

Militant

15p

THE MARXIST PAPER FOR LABOUR AND YOUTH

FORD WORKERS FIGHTING FOR US ALL

The TUC in Brighton came out against the 5% limit. Now the TUC must call on all unions to support the Ford workers.

US ALL

By John Kelly

(Ford worker, Southampton Transit plant)

REPORTS FROM FORD PLANTS: page 14

"We made £246 million for Ford last year. That's £20 plus for us this year!" This sums up the mood of 57,000 Ford workers who are determined to fight management's paltry offer and the government's 5% limit.

When they heard news of Ford's derisory offer last Thursday (21 Sept.) section after section, and plant after plant, walked out and planned further token stoppages.

But these moves were soon overtaken by an overwhelming decision for an all-out strike. Ford workers voted decisively with their feet.

By last Tuesday not a machine moved in a Ford plant. Ford workers are united—and the whole labour movement must stand firmly behind them.

Five per cent is not on. With inflation running at 8% and expected to rise again, 5% would mean another real cut in living standards. After all the cuts of the last few years!



Workers leaving Ford, Dagenham after mass meeting photo: Julian McKittrick/Militant

By trying to enforce a "Phase 4" limit of 5% the Labour government will fatally undermine its support among the organised workers who are the key to victory in the event of a general election.

The TUC in Brighton came out against the 5% limit. Now the TUC must

call on all unions to support the Ford workers. On no account must they be left to fight by themselves as the Firemen were last year.

The AUEW has already made the strike official, and the T&GWU is expected to do so shortly. Ford shop stewards are confident that

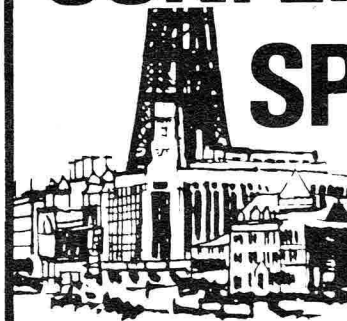
they will be backed by key workers, such as the dockers, in blacking any Ford imports.

As always Ford workers will undoubtedly be vilified by the Tory press and media as selfish and greedy. But the basic

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20 PAGE CONFERENCE SPECIAL



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HELP DEVELOP MILITANT

Since "Militant" was launched in 1964, we have consistently fought for Labour to adopt a bold socialist programme.

This is still the only way a Tory defeat and Labour victory can be guaranteed!

'Militant' has always provided facts, arguments and analysis of events in Britain and internationally, together with accurate, first-hand reports of industrial struggles.

In the last year, the weekly 'Militant' has expanded to 16 pages. But we have plans to improve the quality and the coverage of the paper even more.

This means new equipment and more staff. Most importantly, however, giving reality to our plans requires your help.

Our Fighting Fund target for ¼ year is £52,500. Help us raise the rest of September's

[Continued on back page]



HAVE YOU EVER WISHED YOU WERE BETTER INFORMED!

Alan Hardman



WHAT CONFERENCE MUST DECIDE

This year's Labour Party Conference is, without doubt, the most important for four years.

The media have sought to give the impression that the agenda indicates that the Labour Party rank and file have been weaned away from the "extreme socialist" demands which featured in previous conferences by the alleged success of the government's "pragmatic" policies.

They conveniently pass over the fact that the Conference Standing Orders Committee has ruthlessly expunged all those resolutions which echo the demands of the membership for socialist policies on the economy, to combat unemployment, etc. The resolutions demanding a 35-hour week, a demand accepted unanimously at the TUC Conference, have suffered this fate.

The organisers hope that this will guarantee a tame conference where opposition to the government's policies will be smothered by loyalty to the Labour government and the intense fear and hostility which working people feel at the prospect of a Thatcher government.

Nightmare

But a muted Conference, a failure to analyse the reasons for the retreats of the Labour cabinet, and particularly a reluctance to criticise recent government policies on wages, unemployment and the scandal of the bogus "oil sanctions" would only bring the nightmare of a Tory government nearer.

There is an enormous fund of credit within the trade unions and the working class as a whole for the Labour government. But the Labour cabinet seem determined to use this up very quickly.

The government seems to harbour the delusion that the '5% wages norm', because it has been hailed as an act of "brave statesmanship" by the press, will be accepted by working people. Yet the explosion of anger and frustra-

tion by the Ford workers has shattered this myth. Transport union official Ron Todd summed up the mood: "The lads are roaring mad."

There is a seething discontent in the factories and the workplaces at the scandalous wages and conditions of British workers. British wages are now the lowest in the industrialised countries of Europe.

"Enough is enough" is the attitude of the working class. Four years of sacrifice have been in vain. The expected investment, the improvement in the fortunes of the British economy, and the consequent elimination of unemployment has not materialised.

5%

Nor is there any real hope that it will in the forthcoming period. On the contrary, the growth rate of 3% anticipated by the National Executive Committee has already been contradicted—as we said it would be [see LP Conference Special supplement]—by the capitalist economic experts gathered in Washington. Along the road chosen by the government and the NEC lies disaster.

The attempt to apply the "5% norm" will produce tremendous bitterness amongst working people. Just behind the Ford workers are the one-and-a-quarter million local government workers who are demanding a £60 minimum wage, in itself a meagre wage given the present rise in the cost of living.

If Labour Ministers brutally sweep aside these and other claims, how will it be possible to engender the enthusiasm among trade unionists necessary to guarantee a Labour victory at the election?

Trade union leaders are calling for massive support through the "Campaign For a Labour Victory". Yet the Labour government's policies have the effect of undermining this campaign even before it has got off the ground. Indeed, as the capitalist

press has gleefully remarked, the Tories are cock-a-hoop at the looming clash between the trade unions and the government.

Conference must map out a completely different road for the run-up to the election, for the election itself, and the period of a new Labour government which follows. This can only be done if the Conference accepts policies which can form the basis of a socialist Manifesto.

A refusal by the trade union delegations—out of a misguided reluctance to embarrass the government—to allow the Conference to debate the resolutions already submitted on the 35-hour week would be fatal. This is TUC policy.

If the capitalists complain they can't afford this minimal measure, then their system stands condemned as bankrupt, and should be replaced by one that could—a socialist planned economy.

Minority Report

The government's policies for "wage restraint" should be rejected. At the same time, the Conference should condemn the shameful betrayal of the Zimbabwean people by past Labour Ministers and governments, demand an enquiry by the labour movement and, above all, press for a real sanctions policy: a trade union enforced blacking of all goods going to the murderous Smith regime.

In hand with this, Conference should press for real control to be exercised over their elected representatives by massively supporting the Minority Report on the Re-selection of MPs.

If the Conference adopts bold socialist policies and compels the NEC and Labour cabinet to implement and campaign on them, a Labour victory is certain. Without them, a Labour victory and the hopes of millions of working people will be in jeopardy.

his tobacco money. Now he has become Chief Executive of P&O as well as Chairman, though, won't he be getting a rise? The 'Financial Times', who dubbed him "man of the week" recently, didn't say. If he does, will he stay within the 5%? Only a drop in the ocean out of P&O's £59.4m profits.

No, the huntin', shootin' and fishin' Earl [Eton, Cambridge and the Lancers] won't be at the Labour Party Conference. Our fight will be for policies to benefit people like P&O's numerous employees here and in South Africa.

While the Tories are promising to cut the taxes of their rich friends they are threatening to put a tax on the unemployed. Sir Keith Joseph told a gathering of Tory ladies this week that Conservative Shadow ministers are considering a plan to make the unemployed pay a proportion of the

money they receive from the state in unemployment benefit back to the same state in the form of taxes.

Joseph gleefully expected to lift £300m a year out of the threadbare pockets of the jobless. But at a time when they call for £4,000m cuts in state spending what use is a mere £300m? It's

peanuts.

The sole reason for this plan is clear—it's just another piece of pure Tory spite against the unemployed, reminiscent of their mean, penny-pinching attitude in the '30s, when the 'means test' was dreaded in every working class household.

TORY PLANS FOR BRITAIN:

A NIGHTMARE FOR WORKERS

Despite the "Torygate" break-in and the 'Evening Standard's' predictions, we all missed actually getting a peak at the Tory Party's manifesto for the next election.

However, a hint of what lies in store came from Tory elder statesman, Lord Thorneycroft, who revealed that the publication which most neatly matches the Tories' ideas was the CBI's recent industrial manifesto, 'Britain means Business 1978'.

So what can we expect in a Tory Britain if the party of big business is not successfully hammered at the polls? Legal attacks on trade union rights; savage cuts in housing and transport with higher rents and fares; increased unemployment; and bigger hand-outs to the rich by cutting top-rate taxes and letting dividends rip.

The main demands of the bosses' club to the government are:

★ Public spending.

To be slashed by another £4 billion. As a result, subsidies to housing and public transport would be cut. Council tenants would be forced to pay an "economic rent"—in other words, the extortionate market rents charged by private landlords. At a time of 1 million homeless and 4 million living in substandard accommodation, the housing shortage would become more desperate as council building was held back.

★ Government lending to nationalised industries would also be cut down, leaving public industries prey to the private money-lending sharks and leading to more public sector workers finding themselves in the dole queues.



The Earl of Inchcape

★ All this would mean tax cuts for the rich.

Superficially, tax cuts seem a nice idea for everyone, especially in these hard times of wage restraint. But while the CBI throw a sop to the workers in proposing a 3% reduction in the standard rate (from 33% to 30%), their real motive is not so philanthropic—they demand massive cuts of 33% (from 83% to 50%) in the millionaires' tax bracket.

But not satisfied with this, Britain's industrialists then clamour for another £1 billion tax concessions on unearned

income, capital gains tax, capital transfer tax and corporation tax. In other words, the money saved in reduced spending on hospitals, schools, housing, transport and welfare would end up in the pockets of these well-heeled gentlemen! How touching is their compassion!

The CBI's policy document provides a horrifying preview of what's in store for us if a Thatcher government is returned.

★ On the other hand a 35-hour week and work-sharing to cut unemployment is out—industry simply 'cannot afford it'!

★ The bosses cannot afford higher wages for us either, they back the 5% limit.

★ But the most reactionary fervour is reserved for attacks on trade unions. "The CBI wants to get the law out of its hair and into the trade unions'," explained the 'Economist' bluntly.

All legislation introduced by the Labour government "at the dictates of the trade unions" should be amended to weaken the rights of the workers. The Employment Protection Act should have its "trade union bias" removed and ACAS kept out of recognition disputes.

Totally in keeping with the blinkered outlook of Grunwick boss (and would-be Tory MP), George Ward, our Captains of industry want to be free to sack workers more easily, complaining that unfair dismissals tribunals are leading to "time and money being wasted by an abuse of

the right for employees to insist on a hearing" ('Telegraph' 8 September).

Other threats include weakening democratic union rights of picketing by outlawing the blacking of strike-breaking firms and more legal muscle being used against pickets.

This, then, is a glimpse into the future of a Tory Britain run under naked bosses' rule, with tycoons riding roughshod over the workers, destroying the gains of the welfare state won by years of struggle and sacrifice by the labour movement, with the weakest sections of our society bearing the brunt.

That these plans are a recipe for open class war on a scale that would make Heath's rule look like a children's tea party, there is no doubt. But why wait to let them get away with some of their ruthless attacks before arousing the working class to fight back?

Let the Labour government save us from the looming Tory threat now by introducing more reforms to benefit the workers: an expansion of welfare services to help the needy; greater protection of workers' rights in employment and through the trade unions; building more council houses to end homelessness and slum housing; increase living standards with a £70 minimum wage; and eradicate unemployment with work-sharing and a socialist plan of production in a nationalised economy.

Such a fighting, socialist programme would not only keep out the CBI's parliamentary puppets at the next election, but would finally be the end of their system of class rule for good.

By
rent Kennedy

One man, 18 Jobs

One person who won't be lobbying Labour Party Conference this week over low pay is the 3rd Earl of Inchcape. True, as chairman of the P&O Steam Navigation Co. [according to 'The Times' the 13th biggest British company, with subsidiaries in South Africa] he was noted for his modest remuneration.

At only £15,000 he had the lowest chairman's salary in the top 20 companies.

