitors". So now we know, straight from the horse's mouth.

The shop stewards in Scarborough have taken a major step forward by forming their own union branch. This must be seen by all members concerned to ensure that we do not become victims of "competition" as defined by Ward's manager. Only by abolishing the "free enterprise" system can we secure our jobs and end unemployment.

By M. Cavers
AUEW shop steward
Scarborough

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1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN

FIREMEN'S RECALL CONFERENCE

42 hours and no cuts

When the firemen called off their strike in January, they were promised a cut in hours and a wage rise in two stages, to bring them up to an 'acceptable' rate. Several areas were reluctant to step down until they had some guarantee that the promises would be kept. Their suspicions are being proved correct!

The employers are trying to combine the agreements on wages and hours in a package deal. They are demanding 'variable manning' and want firemen to clean and paint the station in their 'spare time' to cut spending in order to finance their wage increases. The Local Authorities are proposing that the reduction to a 42 hour week go to an ACAS inquiry. As far as the firemen are concerned, this is not an issue for arbitration: it has already been agreed.

Bryn Cornwall, an FBU shop steward at Clapham Fire Station talked to Clare Doyle of Lambeth Norwood Labour Party, about the issues facing this week's recall conference.

"The Firemen's recall conference must reject any attempt to backtrack on our 42 hour week. The agreement we went back to work on in January was that we would get the 42 hour week in November. The employers wouldn't even talk about it till June!

"In London we're 300 men below strength for the 48 hour

week and nothing's been done to man up. Last night for example, we only had one machine on the road.

"There was a fire down the road from here: a machine coming from Chelsea meant another crew moving up from Acton to Chelsea. All this means less fire cover all over and is just a taste of the way

the employers plan to go with the 42 hour week.

"Lincoln Council announced on May 19th that they were going to cut their forces—either to an entirely part-time force, butchers and bakers, or just a day-shift, closing the station overnight. And that's in a county where the biggest disaster this century took place, at Flixborough. We went up there in our coachloads. **We've got a stay of execution, but we need a real fight nationally.**

"Strathclyde, Merseyside and the West Midlands are saying that come November they will work the 42 hour week. Whatever the employers have said or done by then its their responsibility if watches are left empty. But that's not what we want.

"**We want a maximum of 42 hours and no cuts in the service we give.** If the employers' side doesn't get something done quickly, there's going to be trouble.

FBU SHOP STEWARD INTERVIEWED

"London voted against a return to work in January, along with Liverpool and the Isle of Wight, because we foresaw huge loopholes in the agreement. That was in spite of the London brigade being the only one to oppose the strike in the first place.

"Since then the management has been trying it on in all sorts of penny-pinching ways. Unless we take a strong stand on hours and against cuts and worsening conditions, management will pick us off and wear us down.

"**There were marvellous examples of solidarity during the strike. We must overcome the difficulties of maintaining contact and fight for a strong, united and democratic union.**"



Cutbacks and undermanning put lives at risk

WAGES -No gold mine here

I was very interested to read lately in two very "reputable" Sunday papers that we miners are in the £5,500 a year bracket and earn wages of £145 a week.

I personally would feel very proud if at every pit in the country coal face workers were earning more than Army Majors, but I must add at Maltby Colliery (South Yorkshire) this, sadly, is not the case.

I have taken ten weeks bonus payments paid to coal face workers under the Pit Incentive Scheme (PIS). These are as follows:

WEEK ENDING	PAY TO FACE MEN (Per Shift)
11-2-78	0.73p
18-2-78	2.89p
25-2-78	4.14p
11-3-78	3.09p
18-3-78	1.45p
25-3-78	1.48p
1-4-78	1.44p
8-4-78	0.28p
15-4-78	1.71p
22-4-78	1.23p

By Frank Slater (Electrician)
NUM Maltby Colliery
South Yorkshire

So bonus pay amounted to £3.65, £14.85, £20.70, £15.45, £7.25, £1.40, £8.55, £6.15, £7.40, per week (five shifts). I must point out that after further investigation these ten weeks are on average the best payments we have had.

You will have by now noticed that the highest bonus payments we have had in the ten weeks is £20.70. This, considering the pit made £7.2 million profit, and now has the highest accident rate in the area, is not bad I suppose, but falls just a little short of £145 for coal face workers.

And if you take 40, 50 or 60% of those figures even at £20.70 a week surface men and those elsewhere underground, after tax and stoppages do not earn a worthwhile increase. I personally cannot understand why men exert themselves for such a meagre pittance.

NUM CONFERENCE

Challenges Phase 4

Attempts to introduce a new Phase Four have been dealt a harsh blow by the Mineworkers delegates in Torquay.

