

BOSSES PROFIT FROM WORKERS SACRIFICE

Britain's idle rich are enjoying a profits bonanza—at the expense of workers' wages.

In the first three months of this year private companies raked in an increase in gross profits of no less than 32.7% over last year's. What did they do with it?

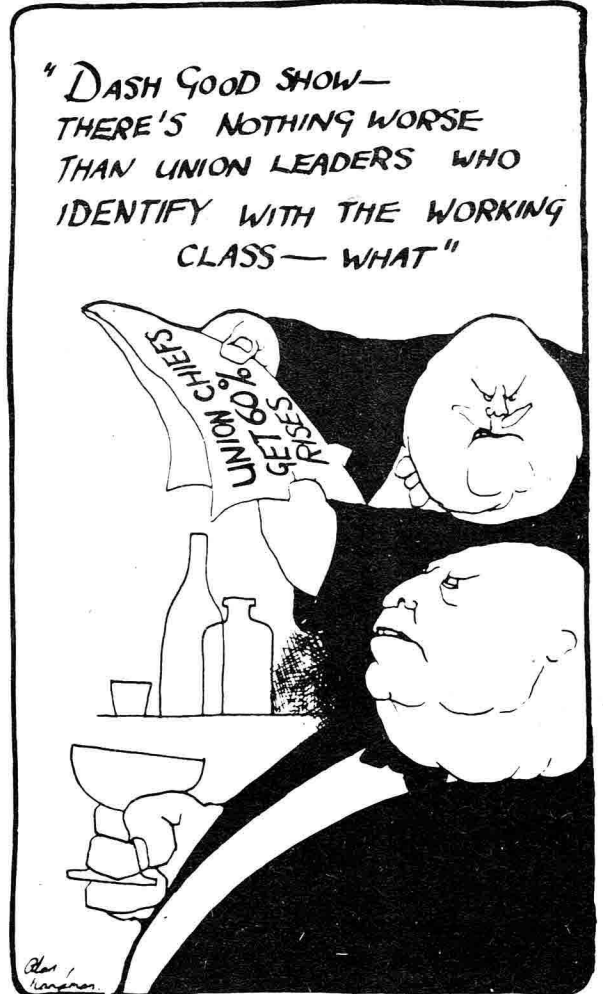
PROFITS UP 32.7%
DIVIDENDS UP 27.5%
WAGES UP 5%?

When the workers in a private firm produce a profit the company directors have to make a decision: either reinvest to modernise and re-

equip the factory or... splash out and give the money to the shareholders!

Our once great 'Captains of industry', now blinkered and short-sighted in their decline, have chosen the latter. While the wages of the men and women who actually produce the wealth have been held back by the 10% limit,

continued on page 16



Union officials should get the same wage as members. See article, page 14.

MASS UPHEAVAL ROCKS SHAH

As hundreds of thousands of Iranians flock into the streets demanding the overthrow of the Shah, his policy of concession and coercion is failing to stem the biggest wave of opposition to his regime since his dictatorship came to power in 1953.

Martial law has been declared in several of Iran's industrial cities as mass riots have shaken the Shah's repressive rule. Although the official death toll is 597, Dr Ali Amini, Prime Minister in 1961, has estimated that government troops have killed 2,000 demonstrators and injured many more.

In Qom and Tabriz huge demonstrations have not only called for the downfall of the Shah but the class system as well. Enormous inequalities in wealth exist in this rich oil state of 35 million. The gap between urban and rural incomes has risen rapidly in recent years.

The Shah has ruled over a social volcano for years, arming himself to the teeth

By Iqbal

by spending 25% to 30% of the state budget on the armed forces, at a time when abject poverty, illiteracy and disease have prevailed in the countryside. But now that volcano is erupting not even the expensive, sophisticated British tanks and jets can cow the masses who are demanding democratic rights and an end to exploitation.

Above all, the Shah can no longer rely absolutely on the ranks of the army. Recent reports tell of soldiers shooting their officers, or even shooting themselves, rather than obey orders to

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Fighting Fund KEEP UP THE DRIVE

£2,621 was this week's total for the Militant's Funds. For the excellent response to our special appeal see page 13. But there's still a very long way to go!

£20,000 in a month is the minimum we need for the next, urgent stage of 'Militant's' development. That will mean the return of the red and an enormous expansion of our capacity to produce up-to-date, well presented material.

That's OUR commitment. What can YOU promise to help us fulfill it? A delay in achieving our targets would mean delay in building our paper's fighting strength.

One worker reader, realising the seriousness of the situation, has promised the whole of his back-pay for being up-graded—£400! He uses and sells the 'Militant' every day he's at work...and Saturdays and Sundays!

But he wants a more frequent paper than a weekly. What better way of expressing that than putting all the money you can into the 'Militant' Fighting Fund!

SEND CHEQUES, POSTAL ORDERS, AND PROMISES.
ANOTHER £16,000 BY OCTOBER 7TH!

EDITORIAL**CONFERENCE MUST DEMAND A SOCIALIST MANIFESTO**

The Tory press was outraged. Labour activists were flabbergasted. Everything, it seemed, pointed to an October election. But Jim Callaghan decided to postpone the general election, barring a defeat in the Commons, until next year.

One question was immediately raised by Labour Party activists, many of whom had started election work, and by trade unionists who had just loyally swallowed their criticisms at the TUC: Should such a vital decision, of crucial importance to the whole movement, be left to one man? The queen knew before even most of the cabinet. Should not the elected bodies of the party be involved in such a momentous decision?

Jim Callaghan, it is reported, feared that Labour could not be sure of victory in October. The government, he feels, needs more time for its policies to work. Michael Foot and MPs to the left of the parliamentary party were reportedly among the strongest advocates of postponement. Labour needs time to explain its policies, they argue.

But time alone is not decisive. What policies will the government implement? On what programme will Labour fight the election? These are the decisive questions.

One thing is certain. A continuation of the government's present course will not assure a Labour victory, whenever the election comes.

Inflation has slowed down. Production is inching forward. But the sickness of British capitalism remains. There has been a slight respite, no cure. And even this could be reversed by new international difficulties.

In any case, the government's limited economic "success" has been bought at a heavy cost to working people. Unemployment remains at 1½ million. Real wages have been drastically cut. The "welfare state" has been lacerated by cuts.

If Labour has regained support in recent elections, it is because of the loyalty of Labour voters and dread of a vicious Tory government, not enthusiasm for government policies.

By partially turning the TUC into a pre-election rally, the trade union leaders managed to mute rank-and-file criticism of government policies. Even

so, it was clear the unions could not swallow the 5% limit. Even Tom Jackson, "moderate" leader of the UPW, has warned that 5% is "not on".

Local authority manual workers have put in for a £60 a week minimum, a 40% rise over their present scandalous minimum. This is just one indication of the winter's industrial battles.

In parliament, the government will hang on a slender thread. Callaghan presumably calculates that the nationalists will sustain the government for the sake of referenda on Scottish and Welsh assemblies. Would the motley crew on the crossbenches, moreover, risk popular odium by bringing down the government and put their own seats at risk? It remains to be seen.

But if the government limits its already truncated programme to appease dubious parliamentary allies, it will only undermine even more the working class support on which it ultimately depends.

Victory needs bold policies. Let the government implement the TUC's call for the 35-hour week in the next session. End wage restraint. Restore the cuts.

This is the real recipe for success which the forthcoming Labour Party Conference must urge on the government. Another pre-election rally, with an empty show of "loyalty" and "unity", will do no good.

Conference must lay down the lines of a programme and a campaign that will ensure a Tory defeat. This means a socialist Manifesto, based on the nationalisation of the commanding heights of the economy under workers' control and management.

With such a programme, and with a full-scale campaign throughout the labour and trade union movement, we could face the coming general election—whenever it comes—with confidence of victory.

[Labour Party Conference: the issues for debate, 6]

BETHNAL GREEN HOSPITAL - GOVERNMENT POLICY MUST BE CHANGED

By Ian Burge
(Secretary, JSSC,
London Hospital.)

**Casualty is closed, theatres are closed, wards are closed. Only 140 of the 270 beds are now in use.**

Hundreds of patients on the waiting lists for operations have now been added to lists at other hospitals, probably with years more waiting.

So much for the 'concern for patients' we hear so much of from the Ministers, their Health Authorities, and their Managements'.

Many of the medical and nursing staff have now been transferred elsewhere in the District. It is the ancillary staff, the porters, domestics, and so on, together with a few clerical staff and one or two nurses, who are left to carry on the fight. Volunteer pickets are assisting stewards by

keeping a check on movements in and out of the hospital, and are occupying the empty casualty department.

No doubt we will soon be accused of holding up improvements for the geriatric patients in the borough. Of course we are in favour of expanding services for the elderly—but this is not what management plans will do. Their plan is merely to take them out of one hospital to put in Bethnal Green, losing 128 acute beds in the process.

If more geriatric beds are needed urgently, before new facilities can be built, then room can be found in other ways. For example, there is a 50-bed private wing at the London Hospital—this could

be turned over for exclusive NHS use.

Appeals, legal moves, petitions and demonstrations have run their course with no real changes in the situation—except for attitudes that is.

More of the stewards and staff now realise that it is unlikely that the hospital will be re-opened until a change of policy has taken place on the part of the Labour government.

They feel their own union leaders could have been instrumental in achieving such a change.

All eyes will now be on the extent of support local trade unions are prepared to give. Up to now it has been largely a question of goodwill, some cash, the odd resolution, and personal commitments from a very few individuals. But this has got to change.

Local unions are to be asked, as a matter of some urgency, to raise the matter of the NHS cuts, with a view to forcing the labour govern-

ment to reverse its policies and to get back to the business it was elected for—to expand and improve the health services.

A borough-wide stoppage in all the local industries and services would give a terrific boost to the campaign, and would soon be taken up in all the areas affected by cuts.

The special conference called by the shop stewards' committee for TU delegates, convenors and shop stewards in the borough will show whether the spark is there yet. Throughout the last few weeks, campaign activists and LPYS members have been leafleting the major workplaces.

Stewards have addressed some local trade union branches, and have received an enthusiastic response. If this response is forthcoming from the shop floor also, there will be no holding back a new movement for change!

FREE WILLIE GALLAGHER NOW

By Bill Webster [Steering Committee, Labour & Trade Union Co-ordinating Group]

Send resolutions of support for free Gallagher campaign to Dennis Tourish, Labour & Trade Union Co-ordinating Group, 14 Alexander Place, Strabane.

The efforts made so far by the Strabane Trades Council—and the Labour and Trade Union Co-ordinating Group members in the area—to highlight the case of Willie Gallagher have met with a good response inside the trade union movement in the North.

All the trades councils have now received a letter from the Secretary of Strabane Trades Council asking that they write to Roy Mason to demand that he "exercise his prerogative in ordering a re-trial for young Gallagher."

The Belfast Trades Council and the Derry Trades Council have already decided to urge Mason to intervene along these lines. Unfortunately, this letter does not reflect the real position of the council!

The right-wing officers of the Trades Council—who have shown a marked reluctance to get involved in the Gallagher case—have decided to exercise their 'prerogative' by blatantly acting against the democratic decision of the Strabane Trades Council when it decided, on Tuesday, 29th August, to launch the petition calling for the immediate release of Gallagher. It is utterly mistaken to think that Mason and company are

more likely to respond to this cap-in-hand approach. The demand for his immediate release, coupled to the demand for a trade union-based enquiry into state repression, and backed up by united class action—this is the only language the ruling class understand.

The failure of the trade union movement to act decisively on this question not only puts the life of young Gallagher at risk, but further allows the ruling class to continue to dole out repression in whatever dosage it likes.

Proof of this was seen quite clearly in Strabane on Monday evening (4th September). Willie Gallagher's younger brother, Andy, aged 18, was attacked by a group of soldiers in the Ballycolman housing estate, and kicked unconscious.

This is how his father described the brutal incident: "Andy was in the estate near his house at 10.30 pm when an army Land Rover pulled up. One soldier jumped out from the back of the vehicle and knocked him down. Two others got out and began kicking him. They dragged him into the Land Rover and took him to the main army checkpoint at the bridge. There were witnesses who saw Andy dragged out, beaten and kicked unconscious again. The soldiers kept shouting about Andy's brother, Willie. Even after he was out cold they kicked him and eventually left him lying there."

Can this be what Roy Mason referred to recently when he spoke about the "good behaviour of the British army in Northern Ireland?"

WHY WE ARE STANDING

We are standing for election to the Labour Party NEC as rank and file members and as supporters of the 'Militant'. We are seeking election to fight for real socialist policies and more party democracy, particularly control over MPs.

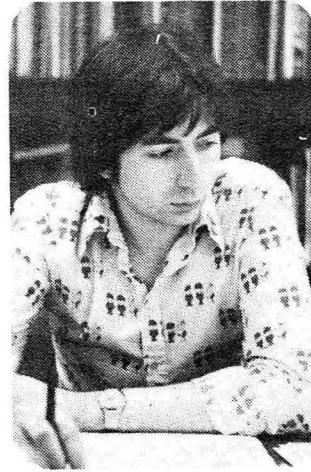
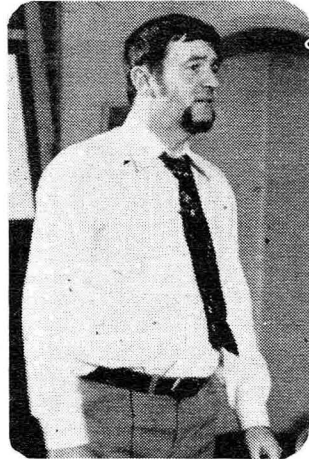
In Britain there are 2½ million on the dole, hundreds of thousands of school leavers go not to work but to the Labour Exchanges. Four million homes lack one or more basic amenities. Living standards since 1970 have fallen more than at any time since the war and millions are in low paid jobs. Coupled with this is the threat of the return of the most anti-working class Tory government at any time since the 1930s.

Now more than ever before it is crucial that the Party arms itself with a real



RAY APPS,
Brighton Kempton CLP,
and signature to the NEC
Minority Report
on Reselection

PAT WALL,
Shipley CLP, and
President, Bradford
Trades Council



NICK BRADLEY,
Deptford CLP
and, until conference,
LPYS representative for
3 years on the NEC

socialist programme. The job of the Labour Party is to fight for a programme that will transform society.

Clause Four part four was put into the constitution of the party to do just that. Only when the economy is owned and controlled by working people and their families will it be possible to start building a socialist society.

We are campaigning for an alternative programme to that of the government. If elected to the NEC we will fight for a minimum wage of at least £70; a 35-hour working week with no loss of pay; a reversal of public expenditure cuts and the introduction of a massive scheme of useful public works; and the nationalisation of the major monopolies, banks and insurance companies under democratic workers' control and management, with compensation to be paid only on the basis of proven need.