But shed no tears for his lordship. As a kind of Family Income Supplement he can

By Roger Shrives
(Deptford Labour Party)

call on the revenue from his directorship of BP [where six directors earn £50,000 pa at least]. He also chairs his own company [Inchcape & Co., a £1.6 billion business with a host of trading companies] and is on the boards of 15 other firms such as Guardian Royal Exchange and Standard and Chartered Banking. As directorships don't always pay directly, he no doubt also has a few shares to make up

Campaign for 35-hour week launched

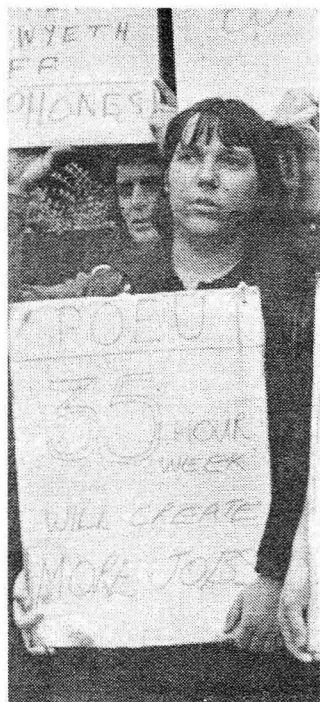
By Phil Frampton
(National Chairman
Labour Party Young
Socialists)

200,000 unemployed school leavers challenging another 1½ million workers for 300,000 jobs. Redundancies at Plessey's, Marathon and Singers. More jobs in British Leyland, British Rail and British Steel. A forecast recession in 1979 for the UK and US economies. These must be the problems to which delegates at the Labour Party Conference address themselves.

The employing class are being allowed to run down British industry in search of short-term profits. Investment in industry remains at less than half the 1970 level, while the bosses speculate in gold, shares and antiques. It's no wonder that over 1½ million manufacturing jobs have disappeared since 1960. The clothing industry alone has lost ¼ million jobs since 1951.

Will further collaboration with the bosses reverse the employment decline? 'The Times' Annual Financial Review gives this answer: "The abandonment of the idea (by big business) that governments can organise a return to full employment in the foreseeable future is perhaps the most significant idea to emerge in 1978."

Rather than the workers' sacrifices persuading the bosses to reduce unemployment, they have only persuaded the bosses to drop the charade that they ever cared!



POEU members in forefront of the struggle

The labour movement needs immediate action to end the scandal of unemployment. So it is an even greater scandal that after the Trade Union Congress has called for the implementation of the 35-hour week to create ¾ million jobs, there is an attempt to block LP Conference discussing this issue.

The Youth Campaign Against Unemployment calls for the leaders of those unions pledged to fight for 35 hours to support the reinstatement of motions on this matter and give the leadership a clear indication of where the Party stands.

Those in the government who have told the Ford workers that they must accept productivity deals before 35 hours and a decent wage increase are forthcoming are saying that the 35-hour week cannot be introduced if it reduces unemployment. The government wage measures will increase unemployment by forcing workers to do more overtime. If Labour is to protect the right to work then it must take immediate action for: **35 hours with no loss of pay! A £70 national minimum wage protected from price increases!**

Now the YCAU is launching a drive for action on the 35-hour week with regional conferences on November 25th. It is hoped that your organisation will give its full support.

We do not accept the argument that unemployment must continue to rise because the bosses cannot afford to reduce it. The movement must have an alternative programme to that of maintaining a system which cannot afford to care for those who carry it.

- ★ No redundancies
- ★ Share out the work with no loss of pay
- ★ Nationalise the top 200 monopolies, and financial institutions under democratic workers' control and management
- ★ End capitalist chaos with a socialist plan of production.



Delegates to the very successful YCAU National Assembly in January 1977 Mark Rusher (IFL)

Youth Campaign Against Unemployment

The Youth Campaign Against Unemployment was launched at the end of 1976 with the backing of leading members of the Labour Party Young Socialists and the support of the LPYS national committee.

The Campaign's joint-elected presidents are Emlyn Williams, President of the South Wales NUM, and Eric Heffer MP, a member of the Labour Party's National Executive Committee.

The YCAU has organised many local and national activities. In January last year

a National Assembly in London's Seymour Hall brought together over 1,400 delegates and visitors from shop stewards' committees, trades councils, and trade union, LP and LPYS branches to hammer out a programme to end the tragedy of 1½ million on the dole.

Last November, the Campaign organised a highly successful Lobby of Parliament—over 1,500 attended this week-day lobby and public meeting.

But while the YCAU has already won significant sup-

port from labour movement organisations, there are still many trade union branches, joint shop stewards' committees, and even Labour Parties which have not yet been involved in the Campaign.

If your organisation has not yet sponsored the Campaign, write to Nick Bradley, 435 New Cross Road, London S.E.14., so the YCAU can send literature and a speaker to explain the Campaign's aims and activities.

LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE GREETINGS

TOMORROW'S SOCIALIST VOTES

For a Children's and Youth Charter

Against Exploitation of Youth

HEAR:

**Richard Balfe
Margaret Jackson
and Neil Kinnock**

followed by discussion

Masonic Room, Imperial Hotel, Blackpool,
5.15 pm, THURSDAY, 5th OCTOBER

Sponsored by the Royal Arsenal Co-operative Society; Association of Labour Social Workers; and The Campaign Against Physical Punishment

BLACKPOOL SOUTH LPYS

greet conference
Forward to
Socialism

CARDIFF SOUTH-EAST LPYS

No retreat on
Labour Party
democracy

Socialist greetings
to Labour Party
Conference delegates
from the staff at
MILITANT



PAT WALL

(Shipleigh CLP) Candidate for NEC
greet conference with a call for
socialist policies

35-hour working week! £70 minimum wage!
and urges support for the NEC
Minority Report on Re-selection



NICK BRADLEY

(Deptford CLP and LPYS rep on NEC till '78)
Candidate for CLP section '78

Sends socialist greetings to delegates
Forward to Socialism! Keep the Tories out!
Implement Clause IV part 4 to end capitalism!



RAY APPS

(Brighton Kempton CLP) NEC candidate and
signatory to the MINORITY report
on Re-selection

sends fraternal greetings to conference and
calls on all delegates to fight for
control over MPs and more party democracy
Support the Minority Report!
Support the Brighton Kempton amendment!

MILITANT LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE

MEETING SEE BACK PAGE

Photo: Derek Spiers/IFL



Over 20,000 supported the trade union march against unemployment in Waterford on 8 September [report last week]

Michael Mullen, General Secretary of the Irish T&GWU, spoke to Joe Higgins [Militant Irish Monthly], on the closure of Waterford's National Board and Paper Mills.

"The army should not interfere in any trade union activities" — Michael Mullen

INTERVIEW WITH PADDY KELLY NEXT WEEK
 When he arrived at Liverpool on his way to a government training course, Paddy Kelly, a Belfast docker, was detained under the Prevention of Terrorism Act. After four days, however, the authorities released him after strike action by dock workers in Belfast and Liverpool. Paddy has not been charged, let alone tried, for any offense, but is now arbitrarily banned from England by an administrative "Exclusion order."

Militant: What is the situation regarding the closure of the Mill?
M Mullen: Everything is up in the air regarding the jobs of the workers. We were assured by the Minister for Industry and Commerce, Mr O'Malley that the Mill was bought and would be kept open. It turns out, however, that the Mill is still on the market, so we are as much confused as before. As it stands the Mill is due to close by September 30th and this will affect buyers all over the country as the materials

will now have to be imported.
Militant: What action is the union demanding?
M Mullen: We demanded from the Minister that the State should take over the Mill and continue to run it. This was refused by the Minister. We are meeting the Industrial Development Authority to see what can be done. If the Mill is closed, supplies will be brought in from Scandinavia and we may be forced to stop them coming in to save the men's jobs.
Militant: What is the

attitude of the union members?
M Mullen: Our members do not want social welfare payments or handouts. They simply want their jobs.
Militant: What is your attitude to the army being called out during the march by the workers protesting at the closure of the National Board and Paper Mills?
M Mullen: This was an outrageous situation and we want to see no repetition of this kind of thing. When I said in a public statement that the army was not present

during a taxi drivers' dispute in Dublin, I did not mean that they should have been there. What I was saying was that the army should not interfere in any trade union activities.
Militant: What should be done about this situation?
M Mullen: I would expect all Labour organisations to take up this issue. I have already condemned it strongly. The Labour Party should take it up and come out against it.
Militant: Do you think that this shows Fianna Fail flexing

its muscles to the labour movement?
M Mullen: You can read anything into it. Whoever was responsible for this display of force against trade unionists should have manners put on him. If the trade unions do not come out against this kind of thing now they will do it again.
Militant: What is your attitude to laws that can be used against workers?
M Mullen: When I was in the Senate I opposed all repressive legislation. Legislation like the Offence Ag-

ainst the State act is very nefarious. Some Labour people were whispering in my ear then that these laws would not be used against trade unionists but they will be. I will expect the Irish Congress of Trade Unions to come out strongly against the recent incident in Waterford. We're supposed to live in a democracy and this can't be allowed to happen again.

GREASE

THE REAL THING

"I decided to take on the the job of forecourt attendant at a small garage, mainly because hours were shorter than my previous job—55-65 hours for a butcher's—for £12.50 a week.

The job seemed easy at first, but the manager kept adding more work and responsibility. I had to check 'float' money, switch on air and petrol pumps, place oil stands on the forecourt and unlock the

petrol pumps—all before the official starting time of 8 o'clock.
 My total pay when I started at 17 was £19.50 for 50 hours. At the age of 21 when I left it was £30 for 50 hours. At the age of 21 when I left it was

£30 for 50 hours.
 I could get sick pay for two days: the rest, I was told, would come from 'Panel money'.
 It was fortunate I was never off sick—in fact a miracle. A donkey-jacket was my protection against the elements. No boots, shirts, gloves or waterproofs were supplied.
 Another duty was to help out in the workshop when needed. It was nothing to get covered in grease and oil then go outside in the rain or snow to serve someone petrol.
 When deliveries came, I had to check the dips (the petrol in the tanker). This meant climbing on top of the tanker—a hazardous exercise, particularly in a high wind. I discovered later that I wasn't insured against falls. What did the boss care? His money rolled in.
 Petrol prices doubled and sales soared from 6 to 13 thousand gallons weekly. My pay remained virtually static.

On top of this if mistakes were made on the tills, shortages were deducted from our wage packets.
 The boss always stopped me leaving with promises of an increase when his second business opened. But the promises were never fulfilled. He was laughing; with me in charge whenever he was away, sometimes from 7.45 am to 10 pm.
By Peter Poleno
 Profits would always be too low for my rise. But not too low for his six weeks' holiday in Canada and two in Yugoslavia all in the same year!
 The boss was anti-union and I kept my union membership a secret to keep my job. But he had a miracle conversion at wage-rise time—sticking to pay 'norms' and praising the Labour govern-

ment and unions.
 The gaffer, though, had some real money-spinners. If petrol prices increased, underground tanks were filled at the old price and petrol sold at the new. Servicing and repairs meant old plugs cleaned instead of changed, and so on.
 One day, after a customer complained of a petrol theft, the police gave me a Sweeney-type grilling—a very frightening, unnerving experience. Having been found 'not guilty' by the police, I went to work next day to hand in my notice.
 "No dice," said the boss: "You're sacked. Get out!" It took me six weeks and a threat of legal action through my union solicitor to get my back-pay and holiday money.
 Once again my pay was based on a 40-hour week—a luxury I had never enjoyed since starting there. The grand total pay for 120 hours was £51.95!

LEFT & RIGHT

GENGHIS KHAN MP?

The 'Sunday Times' recently profiled the husbands of women MPs. One husband of a Tory MP disagreed with his wife in only one respect: "I'm further to the right than she is," he claimed. "Somewhere alongside Genghis Khan."

Who was this Tory MP? Some "liberal" follower of Heath and Co.? A reformer lost in the Tory jungle? No. The speaker was Monty Knight, and his wife, Jill Knight, MP for Edgbaston, is a notorious supporter of any reactionary cause.

She is bitterly anti-Labour and the trade unions and against British Leyland workers in particular. She is pro-hanging and flogging and for vicious immigration controls. Naturally she opposes the right to abortion. An identi-kit right-wing Tory MP.

What on earth are his policies like? Flogging British Leyland workers and hanging strikers maybe. He doesn't say. But if any constituency Tory Party are looking for a candidate and think the Monday Club are a load of left-wing softies, they know the man to call on.

STIFF UPPER LIP

Phillips auction rooms in London are attempting to revive the flagging spirits of Britain's rich. Remembering the battles said to have been won on the playing fields of Eton, they recently held an auction of cricket items: pictures, books and so on.

An MCC member bought himself two handkerchiefs. One, in silk commemorating the MCC's 50th anniversary match in 1837, cost him £1,300. For second best; a bargain at £850, he acquired a handkerchief with a portrait of WG Grace. So next time the problems of the rich, like how to avoid tax, or where to park his Rolls, make him shed a few tears; the thought of the stiff upper lip traditions of a gentleman's game can give him strength.