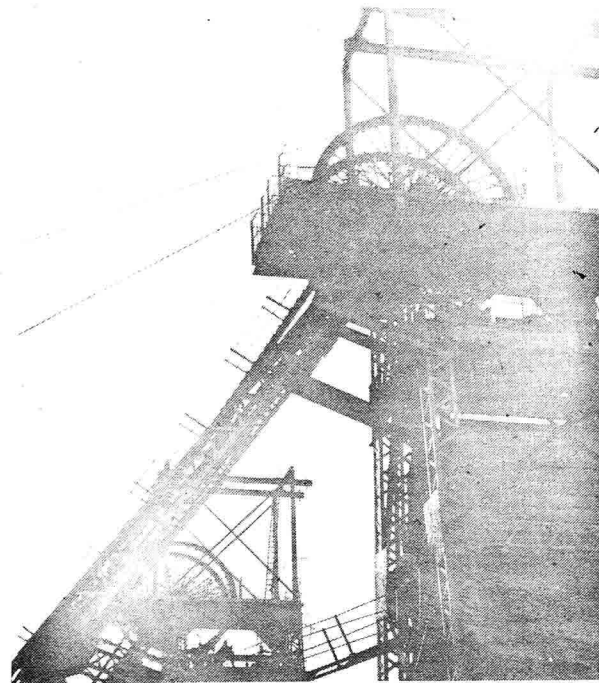
Conference voted overwhelmingly to accept the South Wales resolution demanding £110 for face workers with appropriate differentials for all other grades. If this is rejected by the NCB a delegate conference must be called to organise "various forms of industrial action".

Although this represented a climb down on the £135 claim passed at last year's conference, most of the left, as well as Lawrence Daly, speaking for the Executive, saw it as a figure "that can command support".

The question of union democracy was to the fore in discussions inside and outside the conference. On the first day, a resolution from the Kent Area attacking the Executive for its failure to honour the Union's rules was passed.

Jack Dunn (Kent), mover, explained that the principle of a national day wage system together with one National Union, had been accepted as far back as the 19th Annual Conference. It had taken 29 years to implement this principle. Yet the actions of the "undemocratic, reactionary majority" on the NEC, in defying the decisions of National Conference and a ballot of the members, against incentive schemes, "took only a few days last year to smash it". This was a tremendous betrayal of our movement.

Scargill, in seconding the motion, pointed out that there was not one example but dozens, where the NEC had ignored the decision of the Union.



The right wing ironically supported the motion, but twisted it to attack those NEC members who went back to their areas to overturn the NEC decision! 'Militant' supporters in the NUM would argue that on the contrary, the left leaders didn't campaign sufficiently in the areas for a recall National Conference, as the real way to defeat the undemocratic NEC.

The attempts to get the retirement age of officials brought down to 60 and proportional representation on the NEC failed to get the two thirds majority required for a rule change.

The right wing have had a built-in majority for the past 30 years, with all the consequences that has meant. Joe Gormley in his Presidential address boasted cynically: "All the expressions of undemocratic decision-making is so much eyewash."!

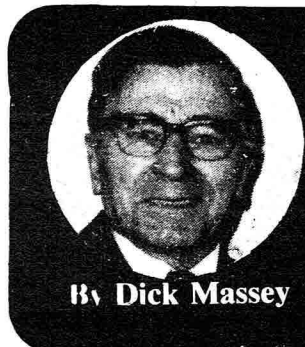
As the militancy develops

amongst the rank and file, enormous pressures will be exerted in the so called moderate areas. The rule change in 1971 brought down the majority needed for a ballot to strike from 66% to 55%. So will the undemocratic structure of the NUM be changed.

Regular election of all full-time officials with the right of recall! No official to receive more than a face worker! This would bring the leadership where it belongs, under the control of the rank and file.

Only then can we be confident that resolutions carried at conference will be implemented energetically, instead of the manoeuvrings and sabotage that surrounds the right wing leaders of the NUM.

Report from Torquay
by **Rob Sewell**



By **Dick Massey**

working in the union

'Working in the Union' will now be returning as a regular feature. It was unfortunately squeezed out by our extensive coverage of trade union conferences, but will continue with Dick Massey's account of his experiences and with other trade unionists writing about the lessons from their work.

In 1944 I was directed to work at De-Havilland Aircraft, Hatfield. There I was sent to work in the "Mosquito Repair Organisation" where front line repairs were carried out on the "Mosquito".

The work proved interesting compared to the repetitive process of building aircraft. I found that the electrical shop was not organised, also that three women "dilutees" had never even held an ETU card. But it was not long before an issue arose and there was talk about the union. I gave them all proposition forms and the shop was 100%. I was elected shop steward.

One of the women was obstinate about joining the union. I could of course have compelled her membership or her withdrawal from the job, but I see no reason for using a "big stick" when discussion and reasoning can win the willing co-operation of a worker.