These are the policies we think offer a way to defeat the Tories. It is for this programme that we will fight to go in the next election manifesto of the Party.

If the Party is to campaign for socialist policies it also means that we will have to have greater control over our parliamentary representatives. We stand for the right of recall over MPs by their CLPs and for them to receive no more than the average wage of a skilled worker plus expenses which should be vetted by the labour movement. All extras should go to the party.

These are the policies we are asking CLP delegates to support in the NEC elections, policies that are in the traditions of the labour movement and will lead to the overthrow of capitalism and the building of a socialist society

LABOUR - CAMPAIGN FOR 35hr WEEK!

As soon as the postponement of the General Election was announced last week, Llanelli Labour Party Executive met and resolved to write to the National Executive calling for the 35-hour week to be included in the next Manifesto.

At the meeting one or two delegates echoed the comments of the Prime Minister

at the TUC conference, that the 35-hour week must be self-financing and "cost effective",

but Muriel Browning (TGWU) pointed out that costs depend on how they are worked out. "The costs I understand are that wages have gone up 10% this year while profits have gone up by 40%, and big business receives £20m a day in handouts from our pockets."

Another comrade explained that while the capitalists claim they can't afford a 35-hour week, what have they

ever been able to afford for the workers?

"Let us remember, they said the 60-hour week would bankrupt capitalism, the 48-hour week do the same, then the 40-hour week. Now in the age of the computer, they say the 35-hour week is going to bankrupt them. It's the same old story."

The same meeting also agreed to produce youth leaflets in the coming elec-

tion, and to have Labour Party Young Socialists speakers on election platforms.

During the meeting, the MP, Denzil Davies, had arrived from London ready to give his election adoption address, only to be told by the chairman that while he was travelling down the election had been called off! **Nevertheless the party agreed that rather than slowing down election preparations, the**

extra time should be used to strengthen preparations.

Labour Parties up and down the country should use the breathing space, to send resolutions to the National Executive Committee demanding that the Manifesto offers a socialist programme to ensure a Labour victory.

Kevin Ramage

(Llanelli LPYS)

TENANTS FIGHT TORY ATTACKS

By
Martin
Craxton
(Hayes &
Harlington
LPYS)

The mood of the 80 people attending last week's meeting on housing called by Hillingdon's 'Protect Our People' campaign was angry.

To begin with the invitation to Councillor Dicks or any local Tory councillors was read to the meeting and their reply in writing followed.

Protest against Tory housing cuts in Wandsworth after 1978 May elections

Cllr Dicks had already told the press that he would have no dealings whatsoever with an "unrepresentative and politically motivated" tenants' federation that had affiliated to a "left wing organised campaign."

Members of the public at the meeting told us of their experience of inability to get a mortgage even if they could afford it or tenants that wanted a transfer from two bedroom to one bedroom flats or people who had been on the waiting list (still quoted as 5,000 in our borough) for seven years.

It was suggested that the people on the waiting list should be organised and brought under the wing of the Tenants' Federation. Jeanette Thomas, of Uxbridge LPYS and on the waiting list herself, said that she was prepared to start the ball rolling. We have built council housing for workers that need it since the first world war and this right to housing that we

have come to expect is being taken away by money-grabbing Tories.

Social services under attack was also the concern of the meeting, Councillor Fagan saying that because of increasing "input" 5-6% per year increase in spending would be needed just to keep pace, and yet the Tories were out to decrease and destroy the services.

Not a Tory was at the meeting, even though a council meeting had finished early that night and at least three could have attended. They won't and can't defend their policies, let alone attempt to explain them. From Housing Committee minutes the Tories could have been seen to contradict the advice of their own officers on ability of tenants to buy houses (officially 15-19% could afford to buy at the "bottom end" of the market.)

Val Frost said that her main concern was for her three sons. What housing would be left for them in eight years' time at the present rate? She would fight to make sure that they had a future of living in the area.

Council houses were being sold off at rate- and rent-payers' expense. The minimum increase of 83p p.w. rent and 3p in the £ rates were needed to:

★ Pay for 60 mortgages of newly built houses subse-

quently sold off.

★ Advertising costs of the sale.

★ Loss of revenue while houses are empty during legal wrangles over leases/ownership.

★ Cost of policing empty properties to prevent vandalism.

"Yes, we are a political organisation," said John Frost in reply to Dick's accusations. "But only because Tories have made housing a political issue."

"We are dismayed at there being no Tory to defend their policies...Housing is in chaos and will get worse over the next two years—the federation still wants to meet any Tory that is willing to discuss our problems constructively." A resolution was passed condemning the housing chaos and cuts and for a fight back through all available organisations and affiliation to "Protect Our People". It was also proposed that we should march on next week's housing committee meeting to meet them.

We will have a picket of the Civic Centre starting at 6.45 and attend the committee meeting beginning at 7.30 on Thursday 14 September at the Civic Centre, Uxbridge.

Bring your banners!

(If you live in Hillingdon get your organisation (or yourself individually) to affiliate by sending £1 to Jan Stalworthy (Treasurer), 100B High St, Yiewsley. Tel 41326)



photo: Julian McKittrick/Militant

VANISHING POLICE FILES



photo: Andrew Wuard (Report)

Will police files on 'operations' like these, at the Notting Hill Carnival this year, be open to public inspection?

'Militant' last year [28 October] drew attention to what police files from the 1930s reveal about police tactics against the National Unemployed Workers' Movement.

Scotland Yard files deposited in the Public Records Office showed how the police planted spies and agents provocateurs in the NUWM, and generally harassed the movement, particularly its leaders. We also noted that information quite obviously missing from the files was probably even

Despite the government's 1974 election promise to provide greater freedom of information to the public, some police files are now actually being removed from public scrutiny.

Police Commissioner David 'The Hammer' McNee recently had 48 Metropolitan Police files removed from the Public Records Office following a Scotland Yard review of their contents.

McNee's action was rubber stamped by Elwyn Jones, the Lord Chancellor, and must also have received the support of Home Secretary Merlyn Rees. Some of the files concerned had been open to the public for as long as eleven years!

Two reasons were given for the withdrawal of the files. In

more interesting and important.

Our article was based on a lengthy 1974 contribution by Ralph Hayburn to the 'International Review of Social History', a scholarly journal to be found only in big libraries. When such sensitive information began to appear in a paper read by workers, however, the police chiefs clearly had second thoughts about the disclosure of their old files.

Bill Alfred of Dagenham Labour Party reports:

some cases, so called 'security sources' were named, while other files contained material defamatory to living people and the police were frightened of being sued.

So much for the official reasons. A resumé of what the files contained points to an altogether different conclusion.

Frame-up

Many of the now suppressed files concerned the hunger marches of the 'Thirties. One of these revealed that a blatant attempt was made to frame Will Paynter, the former general secretary of the NUM, by connecting him with a van-load of so-called 'weapons'—mainly walking sticks—which the police

themselves had confiscated from a contingent of Welsh miners.

Pencilled in at the bottom of the police report dealing with the 'weapons' was the following cryptic note from the Assistant Chief Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police: 'If possible connect P with this van.' 'P' was Paynter!

Provocation

Other files showed that contingency plans which the ruling class devised to protect themselves from the hunger marchers. These included: infiltration of the marches by special branch officers posing as workers; background information on the Jarrow marchers from the Jarrow Ministry of Labour files; a massive propaganda campaign directed at the rank and file of the police force in order to brainwash them into believing that hunger marchers intended to launch a savage attack on them; and emergency links between the police and the army.

Not surprisingly, the police decided on a pre-emptive strike and, as the report makes clear, they provoked a violent and bloody confrontation with the marchers in Hyde Park.

Not all of the removed files deal with the hunger marches. At least two relate to attitudes within the police force towards Oswald Mos-

ley's British Union of Fascists, and in particular to police evidence given at the trials of fascists who were privately prosecuted because of the police's refusal to take action.

Other files dealt with police reports about international labour defence meetings, strikes during the First World War, and proceedings by the police against members of the International Brigade under the Foreign Enlistment Act.

It is clearly not coincidental that these files have been withdrawn at a time when the police are again demanding greater powers. The files indicate a frightening misuse of police powers against workers during a period of massive class struggle, a struggle now being renewed and with ever increasing intensity.

Evidence

In the coming period the police will once again be propelled into the forefront of the class struggle in defence of the ruling elite and their system. Obviously it is imperative for the ruling class to be able to portray the police as impartial and above reproach. Equally, incriminating evidence that they have been anything but impartial and above reproach in past conflicts with the working class needs to vanish from public view.

LEFT & RIGHT

Tory muggers

Young Conservatives in Battersea South have hit upon a novel idea of propagating their party's views on 'law'n'order'. Recently, five of them carried out an attempted mock mugging of Prospective Tory Party Candidate Theo Wallace. Police who broke up the pitiful little charade were unimpressed about its crime-fighting values. They pointed out that passers-by could have been injured or badly shocked; consequences which would not have occurred to the average Tory!

Certainly realism would have been no obstacle—'mugging' is an activity which the Tories have honed to perfection in centuries of attacking and robbing the working class.

Making a pile out of carpets

When William Reed and Sons bought the firm of Barwick Carpets this year, they were given "assistance" [i.e. money] by the Department of Industry. It could be argued that this firm would have had to close without government help, but the real attitude of the bosses was spelt out by Gordon Richardson, Governor of the Bank of England. "You cannot, in our judgement," he said, "force-feed funds into companies or industries to induce them to invest in projects where they see neither prospect of an adequate return nor a sustained market for the product to be manufactured."

In other words, if a firm is going to invest they'll do it anyway—any handouts from the government will simply be looked at as a nice little bonus for the shareholders.

Market forces up prices

"Let the market find its own level" is the laissez-faire Tory philosophy to justify the workings of a capitalist market economy. Apparently these mysterious 'market forces' not only ensure profits but also magically satisfy everyone's need.

Only it doesn't work out that way. Farmers have been told by the Eggs Authority to slaughter thousands of hens to deliberately limit the supply of eggs and thus send up prices in the shops. The egg producers omit to explain that the object of the exercise is to rake in a bigger profit. They coyly claim that "Shoppers would benefit from a better balance between supply and demand" ['Times' 2.9.78]. But were the shoppers ever asked if they'd like this "better balance"? Thanks, but I'd rather just have cheaper eggs.

Hard times in Mayfair

Everyone will be pleased to hear that at last things are looking a little brighter for Margaret, the Duchess of Argyll.

When her father, a textiles tycoon, left her a Georgian mansion in Mayfair, it brought with it years of worry. When she organised guided tours round her home, the rotten old Grosvenor Estate, which owns most of Mayfair, started complaining.

When she tried to sell the house, a listed building, she had to employ six different estate agents, and now, two and a half years later, she is only getting half of the £350,000 they estimated she would rake in. Her landlords are pocketing the rest, in return for extending her lease.

But though our hearts may bleed for her, we needn't rush off donations to her fighting fund. She's "disbanding" her staff of five servants, including a cook-housekeeper of over 70, but she'll probably get by in the three-bedroomed, two-bathroomed, £30,000 a year flat she's leased in Grosvenor House, 100 yards away.

CAN SOUTH AFRICA HOLD THE LINE?

— A review by Chris James —

How has the South African regime survived the last two years since the revolt of the black youth in Soweto?

Foreign capital left the country in the wake of two general strikes in 1976. Major demonstrations by Africans occurred in all the main urban areas. This unrest has still not died down, but it has proved impossible to maintain the level of spontaneous action of June 1976.

A watershed has been crossed in the Southern African revolution. The new era opened up with the African workers' strikes in 1973, the defeat of imperialism in Angola and Mozambique, the growing success of the liberation movements in Zimbabwe and Namibia, and the unarmed revolt of the black youth in South Africa.

A new publication from Counter-Information Services shows how South Africa and its international backers have met the challenge of the new era. Appropriately entitled, 'Buying Time for South Africa', it argues that at best international capital is engaged in a holding operation: hold the line in South Africa and dampen the growing radicalism of the Zimbabwean struggle.

The CIS booklet shows that the first priority of the South African regime was to increase its repression.

Virtually any independent African organisation was banned, because of the fear of it becoming a vehicle for organised opposition. With the crushing of these movements, international capital's confidence was partially restored. The IMF rushed in

with a loan of \$464 million, which was used to re-establish international loans and help South Africa recover from its severe economic crisis.

Although unable to create an African capitalist class, the apartheid regime has been able to count on the quiescent support of one African movement, Chief Buthelezi's Zulu 'Inkatha'. Inkatha tried to operate in Natal, for instance, to dampen down the protests of Zulu workers.

The African youth are not fooled by Buthelezi's verbal denunciations of apartheid. When Buthelezi tried to attend the funeral of a leading African nationalist, Robert Sobukwe, he barely escaped with his life, such was the anger of the crowd.

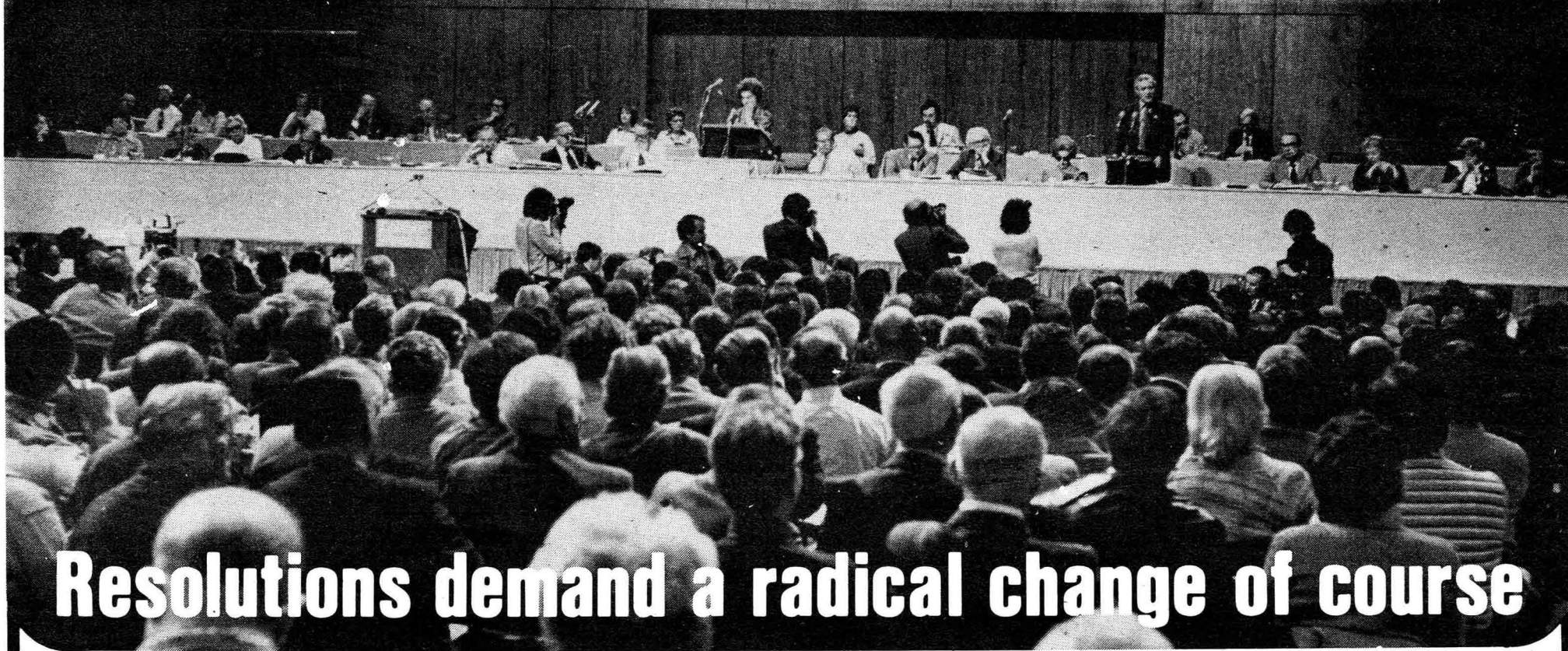
It is on this vital question of black resistance to the regime that the pamphlet is weakest.