APPEAL TO YOUNG BARONESSES

Frightened by the thought of the Labour Party Young Socialists gaining any success in leafletting schools, the Tory Party have asked their most youthful thinkers to prepare an appeal to school students. Deputy chairman Baroness Young [at 52 a mere child] described the LPYS schools leaflets as "an absolutely deplorable attempt to depict education as a sop from big business." Her alternative is a 'political school pack' filled with a history of the Tory Party and its policies and a potted biography of Thatcher.

The appeal of this comic is likely to be limited anyway. It would be even more so if school students knew the reactionary plans for working class education the Tories have in store. They definitely would make education just "a sop from big business". No wonder the Tories dislike the idea of real political education in schools.

POLISH CENSORSHIP

When Thomaz Strzyzewski left Poland in 1977 he brought with him a copy of the "Black Book"—the "Book of Indexes and Guidelines" which he had been obliged to apply in his former job in the bureau of censorship.

Not only were all references to opposition sentiments and anything which might discredit the Polish government prohibited, but it was also forbidden to pass news of disturbances in capitalist countries. They might give Polish workers ideas. "Until further notice," reads one section, "one is not to publish any of our own materials on the subject of Watergate in the United States." As far as the other "socialist" countries are concerned, moreover, the censors' attitude is far from fraternal. "Materials concerning the actual state of pollution caused by Poland's industrial activity within the Polish sectors of rivers whose sources are in Czechoslovakia are not to be released. However, information about the pollution of these rivers caused by industrial activity within the territory of Czechoslovakia may be released."

We will return to the "Black Book" later.

REVIEWS

KILLED BY APARTHEID

No. 46—Steve Biko, by Hilda Bernstein. International Defence & Aid Fund, £1.50

Steve Biko, who died in the hands of South Africa's notorious Security Police a little over a year ago, was the founder of the South African Students Organisation and the Black People's convention. He was the 46th political detainee known to have died in detention.

Police minister Kruger agreed in parliament that at least 10 people died in 1977 alone while detained under the security laws together with another 128 ordinary detainees.

Hilda Bernstein's book gives the background to Biko's death. Lengthy excerpts from the transcript of the inquest on Biko throw light on the method of the Apartheid rulers and the sadists who do their dirty work.

Sydney Kentridge, counsel for Biko's family, cross-examined Major Snyman of the Security Police about the

night Biko died.

"Kentridge: They [three policemen] were the night interrogators, were they?"

"Snyman: Correct."

But then the drift of the questions dawned on Snyman.

"Kentridge: Isn't it obvious that these three men were there for the purpose of night interrogation?"

"Snyman: Certainly not."

"Kentridge: Then why did you agree with me a few minutes ago that they were the night interrogators?"

"Snyman: No, I didn't agree with you."

In another excerpt, Colonel Goosen of the Security Police confesses that they don't work according to any legal statutes.

Really, there are no surprises in this book. It is what we always knew. It was more or less inevitable that they would batter Biko's brain in. Yet the utter mendacity of the police thugs is always unbelievable. Anyone who wants to remind themselves what the police-state methods of Apartheid are all about need only read a few pages of this book!

The rise of Stalinism

Stalinism and Bolshevism, by Leon Trotsky. A Militant pamphlet, 20p

How often are we told by capitalist historians and politicians that the Russian Revolution "inevitably led to a dictatorship"?

In this pamphlet, written in 1937, Trotsky gives the reasons why Stalinism arose in the Soviet Union, explaining that it was a reaction against Bolshevism.

Your legal rights

Rights at Work: A worker's guide to Employment Law, by Jeremy McMullen. Pluto Press, £2.25

There is now a labyrinth of employment law. The author, a former barrister working for the GMWU, has no illusions that workers' problems can be easily solved by legal action. Individual rights are best enforced by collective trade union action, and he stresses the pitfalls of the law. Nevertheless, legal rights

established through years of struggle can be a lever, or a last resort, and McMullen provides an invaluable guide to the tangle of relevant laws and procedures.

There are chapters on all the main areas of individual and trade union rights (grudgingly conceded after mass struggles). The guide also clearly explains how to find your way through the obstacle course of courts, tribunals, commissions, and so on. There are excellent explanatory glossaries and a full index. No shop stewards' committee or union official should be without a copy.

Reviews by Peter Lush and Lynn Walsh



Oiling the wheels for Smith and Vorster

Shell and BP in South Africa, by Martin Bailey. Anti-Apartheid/Haslemere Group, 35p

A freelance journalist of slender means could, it seems, uncover the story about the great sanction-busting conspiracy while BP/Shell headquarters, the Whitehall bureaucracy, and especially the Labour government were completely unable to find out what was really

happening.

The first edition of this pamphlet last year undoubtedly helped set the exposure process going.

President Kaunda of Zambia began to shout about sanction-busting, and later Dr Owen set up the Bingham enquiry. What fantastic powers of discovery does Martin Bailey have that the ugly oil sisters and the British government obviously lack? Well, where ignorance is bliss...

The second edition remains a good summary of the sanction-busting operation, and includes a chronology of events since first publication.

Defending Marxism

Against the Stream, by Leon Trotsky. A Militant pamphlet, 20p

During the 1930s, some of Trotsky's most valuable writings were concerned with raising the genuine ideas of Marxism in the labour movement internationally. But the defeats for the working class internationally, the rise of fascism and the degeneration of the Communist International! all made the task more difficult.

The two articles in this

pamphlet brilliantly explain why, at certain times in history, Marxists must fight "against the stream" in putting forward revolutionary ideas. Trotsky comments: "But it is necessary to begin by proclaiming a programme that meets the tasks of our epoch." Round this programme it would be possible to build a new basis for Marxism.

Possible periods of reaction in the future will test thoroughly any tendency based on Marxism. That is why every national! all made the task study, and assimilate the lessons of this pamphlet.

WORLD BOOKS

Trotsky: Against the Stream 20p + 5p post
Trotsky: Stalinism and Bolshevism . 20p + 5p post
McMullen: Rights at Work £2.25 + 25p post
Labour Research Department: Tories—New Turn to the right 25p + 5p post
Plus many other titles

Send for comprehensive booklist to: World Books, 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN

A British Leyland's Senior Steward says:—

A shorter working week would create more jobs

“In the car industry, a reduction of working hours would cause an immediate need for more labour. Track workers are on measured day work: each work is timed—say 20 cars per hour or one car every three minutes. Reducing the working week would either result in loss of production or management would be forced to employ more men.

One argument that management might use is that it may be physically impossible to fit in more men on a particular line or in a particular shop. Therefore reducing working hours and

employing more labour would mean it was necessary to introduce shift work.

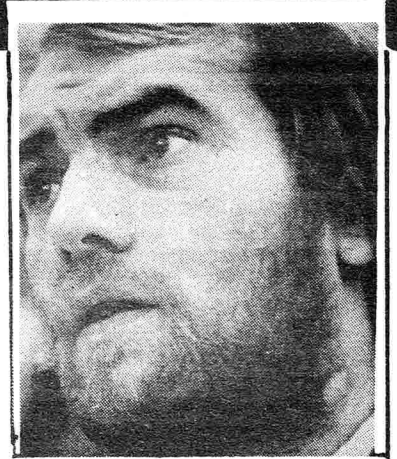
Stewards have to counter this argument by demanding more machines and equipment, or lengthening the track to accommodate extra labour.

Workers who are not directly involved in production—office staff, maintenance men, etc.—face difficulties. With jobs not so rigidly defined and timed, management would try and counter a reduction in working hours by squeezing more work out of them. Organised non-production workers will have to

demand an immediate increase of labour to match the reduction in hours: 10% reduction in hours—10% increase in labour.

Maintenance men in the car industry have to work long hours of overtime. Much of their work has to be done when the track is stopped.

Management will argue that if a 35-hour week is introduced, they will have to put these workers on shifts. To compensate for this, shop stewards should demand one week in four off. This would create a demand for new labour.”



Bob Ashworth
(Senior T&GWU Senior Steward, Rover Solihull).

Jeremy Birch, Selly Oak Labour Party, puts the call for a 35-hour week in perspective

Whether or not the 35-hour week is discussed at Labour Party Conference, it is undoubtedly one of the most hotly debated questions among trade union activists.

The work-to-rule and overtime ban by the Post Office Engineering Union could be the first of many disputes in coming months to reduce the working week. But now is the time for the top figures in the labour movement to come round to the front of these battles and themselves carry the banner of the 35-hour week.

There is a long history of struggle within the British working class movement of campaigning for shorter hours. The first May Day in 1890 was, after all, to launch an international struggle for the 8-hour day.

Fifty years before, London engineers had struck for 8 months even to win 10 hours, and that was for 6 days a week. Another engineering strike was waged three years before the turn of the century for the 48-hour week, this time being defeated.

A 5-day, 40-hour week has only been common over the last 15 years or so. Inevitably, it had to be fought for by industrial action, more often than not in the face of stiff opposition from the employing class.

Now the battlelines are drawn for 35 hours—and it could be more bitter than ever. The CBI are digging their heels in. Without greater productivity it will increase costs, they whine. One representative even suggested that perhaps by the year 2000 it would be feasible. Facing the serried ranks of the employers, however, stand the massed battalions of the TUC, committed at this year's Congress to “making the reduction of the working week to 35 hours, without loss of pay, top priority”—a demand already endorsed by most of the major union conferences.

As long ago as 1972, in fact, the TUC unanimously called for “a working week of 35 hours in all industries, with a further target of a 32-hour, 4-day week.” Six years on, progress has been slow, but many thousands of trade unionists will wait no longer.

And small wonder! For in real terms, little progress has been made in all the post-war



POEU members during recent action for reduced hours

Photo: Julian McKittrick (Militant)

FOR A 35-HOUR WEEK

years in relieving the worker of some of those hours of toil and tedium and—a! to often—risk to life and limb in the interests of someone else's profit.

In October, 1938, the average week for male manual workers was 47.7. Forty years later, in April this year, it was 45.7. Without overtime, of course, today's standard week is shorter—39.9 hours. But with the ever-present curse of low pay, how many workers can afford a standard week? For millions the 40-hour week is still some way off.

Bad record

When submitting a 35-hour claim for its ICI members, the T&GWU noted that workers are at their best “mentally and physically during a job cycle of not more than 8 hours during daylight. Extra work time...can only be regarded as increasing the risk element in the worker's particular job.”

British capitalism is prepared to expose its workers to such risks to keep them at work longer and exploit them longer, because in general it is cheaper than introducing new

machinery to alleviate the worker's burden.

So Britain has one of the worst records for length of hours worked. Average hours in Japan are 42.3, in France 41.8, while Sweden and Canada have reduced hours to 40. In America the working week is shorter still. But in Europe, too, the working class is on the offensive to cut hours. The European Trades Union Conference last year agreed on the demand for 35 hours. And even in the last few months strikes for shorter hours and early retirement have broken out, in Belgium for example.

What has thrown the struggle to reduce the working week to the very centre of the stage has above all been the return to mass unemployment in all the main capitalist countries.

1,500,000 are currently without work in Britain, with a further inevitable increase over the winter months. How can it ever be reduced to an acceptable level? Despite the numerous schemes of the Labour government, nearly a million has been added to the unemployment figures during its term of office—twenty five more every hour, as one Tory spokesman was able to glee-

fully record.

The unions will have to move urgently, because even British employers are having to introduce some new industrial techniques, and they will make age-old skills and the workers who have learnt them redundant. Action by the POEU was prompted by the new telecommunications equipment which has already led to a reduction in employment. In the car industry the vision of robots, reputed to be able to ‘man’ the tracks, has added an edge to the campaign.

No strings

But what effect could a 35-hour week have? Last year's highly publicised Ford claim included 35 hours in its ‘shopping list’. It was not attained. But the stewards had calculated that it would have created 3,000 new jobs.

The much-used figures quoted by Jack Jones for a national 35-hour week estimate an increase of 750,000 jobs, 450,000 of them for manual workers. But a success on this scale would require a properly organised national campaign by the TUC using, if necessary, the

full weight of the 12 million membership.

With determined action, whether at national or at industry or even individual factory level, the bosses might be compelled to cut hours: but would they be prepared to recruit extra labour?

A 35-hour week is an 8½% reduction in normal hours. Trade unionists would have to force the management to employ at least that proportion of extra workers. Otherwise, as appears to be the case

with the POEU's new 37½-hour week, workers will find themselves expected to produce the same—but in fewer hours.