One of the first things I did was to check the rates of pay and found the three women had been underpaid. After discussion and negotiation we were successful in getting the full rate for the women plus their back pay.

It transpired that the women who had hesitated about joining the union had only been in our shop for a few months, the other two had been employed there about two years. In consequence there was a great difference in the amount of back pay due.

As a result of this difference, one lady tore up her union card, and no amount of talking or reasoning could get her to change. As a probationary member, her membership of the union expired after eight weeks.

I then approached the manager, explained the position to him and said she must pay up here union dues or leave the job. He decided to take her part.

The matter could have been decided by sending for the full time official, which could have taken several weeks, but it was decided to show her and the management the power of the trade union inside the MRO.

Whatever plane she was sent to work on, everyone—chippies, metal workers, engineers—walked off. By lunch time the management had been taught their lesson and the union dues were paid.

Militant

NAVAL DOCKYARD WORKERS - ACTION ON PAY

Unions representing nearly 200,000 manual workers employed in government establishments are now engaging in industrial action in support of their pay claim.

These workers, known as industrial civil servants, work in establishments such as naval dockyards, army and navy depots, munitions works and military airfields. They

even include the canteen workers in the House of Commons.

They have put in a claim for consolidation of Phases 1 and 2 plus a 10% increase in pay. All that the government has offered is a deal amounting in total to 9%, which would only give an increase of £3 or £4 a week. Considering that many of them take home less than £40 a week (the lowest grades take home £32 a week), it is hardly surprising that the deal has been rejected.

The government's offer would still leave nearly 90% of the workers earning less than the national average for manual workers. In continued negotiations, all that the government has offered is a reshuffling of the figures. Their latest offer on 3rd July was worse than the original offer.

These workers are now engaged in selective action throughout the country, using strikes, overtime bans and work-to-rules. Action began in Portsmouth Naval Dock-

yard several weeks ago ('Militant' 411 and 412), and then spread almost spontaneously to other naval depots in the surrounding areas.

Establishments recently hit by strikes include the massive RAF base at Farnborough, Hampshire, chemical warfare works at Porton Down, Wiltshire, the nuclear submarine base on the Clyde, and the Royal Ordnance factory in Leeds.

But Portsmouth Dockyard is still setting the pace. They are operating a work-to-rule,

which has nearly brought work to a standstill. On Friday 30th June, five workers were sent home for working to rule. As a result, the whole dockyard walked out in support. A further mass walk out took place on Tuesday 4th July.

Many of the industrial civil servants are new to industrial action. They are the last major group of workers to come under the hammer of Phase 3, and the government is trying to make an example of them, especially with Phase 4 in mind. Support these workers, and support the struggle for a return to free collective bargaining.

A Portsmouth dockyard worker

£70 FOR 35 hrs

The labour movement must demand that new technology is not used to boost profits and swell the army of jobless workers, but to improve pay, cut hours, and take the drudgery out of work.

[Continued from front page]

their Tory spokesmen, are callously opposing such a move—because, they say, it would increase their labour costs. In other words, they are admitting that their system staggers on only by exploiting cheap labour at long hours and by leaving 1½ million to rot on the scrap heap!

To perpetuate this decrepit system and protect their profits the bosses are desperately trying to block the 35-hour week. That is why the unions have a fight on their hands.

TUC leader Len Murray has called on all workers to cut down their overtime. But many low-paid workers, who have

had their wages tied down for three years while prices have soared, depend on overtime to make up a weekly wage. Many will tell Len Murray "we'll cut overtime when you fight for a living wage for us". Some union leaders see the fight for a 35-hour week as an alternative to the fight for higher pay. The two must go together.

The demand for work sharing with no loss in pay must go hand-in-hand with the fight for a £70 minimum wage and an end to wage restraint.

The first into battle is the Post Office Engineering Union. For three weeks, they have been banning overtime and this Tuesday 30,000 members in London held a half-day strike. Over

5,000 then marched past the PO headquarters and the TUC to a rally in Hyde Park. Rank and file POEU members enthusiastically chanted slogans demanding the immediate introduction of the 35-hour week.

By Brent Kennedy

Post Office engineers are just one group of workers threatened by large scale redundancy if management have their way. Management want to sieze on new technology as a means of weeding out most of the workforce.

But in the labour movement, technological improvement must be used as a means of

Above: POEU members on the march—young workers demand measures to end unemployment
photo: Julian McKittrick



ending the drudgery of long hours. The benefits of increased productivity must go to the workers in higher pay and to consumers in lower prices and charges. What use is scientific progress if millions are discarded as a result?

Socialist planning of a nationalised economy, run under workers' control and management, is the only means by which all our industrial resources—technical and human—can be brought together for a vast expansion of production for the benefit of those who produce the wealth.

Militant

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