It does not deal with the question of which way forward for the revolution in South Africa. It shows the limitations of spontaneous revolt, but does not offer any programme or strategy for the African working class.

Within its own limitations, of the manoeuvres of the South African regime and international capital, this is a very useful publication. But for an appraisal of the tasks facing revolutionaries in South Africa, and the labour movement internationally, socialists will have to look elsewhere.

'Buying Time in South Africa', Counter-Information Services, 9 Poland Street, London W.1. (95p)

LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE FINAL AGENDA



Resolutions demand a radical change of course

photo: Andrew Wiard (Report) (II)

Resolutions to this year's Labour Party Annual Conference [Blackpool, 2-6 October] were submitted in the expectation of an Autumn election. But the overwhelming criticism of the government's present course and the debate on alternative policies remains just as relevant. Tony Saunois, LPYS representative-elect on the Labour Party National Executive Committee, examines the issues raised by the Final Agenda circulated last week.

The documents and statements placed before conference, along with the resolutions and amendments submitted, indicate the broad political alternatives which will be presented to delegates. There are the policies of the government—outlined in the TUC Labour Party "Agreement", "Into the Eighties"—and, reflected in the resolutions, the policies associated with the "Tribune" group, on the one hand, and those advocated by the Marxists around "Militant" on the other.

A glance through the final agenda makes it clear that—with the election expected shortly when resolutions were sent in—the over-riding desire of the CLP activists was for a crushing Tory defeat. The key question being: what then? Postponement does not change this. It makes it even more urgent to fight at this conference for a socialist Manifesto, to make it clear that a Labour victory must be followed by a radical change of course by the government.

"Into the Eighties" unfortunately, however, explains that the Labour leaders intend to carry on in the same way as they have since 1974. There are only one or two CLPs, such as Birmingham Northfield, which register agreement with this course. The attention of delegates will be above all on alternative, socialist policies.

"Conference pledges itself to the return of a majority Labour government able to

defend and improve living standards on the basis of a socialist programme and planned and nationalised economy under workers' control and management," is what Huntingdonshire CLP demand, and this undoubtedly expresses the attitude of many LP activists.

If an election had been called in October, and Labour then succeeded in defeating the Tories, it would be on the basis of fear of a Tory government and the draconian anti-working class measures they are threatening, not any enthusiasm for the present government's record.

No alibi

How can policies that have allowed a doubling of unemployment since 1974 inspire enthusiasm from masses of workers? Instead of the reforms promised in the 1974 Programme, we have suffered a series of counter-reforms: public spending cuts have left gaping holes in education, health, housing, and the social services.

The government's incomes policy has meant a fall in workers' real living standards—for the lower paid and the unemployed, a drastic fall.

The ailing British economy has, of course, been hit by the recession in the world capitalist economy, which since 1974/75 has experienced only a limited and faltering recovery. But as far as the majority are concerned—millions of workers who are forced to take a practical view of day-to-day problems—the

world recession will not do as a permanent alibi for the Labour government.

Crisis—as Tony Benn once said—crisis is the best reason for bold socialist policies, not an excuse for their postponement (once again!).

The Labour government is now handing out approximately £25 million a day to big business in the form of subsidies and tax concessions. Profits in 1977 rose by nearly 40%. Dividends to shareholders have risen by 28% in the first quarter of 1978.

Tribune's policies

Yet still the wealthy handful who own and control most of the country's wealth refuse to invest in production. A fifth of productive capacity lies idle.

Surely, then, the last four years have once again demonstrated the futility of trying to prop up a diseased capitalist economy?

The right wing has, it seems, been deluded by Labour's recent recovery in the polls into believing that there has been an increase in support for their policies.

In the Labour ranks, however, the only real question is: what alternatives should be adopted?

Resolutions from the AUEW Foundry section, TASS and Acton CLP most clearly argue for the "alternative economic strategy" advocated by the Tribune group. They call for "reflation of the economy to provide additional purchasing power in the hands of the consumer and new jobs for the public sector," and "protection of home industries by use of selective import controls" (Res 34); along with a shorter working week and "compulsory planning agreements with the top 100 companies" (Res 38).

These ideas undoubtedly have significant support in the Party. But do they come to grips with the objective problem? Do they really constitute an alternative?

Their fundamental weakness is that they still propose measures within the framework of capitalism. In that sense, they do not pose a

viable alternative to the right wing's present policies.

Successive Labour governments have abandoned, indeed reversed, Labour's long-standing objectives not through lack of conviction, but because in a crisis situation big business has dictated crisis policies designed to restore profits. And it is the workers, of course, who must pay. Once it is attempted to manage the existing system, the policies of Healy and Callaghan have a remorseless logic.

If big business opposes the Labour government, it is only because its policies do not go far enough, and above all because they fear the pressure of the labour movement on the Labour government.

In contrast, the policies proposed by Tribune are completely unviable from a capitalist point of view, and yet contain no fundamental socialist policies which would break out of the existing economic framework.

Import controls

If reflation would stimulate the economy, why do the capitalists not support reflation? The social and economic obstacles in the way of an investment revival, internationally as well as in Britain, cannot simply be wished away. It needs fundamental socialist measures to break the cycle of stagnation and recession.

Similarly, if an increase in public spending would stimulate demand, why does big business not take this course? Would they not welcome an expansion of the market?

A number of Western governments, like West Germany, have in fact run up huge budget deficits to take the edge off unemployment; but throughout the capitalist world big business is mortally afraid of the accelerated inflation that would inevitably accompany a major reflation under present conditions.

The Tribune's alternative strategy also includes the now familiar call for import controls. Again, this measure ignores the realities of capitalism.

Import controls on a signi-

ficant scale against major competitors would inevitably provoke massive retaliation. Could the giant multinationals calmly allow themselves to be excluded from a vital market? Britain, which depends decisively on world trade, would be particularly vulnerable.

Apart from retaliation, the result of such a nationalistic move by a Labour government would be to hand protected British manufacturers a new weapon against workers in this country.

Planning?

A monopoly at home would not at all stimulate private investment: on the contrary, the bosses would use their position to push up their profits by raising prices (no competition) and depress wages. Historically, this has always been the tendency in protected industries.

ASTMS calls for "a policy of support for British manufacturing industry, involving intensive capital investment." But it is utopian to bank on the proposed "planning agreements" to secure such investment. The new crisis in Chrysler UK, partner to the government's solitary planning agreement, is surely a requiem for such "agreements".

If in the future, moreover, a Labour government, under pressure from the movement, did seriously begin measures to direct private investment, big business would inevitably retaliate against interference with its sovereign right to manage investment in the interest of its own profit.

Socialist measures

If the capitalists abdicated this prerogative, what reason would they have for existence? The crisis provoked by a determined attempt to "plan capital" would therefore pose the crucial alternative: take socialist measures to transform the economy fundamentally or face reaction by the ruling class.

Both the 1964-70 and the 1974-78 Labour governments have clearly demonstrated

that only ownership and control of the commanding heights of the economy will make it possible to commence the building of a socialist society. Greenwich CLP spell this out in their resolution.

The Isle of Wight CLP then outlines how this should be done: "Conference therefore calls for the next manifesto to be based on the implementation of Clause 4 part 4 of the Labour Party constitution, i.e. the socialist transformation of society, with the establishment of a planned, nationalised economy, democratically run under workers' control and management, instead of by the same old capitalist bosses appointed by the government."

Many resolutions, like Liverpool Wavertree's, totally reject the idea of a wages policy under capitalism. They point out that "Conference believes that wage curbs are not welcome by the working class and will lead to the possible rejection of the Labour Party by those people who fought for the return of a Labour government in 1974."

35-hour week

A minimum wage of £70 and reduction in the working week as a means of combating unemployment are called for by CLPs and unions.

One demand that has been excluded from the agenda, however, has been the call for a 35-hour week. Delegates will undoubtedly want to know why an attempt is being made to gag conference on this vital issue. Preston South has partially got round the problem by pledging support to the POEU's campaign.

The 35-hour week without loss of pay was the main demand to emerge from the TUC in Brighton, and it is vital that this essential and popular demand be included in the next manifesto.

The postponement of the general election has given us a breathing space. But whenever it comes, the election will be a watershed for the labour movement, and this year's annual conference will therefore be the most important for decades.

'Militant' 425, 29 September, will include a special feature for the Labour Party Conference.

HOW LEYLAND COULD WORK

In part two of his account, Bob Geaghan [T&GWU], a track worker at the Longbridge car plant, describes the conditions and problems workers face at British Leyland.

Nights are 9 o'clock to 7.15 am. When you first get in it's not so bad but when the machines start up it's murder.

It sounds like a load of women screaming. You get

used to that during the night but you find yourself shouting once they're switched off.

From about nine till twelve it's not so bad but by one o'clock everyone's tired and wishing they were in bed.

We have had cases of blokes who in their three-quarters of an hour dinner break go and find somewhere nice and cool and drop off to sleep. By 4 o'clock in the morning the men are like zombies—they can't keep their eyes open.

Obviously health suffers on nights. There's quite a famous story of one bloke who dropped dead of a heart attack on the track. They stopped the track, the superintendent came out and said, "Get him moved, get someone on the job and get the track moving."

After you work your first week of nights you can forget the long weekends people talk about. You sleep most of the Friday and for the rest of the weekend you just walk around not knowing where you are. It's as simple as that.

The second week of nights you are just about getting used to it and you have to change back to days. You finish Friday morning and recover about Wednesday dinner time. For 2½ weeks in every month your eating, sleeping and social life are literally messed up.

As far as equipment is concerned, it's antiquated. To get new tools off the management without actually begging for them is impossible. If you snap a screw driver you have to solder it together again.

We could do the job quicker if the guns we use weren't so slow. It's old-fashioned equipment, it's

certainly not 1978 equipment.

We need workers' control over the jobs, the speed of the track etc. plus varying the work and allowing people to interchange on their jobs.

As regards the industry itself, we need much more modern machinery. We can't go on with the present stuff. It's clapped out.

One of the main grievances we've got is night working and long hours. Wages are also an issue. You get about £71.50 on days and £80.51 on nights but you can lose £11 per week over the year due to lay-offs.

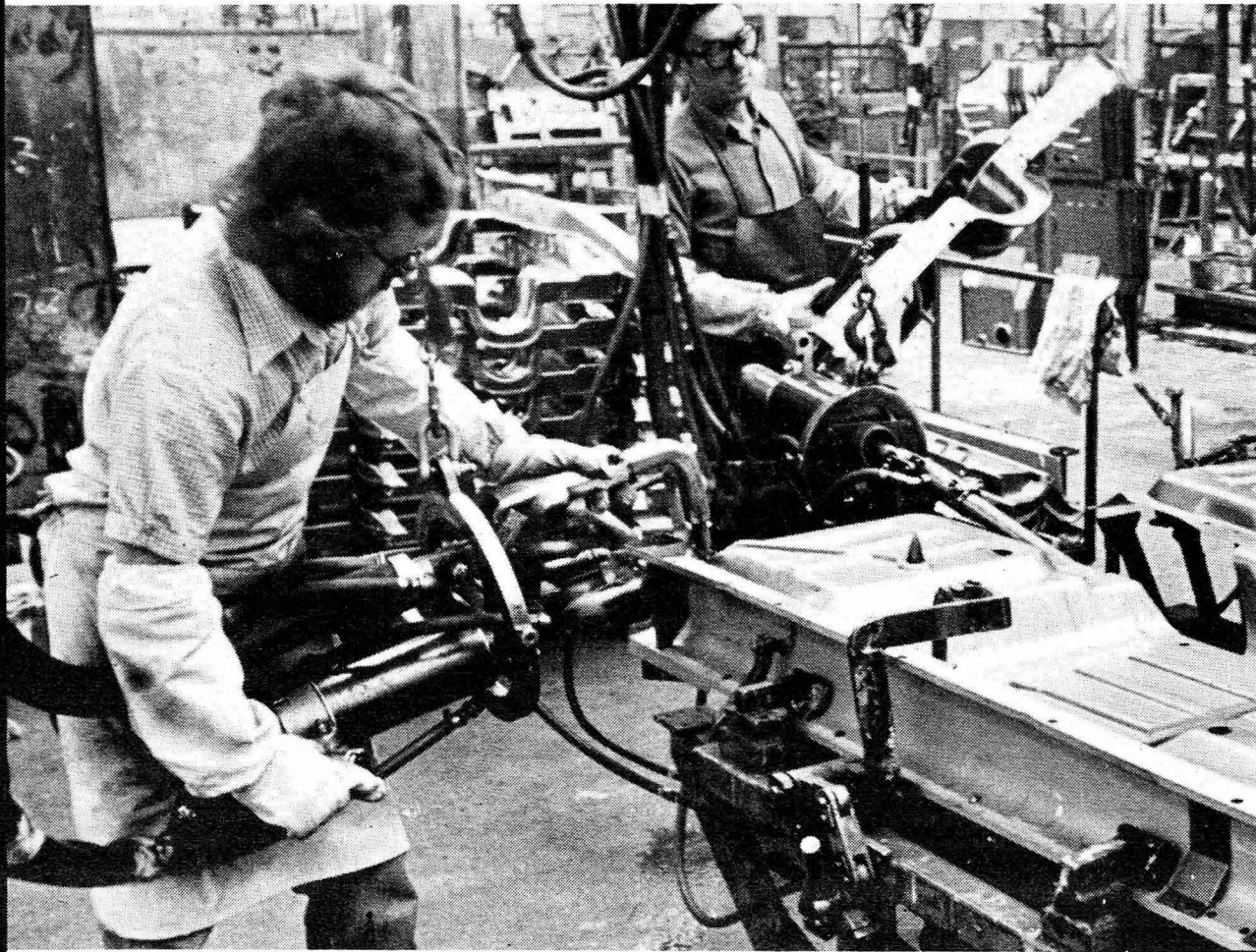
Management have deliberately engineered strikes and then laid men off on many occasions. Particularly at the moment as we have poor leadership in the factory.