Speed-up and a general increase in the intensity of labour would follow, and the workers will need those extra hours off just to recover from the extra load. Industrial action could be required to obtain the increased jobs as well.

Fewer hours must not be an excuse for the introduction of extra shifts, or indeed a shift system at all where it does not already exist. No staggered starting times or breaks either. Going to work during normal hours is burden enough for ordinary people. Shorter hours, with more labour and no extra effort must be the slogan.

Urgent

The fight for the 35-hour week is ultimately a political question. The government itself is the employer of a growing number of workers. With the unemployment crisis, Jim Callaghan must not be allowed by the labour movement to enforce the rule he read to the TUC, that any movement towards the 35-hour week will be offset against the 5% increase that he is trying to impose.

The labour leaders should be firmly committed to reducing hours, supporting especially those workers lacking industrial muscle and the unorganised, to gain the 35 hours. Any employer refusing to implement it should be nationalised.

The 35-hour week cannot be postponed any longer. Workers have the right to enjoy more leisure time, more time with their families. Above this, the 35-hour week is an essential part of the campaign against unemployment. Coupled with socialist measures for the economy as a whole, it could provide the basis for a guaranteed job for every worker—with decent conditions and reasonable hours of work.

Youth Campaign Against Unemployment Campaign for a 35-hour week

‘Fight for 35 hours now’

Badges, 11p each
Four-page Broadsheet,
with poster, 4p each

Unemployment leaflets, £3.50/1,000
Posters, 8p each

Order now from YCAU, 435 New Cross Road,
Deptford, London S.E.8.

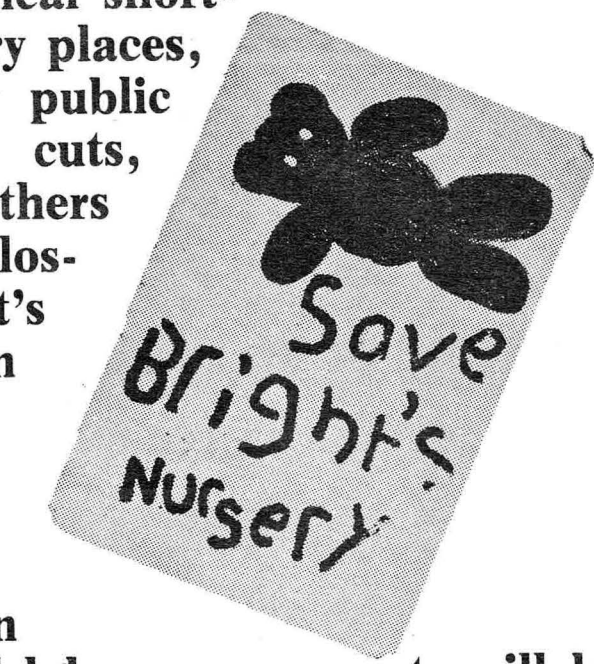
With the critical shortage of nursery places, badly hit by public spending cuts, working mothers fighting the closure of Bright's nursery in Rochdale, backed by the Labour Party Women's Section and the local labour movement, will be lobbying Labour Party Conference.

Their demand for comprehensive pre-school care available on demand, called for in the TUC's 'Under Fives' document, should be fully supported.

On Thursday, 14 September, going on for 100 people attended the second public meeting of the campaign to keep open Bright's Nursery. This was in spite of reports of an offer by the council to cover Bright's losses for another year, which gave the impression that the fight was over.

Although this is a concession which would not have been gained without the pressure of the campaign, the whole meeting was strongly against any compromise. On the contrary, much of the discussion was on how to step up the campaign.

The letter from the council was greeted with derision when they claimed that the nursery was badly situated for their needs. One mother pointed out that she came all the way from Rossendale to



ROCHDALE CLP'S RESOLUTION

This conference demands that nursery education should be the right of every pre-school child and that the recommendations of the document in the "Under Fives" be implemented immediately.

Conference demands:

- [a] a comprehensive system of day care and education provided by the state free of charge to all children under five whose parents want to make use of it;
- [b] restoration of the cuts in nursery school and day nursery building programme and a massive expansion of facilities;
- [c] nursery facilities provided with flexible hours to meet the

needs of parents;

[d] child minders who would rather not do other work to be offered training as nursery teachers, nursery assistants and nursery nurses;

[d] a national programme should be drawn up by the government, jointly with unions and parents.

Since it recognises that this will require a large scale financial investment into health and education of the under fives, Conference demands a socialist planned economy to provide the resources for this programme.

ROCHDALE CLP

put her child in the nursery, a journey of about 10 miles.

The same hostile reception greeted their suggestion that there was no demand for nursery places. Speaker after speaker pointed out the shortage of places in the

whole district.

It was suggested that if there was little demand it was because of the cost of Bright's which is now going up to £17.50 per child.

Another worker asked if anyone other than the direc-



Margaret Crear speaking at a public meeting

tors of Bright's had seen the books of the company. She wondered how Bright's were managing to lose so much money. The workers are quite right to turn their attention to this. Two thirds of Bright's profits last year came from Temporary Employment Subsidies. In gratitude the company made a donation to the Tory Party. They were allowed to pay out dividends at the same level as the previous year yet can't find the money to keep the nursery open.

Whatever the excuses of the council, the meeting decided to continue to campaign for the original demands put forward in a policy statement by the committee elected at the last meeting.

★ No redundancies amongst untrained staff; the council should offer them training.

★ The council's education and social services department should jointly take over Bright's and reopen the Blue wing, closed by Bright's, as a nursery class.

★ The running of the nursery should be under a management committee made up of trade union representatives, parents and the education and social services departments.

★ The TUC should support the taking over of the nursery as a pilot scheme for the implementation of its policy document on the 'Under 5s' and should press for the government to make available a grant for all authorities willing to implement the policy.

Lobby

The local campaigners have never taken the view that Bright's is the only issue at stake. One of the factors which is undoubtedly weighing on the minds of the local council is the impetus that the success of the Bright's campaign would give to the general campaign of the Labour Party Women's Section for nursery education and day-care in the whole area.

Already the campaign is spreading to the Ashfield Valley estate. This is one of the many estates which desperately need nurseries. If Bright's is kept open it will raise the hopes of many families throughout the area.

The extent of the support for the campaign is shown from the thousands of signatures already collected on

the petition and the donations coming in from trade unions, the Trades Council and Labour Parties.

We are organising a lobby of Labour Party Conference to ask for support for the Rochdale resolution which calls for the implementation of the TUC document.

After giving the Committee's report at the meeting, Sheila Woodhead (Royton and Wardle Women's Section) pointed out that we are being given the impression that the country can't afford nursery provision. With 10% of the population owning 75% of the wealth, we don't even get a glimpse of the wealth available.

We're not willing to fight with pensioners and the sick about the crumbs that capitalism is willing to give us. We're demanding an increase in all social services and that the government redistributes wealth and plans the economy so that new wealth can be created to finance such plans as the TUC document.

Margaret Crear

(Royton and Wardle Women's Section)

Save Comprehensives

An unholy alliance of Liberals and Tories control Liverpool City Council. For their own reasons they have combined in an attempt to destroy the comprehensive school system.

Liverpool has seen a dramatic reduction in the number of pupils in schools, especially in the inner areas. The comprehensive system was established without proper finance and resources, and years of cut backs have made conditions even worse.

Many of the comprehensives are on split sites, using old secondary modern and grammar school buildings with little attempt to adapt them to their new purpose. For years comprehensives have

co-existed with grammar schools and small secondary moderns.

Despite these handicaps the comprehensives have proved their worth in improving standards of education. The Director of Education states that five times as many pupils gained 'O'-level maths and English compared with the last year of the completely selective system.

One school claims that even though 90% of its present 6th form would have failed the old 11-plus, they have maintained the same size sixth form with the same level of results and university places

gained. The comprehensives have consistently been better than the smaller non-selective schools.

The July meeting of the City Council was lobbied by parents, teachers and other groups concerned, including black organisations. Nonetheless they decided to go ahead with the scheme, supposedly to save money and, according to one councillor, Myra Fitzsimmons, "to see our education system as good as it was 20 years ago, when at least 39% of our children got a decent education.

Dispersal

The scheme proposes that all sixth form teaching groups should be a minimum of 6 pupils, a formula to be rigidly applied and intended to remove all 6th formers from the comprehensives to a college catering for 600 pupils.

The two comprehensives which serve the inner areas (including the bulk of Liverpool's black population) are to be closed and their pupils "dispersed"—i.e. sent to strange schools with new

teachers and long journeys to school. This contrasts with the "protection" given to the 'prestige' institute children, whose education, presumably, is too important to interrupt.

Campaign

Paddington Comprehensive, one of the schools to be closed, has a beautiful £5m modern one-site building, large enough for 2,000 pupils. It also has a good academic record: three times as many examination passes with only half the number of pupils as the surrounding small secondary moderns which are to remain open. Numbers of pupils at Paddington have been declining in recent years because of the uncertainty hanging over it.

Tory Councillor Hallows claimed that all opposition to his scheme is a "conspiracy"—all the objectors are demanding 11-18 comprehensives. It isn't a conspiracy, Mr Hallows, it's a campaign. The labour movement, including the NUT, is committed to comprehensives to provide the maximum possible range of

subjects and different paces of development for every child, without the stigma of failure at 11-plus.

We are fighting to keep 16-19 education in schools because less pupils "drop out" (20% compared to 60% in other forms of 16+ education), because we need to keep the resources and the teachers in the main schools, and to encourage younger pupils to think about "staying on".

However, "staying on" at school is expensive, especially when there is widespread unemployment. Hundreds of youngsters have shown that they are interested in education when offered on the 'return and learn' scheme, which allows three days' study per week without losing dole rights.

The demand for grants for all 16+ students must be taken up, especially in this city, with 9,000-plus young-unemployed, Shirley Williams has advised Education Authorities to introduce this on a discretionary basis—we must demand a full grant as a right with no means test.

Six hundred places on offer at the sixth form college will not allow for these students. Neither will it cater for pupils who wish to return for an extra year to study extra 'O'-levels or CSEs or other non-'A'-level courses. The Institute building was con-

Felicity Dowling

(Liverpool NUT)

demned in the days of Maggie Thatcher as Secretary of State for education—it is totally unsuitable as a sixth form college.

We must fight to make good the cuts in public expenditure and make budgetary need the basis of education planning.

However, unless there is a concerted campaign, Liverpool's education system will revert to selection—the needs of the privileged will be served and working class children condemned to the glorified secondary mods considered 'suitable' for factory and dole fodder.

The Tories and Liberals in Liverpool have already started the next round of their attacks, on selling council housing (see last week's 'Militant'). Labour Parties and parents' groups must get out on the streets and campaign—unions should be urged to back the scheme.

If we don't fight now, we will face more vicious attacks and a bigger battle later on.

LIBERALS IN LIMBO

At their recent Southport conference, Liberal delegates and leaders alike vehemently denounced the "vicious press". They were feeling the other end of the stick!

Recent by-elections and the opinion polls suggest that in a general election the Liberals would be reduced to about half their present 13 seats in parliament, in other words to about the number they had in the 1950s and '60s.

The Liberal leaders' reaction has been one of desperation. Having just broken off the Pact with the Labour government, Steel and co. feel free to pour criticism on both Labour and the Tories.

The present system of government, declaimed Steel, is not a democracy but "a rotating dictatorship". Yet the Liberals are evidently preparing to hang on the coat-tails of whichever dictator will have them!

The trouble is that, as far as their big business backers are concerned, they have served their purpose. The 'Sunday Times' (17 September) has brutally summed up the Liberals' role: "They have helped to guard the [Labour] government from a number of errors: sharply increasing the price of petrol in April 1977, nationalising the remaining private companies in water and road haulage, extending the use of direct labour by local councils, allowing the sphere of dock workers to spread inland, establishing a union-dominated system of industrial democracy, granting postal workers an unlimited right to strike and—above all—weakening on the third phase of the incomes policy."

"That is the Liberal Party's

By Lynn Walsh

modern usefulness: to serve as a brake, a moderating influence, on the party in power."

With Callaghan's government hanging precariously on with Nationalist support, this role has gone. If the Tories are returned to government, big business hardly needs a Liberal brake on its own party!

In desperation, the Liberals have renewed their cry for proportional representation, the Liberals' "salvation". But on this issue, too, the ruling class has changed its tune—and left their former electoral darlings to their own fate.

After 1974, when big business still feared radical measures from the Labour government, they flirted with the idea of PR as a means of undermining the Labour vote.

Recent reports have revealed, in fact, that in 1975 Jeremy Thorpe, "working with a tight circle of Old Etonians," promoted the National Committee for Electoral Reform and the Liberal Action Group for Electoral Reform—both of which received huge sums from big business (including Barclays Bank) to carry out "non-political" propaganda for PR.

Under the Heath government the press built up the Liberals to act as a safety-net for disenchanted Tories, to keep them out of the Labour camp. PR would undoubtedly have given the Liberals a big



Jeremy Thorpe

boost.

But as the Labour government—particularly after Callaghan took over—knuckled under to big business's demands, the issue of PR was pushed into the background. Without the backing of big business, the Liberals will get nowhere on this issue.

Meanwhile—and not entirely by coincidence!—the press has brought to light the sinister skeletons in the Liberal Party's cupboard. These have all but destroyed the credibility of the Liberals as a radical, reforming party.

"We are radicals out to change a corrupt system," claimed Steel in Southport. Denouncing what he called the "Petrolgate" conspiracy, he condemned it as "a most scandalous example of sec-

recy". True enough, but what about the Liberals' secrets?

Even in 1974, the Liberals' hey-day was marred by stories of Jeremy Thorpe's involvement in London and County Securities, a fringe banking group which crashed in December, 1973, with losses of £16 million. The Liberal leader had resigned as director of the group shortly before: but the Department of Trade report questioned Thorpe's judgement in associating with the bank which, among other things, charged 280% interest on second mortgages.

But this was nothing to the "Norman Scott affair", now the "Thorpe Affair". The criminal charges brought against Thorpe and other former leading Liberals are

unprecedented as far as prominent British political figures are concerned.

The charges will be tried in the courts. But there are wider questions which have awkward implications for the Liberals.

How was the long-festering Scott case kept quiet for so long? When it suited them, there was a marked reluctance on the part of Fleet Street editors, top policemen and senior civil servants to bring things out into the light of day. Was it not in part because Thorpe and other Liberal leaders were part of the ruling circles—the "cosy ruling-class cartel"—which they so vehemently denounce from conference platforms?

And then, after the Scott case, the National Liberal Club scandal. Allegations of financial jiggery-pokery and vice hardly square with the Liberals' image of high-minded purity. On the contrary, reports suggest a Club and party committees run by a clique of establishment figures, old school tie pals, and family friends.

Revelations about the Liberal Party's finances, however, are even more significant politically. There were secret funds, and leading Party members were kept in the dark as to how they were used.

One source, however, has come out. A sum of at least £219,000 was donated by Mr Jack Haywood, millionaire property tycoon who lives in the tax-haven Bahamas. A source of finance hardly consistent—to say the least—with radical defenders of individual rights and social justice!

Everything that has come to light in recent months has only confirmed the worst suspicions of Labour activists. It underlines just how the government's Pact with the Liberals finally sealed the abandonment of Labour's programme.

The scandals, apart from exposing the hypocrisy of Labour leaders, leave absolutely no doubt that the Liberal Party, for all its radical phraseology, is the plaything of big business, to be wheeled out or discarded according to needs of the day.

NOW and THEN

The good old days. Thorpe and Steel with Cyril Smith at his by-election victory 1972



Credit: Popperfoto

LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE GREETINGS

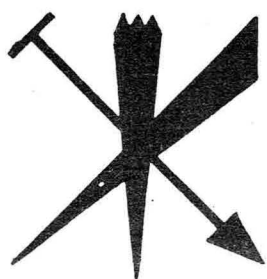
Swansea LPYS

Send greetings to delegates and visitors at 1978 Conference
No to wage restraint!
35-hour week now!

Fraternal greetings to Labour delegates attending Labour Party Conference from the Isle of Wight LPYS

Fraternal greetings to delegates at conference from Chris Richards, Cardiff North CLP delegate
Also greetings from Paul Traynor, CLP Vice-Chair, and Cardiff North LPYS

LIVERPOOL WAVERTREE CLP



Sends Socialist Greetings to all delegates and visitors attending 1978 Conference and calls for Socialist Policies.

For a £70 minimum wage 35-hour working week with no loss of pay

WOKINGHAM AND BRACKNELL TRADES COUNCIL sends fraternal greetings to Labour Party Conference
For a 35-hour week and a £70 minimum wage now!

EDINBURGH No 1 ASLEF send fraternal greetings to Labour Party Delegates

Greetings to all delegates at Labour Party Conference '78 from Gloucester LPYS Socialist policies now!

Manchester Central Labour Party Young Socialists and Manchester Central CLP delegate Eddie Newman send fraternal greetings to Labour Party Conference and the whole labour movement
For an end to millionaire Labour MPs
For socialist policies and leadership

Cathy Wilson, Prospective Parliamentary Candidate, IOW

Calls on all delegates to support IOW CLP in its fight to get its resolution on the 35-hour week back on the Agenda.

MILITANT LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE SPECIAL

Four
extra
pages



Photo: Andrew Wiard (Report)

INTO THE EIGHTIES ?

Peter Taaffe, Editor of Militant, assesses the NEC/TUC document and puts the Marxist alternative.

'INTO THE EIGHTIES', an agreed statement produced by the TUC and the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party, contains the proposals of the leaders of the labour movement, for defeating the Tories and returning a Labour government in the next election.

Yet the programme it advances cannot guarantee victory for Labour. Nor can it cure the sickness of the British economy.

The maladies of British and world capitalism are indicated: "Unemployment is a world-wide problem. Sixteen million are unemployed in OECD countries alone...the problem of restoring full employment within an acceptable period of time is daunting. In addition to those presently unemployed, the workforce is expected to grow by an average of 170,000 a year."

Even the capitalist economists are predicting that millions may be thrown out of work in the next decade in Britain and throughout the capitalist world. They outbid each other as to the figure—2,

3, and even 5 million "workless"—the saccharine term for the victims of the system—have been estimated for the 1980s.

Practical?

The very technology which could mean undreamed of plenty, such as microprocessors, threatens to annihilate millions of jobs and add to the misery of working people on the basis of the present anarchic, unplanned system.

But, protest the authors of this document, this need not happen:

"There is no mystery about why we have a high level of unemployment. The fact is

that our economy, in common with other OECD countries, has been growing less than its productive potential, in other words less than the growth needed to provide the requisite number of jobs. We do not accept that our economic growth in the years ahead has to be less than the post-war average. The resources of manpower and capital are available. Indeed given North Sea oil, there should be scope for us to grow faster than our main industrial competitors. The need is to set ourselves a credible growth path to achieve a return to full employment—and this implies a rate of growth well above 3% per annum in the years ahead. Our objective is to re-establish full employment and to secure a rise in the nation's living standards, indeed an improvement in our position relative to other countries. Among the conditions for achieving this objective are increased investment coupled with improved industrial performance and continued success in the battle against inflation."

This "hard-headed" and "practical" approach is, in reality, completely utopian. The capitalists do not close down factories, cut production, and throw workers out on the stones just for fun or because they are merely vicious and nasty people—which, of course, they are. It is the workings of their

system which compels them to take such measures.

The capitalists have seen their rate of profit plunge to about 2.2% of total capital on the eve of the Labour government coming to power.

'Into the Eighties' will not arm the labour movement in Britain for the events which lie ahead. It grossly underestimates the gravity of the crisis of British capitalism. Indeed, it avoids speaking in class terms. The leaders of the movement have not understood that the era of gradual reforms, of lasting and steady improvements in living standards, is over as far as the capitalists are concerned.

Profits come from the unpaid labour of the working class. In the final analysis, the only way to increase profits is to cut the working class's share of the wealth created by the workers' labour and to give the extra to the moneybags.

This can be done by cutting wages or holding wages down

while prices go up; or by slashing expenditure on the "social wage"—the social services, housing, education etc; or by a combination of these measures.

It was this programme which the capitalists forced on the Labour government by means of a threatened investment strike. A massive bonus of £25 million a day is being handed to the monopolies in tax cuts and subsidies. As a consequence, there has been a small increase in the overall rate of profit, while the total amount, the mass of profits, has increased.

Yet like the insatiable werewolves, the capitalists have demanded more and more. The Confederation of British Industries has just proposed a further cut of £5 billion on state expenditure as a means of augmenting the capitalists' profits. They hope to restore the rate of profit to 10%, but this can only be achieved by a programme of draconian cuts in living standards.

Even if they are successful in securing the implementation of such cuts, however, this would not necessarily lead to increased investment. The capitalists are enmeshed in the contradictions of their system. They demand cuts to boost their profits. But this in turn cuts the market—what the capitalists call "consumption"—thus cutting down the incentive of the capitalists to



Peter Taaffe

invest. Why invest when industry is only working at 80% capacity and when moreover another recession looms in 1979 or 1980?

It is these factors which explain the failure of the "industrial strategy", which was admitted by Len Murray in his address to the TUC. The sacrifices made by the working class, which has meant agonies for the poorer sections, were to be compensated by increased investment and more jobs. As the Marxists predicted, this has not happened.

Manufacturing investment is expected to increase by a meagre 10% to 13% this year, which will be less than in 1970 itself low by post-war standards.

**CONTINUED
OVER**

MILITANT LABOUR PARTY C



Ron Haywood and Joan Lester, 1977 LP Conference

Photo: Andrew Wiard (Report)

1978 NEC REPORT: FAILS TO DRAW REAL BALANCE SHEET

Annual Conference is a time to look back over the past year with a view to drawing a balance sheet of events and experiences. The threat of a Tory government has hovered like a thunder cloud for the last twelve months. Unemployment has failed to fall below the official 1½ million. Section after section of trade unionists have come out in favour of a 35-hour week, following the lead of the POEU membership.

Membership

With these crucial issues, and many others, facing activists in the movement, an account of the work of the leadership of the party is what many delegates will be looking for. But as far as the 1978 NEC Report is concerned, they will look in vain.

Yet the organisational report certainly suggests the need for drastic steps, both political and organisational, if the party is to again have a mass active membership and be strong enough to defeat the Tories.

Membership now stands at 678,587, an increase of 19,529. Yet as the report admits, these figures hide the real situation. It is still the lowest membership since 1948! The real—lower—figure is concealed by the minimum affiliation figure of

1,000. When this is coupled with a decline in the number of full-time agents from 86 to 77, then the seriousness of the situation can be seen.



By Tony Saunois

Tony is the new LPYS reresentative on the NEC

How can we stop this decline and start really building the party? Nowhere does the Report attempt to answer this vital question.

It is not purely organisational but political measures which need to be taken up by the NEC and party leadership. Faced with a possible general election, the report states that, "in view of other activities, a general national recruiting drive was not held in 1978." Yet surely, in the run-up to an election, the party needs to turn itself outwards and campaign on socialist policies. If the Tories are to be defeated once and for all.

— The Campaign Against

Racialism agreed by conference in 1976 appears to have been run down, and there is no explanation for this in the report.

What could be done is briefly shown in the Youth Report. Anti-racialism and the fight against unemployment have been regular features of LPYS activity up and down the country. The largest LPYS Delegate Conference since 1964 took place in Llandudno in April, and the number of LPYS branches has increased from 356 to over 395. A National Week of Action along with recruitment drives in the schools took place, and a successful, though rather wet, summer camp.

Although the LPYS have been scoring these successes and the Labour Party has remained virtually stagnant,

the Report makes no comment on this. The fact that the youth section of the Party has taken socialist policies out onto the streets and to the factories and in this way drawn youth into the party should really be taken as a model of what the whole Labour Party should be doing.

The section on the Parliamentary Labour Party simply gives an account of the government's actions with no explanations as to why the election Manifesto which the Party agreed upon has simply been thrown to the winds!

What the Report amounts to is little more than a secretarial record of the NEC's work with no or little political comment. The national conference of the Labour Party surely has a right to a political report of the actions and activities of the NEC. How else can the work of the Party be debated and the NEC made accountable to conference?

Leadership

As the leading body of the Party, the NEC has a responsibility to fight for policies passed by conference, organise campaigns, and provide the movement with a balance sheet of the past year—together with a perspective for the future. It's up to conference to demand that this in future is what delegates get.

Only a Social

CONTINUED
from front

The calamitous situation facing British capitalism was shown in the May issue of the National Westminster Bank's Quarterly Review, which pointed out: "The gap gets wider each year, and to bring out industry into line with the three main industrial powers (Japan, USA, Germany) would even now mean finding a way of usefully employing a further £100,000 million of assets whilst maintaining only the present labour force."

But the stupid and short-sighted British capitalist have stepped up investment in speculative enterprises where they calculate they can make a quick profit. Thus 25% of agricultural land which has been put for sale has been bought by the "financial institutions". As a consequence, the prices of agricultural land has shot up by 70% since the beginning of 1977.