Hatchet man

Michael Edwardes didn't get a good reception from the blokes when he walked through the gates. They spent £50,000 cleaning up and painting the factory for his visit.

The main fear with Edwardes is that he's a hatchet man and he'll do the same job as he did at Chloride. We saw what he did at Speke—he certainly has no compassion for working people.

There is a real need to employ more workers in car manufacturing to help unemployment. If you had more people on the tracks and the tracks were extended, we could produce more efficiently. Now people are getting in each other's way through no fault of their own. You could also reduce hours and get rid of the night shift if you took on more blokes.



On the track at Leyland Speke

photo: Angela Phillips (IFL) (II)

EDUCATION - a struggle to learn

Alan Watson recently went to college after working for eight years. He explains some of the problems...

I started at Newcastle Polytechnic last summer doing an HND Business Studies Course in Transport Management. This is a three-year course including two periods of industrial placement with a transport concern. I intend to illustrate a number of problems I faced starting this course after previously working for eight years.

The first problem, apart from getting on the course, was the question of my grant. As I was only 25 at the start I was not entitled to a mature student's grant. Apparently you are not mature until you are 26 no matter how many years you have worked or looked after yourself.

A mature student's grant would have meant probably £100 a year more. But I received the normal grant of £1,010 p.a. In effect I only receive 70% of this split over two terms as I would be working during the last term.

My first grant of £387 seemed a great deal of money to have at one time, especially

since I also received a tax rebate from my year's earnings up until September. But when all the bills, such as rent, gas, electricity and food were met, and it was worked out on a weekly basis, I found out I was probably £10 a week worse off than when I was working. I have never received the national average wage, or anything near it.

Worse off

Of course, I ended up with an overdraft by Christmas—probably higher, because I was politically active, than most other students. This helps to illustrate the problems that most working class students face, particularly those who have worked previously.

Anyway, I thought that all my debts could be paid off as soon as I started my placement. After all, I would be paid and not receive a pittance such as the grant. Also at the start of the new college year I would receive another tax rebate.

The way the placements

were worked out, however, was amazing. My placement was with a private road haulage firm at the princely rate of £33 per week. My department had apparently recommended this rate to all employers as being suitable.

When I asked the reason for this I was told no student should be any better off on placement than when at college. After tax, etc., I told them I was worse off, and also my travelling costs were higher. The stock reply was, "Well, you'll get your tax back in September."

For most students, placement is in private industry, and unless the place is strongly unionised and has agreements on wages and conditions, they have no chance of getting a decent wage. Most private road hauliers do not have strong clerical unions, which makes it more difficult to win decent wages and conditions.

In my opinion the demand by 'Militant' for a national minimum wage of £70 per week is vindicated by this example. Also the question of placements for such courses should be in the hands of the trade union and labour movement itself so that the bosses cannot get away with exploitation like this.

The course itself is not bad,

apart from the fact that your work experience is not always helpful. For instance, it is very easy to attack the ideas they put forward in economics. Keynes is still accepted and such problems as inflation and unemployment are not too much to worry about. Therefore to pass your exams you have to write what they want to hear, not what the real situation is. These ideas have failed to stand the test of time and events, unlike Marxism.

Learning?

Some of the lectures are very interesting, especially when dealing with the history and development of transport, but to hear how private road haulage is still the best mode of transport is sickening—especially when on placement you can see exactly how the law is deliberately flouted daily.

The only reason that the drivers allow this, in the terms of hours, mileage, etc., is that in this way they can make a living wage. By sticking to legal limits and regulations their wages would drop dramatically.

I hope that I have illustrated above a number of problems that exist for older students, particularly those



photo: Andrew Wiard (Report) (II)

who have a political conscience.

There is only one way out that I see and that is in the struggle for a socialist society. This would allow all workers and students a living wage, would open higher education to all and make it representative of the needs and aspirations of the working class.

Courses would allow students really to raise their understanding of society and to really educate themselves rather than cramming, quite often, useless information into their brains. The exploitation also of students on placement would end and they could really begin to aid

the development of society instead of making higher profits for the few.

Finally, when challenging my department's understanding that students should not be better off on placement, and stating that I had an overdraft, etc., and had planned to pay this off when working I was told: "If you can't afford to live on the grant, then you shouldn't be on the course." Does not this really show the way that higher education is used, and for whose benefit, at the present time?

Alan Watson
(Newcastle Poly Labour Club, Newcastle North LP Youth Officer)

GREECE: No deals wi

The demand will go up for a workers' government to replace Karamanlis' bosses' government and implement socialist policies.

The collapse of the rotten regime of the Colonels' Junta under the pressure of the workers and students in 1974 led to an explosion of militancy by the working class. Thirsting for the sweet taste of freedom the workers seized the democratic rights they had won to press their claims for better conditions and living standards denied them under the jackboot of military dictatorship.

We say "rights they had won" because it was the tremendously spontaneous flooding into the streets and squares of the working class which forced the startled Greek ruling class, terrified of losing their power and property completely, to recognise those democratic rights as a concession to appease their workers.

Their fear was entirely justified. The barging into the arena of politics by the masses, demanding a say in their own destiny, signified the opening of the Greek revolution. But for the timidity and unpreparedness of the workers' leaders that process could have been carried through to a victorious conclusion and effete Greek capitalism swept aside by a socialist transformation of society.

It was that failure of the workers' leaders to lead which gave Greek capitalism its present lease of life. Once the revolutionary tide turned to a temporary ebb Karamanlis replaced concessions with attacks on the workers' living standards once again as the bosses consolidated their rule.

More and more attacks on jobs, wages and conditions, public services and on workers fighting to defend themselves are inevitable and necessary because of the country's economic weakness, a problem which Greek capitalism is incapable of overcoming (see last week's article). Faced with these attacks the workers are turning to the trade unions for protection. Big industrial battles are unavoidable.

At the beginning of June it was announced that a 'Committee of Struggle' had been formed by PASKE (PASOK's industrial wing) and ESAK (the KKE's) to link together all those unions and federations inside or outside the GSEE which were prepared to fight both for the workers' economic demands and for a democratic GSEE Conference next year open to all unions. This Committee was launched in response to the growing pressure for action from the working class.

Throughout June tensions began to rise again as small strikes began to break out. There were token strikes by the Olympic Airways pilots and hotel workers in Athens and Piraeus. A struggle was fought by the 2,000 workers at Greece's largest factory, the French-owned Pechiney aluminium plant in Agrinion, over compensation payments for industrial injury and disease. At the same time the bosses attempted to strike back by victimising union militants following the example set by the government which sacked the entire Executive Committee of the union in the Kat hospital in Athens.

From out of these industrial battles flows the need of the workers to organise politically to match the protection given to their bosses by Karamanlis' reactionary govern-

ment, which has not hesitated to unleash the fury of the police against strikers, allow militant trade unions to be sacked and intervene in the activities of the unions. Looking for a way out workers will flock in their thousands to the Communist Party (KKE) and especially to the Socialist Party, PASOK.

The demand will go up for a workers' government to replace Karamanlis' bosses' government and the implementation of socialist policies. That a campaign for power on a socialist programme would rouse the whole working class to its feet and win the support of the peasants, youth and students, is indisputable. The explosive mood building up in the working class was clearly demonstrated on March 1st when over 600,000 responded to the call for a one-day strike.

Yet both the PASOK and KKE leaders have tried to divert the developing movement for workers united action into plans for unity with individual capitalist politicians. Andreas Papandreu (PASOK's leader) has called for unity "at all costs" with "other forces" in October's local elections and at the time of the campaign against the Anti-Terrorist Law the KKE set up a stooge committee of 'professional people' to front their campaign, thus avoiding the direct responsibility for running it.

These tactics of the KKE flow from their leaders' declared first goal of creating an "anti-imperialist, anti-monopolistic democracy, a democracy of the people" which would open the way to the transition to a socialist society some time in the future. The KKE leaders do not advocate a workers' government taking power out of the hands of big business immediately because of their lack of confidence in the Greek workers' ability to support such measures. Despite the radical rhetoric they use, the KKE leaders in practice seek to gradually make inroads into the ruling class's power.

It is also likely now that with virtual collapse of the Eurocommunist 'Interior' Communist Party, which has lost its trade union base, its electoral support and recently the vast majority of its youth movement, the KKE's policies will move rightwards away from the radical slogans which were partly used to out-flank on the left the openly reformist Interior Party. Similarly the PASOK leaders have continued their drift to the right with, for instance, Papandreu's call for Greece to produce its own H-bomb to use in any war with Turkey!



Andreas Papandreu launched PASOK on September 3 1974. The original founding Declaration was a fairly modest statement stressing the fight for 'national independence', but the party rapidly attracted support from those workers, especially the youth, who were looking for a party untainted with betrayals of the past and Stalinism. Rapidly PASOK overtook both Communist Parties as the mass Greek workers' party and was pushed further and further to the left. Four months after PASOK's foundation, Papandreu found himself speaking a new language:

Centrism

"We are not Social Democrats... The difference between social-democracy and socialism is a qualitative and not a quantitative one. It is like black and white... Social democracy must be judged not by its proclamations. It must be judged by its actions...It has supported...monopoly capitalism in Western Europe...Our socialist movement, in contrast, is based on the principle that we must pass beyond capitalism to a socialist transformation."

But despite these radical words spoken to the PASOK Central Committee they have not been used as a rallying cry to the working class, instead there has been an increasing attempt to push the Party

to the right and a continuing campaign by the Party leadership to limit the internal Party democracy.

In an attempt to weaken the control of the Party membership over the leadership the official PASOK weekly was closed down in May to make way for a new weekly aimed at a 'broad audience' run privately by some members of the Central Committee. At the same time one EC member explained that PASOK is not a 'class' party but a 'multi-class' party.

The PASOK leadership must also "be judged not by its proclamations but by its actions." Here we have a classic example of what Trotsky called a centrist tendency, one which vacillates between reform and revolution. The words which Papandreu uses may be revolutionary and as such can find a mass echo among the downtrodden workers and peasants, but the actions of the Party leadership are based on securing reforms within the capitalist system, or hoping to achieve socialism bit by bit.

The October local elections will be an important test of the situation, the relative strengths and weaknesses of the government and the workers' parties. Local elections in Greece are traditionally seen as a test of the government's position and there is little doubt that this October's will again show Karamanlis' weak position in the urban centres.

In May Papandreu called for

the elections to be a show of strength against the government, but then at the beginning of July he backtracked and said that PASOK will fight on anti-government demands relating to local issues! Papandreu's original stand forced the KKE leaders to drop their first plans to fight the elections on purely local issues and they are now calling for a clear anti-government vote.

These manoeuvrings over the local elections show that the one thing which the workers' leaders are not planning is a general offensive against the Karamanlis government, but that is precisely what is required! It seems certain that around the elections there will be a developing upsurge of struggle and if the results show another advance for the left it will provide a spur for further struggles, as happened after last November's general election. This is why it is essential that the workers' leaders provide a clear direction for the working class and show they are prepared to lead a serious campaign.

Bosses split

The ruling class view with alarm the polarisation of society along class lines which is taking place before their eyes. Increasingly these 'helmsmen of society' are becoming divided as to how they can prevent their vessel being dashed by the rising tide of workers' militancy.

Some prefer the traditional method of the Greek rulers: ploughing straight into the labour movement at full steam and mounting their own wave of repression. Hence the formation of an openly reactionary, pro-Junta party at the last election and the reappearance of the demand for the return of the monarchy. But the crushing defeat of these forces in the course of that election demonstrated that the prevailing mood in society—not only among the workers but also among the peasants and the middle class—would not tolerate the return of the tanks without a struggle. Indeed the loss of seats by Karamanlis' New Democracy Party, and the evaporation of support for the Centre Union and the doubling of votes for PASOK clearly proved



PASOK leader Andreas Papandreu: "We are not Social Democrats."

th bosses' parties!

PART TWO



that the balance of forces is now weighted too heavily on the side of the workers to risk everything on the doubtful outcome of a civil war at this stage.

The more far-sighted section of big business therefore prefers to ride along with the left wing tide in the hope of stemming it through co-operation with the leaders of the workers' movement rather than face drowning in a head-on confrontation. They have in mind an alliance between the more 'liberal' representatives of capitalism and PASOK, possibly even the KKE, in government.

In return for being allowed to share the 'sweets of office' the workers' leaders would be expected to repay their patrons by persuading the workers to moderate their demands. The ruling class may well have to lean on the leaders of the workers' parties to accomplish what Karamanlis' whole period of office has sought to maintain, but which at a certain stage will become impossible for him—that is to hold back the surge of revolution.

A Greek version of the British Labour government's Social Contract or the Pact of Moncloa between Spain's Socialist and Communist Parties and Suarez's Union of the Democratic Centre is envisaged where the workers will be held in check while their living standards are sacrificed. However, this is far from how such class collaboration would be presented to the supporters of PASOK and the KKE.

The entry into the seat of management of Greek capitalism by the professional politicians who derive their votes from the working class would be hailed as a step towards socialism by a People's Front eroding the edifice of capitalism. But what is a Popular Front and what can we learn from the outcome of previous experiences?

Unlike a United Front of workers' parties fighting together on a common class programme, a Popular Front is an alliance with a section of the capitalists' political representatives. The justification for this, usually propounded by "Communist" Parties, is that by forming a block with liberals who base

themselves on the votes of the middle class, the workers thereby win over the middle class to their side and isolate the big capitalists, thus 'opening the road' to socialism at a future stage.

Political exploiters

But just as the banks and monopolies economically exploit the middle class through interest rates, mortgages, harsh competition and price wars, so the liberal politicians politically exploit the middle class, collecting their votes and delivering their support in Parliament to the open representatives of big business. The middle class are torn between two great opposing armies, each with their own systems of production. The middle class, having no independent road of its own, must choose either to support the rule of finance capital in whose debt it is held, or to side with the working class in overthrowing capitalism.