Nevertheless, argues this document, "The Bonn Declaration signed by the Prime Minister and the six other largest industrial nations in July, offers the prospect of a sustained period of economic growth." This, however, is a perspective which is accepted by not one serious capitalist commentator.

At the same time, foreign investment continues to increase: "while private British investment overseas...represented only 7% of private sector fixed investment in the United Kingdom in 1966, a decade later the corresponding percentage was more than twice as great." (Michael Meacher, Labour Junior Minister, in 'The Times').

The effects of this can be seen in the reduction of Britain to an industrial slum. Industry after industry has collapsed. The steel industry for instance, is expected to produce 17 million tons this year, and yet 26 million tons was produced by formerly backward China in 1976. The British economy is bleeding to death with fully 59% of all imports in Britain either manufactured or semi-manufactured goods. The only reason why a massive deficit on the balance of payments has not developed is because of North Sea oil.

Labour Ministers hopefully point to the partial increase in Britain's share of world trade: in 1968 it cornered 11.6% of world manufacturing exports, in 1974 it had slumped to 8.8%, and it now stands at 9.4%. This is loudly trumpeted as a vindication of the "industrial strategy". But this miserable improvement has little to do with the measures of the government and everything to do with the slow

growth of world trade.

Such is the lack of competitiveness of British industry that a growth of world trade would mean that the British capitalists would be hopelessly outstripped by their rivals, with a further sucking in of imports into the British economy.

The pious call for a growth rate in excess of 3% is a vain hope. In the document presented to the Conference last year, the National Executive itself pointed out: "we shall need a growth rate of 5% a year until 1985 if we are to get unemployment below one million. Such a sustained growth has never been achieved in this country since the war...we could face 3 million unemployed when the oil runs out."

Nevertheless, argues this document, "The Bonn Declaration signed by the Prime Minister and the six other largest industrial nations in July, offers the prospect of a sustained period of economic growth." This, however, is a perspective which is accepted by not one serious capitalist commentator. In fact, the leaders of the movement, as shown by this document, are the only ones who have any faith in the ability of capitalism to stage such a recovery!

Time and again in the last three years the capitalist powers have met in Puerto Rico, in Washington, in London and recently in Bonn—with each one proclaiming their intention to "stimulate" their economies. But each time, even before the ink has dried on the agreement, the targets for growth have been amended and scaled down as the vested national interests of each group of capitalists have come to the fore.

Britain and America have urged Japan and West Germany to "stimulate" their economies, and both have replied, none too politely, that America should cut its oil imports and take the initiative in "growth" first. There is no possibility of eliminating the vast army of unemployed in the capitalist countries, even if there should be a temporary "priming of the pump" by the capitalist powers. Such measures are likely only to make a small dent, if any at all, in the unemployment figures—at the same time giving a twist to world inflation.

Measures such as those mentioned in the document—Temporary Employment Subsidy, Job Release Scheme, Job Creation Programme—are palliatives which will not eliminate unemployment, as the document itself tacitly admits. Why give massive subsidies to the capitalists only to see unemployment inexorably climb?

Moreover, the idea underpinning the document (that massively increased state expenditure, and particularly increased subsidies to firms to employ or retain labour, is completely unrealistic on a long-term basis. These are the ideas of Keynes, that "priming the pump" and "deficit financing" can extricate capitalism from its difficulties.

To their cost, the capitalists have learned that ever increa-

CONFERENCE SPECIAL

Best programme can assure Labour victory

ing public expenditure which is not matched by increased production only fuels the fires of inflation. They have therefore relegated Keynes' ideas to the rubbish bin and looked for other false gods in the form of the "monetarists".

Such is the lack of competitiveness of British industry that a growth of world trade would mean that the British capitalists would be hopelessly outstripped by their rivals, with a further sucking in of imports into the British economy.

The Labour and Trade Union leaders (at least those claiming to stand on the left) are supporting the ideas of the capitalists of yesterday. The right wing, as ever faithfully reflecting the latest thinking of the capitalists, have abandoned Keynesian ideas and are now staunch defenders of capitalist orthodoxy and of balanced budgets.

The whole labour movement will of course support the demand for increased expenditure on schools, hospitals, housing, etc. We are for a programme of useful public works to soak up the unemployed. The capitalists have created this crisis, let them pay for it!

But who will pay for the increased expenditure? If it is to be the capitalists through increased taxes, they will have less to invest, factories will not be built and the queue of unemployed will grow. If it is to be the working class, then this will cut the market and will have the same effect.

If, on the other hand, the government finances it by printing money—as did the Tories under Barber—without

it being backed by the production of goods, this would result in inflation. On the basis of capitalism, what is given with one hand will be taken back with the other.

The same applies to the reforming legislation—mentioned in the document—in the last four years—the Employment Protection Act, the Health and Safety Act, etc.

The ineffectiveness of the Employment Protection Act was clearly demonstrated by the Grunwick dispute.

The central idea of this Act was that labour and capital could be reconciled by a system of arbitration. The class struggle was to be conjured away by the conference table.

This completely ignored the mutually opposed interests of the capitalists and working class. The capitalists are bent on reducing the living standards of the working class and the latter will resist this with the full power of their organisations



Moss Evans: "5% unacceptable"

Such was the case in the Grunwick dispute. Both this Act and the Health and Safety Act—of which many provisions remain on paper only—demonstrated that even partial reforms can only be enforced by the full strength of the workers' organisations.

'Into the Eighties' will not

arm the labour movement in Britain for the events which lie ahead. It grossly underestimates the gravity of the crisis of British capitalism. Indeed, it avoids speaking in class terms. The leaders of the movement have not understood that the era of gradual reforms, of lasting and steady improvements in living standards, is over as far as the capitalists are concerned.

With remorseless pressure on the Labour government, they have compelled it to carry through a programme of counter-reforms.

Claims are now made that increased living standards have taken place in the past year in contrast to the two years before and this is an augur of what is to come.

Certain sections have undoubtedly gained, increases higher than the rate of price increases. But most are from being fully compensated for what they lost in the previous period. The poorest sections of the working class, moreover, the low paid and the unemployed are considerably worse off.

This can all be put behind us, argues the document, if inflation is conquered by means of a continuation of the present policies of "restraining" wage increases. It has not, however, been a limitation wage increases which has resulted in the drop in prices, but the slowing down in world prices, cheaper raw materials from abroad for industry and the increase in the value of the pound.

All the signs point to an increase in world commodity prices in late 1979 which will result in a rise in inflation, irrespective of the level of wage increases in Britain.

The legend that wage increases cause price rises has been exploded by the experience of the last four years in Britain, as well as in other countries like Chile and Israel, where wages have been slashed but prices continue to

go through the roof.

The declaration of a 5% wages "norm" will do nothing to engender active support for Labour amongst trade unionists. Only a fighting programme can rouse the 12 million strong labour movement for battle and ensure the defeat of the Tories. The strength of the working class lies in its unconquerable power once it is conscious and begins to move into action.

Neither the millions of pounds spent on expensive propaganda, nor all the paraphernalia of whiz kid advisers would be a match for the labour movement so organised. But the leaders of the movement seem to be determined to avoid such a mobilisation.

If this is not the case, how to explain this milk-and-water programme which does not mention socialism once throughout its 16 pages?

Even the demand for the nationalisation of the banks and insurance companies, which was passed by a 6 to 1 majority at the Labour Party Conference, has been abandoned. In its place has been proposed an "Investment Reserves Fund". This alongside the other measures suggested to encourage the capitalists to invest, is like trying to persuade a vegetarian to eat meat.

The Conference must demand that the NEC draws up a programme for inclusion in the Manifesto which sums up

the experience of the Labour government and the trade union and labour movement over the last four years. This demonstrates that the aims of the last manifesto could only have been implemented if the government had been in control of the real levers of economic power, the monopolies.

The Conference must demand that the NEC draws up a programme for inclusion in the Manifesto which sums up the experience of the Labour government and the trade union and labour movement over the last four years. This demonstrates that the aims of the last manifesto could only have been implemented if the government had been in control of the real levers of economic power, the monopolies.

Last year's document showed that half of Britain's manufacturing output, assets and employment is controlled by just 100 firms, while half of direct exports is controlled by just 50: 'Labour Research'

has recently shown that the top 20 monopolies have combined assets of \$30,459 million and 8,000 subsidiaries world wide.

A mere 288 directors control this vast empire. It is the handful of millionaires in these companies and in the other 200 monopolies who control 85% of the wealth of Britain. They are a dictatorship of finance capital, thinly veiled by capitalist "democracy".

It is the decisions of these unelected capitalist despots which affects the lives of the British people, the direction of the economy and even the fate of governments. Their domination of the economy has wreaked havoc on the British working people. Their control of the monopolies should be removed by nationalising these concerns, with minimum compensation to those in proven need.

It is only in this way that planning of the economy can be undertaken. A socialist plan of production could be drawn up by the trade unions, the shop stewards' committees, housewives and small businessmen, under democratic workers' control and management.

Then, instead of the government haggling and attempting to thwart the labour movement's justified demand for a 35-hour week, it would be possible to introduce a 30-hour week and a four- or even three-day week almost immediately.

Living standards could be improved dramatically on the basis of a massive increase in the growth of the economy which socialist planning and the abolition of the anarchy of the market, would mean.

It would also guarantee victory for Labour in the General Election. In the debates at the Blackpool Conference delegates from Labour Parties should press for such a programme to be drawn up now.



James Callaghan: insisting on 5%

WHY WE ARE STANDING FOR THE NEC

We are seeking election to the NEC of the Labour Party, as Marxists and supporters of 'Militant', in order to fight for policies in the interests of working people.

Throughout the history of the Labour Party, the fight against the misery of mass unemployment has been taken up by the rank and file. Once again, with the developing crisis of capitalism, working people are faced with a rising swell of mass unemployment.

One and a half million are

on the dole, 50% of those are under the age of 26. Hundreds of thousands of school leavers every year are spending the first months of their "working" life signing on at the dole office.

More than at any time since the dark days of the 1930s it is now necessary for the Labour Party to take up a fighting programme against unemployment.

Giant leaps forward have been made in developing new technology, yet what has this meant under the anarchy of capitalism? Rather than being used to raise the quality of life for workers, thousands of

jobs have been lost. Millions of workers are forced to work overtime to make ends meet.

The Labour Party must once and for all get to grips with the problem. That is why we are standing for election to fight for socialist policies.

The introduction of a 35-hour working week with no loss of pay is now vital. If elected, we will fight for that demand to feature in the next election Manifesto. 750,000 extra jobs would be created if the working week was cut to 7 hours a day, five days a week. This demand must be taken up by the whole labour movement.

The Labour government should lead the way by introducing the 35-hour week for all public employees—immediately. If elected to the NEC, we undertake to fight for this demand, together with the introduction of a massive programme of useful public works to provide the houses, hospitals and schools that working people throughout Britain desperately need.

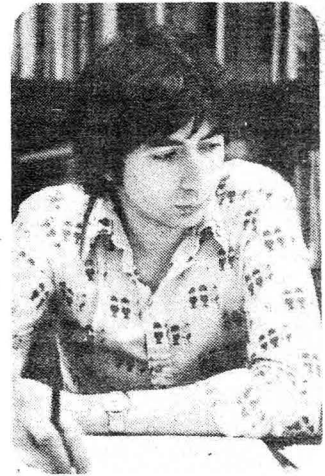
The employers tell us they cannot afford a reduction in



RAY APPS, Brighton Kemptown 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

the working week. It's time the labour movement took up this argument. Nationalisation of the major monopolies, under democratic workers' control and management to end the chaos of capitalism, to plan the economy, to meet the needs of

working people and their families. This is the programme to answer big business.

We ask all CLPs to support us in campaigning for a 35-hour working week and £70 minimum wage, a programme of public works and

the implementation of Clause Four, part four, as the only way to start the building of a socialist society. Elect us on the NEC to represent rank and file party members and fight for the implementation of socialist policies.

Re-selection

A year ago, just after last year's Party Conference, Reg Prentice announced on television his open defection to the Tory Party. The only surprise about this step was that, unlike most of his friends who still peddle Tory ideas in the Parliamentary Labour Party, Prentice had the barefaced cheek to actually "cross the floor".

Other right-wing Labour MPs were shocked and embarrassed, not because of his reactionary statements, but because Prentice's action clearly revealed to the Party membership the logic of thinking that they share.

Prentice's treacherous step was a complete vindication of the long campaign by Newham North East Labour Party to exercise its democratic right to replace him as their parliamentary candidate in the next general election.

Not only had they to contend with all the difficulties arising from an attempt to activate section 7 (B) of Party rules, but they had to fight expensive legal battles with right-wing infiltrators evidently financed by the worst enemies of the Labour Party.

This whole bitter episode in the Party's history was also a vindication of the rank and file's demand for rule changes that would supplement the "last resort" right of recall embodied in 7(B) with a thoroughly democratic procedure for automatic, mandatory re-selection.

For a number of years, Constituency Parties had been battling for proposals for re-selection to be debated at Conference. Such was the pressure that last year, despite 67 resolutions representing the Campaign for Labour Party Democracy's position, being arbitrarily excluded, there was a debate on Composite 29 moved by Brighton Kempton.

At the end of the debate, delegates were persuaded to remit the composite with a promise from the chairman, Ian Mikardo, that "we shall put down at next year's Annual Conference all the amendments to the constitution necessary to provide automatic re-selection in the way and in the sense that the sponsors of those 60-odd resolutions want. I do not think there is the least chance of the Executive renegeing on that undertaking."

Even before the Working Party set up to frame rule-change proposals had started work, however, it was clear that prominent members of the PLP, including James Callaghan himself, with the help of a number of Transport House officials, had started a campaign to

dilute drastically any new re-selection procedure.

From the first meeting of the working party, it became clear that a majority was, in reality, opposed to the idea of mandatory re-selection which Conference had demanded and which delegates had been promised. That is why it was necessary for Jo Richardson, Bernard Kissen, and myself to produce a Minority Report.

Regrettably, the NEC accepted the Majority Report by 15 votes to 5—with only Frank Allaun, Nick Bradley, Eric Heffer, Joan Maynard, and Emlyn Williams opposing this retreat from the NEC's previous commitment.

Majority Report

The Majority Report of the working party which appears in Appendix 1 of the 1978 Report (page 172), can in no way be described as providing for automatic re-selection.

The majority proposes that not earlier than 18 months and not later than 36 months after an MP is elected a special General Committee meeting would be held, the date to be determined in consultation with the sitting Member. The MP would be invited to address that meet-



Ian Mikardo

ing and a resolution would be put appointing him or her as prospective Parliamentary candidate.

If the resolution were not carried then the meeting would consider a second resolution, to set in motion procedure for a normal selection meeting. This could not be held, however, until



Reg Prentice: Labour disguise dropped Photo: Angela Phillips IFL

the NEC had considered any appeal from the sitting Member if the first resolution was defeated.

Whatever the majority claims, these proposals amount to a two-stage procedure. Far from establishing the constituency party's right to re-select, the first meeting would have the character of a rally in support of the sitting MP, with the onus for change placed on the rank and file.

The two-stage procedure, which could drag on for months, will give them a field day. Divisions in the Party would be fostered and played upon.

Careerists

Career MPs in safe seats will be determined to hang on even if they wreck the party in the process. Prentice demonstrated this clearly enough.

That is why automatic re-selection is an extension of party democracy vital to the growth and success of the Party. The argument that CLPs ought not to have to go through the selection procedure if they do not wish to is fatuous. If an MP has the support of his or her constitu-

ency, successful re-selection will simply reaffirm confidence.

Minority Report

The rule change proposed in the Minority Report (1978 Report, Appendix 1, page 177) makes it mandatory for every Constituency to hold a Selection Conference, the sitting MP to be placed on the short list unless he or she wishes to retire. If this became part of the normal democratic process of the Party, without the need to pass a vote of 'no confidence' first (because that is what the proposal of the majority would mean in practice) the press would be given less opportunity to intervene and stir the pot, MPs would be more aware of Party policy as decided by Conference, and local parties would be reinvigorated, leading to growth in membership and activity.

One of the arguments—put forward by Ian Mikardo and others—against automatic reselection as proposed in the Minority Report is that it runs into trade union opposition over sponsored MPs. This

is fully answered in the minority report.

It is right that trade unions should have a say in the selection of MPs. But this should be exercised through the trade union delegates to General Management Committees. No trade union—or other affiliated body—has the prescriptive right to a parliamentary seat.

This is, in fact, recognised by the unions, and it is common practice for candidates to be sponsored after selection, and many unions sponsor candidates even if they are not members of that union.

Section 7 [B]

The proposals for re-selection proposed in the Minority Report would ensure that all MPs had to go through the same process, as a matter of course, the intervention by an hostile press would be minimised.

The minority report, however, also proposes the retention of paragraph B of section 7. It is vital that in any new procedure this clause, which is in effect a final right of recall, be retained as a reserve power.

The call to retain Section 7 (B), incidentally, is also supported by Eric Heffer MP (see letter, 1978 Report page 178).

Composite 29 from Kempton Labour Party, which I moved at last year's conference, included the call for Section 7 (B) to be retained precisely because we feared that the parliamentary party would accept a new, milk-and-water re-selection process in return for the abandonment of their parties' real power of recall.

Our worst fears have been confirmed!

The right to move a vote of no confidence at any time of our choosing is to be exchanged for the paltry opportunity to move a vote of 'no confidence', if the majority proposals go through, just once, at a time pre-arranged to suit the sitting MP. Having got through a procedure heavily weighted in his or her favour, the MP would be safe to do what he liked in Parliament for up to seven years without the membership being able to do anything about it.

But when it became clear to

the majority on the working party that the majority's proposals would not amount to genuine automatic re-selection, it became even more necessary to insist on the retention of B (7).

The majority's report includes the recommendation that before a general committee may consider a vote of no confidence in a sitting member, it must obtain the permission of the NEC. This takes away an existing democratic right and gives the NEC a new power of veto.

If this had applied before, Prentice and other Tory entryists removed under section 7 (B)—with all its limitations—would quite likely still be masquerading as Labour MPs.

Even if the minority's proposed re-selection procedure is accepted, however, it would still be necessary for CLPs to have the ultimate power to recall their MP other than at a once-and-for-all re-selection meeting.

Conference is now faced with a clear choice: either accept the diluted proposals of the Majority Report—which would leave the Party worse off than before—or support the proposals of the Minority, placed before Conference in the constitutional amendments from Brighton Kempton and Chorley CLPs (Agenda, page 15).

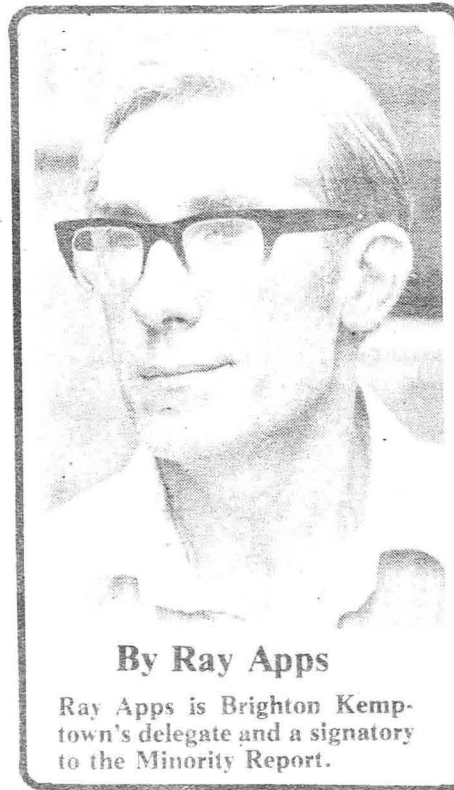
Vote

Whether or not the genuine proposals for mandatory re-selection carry the day, one thing is clear: the Party will not indefinitely tolerate disguised Tories of the Gaitskell school within the ranks of their parliamentary representatives.

In the coming period of sharpening political battles constituency parties will not tolerate this situation—whatever the limitations of the re-selection rules. Nevertheless, both to safeguard the internal democracy of the Party and to minimise dissension and outside interference by the press, it is vital that the mandatory re-selection procedures demanded by the membership for so long are carried through at this Conference.

Support the Minority Report! Vote for the Brighton Kempton Amendment!

SUPPORT THE MINORITY REPORT!



By Ray Apps

Ray Apps is Brighton Kempton's delegate and a signatory to the Minority Report.

LABOUR IS COMMITTED TO NATIONALISATION

The moral is clear: if you are a right-wing party 'elder' you can tug an already distorted article about the Labour rank-and-file even further away from the truth and have your remarks printed in 'The Times' the same day. If you're an ordinary member who tries to set out a few facts, however, your letter is thoroughly scrutinised... and then scrapped.

With the delay in holding a general election giving the Labour Party conference and the NEC the opportunity to draw up a new Manifesto, arguments over the capitalist press and "Labour's Programme 1973" are of immediate relevance.

Predictably, however, Labour's right wing and the capitalist press are spokesmen of big business are once again trying to cast doubt on the Party's repeated commitment to economic policies based on nationalisation of major companies.

Reviewing 'The House The Left Built: Inside Labour Policy Making 1970-1975' by Michael Hatfield ('The Times' 31st August), Anthony Howard described the panic among the parliamentary leadership of the Labour Party in

1973 at the proposals to make the take-over of the 25 leading companies Labour Party policy. As Howard put it, "it took some very nifty footwork on Harold Wilson's part to sterilise the controversy."

Later Sir Harold Wilson himself replied to the review ('The Times' 2nd September). He offered the following interpretation of events.

"The National Executive Committee had an all day meeting during the Spring holiday of 1973. Most members had left when a snap vote took place on the 25-company proposal, late in the evening. It was carried by seven votes to six.

"The following morning I

issued a short statement which was printed in all newspapers, being the main front page headline in a number of them. I pointed out that under clause 5 of the 1918 constitution, any matter for inclusion in the manifesto must be agreed by the Parliamentary Labour Party, in modern times the Cabinet or Shadow Cabinet, and the National Executive Committee. The phrase I used which received wide publicity was that the Shadow Cabinet would 'veto' this proposal, adding that four-letter words were unpopular in the Labour Party. Furthermore, any item included had to be carried by Party Conference with a two-thirds majority on a block vote.

"In the event the proposal proceeded no further, but at the subsequent Party Conference in October, a motion by the Brighton Kemptown division and seconded by Liverpool Walton endorsing the proposal for 25 companies to be nationalised but also calling for a further 250 'monopolies to be taken over', was defeated by 5,600,000 to 291,000."

As I was a delegate to the 1972 Labour Party Conference, at which there was an important debate on nationalisation, I sent a letter to *The Times* challenging Harold Wilson's version of events.

The editor's acknowledgement said that the letter was "read with interest here" and that its "comments have been noted carefully". But he declined to print my reply.

The moral is clear: if you are a right-wing party 'elder' you can tug an already distorted article about the Labour rank-and-file even

further away from the truth and have your remarks set up in type the same day. If you're an ordinary member who tries to set out a few facts, however, your letter is thoroughly scrutinised...and then scrapped.

Readers of this paper, however, may be interested in the reality behind Sir Harold's myths.

"Shipley resolution"

Contrary to Sir Harold's interpretation, the 1973 Labour Party Conference was not the first occasion that the Party as a whole debated such policies. At the time of the NEC meeting mentioned by Sir Harold, debate on the topic of nationalisation had been underway for nearly three years.

From 1970 onwards, more resolutions for nationalisation of particular industries and for extended public ownership as a whole were passed by LP, TUC and Labour Women's Conferences than for a decade or more. This culminated in the 1972 conference resolution from Shipley CLP which called for:

"...a socialist plan of production, based on the public ownership with minimum compensation, of the commanding heights of the economy...[and] democratic control of industry through workers' control and management."

The 'Shipley resolution'—

as I pointed out to *The Times*—"was passed by 3,501,000 votes to 2,407,000 on a (block) card vote, and against the advice of the platform. This was no "snap vote", the resolution being moved in fact only seconds after the Leader of the Parliamentary Party at the time had sat down after giving his report. Although falling short of the two-thirds majority required for automatic inclusion in the party manifesto, the 'Shipley Resolution' remains a clear affirmation by the Party of its socialist goal and the relevance for the working class of a democratic socialist planned economy.

"Twelve months later, however, a similarly-worded resolution was defeated by a margin of nearly twenty to one. What should one conclude from this?

"First of all, rather than the Kemptown-Walton resolution at the 1973 Conference having 'grown out of' the resolution on 25 companies at the spring NEC, the proposal discussed at the National Executive that day was, if anything, a gutted version of the Party's Shipley statement of the previous autumn.

"Nevertheless, the '25' became a rallying-cry for wide sections of the movement and a whole number of '25' resolutions appeared, with other calls for public ownership, on the agenda for the 1973 Conference. It was with some difficulty that the platform succeeded there in persuading the conference not to pass them, and its main lever in doing this, as was widely recognised at the time, was the necessity, as the movement saw it, to 'close ranks' for the approaching election. This was not unity on any programme but precisely on the basis of the most radical policies for thirty years or more, including a substantial extension of public ownership.