But what do the workers' parties have to offer the middle class in a socialist society? Only a programme for the cancellation of debts and for cheap credit facilities to small businessmen, shopkeepers, etc., and guaranteed prices for peasants' produce could tear them away from their bigger rivals, but this requires the nationalisation of the banks, finance houses, property and distribution networks. Only a socialist plan of production drawn up democratically by workers, peasants and small businessmen could ensure demand by guaranteeing employment, ending inflation and removing the threat of bankruptcy, but this requires the nationalisation of the monopolies under workers' control and management. In other words, only the promise of a clean break with capitalism could win the middle layers to commit themselves to the workers' camp.

But will the Centre Union, or perhaps a future liberal split-off from New Democracy, accept such a programme? In fact the result of collaboration with these defenders of capitalism would be a programme of minor reforms to be paid out of bigger taxes which would hit the middle class while the big fish would

swim through legal loopholes. Big business would shift the financial burden of any advances made by the workers onto the backs of the middle class, blaming this on the workers' 'excesses'.

As in France 1936 and Chile 1970-3, what the bosses were forced to concede to the workers with one hand they would at some stage try to take back with the other by raising their prices, sending inflation rocketing, withdrawing bank reserves and undermining the currency, and holding an investment strike. The resulting chaos to the economy would then be blamed on socialism and the labour movement discredited. The strategists of capital hope that the middle classes would then be pushed into the arms of reaction and the workers would become disillusioned as 'their' government was forced by the worsening economic crisis to replace reforms with counter-reforms. If this cycle was allowed to take its full turn, the forces of reaction, too weak at present, would have their chance to mobilise their new support to crush the demoralised working class and usher in a military regime a hundred times worse than that of the adventurist colonels.

But for this to happen would require a series of defeats of the Greek workers. The very power of the working class is still the biggest threat to capitalist rule. **What happens within the workers' movement will decide the outcome of the class battles that lie ahead.**

The workers' parties have never held office in Greece. Their entry into government—either as a PASOK, a PASOK/KKE or even a Popular Front government—would raise the hopes and expectations of the workers far more than the return to office of Labour or Social Democrat governments in Western Europe. Such a victory would be seen as the opportunity for the socialist transformation of society. The power of the masses would be unleashed, spontaneously creating new organs of struggle, raising new demands and forcing through their implementation themselves.

In such a revolutionary situation that would unfold a Marxist tendency could crystallise the de-

mands of the workers for greater control over society and mobilise resistance to the capitalists' inevitable demands for concessions from the government. Such a tendency, rooted in the mass workers' movement, which was tragically missing in Chile but which existed in Russia 1917 as the Bolshevik Party, could lead the Greek workers to break the stranglehold of the ruling class on the economy and the state.

Recently in area meetings of PASOK and at PASKE meetings there have been attacks on the leadership's policies and opposition to the idea of deals with capitalist politicians. In Piraeus PASOK members have collected every copy of the new PASOK weekly paper from the news stands and sent them back to party headquarters because of its acceptance of an advertisement from a Piraeus shipyard. Papandreou went to Piraeus to speak to a mass meeting of PASOK members and complained because behind the speakers' platform were large pictures of Marx and Engels. He was told that if he didn't like the pictures he didn't have to speak to the meeting!

There have been battles inside PASOK over the candidates and programme for the local elections and increasing complaints over some of the careerists who were swept into Parliament last year.

Ranks angry

In the face of this situation Papandreou still has to proclaim that "We believe in Marxism and we believe in class struggle as the force in class history," while constantly attempting to move to the right. Often this process is reflected in his speeches which contain statements both to the 'left' and the right! In addition there has also been a great deal of discontent expressed by PASKE members at the PASOK leaders' weak intervention in the industrial field as well as their drift to the right. Papandreou has again angered the rank and file by the decision not to contest some solid working class areas of Piraeus where PASOK would be certain to win, to

Mass workers' demonstration in Athens against fascism and police attacks on trade unionists and socialists

deliberately give the declining Centre Union a presence on the local council. This artificial propping up of a vanishing liberal party betrays his intention of moving towards a Popular Front.

Defeat government

October's local elections will be an important test. A campaign will be waged for the highest possible vote against Karamanlis and in favour of the workers' parties. The municipal elections must be seen as a stepping stone to bringing down the government. PASOK has an enormous opportunity to win support for a socialist programme and completely break the hold of Stalinism in the Greek labour movement.

The workers' leaders must link together the isolated struggles as part of a serious drive to mobilise the widest possible support against the government, to explain the issues involved and the need for a PASOK and KKE government committed to carrying out socialist policies. Already sections of PASOK and KKE are beginning to question the varying policies of their leaders and the weakness of the campaign against Karamanlis. It will be in this developing ferment of ideas inside the main workers' organisations that the ideas of Marxism will find support as workers see the need for uniting around a socialist programme and a plan of action against capitalism.

Bob Labi
(London Labour Party Executive)

WORLD YOUTH FESTIVAL, CUBA '78



Fidel Castro opens the Festival

18,500 delegates from 145 countries were present at the 11th World Youth Festival held in Havana, Cuba, whose main slogan was "Anti-Imperialist, Solidarity, Peace and Friendship."

However, many of the divisions revealed tremendous political differences within the delegations. Although the vast majority of the delegates were members of Communist Parties there could not have been a single issue on which there was unanimous agreement.

The British delegation, 180 strong, was drawn from student unions, church bodies, trade unions and political organisations. Members of the Labour Party Young Socialists were part of the delegation which included Communist Party and Young Communist League as well as members of the Conservative Party!

A 'British Preparatory Committee' was set up to make the organisational and political arrangements for the British delegation. This Committee was chaired by Trevor Phillips, President of the NUS, and its secretary was Tom Bell, General Secretary of the YCL.



By Nick Bradley (LPYS Rep. on the Labour Party NEC)

Splits

As early as meeting other delegates on the plane to Cuba it was apparent that the British Communist Party was bitterly divided—and that the YCL was engaged in bitter factional splits. Ten days before the Festival was due to start seven members of the British delegation were informed that they could not take part.

The letter sent to them by Trevor Phillips and Tom Bell began by pointing out that there had been difficulties with travel arrangements to Cuba and that there was now no longer any room in the plane for the seven delegates. This letter ended by pointing out "that anyway on the basis of their poor political record and activity they would not make acceptable members of the delegation." **The real reason for the exclusion of these seven delegates was that they were thought to be members or supporters of the New Communist Party!**

Apparently the YCL were more concerned about excluding members of the NCP from the delegation than members of the Tory Party!

At the first delegation meeting a delegate from Wales moved a resolution to the effect that the seven removed delegates should be brought to Cuba immediately. I spoke in favour of this resolution, indicating that although I disagreed with the ideas and policies of the seven delegates, the labour movement has a democratic tradition in which ideas and

the building of a "mass democratic youth movement" made up of "Young Communists, Young Socialists, Young Liberals and Young Tories" all opposed to unemployment and racialism. Clearly class politics are absent from YCL meetings.

The next major split in the delegation occurred on the opening march and parade. The British Preparatory Committee had designed a delegation symbol which consisted of the Union Jack and the words 'Cuba '78'. The Union Jack was printed on special T-shirts which all members of the delegation were supposed to wear on the opening march!

Union Jack

Once again the LPYS delegates pointed out that the Union Jack internationally was the symbol of British imperialism.

For refusing to wear these T-shirts we were dismissed as "middle class individualists" and that the Union Jack was "our flag". Once again members of the YCL were bitterly divided on this issue and many rank and file YCL members—mainly trade union delegates—agreed with the points we made.

The next major contentious issue was on human rights. A few minutes before the end of a delegation meeting we were handed a draft of a leaflet on human rights prepared by the BPC. The delegation was supposed to approve this draft without any discussion.

The leaflet itself was devoid of class or socialist politics and equated in one line the Soviet Union with Chile, South Africa and Argentina. No mention of Britain's role in world politics or in the advantages of a planned economy. There was such an uproar in the meeting that it was agreed that there should be a further meeting at midnight.

When the meeting began Roger Poole, a NUPE delegate, moved a resolution that there should be a 24-hour delay to enable delegates to read the draft, prepare amendments and discuss them in a rational way. This resolution was narrowly carried in the meeting.

Trevor Phillips and Tom Bell then informed us that they would put out their leaflet regardless of the views of the delegation. Apparently the delegation was unrepresentative while the BPC represented the views of "Youth in Britain". There was then general uproar in the meeting and many delegates walked out of the meeting.

One delegate then moved that there should be a revote on the resolution because of the "new information". When this vote was taken the resolution was narrowly defeated. Half the delegates then walked out of the meeting in protest at the undemocratic way it was handled.

British delegation marred by stalinist manoeuvres

As we walked out of the meeting, Tom Bell was shouting at members of the YCL who left that they would be "immediately expelled from the YCL"! The whole affair was certainly alien to the traditions of the labour movement and I remarked to many delegates that there could never be a situation like this in the Labour Party Young Socialists.

Those left in the meeting then went on to amend their draft and made several significant improvements in its content. Those changes would never have been made without the protests of the delegation. It certainly gave me a glimpse of the internal politics of the YCL and clearly showed that this organisation has no future in politics.

The LPYS is now Britain's largest socialist youth movement firmly rooted in the trade unions. Many delegates who were present at these meetings are now seriously considering joining our ranks where we encourage healthy and democratic debate.

Later in the Festival we discovered that similar splits had taken place in the French and Italian delegations, indicating the divisions opening up in the Communist Parties throughout the world.

The many official meetings of the Festival were quite frankly tedious and lacking in real debate. Prepared speeches from most delegates reduced the value of the meetings.

Class policies

The best parts of the festival were the unofficial and social meetings and discussions which took place. Enormous interest was expressed in the LPYS and its clear class policies. Delegate after delegate remarked that our approach was impressive in itself and that we argued our case in a serious manner.

Contacts were opened up for the LPYS in many parts of the world. It is internationalism of this character that is



Trevor Phillips essential for a socialist movement.

In a further article, Phil Frampton and Bob Lee [the two LPYS delegates] and I will deal in greater detail with the major political issues and look at the political situation in Cuba itself.

CUBA ANALYSIS OF THE REVOLUTION

Order from World Books, 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN

Price 10p plus 5p postage

A 'Militant' pamphlet



Delegations march into the Latin American Stadium in Havana

photo: AP

ASBESTOS KILLS

ONLY TRADE UNIONISTS CAN ELIMINATE THREAT, SAYS SAFETY REP.

At this year's conference of the General and Municipal Workers, held in Scarborough, Alec McClean, Branch Chairman, Thermal Insulation Section, Liverpool G&MWU, moved an emergency resolution on the first report of the Health and Safety Commission on the Asbestos Problem. Afterwards he spoke to Clare Doyle of 'Militant'.

This report deals with the licensing of the insulation contracting industry.

Because of the pressure put on the government by the trade unions, the Asbestos Advisory Committee was set up.

We have had to put an awful lot of pressure on the committee's working groups (I represented the union on one) even to get the principle of licensing agreed to. We now find the need to move this resolution because the report goes nowhere near solving the problems of spreading asbestos dust and disease.

Firstly, they exempt those who carry out operations in their own premises. The multinational companies, the big chemical industries, oil refineries: the places most riddled with the blue and dangerous asbestos are freed from complying with the conditions of a license.

Secondly, it explicitly removes the need for a license from the small operator—they quote the "one-man" plumber. Our experience is that the biggest offenders and those most likely to disregard the law are in fact the one-man operators.

The excuse is that they only deal in a small way, but this plumber, removing a small boiler from a school, hospital or even a small hotel building would, I imagine, be moving not less than 60 sq feet, or 2 cwt of insulation. Nobody can tell me that this is safe, or should not be included in the license.

If a power station brings in a contractor or a sub-contractor, they would have to be licensed. But what the CEBG, and in fact the multinationals are doing now is creating their own labour forces and eliminating the

need for the skilled contractor.

I operate as a safety representative for my region. One chap was with the Department of the Environment at Birtwood Airbase. They were stripping out the old buildings, mostly the old ablation chambers and boiler houses.

They had a demolition contractor on site who was taking the material away as scrap. They were also, however, using some of their own general workers—cleaners.

When I visited the site there was asbestos everywhere! It was so bad that I immediately informed the factory inspector. He visited the site and said he would make recommendations. But I asked him to come back to see some of the areas which I had spotted; one in particular where asbestos had been dumped on a general tip.

When I went back the second time, although I had reported to the security police on the Airbase, the manager asked what right I had to be in the buildings. I told him that if he wanted me to leave the base, the workers would be leaving with me! I think, then, that he saw the "lights flashing" and changed his attitude.

The factory inspector acknowledged that I was correct and gave directions for the asbestos to be removed properly. Again they instructed their own workforce to do this.

The men's full time official told management in no uncertain terms that those workers could not be used.

The licensing that is being proposed by the Health and Safety Commission is certainly not going to eliminate the problems of asbestosis; particularly in the insulation



Lethal blue asbestos lying scattered on a building site in Lambeth, South London

photo: Morning Star

industry. The only way it is going to be eliminated is by listening to the trade unions and having working inspectors—people who know the job, who do know asbestos.

The recommendations refer to the wetting of asbestos. Certainly if the asbestos is saturated there will not be much dust coming from it, but unless the asbestos is removed, by people who know what they are doing, there will be a number of dangers.

It can very soon become dry again, and become a hazard once more. In most major chemical plants, the asbestos is often protected by a waterproof covering. Unless you are an expert you could be squirting a hosepipe at a lump of asbestos, without it having any effect whatsoever!

In hospitals and public buildings the insulation is almost always hidden from view, and because of the limited space, electrical wiring is often taken along the perimeter of it. I know of one chap who squirted water at a boiler, and received a very severe electric shock.

To highlight the real problems of asbestosis for the Simpson Commission, we only have reports submitted by the medical profession. The real story comes from the trade unionists involved with this type of work.

I worked on a job on the Shell Oil Refinery in 1949-50, where we were fitting and using quite a large amount of asbestos insulation. There was a body of eight permanent workers. Of these eight, five have died.

It was before the "hue and cry" about asbestos and they were buried with "cancer" of the chest and "cancer" of the

abdomen. None of their deaths was put down as "asbestosis".

Of the three survivors, one of us has not to my knowledge been classified as suffering from the disease. I have "only" (!) a 20% disability, but the other colleague, whose condition has deteriorated in the last few weeks, has now been hospitalised.

These are the facts which I go by, not what the doctors put out.

Unless you are in a union and get advice on what steps to take, and go to a pneumoconiosis panel, then you will go through life getting bottles of medicine and will be put down as having suffered from "acute bronchitis" or just a "chest complaint".

So the real figure don't lie with the medical profession, say I, but with what the men know within the industry.

The day this document was released by the Health and Safety Commission I was at the Royal Liver Building in Liverpool. It was supposed to have been decontaminated and the asbestos removed from the boiler-house. Yet I could go in and pick up lumps of it.

Although the working-group I was attached to is supposed to have finished its job, I intend to send these examples of evidence to the Health and Safety Commission and ask for them to be submitted as evidence in support of our demand for the involvement of the workers in the industry in enforcing the laws and the safety regulations on asbestos.

UNIONS MUST DEMAND TOTAL BAN

The standard for level of exposure to asbestos set in 1969 is 2 fibres per cubic centimetre of air. Working under such 'safe' conditions you would breathe in about 16 million fibres in the day!

This figure was worked out by a committee dominated by representatives of the asbestos companies, and then adopted by the government. It in fact was set high enough to protect the industry from costs of complying with a much safer standard.

It claims to set a dust level which will give 1 in 100 of workers exposed to that level asbestosis after a lifetime's work. But, the standard was based on an asbestos industry survey now shown to be inadequate. 2 fibres per cubic centimetre causes up to 7 in 100 of workers to develop asbestosis disease. A more important question is, what right has anybody to condemn any number of workers to a painful disability and an early death? The standard ignores the risk of lung cancer and mesothelioma, which are more serious diseases than asbestosis.

The TUC wants the limit set at 0.2 fibres per cubic centimetre for all kinds of asbestos, and a programme of planned substitution of asbestos with safer materials. Although it is true that the fewer fibres you breathe in, the less the chance of some of them getting right down, very few fibres could still prove fatal.

So there is NO SAFE EXPOSURE to asbestos. Lorry drivers carrying asbestos waste, people working once or twice with asbestos, living near asbestos factories, or members of asbestos workers' families, have been known to get mesothelioma.

Taken from Green Ban Action Committee pamphlet 'The Asbestos Hazard'.

LETTERS TO: Militant, 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN.

LETTERS

FIGHTING FOR OUR IDEAS

Upsetting
Tory
business-
men

Comrades

As part of the programme of a recent week of action by the Bracknell LPYS, leaflets advertising a meeting plus an anti-racist notice were handed out in a busy thoroughfare here. This coincided with a carnival, which took place in and around the shopping centre of this town and was organised and run by the local Rotary Club.

During the course of the day I spotted a grim-faced, pot-bellied representative of that organisation of conscience-stricken small-time businessmen, social climbers and would-be gentlemen, swaggering in my direction. He proceeded to demand that I cease immediately, as it was forbidden to hand out political propaganda at this show.

I asserted my right to continue, to which this little dupe of capitalism responded by vigorously shaking a pen bearing fist under my nose and bellowed: "You will never get into this show again. We want to keep politics away from our show, people have come to enjoy themselves."

I then drew his attention to the presence nearby of many prominent local Tory councillors manning stalls that bore no sign of any organisation they represented or indication to which charity any cash taken from the unwary public would be donated. To this observation my now red-faced adversary retorted: "The Conservatives are only here to make money not political gain," as of course we were.

The now deflated little man turned and fled shouting "Right, right," which were, you will agree, the two most apt words he had uttered. The implication of his verbiage was to condone the taking of money under false pretences but to condemn the YS for handing out free literature.

This little episode helps, I think, to illustrate the double standards and deceit of the Tories and their allies and what limitations of freedom of expression they would like to impose on us.

Fraternally
Dave Bayle
Wokingham Constituency
Labour Party

EVEN WHEN
YOU DIE...

Dear Comrades

Many working people save up money for all their lives in order that when they die they can at least be buried in dignity. But it appears that this is not quite the case.

A development in Portsmouth is currently being built on the site of an old cemetery. When it was planned it was expected that some 2,500 graves would be affected, on a plot about the size of two football pitches. [Anyone wishing to do the arithmetic will appreciate that that is quite tightly packed.] Upon the start of the scheme it was found that the site actually contained a staggering 25,000 burials, with coffins being stacked between seven and 12 deep on top of one another in the ground.

Needless to say, this cemetery was no ordinary one being stacked between seven and twelve deep on top of owned and run by private enterprise. It seems that while the bosses exploit you alive, there is no escape when you are dead. The daisies you may be pushing up may not even be your own!

Yours fraternally
Ian Jenkinson

LABOUR PARTY
REJECTS 5%

Dear Comrades

In spite of vigorous head shaking from our MP on the top table, the following resolution was passed with a good majority at the last Peterborough GMC:

"That this Party deplores the proposed 5% under Phase 4 which can only mean further cuts in the living standards of the working class, and calls for a national minimum wage of £70 per week."

The "moderately" voiced scare stories heard in previous

years, of not rocking the boat before a possible election, did not surface this time. The labour activists more and more recognise the need for a national minimum wage which, for working people, can be the only realistic starting point for ending the need to work overtime, shortening the working week and reducing the numbers of those working class families suffering the miseries of unemployment.

Fraternally
Len Bates

IS THE PIANO-
PLAYER ON
UNION RATES?

Dear Comrades

I have often enjoyed drinking in working men's clubs because of their connections with the trade union movement. Recently, however, this illusion was sadly shattered.

A drummer employed part-time at Woodfield Social and Recreational Club [Doncaster] was being paid £5 a night. The minimum rate laid down by the Musicians' Union is £8.16 for 3 hours' work plus £2.72 for cabaret.

The Club Committee refused a pay rise, so he took the matter to the Musicians' Union. They had a meeting with the Club Committee and the Trades Council who supported the musician. The Club Committee refused to back down so eventually strike action was taken—draymen also stopped delivery of beer to the social club.

After approximately two weeks of picketing the dispute has been taken to ACAS. The Club Committee continually claimed that this was not an official dispute, but the Musicians' Union has followed the correct procedure.

The musicians were very annoyed at the fact that the Social Club Committee were either trade unionists or ex-trade unionists and many were shop stewards at their workplace.

Many workers are forced to take part-time jobs in clubs because they cannot afford to live on the wages from their day jobs [especially where there is no overtime] and clubs have taken advantage of the fact that there has been no branch of the MU in Doncaster for ten years. Even Rotherham Trades and Labour Club are paying below the union rate as well as many other clubs.

So next time you go for a pint in a Trades and Labour Club or for a night out in "Clubland" ensure that: [1] Musicians are in a union, and [2] they are being paid the minimum rate for the job demanded by the union.

Fraternally
Laurence Major
Doncaster Labour Party

The fight
goes on

Dear Comrades

Is the 'age of exploitation' dead? Any suspicions of mine that it might be were firmly quashed by my experience of working in a retail store over the summer.

The wage scale started at £26.50 gross for the under 18s (most took home about £21) and rose to £38 over the age of 21 for a 40-hour week.

The result of just one night out was usually desperate appeals for credit at the snack bar (no hot meals provided) by the end of the week. Company policy was to refuse it. In fact, most of the kids tended to spend their days off at home, listening to records—they could afford to do nothing else.

Yet the store charged prices to the consumers that came to 70% over and above the price paid to the manufacturer. Now being simply a retail outlet as opposed to a factory, there is no machinery to be invested in.

So apart from running costs—rent, electricity etc.—and occasional investment in a new store, the bulk of that exorbitant mark-up must go straight to the shareholders as pure profit. For doing what?

When two warehousemen tried to form a union last year, they were threatened with the sack—and a union official ordered off the premises. Tired of their treatment by the company, however, and particularly enraged by the recent sacking of a warehouseman for wearing, like many kids of his age, a small ear-ring, the workers are going to make another attempt to organise.

I am sure that every trade unionist will wish them success.

Fraternally
Martin Smidman
Bristol West LPYS

SELLING
THE 'MILITANT'

Dear Comrades

At the September meeting of Peterborough Trades Council, a delegate who has been a member of the Council for over 40 years proposed a new rule prohibiting the sale of socialist papers at all Council meetings.

Militant supporters who were delegates at the meeting saw this proposal as putting political differences in organisational or bureaucratic terms. In fact the proposal failed completely. It was pointed out that Militants are only sold before meetings and after business is officially completed, and that Militant sellers don't in any way disrupt the business of the meeting.

The brothers who made these points were not Militant supporters. Indeed they both made the point that they never buy the paper, but they went on to say that the Militant sellers are always there at the door, they're always polite, they're always cheerful and they're always friendly, equally to those who buy the paper and those who

don't. We were even described as "perfect gents"!

Unfortunately in the past the Trades Council has had some bother from sellers of so-called "socialist" papers whose attitude seemed to be "if you're not with us, you're against us," and even "if you don't buy our paper, you can't call yourself a decent trade unionist." Fortunately, but not surprisingly, these people are no longer around.

The lesson of all this is that in spite of political differences which we, as Marxists, are confident will be ironed out on the basis of the political events of the next few years, we can win the respect of these trade unionists who accept that Marxism and the Militant are a valid part of the labour movement at the present time. This we can do by always being firm on political principles but always friendly to those we meet when we're selling the paper.

Yours fraternally
David Brandon
Peterborough
Trades Council

FACTORY BRANCHES

Dear Brother

I'd like to say how much I have enjoyed your 'Working in the Union' series. John Huxtable's view that union branches should not be based upon factory or plant organisation is, however, debatable.

It seems to me that his sole argument of 'guy'nors spying' on meetings doesn't hold up to close scrutiny. It must be obvious that when a union branch or mass meeting reaches a decision, management will know the outcome, wherever the meeting takes

place.

This decision is normally given to the management soon after a meeting anyway. Occasionally a decision is 'leaked' to the boss on purpose to frighten the hell out of him prior to negotiations (sauce for the goose...).

If Bro Huxtable meant actual tactics, surely local executives would be taking these decisions in private and seeking ratification by the membership at a later stage, which is currently the case in my own union.

Branches should, I think, be based upon factories or plants wherever possible. Workers should have an affinity with their own 'patch' in order to build solidarity for times of struggle. Most of the other comments in Bro Huxtable's article only emphasised this even more.

I hope others have a view on this subject and can write adding to the debate on the subject.

Yours fraternally
Eddie Phillips
CPSA Branch Executive
NSB Glasgow

TOIL AND TROUBLE WILL BE REWARDED

"Double, double!" is obviously a formula that works for the Militant Fighting Fund as well as the witches in 'Macbeth'. This week's total is just about DOUBLE last week's £1,314 which was DOUBLE the week before's.

But there's nothing magical about the "Toil and Trouble" that supporters have had to put in to raise every penny.

'Militant' doesn't appeal to the supernatural, but to people faced with very real problems—workers and their families who want very practical solutions. We ask them to back our efforts to provide more of the facts and the socialist arguments they need by taking very practical steps—giving us the hard cash to do so.

But this month we are asking for 'superhuman' efforts to get the additional £20,000 we must have in our Fighting Fund before 7th October. Can we double the total to £5,200 next week? Why not?

Now that there's no election for a while every 'Militant' supporter can be involved in 'canvassing' everyone they know for cash support for the 'Militant'. Use the new September appeal sheet and get donations and promises. Give "a day's pay" for example. Supporters can also get involved in arranging a 'Fighting Fund Day' in their area—rattling tins on a paper sale; running, walking, swimming, smiling or something for which you can get properly sponsored; holding a jumble sale; having a 'Militant Rally' with an exhibition of back copies, pamphlets etc. round the hall and a mammoth appeal for donations; helping with a 'curry for the Militant'; going on to a well planned disco or dance. £100s could be raised in a day!

Just look at some examples we've had this week: Over £500 from catering etc. in

three days at the August 'Militant' camp. Over £400 collected in five days at TUC Congress.

£100 "advanced" from a grant in East Scotland. £50 from one supporter in Leicester. 'Fivers' from two Prospective Parliamentary candidates—R Brown (Leith) and P Tebbutt (Falmouth).

£30 from readers in Pirrie Ward Labour Club. £20s, £15s and £10s in response to our appeal from supporters everywhere—Portsmouth to Preston, Liverpool to Leicester, Salford to Sheffield,

Gosport to Gloucester, Lewisham to Birmingham, Brixton to Bristol to Bradford to Hackney to Fareham to Tyneside to Woolwich and to Leyton and Barking.

£5 from Brynlliw NUM Lodge. Donations from Labour Party Young Socialists in Hampstead, Plymouth, E Kilbride, Swansea, Slough, Falkirk, Wallsend, West Notts, Southgate and Gosport. Collections at meetings in Harlow, in Tumble (W Wales), Brixton and Wandsworth and Wallsend (Herbie Bell Memorial).

£1 for a copy of 'Militant' from A Graham of Hayes LPYS. £1.10 from unemployed workers in Notts dole queue.

£1s from readers in: Newton Abbot (AUEW), King's Lynn, Oxford, Winchburgh, W Lothian (AUEW), Hayes (LP), Deptford (LP), Portsmouth (LPYS), Bedford (AUEW)...

£2 donations from Finchley, Gloucester, Ruislip, Deptford, Wimbledon, Derby...

£5s from Penge, Lanarkshire, Fareham, Stevenage...

Various 'odd' amounts below £5 from: Cllr M Bower, S Bober, R Aldridge, A Nicholson (CPSA), D Darkin, R Worth...

Finally, 'fund-raising' examples: £11.50 from stamp collecting, £2.93 from rattling a tin in Southgate, £10.21 from a party there and £16.70 from a social in W London. Proceeds of selling badges, cartoon tickets, 'duty-frees', jumble etc. Repairing cars (£20 Notts), getting married (Notts, £10 'expenses'), doing night duty (Salford £2.50) and appealing at Town Show (Harlow £8.17).

"Wetting the baby's head" in Swansea for £3.15 sounds very mysterious but don't forget your own straight donation to the 'Militant'. Try and conjure up some other sources of funds and let us know what they are. Another £16,000 must be raised in September.

£52,500 NEEDED BY OCTOBER 7th

FIGHTING FUND CHART		£70,000		Proportion of target received		Received
Area	Target 39 Wks	Target 52 Wks				
Eastern	3,300	4,400	[Progress bar]			1,794.65
Hants & IOW	1,575	2,100	[Progress bar]			1,863.74
Humberside	1,650	2,200	[Progress bar]			1,197.74
Lancashire	1,125	1,500	[Progress bar]			398.03
London: North	5,775	7,700	[Progress bar]			3,775.33
London: South	2,850	3,800	[Progress bar]			2,129.70
Manchester & District	2,175	2,900	[Progress bar]			1,196.30
Merseyside & District	3,375	4,500	[Progress bar]			1,678.20
Midlands East	3,300	4,400	[Progress bar]			1,831.72
Midlands West	5,500	7,400	[Progress bar]			3,516.48
Northern	3,675	4,900	[Progress bar]			2,288.68
Scotland East	1,875	2,500	[Progress bar]			1,038.96
Scotland West	2,125	2,900	[Progress bar]			1,037.09
South East	1,725	2,300	[Progress bar]			1,616.46
South West	1,725	2,300	[Progress bar]			1,413.48
Thames Valley	1,275	1,700	[Progress bar]			937.21
Wales East	1,500	2,000	[Progress bar]			962.58
Wales West	1,725	2,300	[Progress bar]			1,429.89
Yorkshire	3,900	5,200	[Progress bar]			1,760.90
Others	2,250	3,000	[Progress bar]			4,464.60
	52,500	70,000	[Progress bar]			36,331.59

Progress towards year's target [Progress bar] Towards October 7th target [Progress bar]

ADS

Militant Meetings

RATES
 CLASSIFIED: 5p per word, minimum ten words.
 SEMI-DISPLAY: £2 per 2 column centimetres.
 All advertisement copy should reach this office by SATURDAY.

Classified

SHEFFIELD Militant Public Meeting. 'General Election— which way for Labour?' Speaker: Tom Doyle (London Labour Party Executive). 7.30 pm, Monday 18th September, at the 'Brown Cow', The Wicker.

ST PAULS CRAY Militant Public Meeting. 'What Policies for Labour?' Speaker: Glynis Ingham (LPYS National Committee). Wednesday September 20th, 8.00 pm. Sanderson Hall, Mickleham Road, St Pauls Cray, Orpington. Nearest station: St Mary Cray. Buses 51, 229.

PORTSMOUTH Militant Public Meeting. 'The way ahead for white collar workers'. Speaker: Pat Byrne (CPSA NEC, personal capacity). 8.00 pm, 21st September at Labour Party rooms, 84 Kingston Crescent, North End, Portsmouth.

Discussion Groups

HARTLEPOOL Marxist Discussion Meetings. September 17th—'Is the Soviet Union Socialist?' October 1st—'Fascism: what it is and how to fight it.' October 15th—'Liberation Struggles in Africa'. The meetings start at 7.30 pm on Sunday at 18 Catherine's Street, Headlands, Hartlepool.

STOCKTON Trade Union Discussion Group Meetings. September 18th—'Is the Soviet Union Socialist?' October 2nd—'Fascism: what it is and how to fight it.' October 16th—'Liberation Struggles in Africa'. The meetings start at 7.30 pm on Monday night, upstairs in the Spread Eagle, Dovecote Street, Stockton.

WALLSEND Marxist Discussion Group. 'Do Wages Cause Inflation?' Speaker: Dave Cotterill. 20th September, 8 pm. Stanley Arms, North Shields.

READ Ted Grant's 'Labour in Power'. A classic pamphlet on the second and third Labour governments. Particularly appropriate now. Only 20p per copy. Sell it and use it for discussion groups etc. 10 or over 15p per copy. Please include 10p p&p. Order from Nottingham Militant Supporters, c/o Ground Floor Flat, 1 Kenilworth Road, Nottingham.

SATURDAY NIGHT FEVER COMES TO THE FACTORY!
Dance to Dick's Disco
 from 8 till 11 on
 Saturday 23rd September
 at The Factory,
 Mathias Road, N.16.

(near Newington Green—buses 73, 171, 236, Highbury tube or Dalston British Rail)
 Tickets 50p—food and drink available (cost extra!)
 In aid of Militant Fighting Fund

MILITANT JUMBLE SALE
 Pensioners' Hall, Caerphilly. 2.00pm, Saturday 30th September.

A MILITANT READER in Sweden would like an English penfriend. Write to: Mats Emilsson, 8265 Saeelycke, 44400 Stenungsund, Sweden.

HAMPSTEAD LPYS DISCO
 8.00 pm, Saturday 16th September. Entrance 50p. Music, food, drink. 37A, Broadhurst Gardens (near Finchley Road Tube Station). Buses: 13, 113, 26.

HORNSEY Labour Party and London LPYS Regional Committee present 'Fountain' and Disco. Saturday 16th September, 8 pm. West Green Community Centre, Stanley Road, N.15. (200 yards from Turnpike Lane tube). 40 pence entry.

Out September 22nd: 'Socialist Organiser'. Special 16-page newspaper put out by the Socialist Campaign for a Labour Victory. Calls for a Labour vote and for a working-class fightback against the Labour leadership. Order from SCLV, Box 127, Rising Free, 182 Upper Street, London N.1. Single copies 15p plus 7p post; bundles 10 for £1 post free.

The Young Socialists can pack a punch on posters, too!

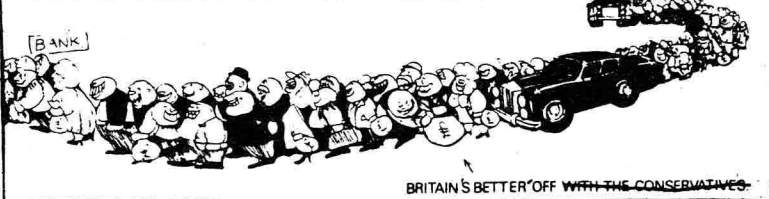
YOUNG SOCIALISTS in Ebbw Vale have come up with their own answer to the Conservative Party's national publicity campaign poster which appeared in last week's Gazette.

It was first published in 'Militant', the Marxist paper for Labour and youth. In place of the Conservatives' dole queue is one of wealthy people lugging bags of money to the bank, with an occasional Rolls here and there for effect. On top is added the caption: "When did the Tories ever work!"

But it won't, as with the Conservative poster, be displayed on bill boards, just in the windows of sympathisers.

The Young Socialists are mounting a campaign to start soon, aimed at "keeping the Tories out". Mr. Michael Markey, a YS member, said its purpose was to promote the cause of the Labour and Trade Union movement and to further socialist policies.

WHEN DID THE TORIES EVER WORK!



Reprinted from Militant, Labour's Marxist weekly (11 August 1978): 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN

● The Young Socialists' answer to the Conservative Party national poster.

Leaflets will be circulated in conjunction with the poster.

A meeting of the Ebbw Vale Young Socialists is scheduled for the end of this month, when one topic on the agenda will be the nationalisation of the banks and insurance companies, together with the top 200 monopolies, Mr. Markey said.

He added that YS believe these should come under democratic workers' control and management. "We feel this would be essential in an area like Ebbw Vale", he said, so that more finance could be channelled into the district.

In the opinion of YS, the nationalised in-

dustries should also be placed under the control of the Labour movement.

They suggest replacing the present management boards, which they consider to be bureaucratic and Tory biased, with a new structure.

One third would consist of employee representatives from the industry concerned, one third from the TUC to represent the interests of workers as a whole, and the rest would be government representatives to co-ordinate the whole operation.

By PETER EVANS

GREET LABOUR CONFERENCE

Place fraternal greetings to delegates attending the 1978 Labour Party Conference in the bigger conference special edition of 'Militant'.

We are a paper read by tens of thousands of activists in the labour and trade union movement and we aim to provide facts and figures, along with first hand knowledge of the major issues facing working people. We offer a socialist programme to defeat the Tories.

Welcome delegates through the paper that campaigns for a 35-hour week and £70 minimum wage, a reversal of the cuts and the introduction of a useful programme of public works, nationalisation of the top 200 monopolies, banks and insurance houses as the only way of ending the rule of the bosses and opening the way to building a socialist society.

The Labour Party conference issue of 'Militant' will be a special edition with extra pages, a feature on the conference and greetings. We appeal to your organisation to send its greetings to the conference through our paper.

Copy must reach us by Wednesday, 20th September. Rates for greetings: semi-display £2 per 3 column centimetres; one-sixteenth of a page £7; one-eighth of a page £14.

Janice Dale
 (Circulation Manager)

U.S. AIR BASES

CONSTRUCTION WORKERS FIGHT OPERATION BLACKLEG

Police have been used to escort scabs onto US airforce bases in East Anglia, in a dispute involving construction workers on NATO contract work.

On 14th July one of the contractors, Carter Horsley, attempted to cut piece work rates, reducing the wages of AUEW and Boilermakers' Society members employed on steel erection by 50%. They claimed this was essential to avoid losses, and totally ignored official disputes procedure.

The Italian firm Cimolai have flown in non-union blackleg labour from Italy to the four bases at Woodbridge, Bentwaters, Alconbury and Lakenheath. On occasions police have outnumbered pickets by 6 to 1 to make sure the scabs get through. But

shop stewards established contact with the Italian Metal Workers' Union, and Cimolai have been forced to agree to stop the scab labour pending a meeting between the MWU leader and AUEW [Construction] officials. [The strikers themselves will not be allowed to take part.]

Some of the Italian workers have themselves expressed sympathy with the pickets, but have been put under pressure with threats of no work when they return home. So the action of the Italian trade unions, who have pledged full support, is vital to stamp out the international use of strike-breakers.

The anger of the pickets has been increased by the massive police presence, harassment and arrests. Already, with only a handful of

pickets, 11 have been arrested.

The men at Carter Horsley feel that they are being used as pawns in a very dirty business. When the dispute is resolved, they will insist on a full inquiry into all the companies involved as well as the action of the Labour government and NATO departments.

This strike has implications for every trade unionist in Britain and Europe. It is essential that the unions involved—AUEW, Boilermakers, T&GWU and UCATT cut through the national press blackout, providing information and a decisive lead to their members and the rest of the trade union movement.

Messages of support as well as physical and financial help are needed. Contact: Dick Etheridge, 70 Peterhouse Close, Ipswich, Suffolk. Tel. Ipswich 50248.

STOP PRESS

At Monday night's meeting, the Italian TU leaders agreed to organise a token stoppage by Cimolai workers in Italy in support of the British workers' stand against the use of Italian scab labour. Shop stewards have expressed their appreciation for this act of solidarity and have begun to strengthen links with their Italian brothers to ensure that such blacklegging can never be organised again.

Faced with this international challenge, Carter Horsley agreed to meet the unions Wednesday 13th to resume negotiations on pay and conditions.

By Keith Wyatt
[Peterborough
AUEW] and
Teresa McKie
[Ipswich Labour
Party]

TOP TU PAY OFFICIALS SHOULD GET SAME AS MEMBERS

Following the NUM Executive's decision to match their officials pay with senior National Coal Board managers (see Militant 422), two press stories over the weekend will increase trade unionists' concern at the remoteness of their full time officials.

TUC leaders are to get pay increases of up to 60% over the next three years. Heads of departments will now start on £9,017 p.a. instead of £6,448, and Len Murray's salary will leap from an already generous £10,000 to £16,000 a year.

At a time when workers are asked to accept 5% pay deals, union leaders will be further removed from the problems of ordinary workers. Officials would undoubtedly strive harder in defence of working class interests if they were paid in line with their members, instead of managers in the CBI, the Bank of England and Shell, who were used as a basis for comparison.

A second article, in the 'Sunday Times', highlighted the managerial interests of Joe Gormley, president of the NUM. Gormley, one of the major supporters of the government incomes policy,

receives what the 'Sunday Times' called a "modest" £8,500 a year from the NUM.

Last year, he was made a director of Vancouver Wharves Ltd. He is now on the board of the parent company, Williams Hudson Canada Ltd. Neither Gormley nor the company would reveal the salary, but it is doubtless a useful supplement to his income from the NUM.

Suspicion

The article alleges that Gormley, as a union representative on the mineworkers' Pension Scheme, recommended investment in a £10 million shopping centre in North Shields, which was accepted against the advice of the pension scheme's investment experts. The shopping centre project was run by a director in the Williams Hudson group of companies.

Even though Gormley was not at that time a director of the company, the allegations are serious. Too serious to leave to the capitalist press, whose main concern is to smear the name of the trade union movement. The movement itself must investigate

the business arrangements of their representatives, to remove all possibility of suspicion.

Even disregarding these specific allegations, such directorships as Gormley's are a "danger to the labour movement."

And the people he rubs shoulders with at Williams Hudson are no friends of the working class. Both David Rowland (the company chairman) who made £2.8 million in property deals before he was 24, and the Director of the North Shields scheme, are involved to the hilt in the parasitical intrigues of property speculation.

Trade unions need a firm resolute leadership to protect members' living standards. Officials who follow the lifestyle of the bosses will inevitably find it difficult to reflect the interests of their members.

Union leaders must be not only elected and subject to recall, they must also be paid at the same level as their members. Inflated managerial-style salaries for plush directorships would not be tolerated for your shop steward: they must not be allowed to lessen the determination of any representative of ours to fight for workers' interests.

By Roger
Shrives

CATERPILLAR POLICE PROVOKE BATTLE WITH STRIKERS

By Duncan
Livingstone
(AUEW Caterpillar)

At Caterpillar Tractor's Glasgow factory, 1,700 hourly-paid workers in the AUEW, DMS and EETPU are on strike.

Negotiations on their phase 2 settlement began in June. On 11th July the men voted to take strike action unless the company gave a better offer. All they came forward with was 7½% and consolidation of supplementary rates under phase 2.

Strike action was deferred on the advice of the negotiating committee. Management said they were prepared to negotiate with "honesty and integrity" (!)—a self-financing productivity deal.

In fact they used all sorts of stalling tactics to prolong and spin out the negotiations. They seemed to hope the build up of back pay would

lure workers to accept a lower settlement. The only build up was of frustration and anger.

The final offer was described as "an insult to our intelligence" by Pat McCabe, the Boilermakers' convenor. It incorporates a 'Self financing good attendance plan' under which men get extra payments the lower the absenteeism. Industrial action, sickness or bereavement leave would all be considered 'absenteeism'; Territorial Army training would not!

There was an immediate walk-out, and at a mass meeting on 5th September strike action was overwhelmingly agreed and a picket set up. On Thursday morning

there were 250-300 pickets outside the factory. The police turned up in an excessive show of force: over 200 officers, six van-loads of dogs and twelve mounted police.

Senior shop steward John Brannon described it as "Grunwick tactics" and wondered if George Ward was somewhere in the background. It seems the police are picking out disputes as practice runs for future confrontations with the labour movement.

TASS and APEX members are observing the picket and last Friday ASTMS members also decided not to cross the picket line for the first time. No negotiations are taking place at the moment, so the strike and picketing will continue.

Police ranks outside Caterpillar factory



POWER BRAKES FIGHT MANAGEMENT BLACKMAIL

After four weeks and a day outside the gates, workers at Power Brakes, Portsmouth, have received [12 September] official backing from the AUEW. At the TUC in Brighton, 40 Power Brakes workers had lobbied delegates with their call for recognition.

At the TUC conference, 40 AUEW members from Power Brakes, of Portsmouth, lobbied the delegates entering and leaving the Brighton Centre.

They have been locked out of the factory since 16th August when management refused to continue wage negotiations and presented them with an ultimatum:

accept 5% by 4.15pm or you're locked out. This type of crude black-mail is totally unacceptable to trade unionists. They have maintained a 24-hour picket since then.

Dick Clark
spoke to
Betsy Bell

The management chose their timing well. With disputes at Fords of Langley and at Bathgate, the main users of Power Brake products, they are in a position to hold out for a long time. The staff unions are continuing to work, unfortunately, despite

the fact that many of them are TASS members and the shop floor has supported them in previous staff disputes.

About half the locked out workers are women, many of them single parents, and the main difficulty for them has been money. Social Security have been less than sympathetic.

No trade unionist should allow a dictatorial attitude like that of Power Brakes to go unchallenged. Letters of support and financial assistance to: Dick Clark, Lock-out Committee Chairman, 192 Portsdown Park, Cosham, Hants.

SU CARBURATORS -

NO TO



Unofficial toolroom shop stewards' meeting in Birmingham, 2 September

photo: Dave Evans (IFL)

EXPULSIONS

By
Jeremy
Birch



photo: Andrew Ward (Report)

Terry Duffy

In an utterly unprecedented fashion the AUEW Executive seems prepared to overturn all the basic principles of trade unionism with regard to 32 toolmakers at SU Carburators.

Expulsion from the union, if implemented, would deprive these men of the right to work at their trade—unless they could find some small back-street contract toolroom. Allowing management to man up their jobs, again if it is allowed to happen, would break all the normal rules of solidarity within the working class movement. The union leadership would be letting their own members' picket line be broken.

But the SU workers would maintain that their whole

strike hinges on the attempt to throw overboard another cardinal rule—management adherence to written agreements. Four years ago they extracted from Leyland an agreement that they would be put on the rate of the highest Leyland toolroom in the Birmingham area. This meant parity with the toolmakers at Rover, Solihull.

"Flexibility"

In 1976, the SU men went on strike for the implementation of the agreement. The dispute went right up to the Secretary of State for Employment—then Michael Foot—whose decision was accepted by the workers. He told them that Leyland was unable to give them this increase until 'flexibility' was allowed under the wage controls.

But with the parity pay-

ments being handed out in Leyland in recent months, over and above the 10% wage norm, the SU toolmakers feel this 'flexibility' now exists. In any case, the 5% is nothing more than a guideline unendorsed by the TUC or by the AUEW itself.

At every stage of wage restraint, Leyland has hidden behind government policy to avoid bringing the SU workers up to the Rover rate. But they have always maintained that, when the opportunity arose, SU men would be paid in full. That time is now, from August 1st, say these workers.

So a month before that date, their stewards went in to see local management, reminding them of the written agreement. They demanded an increase from their present £76 to the Rover's £83, to be paid from the beginning of August, irrespective of what happens on November 1st. (now the annual settlement date for all Leyland plants).

Management's reply was that their own parity payments now cut across the old agreement, because there will be complete parity by November 1979. Yes, say the SU men, but we have an agreement, entitling us to at least the Rover level now.

George Partridge, one of the strike committee members, put it to me like this: "Michael Edwardes told the Bathgate workers to get back to work and honour their commitments and the union rule book. We are now telling him the same—honour your commitments."

But just four days after the strike began a month ago, the strike leaders met Terry Duffy. The AUEW's new president told them that he no longer recognised their old agreement. As George Partridge explained: "It's setting a very dangerous precedent to tear up written agreements."

Threats

A lot has been written about the SU workers just haggling over the date from which the increases should be paid. Union officials, it has been claimed, have already negotiated the £83 for them from November 1st.

The truth of the matter is, they have received the first stage of the company-wide parity payments—£1.50—and will get another £1.50 on

November 1st. This is on top of their £76. Now assuming only a 5% annual wage increase, that would put the SU men on £83. But that wouldn't be parity with the Rover toolmen as already promised. For they too would have had 5% and by then would be on nearer £90.

The SU workers are absolutely firm in sticking out for the implementation of the old agreement. It is for this that they have been expelled by the East Birmingham DC, now endorsed by the national leadership.

Leyland toolmakers must play a full role in the Cars Combine and submit a common claim to draw together the combined strength of the workforce.

It is in response to this threatening behaviour of the right-wing dominated EC that the unofficial Leyland toolroom committee has prepared to call out the 3,000 toolmakers. But it doesn't finish there.

Eighteen months ago, support was offered by toolmakers from various companies, especially in the Midlands, during the last Leyland toolroom strike. The same thing is again happening. The SU stewards have been invited to several factories by the skilled workers' representatives, and have had assurances of support from a number—Wilmot Breeden and the Lucas toolroom, for example.

The AUEW leaders seem to believe that Leyland's problems are so acute that ordinary trade union practice should be cast aside to prevent disputes—even to the

extent of victimising their own members. However, they will only succeed in plunging Leyland back into another major toolroom strike, with serious repercussions in other firms as well.

It's no wonder that Leyland itself may be shying away from such a confrontation. Even while the TUC was in progress, Leyland management continued discussions with the AUEW leaders to try to find a way out. How can they return the SU plant to normal working if the other workers—as they certainly should—refuse to work with new scab toolroom labour?

Already, the local ASTMS branch representing the supervisors (some of them former toolmakers themselves) has reminded its members at SU Carburators not to do the striker's work. The ASTMS Branch Chairman has since been rebuked by his own union leaders for interfering in an AUEW dispute! As it is not an official dispute, and again probably because its British Leyland, normal rules apparently don't apply.

But could Leyland find 32 underpaid toolmakers in Birmingham, prepared to risk whatever the reception within the SU plant may be, to take striking workers' jobs?

Because of the comparatively low wages, Leyland is already short of toolmakers. Out of 34 plants, 23 have toolmakers, but only 4—Cowley, Swindon, Castle Bromwich and Dunstable do new tool-making. Between them they employ 2,500 toolmen, and that is 400 down on what it should be.

The SU men should be given their increase, backdated to August 1st, and should be supported by their own union and other Leyland workers in their fight.

But at the same time at SU, the Leyland toolmakers, and in fact all workers in the company, should play their full role in the Cars Combine and the Leyland Cars Joint Negotiating Committee. Acting in a united manner they should submit a common claim for November 1st.

Drawing together the combined strength of the entire workforce, Leyland workers would be in a strong position to obtain—a major wage increase in order to counteract inflation and the loss in living standards of the past few years.

By A
Woolworth's
Worker
PART I

working in the union

How do you convince workers who think unions are just full of militants always wanting to strike and disrupt industry, to join?

Over the years in a big non-union store the feelings among the staff had become increasingly frustrated. Maintenance staff on leaving weren't replaced. The canteen was allowed to become increasingly dirty. One of the final straws was the 'Jackson Boiler'.

It was a convenient way to brew up and boiled both water and milk. The manufacturers declared it obsolete. A local fitter kept it going for 6 months. Then it finally packed up.

A spokesman for the staff approached management for a replacement.

'Profits are low! Use some kettles. If the women don't like it, give them a written warning.' This was the final straw. Even the Staff Supervisor refused to carry out such an order. A new heater was bought with company funds, whether they liked it or not.

Just after this a ballot was held on whether the staff wanted a union to represent them. USDAW was concerned. The company management was horrified to find overwhelming support for such a suggestion. They had attempted on several occasions to organise a staff council to absorb grievances. It was called 'Staff Affairs Group', STAG for short.

After one abortive meeting it sagged from

lack of getting anywhere. Company employees complained about lack of communication: company policy, rules, agreements and conditions of service were like 'Classified Information', guarded secrets.

Then a local district official for USDAW approached the management. He wanted an opportunity to meet the staff. The canteen was made available after work on a Monday. The management only posted the notice for the meeting on the Monday morning itself. But that wasn't all.

Management called a meeting of staff on the same day and gave a lecture on the horrors of trade unionism. How trade unions were forever causing trouble, upsetting the wonderful harmony of the place of work and how much better off the staff would be without one. Further the implication was that any staff joining the union could expect no help in future from the management (!).

The lateness of the notice, the anti-TU meeting and the threat had their effect. Only up to twelve attended the meeting in the canteen, about 10% of the staff. The meeting barely got off the ground. Hardly a positive response for the formation of a union. Just a few nods; very few contributions from the floor.

Why? Well behind a partition lurked a couple of management spies taking notes. But the unionisation process was beginning.

POEU - NO RETREAT FROM 35hr WEEK!

By Roy Farrar
(Branch Committee, Liverpool Internal, personal capacity)

photo: Julian McKirrick/Militant



Angry members at POEU headquarters [22 August] after the executive's 'provisional settlement' had been announced.

"Our members have demonstrated a willingness to fight and a spirit of solidarity that stands as an example to the trade union movement."

Even after the overtime ban and work-to-rule was called off a month ago several branches like Liverpool Internal and Edinburgh Internal decided to carry on levy collection in anticipation of a rejection of the "37½ hours" by their conference.

For a union with virtually no previous experience of industrial action our members have demonstrated a willingness to fight, and a spirit of solidarity that stands as an example to the trade union movement.

At the start of their struggle

when members were sent home by management the branches responded with more walk-outs. In some areas where perhaps only one member was sent home, six or seven members would walk out in sympathy.

Despite the cries of some faint-hearts, it was clear that after only 6 weeks of intensified action through the work-to-rule and overtime ban, by branches taking the initiative to organise selective strike action, big business in particular was feeling the pinch. Management, at first, flatly refused to talk with the union while industrial action was being taken.

After a few weeks the management climbed down and approached our union for talks. Management were desperate, for though they also talked of mass suspensions in every area, they also knew that the initiative and the whip-hand was clearly with the union.

Against this background the sudden announcement of a "provisional settlement" for "37½ with plenty of strings" agreed by the NEC, coupled with a calling off of the work-to-rule and overtime ban met with shock and incredulity in the areas. Just as the action was proving effective, when most were expecting an escalation of action to counter any vicious retaliation by management, the action was defused with indecent haste.

The feeling voiced by many

was that any "provisional settlement" should have been put to all the branches, that only the branches represented through a Recall Conference should have the authority to accept or reject a "deal" and that at such a Recall Conference the delegates could then decide either to lift the action, or to decide on further stages etc.

Without question, the NEC Recall Conference arrangements need to be democratised. Standing Orders need to be decisively challenged to allow propositions from branches, for a full debate on the lessons of our dispute.

We must reject the "37½ hour settlement" and map out an industrial strategy to ensure a victory for the full claim of a 35-hour, 4-day week. The overtime ban and the work-to-rule should be enforced again immediately. And we should also—at the very least—escalate our action by calling out on strike members whose work affects sensitive areas such as banking and the City, with this action sustained by the membership at large through levies. These steps would have devastating repercussions. We have the power, let us use it to win the 35 hour week, now!

The need for decisive, fighting leadership was never

The need for a decisive, fighting leadership was never greater. The membership will be looking to this Conference to provide just that.

management attempted to attack what they considered the weaker areas, like Carlisle, Scarborough, etc. But

BOSSES PROFIT

From page 1

rich shareholders have reaped a bumper payout in dividends amounting to £732 million—that's an annual rise of 27.5%!

Most of the key blocks of shares are still controlled by a small, exclusive elite who earn not a single penny themselves but simply live off the labour of others.

Today's capitalists are simply high-class gamblers who switch their money to the most profitable venture of the day just as they might switch from one number to another on a roulette wheel.

But the financial policies of these speculators interested only in making a quick buck, are preparing economic disaster for the future which will throw hundreds of thousands more out of work and hit the living standards of millions.

For although Britain has the lowest wages of all the industrial countries, the highest per capita state handouts to private enterprise, and the highest profits in Europe, the capitalists still refuse to invest in manufacturing industry.

Divorced from reality in their financial empires, speculating in agricultural land

and antiques, sending their money abroad or just leaving it in bank vaults, they have forgotten that real wealth is created not by green pieces of paper changing hands but by expanding production.

As a result, Britain's economy is growing by only a miserable 1.8%. According to stockbrokers Phillips and Drew, "Economic growth will slow to only 1% in the 12 months to the end of 1979, real living standards will fall and inflation will go back to double figures." ('Times' 4.9.78)

Is that the only prospect that capitalism has to show the 1.5 million unemployed, the thousands of school leavers desperately looking for jobs and the rest of the working class who have work but still only get the same take-home pay they had in February 1975? If so, then it's high time the Labour government showed capitalism the door!

The government (through subsidies and tax concessions) pours £25m of our money into the coffers of big business every single day in a vain attempt to chivvy the bosses into investing and creating

jobs...and it goes straight into the pockets of the wealthy few.

But if the 200 monopolies which control most of the economy were nationalised under workers' control and management, with compen-

sation paid strictly according to need, that money could be used to reopen and modernise the factories, and to guarantee full employment and higher living standards for all with a socialist plan of production.

IRAN

From page 1

fire at demonstrators. As always, when the mass of workers and peasants begin to move, cracks open up even in the strongest army.

The press and television has focussed attention on the fanatical opposition of the reactionary Moslem leaders to the Shah's modernisation programme. The Shi'ite leaders want a return to the Dark Ages. But if they have sparked off the present upheaval, it is not they who will finish it.

When the Shah wavered between concession and repression, the masses seized the chance to demonstrate their profound discontent with their conditions. It is the workers and peasants, the people who have borne the brunt of the Shah's industrialisation program-

me, who will now play the decisive part. In particular, it will be the young workers in Iran's large-scale, modern factories who will lead the way. For the workers it is vital that immediate demands for democratic rights are linked to a programme of socialist change. Countries like Iran, still weighted down by centuries of backwardness and oppression, will not achieve democratic freedoms while landlordism and capitalism survive, and while the ties with imperialism remain.

- ★ Freedom of speech, press and assembly!
- ★ For the right to join a trade union and to strike!
- ★ Release the thousands of political prisoners and end the torture!
- ★ Freedom for political parties!
- ★ Overthrow the Shah's dictatorship—for a Constituent Assembly!
- ★ For a socialist Iran!

STOP PRESS: SU CARBURETTORS:

On Tuesday evening, AUEW leaders decided after all not to carry through the expulsion of 33 toolroom workers at SU Carburettors. They agreed to allow the men time to "sleep on" the AUEW's request for them to return to work. Protests throughout the union against the attempted expulsion have evidently brought a change of tune. On page 15, Jeremy Birch examines the key issues behind the dispute.

Militant

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