"The vote against the full-scale socialist programme of Kemptown-Walton at first sight appears conclusive: 5,600,000, to only 291,000 in favour. But the figures conceal the fact that of the constituency votes, at least 250 local parties—over one half—went on record as reaffirming the Shipley decision of 1972, despite the prevailing mood of conference and the exhortations of the platform. Also, whilst the big union block votes were cast the other way, a questioning of this move undoubtedly took place inside each delegation.

"Just as the failure of the relatively mild 1964 programme can be identified as the parent of the debates of 1970 and after, their progeny in turn was "Labour's Programme 1973" and its ideas. The experience of the period since 1974, setting out originally on the basis of these policies, will in the coming years make its deeper mark felt on the consciousness of the movement...

Clause 4 fundamental

"Finally, Sir Harold Wilson invokes the Party Constitution to ward off the spectre of the 25, his own particular 'albatross'. But without commenting on the interpretation of the procedural clauses which he cites so reverently, and the wider questions of party democracy his letter raises, one would point out that the 1918 document also lays down quite clearly in Clause Four part four the fundamental programme of Labour, to which end all subsequent policy decisions should in any case be seen as working: the public ownership and control of the means of production by the workers."

LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE GREETINGS

WEST MIDLANDS LABOUR STUDENTS ACTION GROUP

sends Conference greetings! Build Labour Clubs in NOLS and order our pamphlet 'Students and the Fight Against Racism and Fascism' from 49 Station Road, Longport, Stoke-on-Trent.

Ebbw Vale LPYS

sends fraternal greetings
End unemployment
For a Socialist plan of production

PRESTON POLYTECHNIC LABOUR GROUP

Free and continuing education for all

MILITANT SUPPORTERS on Birmingham Trades Council

send fraternal greetings and urge all delegates to fight for a 35-hour working week to end unemployment

EASTLEIGH LABOUR PARTY YOUNG SOCIALISTS

Fraternal greetings to Conference Workers of the World Unite

HARBOROUGH LPYS

(South Leicestershire)
For a 35-hour week with no loss in pay!
Forward to Socialism!

ROCHDALE LPYS

send fraternal greetings to Labour Party Conference. Support the Nursery composite for nursery places on demand.

EAST EDINBURGH LABOUR PARTY YOUNG SOCIALISTS

send fraternal greetings to delegates to the Labour Party Conference
ONLY SOCIALIST POLICIES CAN DEFEAT TORIES

Bristol LPYS

sends fraternal greetings to all comrades at Conference.
For Clause IV now!

Comradely greetings from Hull Central LPYS

Labour to power on a socialist programme!

CONFERENCE GREETINGS ROCHDALE CLP

'Support the under-fives nursery composite'

Vincent Petrillo
Chairman

Barry Haslam
Secretary

Ladywood LPYS

says fight for a majority Labour government and socialist policies

Lanchester Polytechnic

Labour Party Conference must draw up a Socialist Programme to win the next election

USDAW NOTTINGHAM CASTLE BRANCH [BOOTS]

Militant supporters send fraternal greetings to all delegates
SUPPORT A SOCIALIST PROGRAMME FOR LABOUR!

USA

America's Oppressed Blacks

Little has changed for the American negro since the days of Martin Luther King. Still this society is heavily based on barbaric racist oppression.


100 years after slavery, the negro still earns only 69% of the average wage, suffers from high unemployment and every form of racist discrimination.

The negro remains confined to the ghetto even when his income matches that of the whites. In 1970, 76.8% of black families earning over \$10,000 lived in the inner city compared to 30.9% of whites. Lower living standards, insti-

tutionalised discrimination and open hostility to blacks in white areas has meant that the black proportion of the suburban population only increased by 1.3% between 1960 and 1970.

In education the story is the

Feature by



Phil Frampton
(National Chairman Labour Party Young Socialists)

same. For example in California where the authorities introduced quotas for non-whites, still only 3% of medical students were non-whites, which compares with a non-white population of 25%.

There are a few more black teachers in the ghetto schools but even these gains will be whittled away if reaction succeeds in its attack on state education. In California the



Chicago's notorious police clubbing a negro about the head during an attempt to stop intimidation by American Nazis of a black neighbourhood

state education budget has been cut by 60% and in Philadelphia the Board of Education wishes to raise class sizes to an average of 37 kids per teacher.

Indeed it is in the field of education where the main battles against racism and for minority rights have taken place.

Bakke case

Allan Bakke, a white, was turned down by dozens of medical colleges for entrance onto their courses. Then he went to the University of California at Davis where an entrance quota of 16% non-whites was operating.

When rejected Bakke went to court and successfully argued that he had been kept out of a place in the college because of his colour. The court said the quota, known as 'Affirmative Action', was discriminatory.

The court ruling was clearly a racist attack on a genuine attempt to reverse the discriminatory policies in education which have denied blacks access to education. The aim of 'Affirmative Action' was to guarantee some blacks the opportunity of education and employment.

'Affirmative Action', however, is a liberal gesture, sharing out the limited facilities which exist in a capitalist society. It asks the white worker, whether in education or in jobs, that he should suffer and take a step back whilst others come forward.

Bussing

Thus the question raised is whether 'Affirmative Action' can succeed when it demands that one section of workers be sacrificed in order to save another. How can the white worker be asked to fight racial oppression when the anti-racists threaten his job and seniority?

With Bakke and with bussing, any reactionaries in the trade union movement have been able to mute the struggle against racism by appealing to the workers' genuine desire for a decent job and a decent education for his children.

Bussing now operates in several states and involves the sending of black children to white schools and vice versa. The arguments used in favour is to further desegregation and to get non-whites a better education.

Since the race riots which flared up when bussing was first introduced, there has been a stream of embittered white parents withdrawing their kids from the state education system. Clearly they are not prepared to see their kids go the worse off black schools and receive a worse education.

So the racists have a field-day and racial harmony takes a step back. Meanwhile the white flight from state education gives a further excuse for the capitalists to cut back on education spending.

Embittering the whites is not going to lead blacks to liberation. This can only be done by showing the white workers that racial oppression is against their interests, that the suppression of the Negro, the Chicano, the Indian and the Puerto Rican only leads to

the further oppression of all American workers.

The use of the minorities as cheap labour and a reserve army of unemployed only serves to keep the wages of white workers down. The racist divide in the factories weakens the battle to defend wages and conditions. The working class above all has to maintain unity in the struggle and on this basis demands should now go to the trade union leaders for a campaign against racism based on:—

- ★ No racist teachers—trade union control of hiring and firing
- ★ No racist textbooks—trade union inspection of all educational literature
- ★ For a free education for all—a massive injection of state finance
- ★ A guaranteed job and a minimum wage of \$17,500 tied to the cost of living

These sort of demands could strengthen the awaking colossus of labour and draw the American workers to their best tradition, throwing off the old chauvinist gangsters who are strangling their unions, and once more taking up the battle against capital and all its evils.

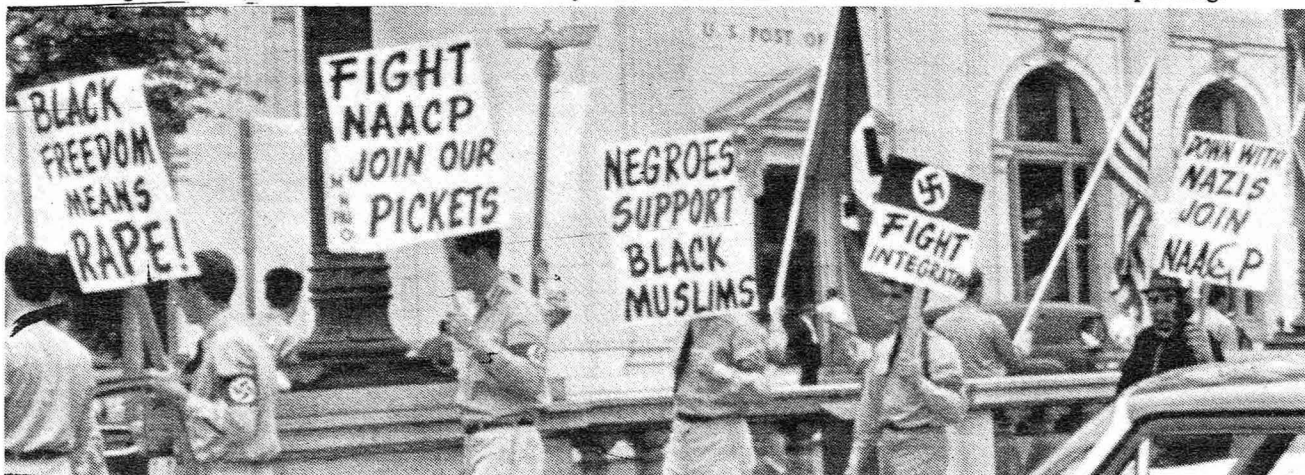
Unlike in the sixties, we are now seeing a simultaneous movement of the black and white workers. The massive demonstrations against racism in Chicago, Philadelphia, New York, Los Angeles and elsewhere are paralleled by the economic struggles of the miners, pressmen, postal workers, car workers and teachers.

Challenge

The next task is to draw these struggles together and to give them an independent political expression which in challenging racism, challenges the low wages and unemployment and hence challenges the rule of the big monopolies. In the last ten years, 4.5 million more Americans have fallen below the poverty line, while profits are increasing by over 15% a year.

Carter, Nixon, Ford and their big business paymasters in industry have conspired to push the American worker onto his knees. First the blacks of Philadelphia and the northern cities receive the treatment which is being prepared for the whites.

The warning is clear—only a united, independent labour movement fighting on class demands can beat back racism and impoverishment. Only the end of the rule of capital will end the use of racism.



Members of the 'American Nazi Party' attempt to provoke black Civil Rights workers in the 1960s

PHILADELPHIA'S RACIST MAYOR

Philadelphia, August 24th and we're walking through the centre of the city to join a protest march called by local black groups. There's about 600 negroes, young and old, waiting to move off to city hall.

There's a tense feeling as nobody dares to predict what the attitude of the police will be today. We are marching against their brutality and their racist spokesman, the city's Mayor, Frank Rizzo.

Recent events have reawakened the spirit of the sixties when the Negro Civil Rights movement reached a peak. This march was sparked off by a televised 18-minute police raid on a black religious sect called 'MOVE'.

'MOVE' were evicted and their headquarters bulldozed to the ground after resisting a 14-month long police siege. 300 heavily armed police were employed to carry out an eviction order, ostensibly because the 12 MOVE members were living in unsanitary conditions!

When the group refused to leave the building on August 8th, Rizzo was so worried about their health that he ordered high pressure water cannons and then police bullets to be used as persua-

"Put them in the chair and I'll pull the switch."

sion. By the end of the shoot out one policeman lay dead, killed by a companion, and others wounded.

The group surrendered. Then, as if to warn any blacks who might be watching the TV, the police openly set upon their victims with truncheons, boots and helmets.

Feelings ran so high that even the black policemen have protested at the treatment given to MOVE. Harold James, leader of the local Black Policemen's Association, said "Just because we are members of the police department does not mean that we can forget we are black" and called for a Federal investigation.

\$3.5 million was spent on crushing a tiny black group which 'Democrat' Rizzo had said "should be put in the chair and I'll pull the switch". For many blacks it was the last straw, the culmination of racist persecution by Rizzo who was recently named "Racist Hero of the Month" by the Klu Klux Klan.

Just 5 weeks ago, the police shot dead a young black while he was lying on the ground handcuffed. As yet the evidence of a host of witnesses has not led to any prosecution of Winston Hodd's uniformed killers.

So we march through the streets chanting, "Hell No, Rizzo". Young unemployed blacks join the march, swelling our numbers to about a thousand. Negroes in their cars and mothers out shopping with their children, join in the chants.

Approaching the city hall we meet up with the other sections of the march, they say we're almost 5,000 now. Around the city hall are hundreds of police with their batons and revolvers and, behind them, the mounted

police.

We stand outside 'The Gallery' and the first speaker reminds the crowd of how it is symbolic of Rizzo's contempt for the racial minorities. The Gallery is a new shopping complex built with \$25 million which had been originally allocated by the Federal Authorities for ghetto improvement! To cap it all, not one of the 127 shops has been let to a negro.

Stars and Stripes

Now they are staging a boycott of the complex, with pickets at every door. Later the marchers will enter and force the shops to close down for the rest of the day.

The crowd listen attentively to the speakers. A handful of black nationalist flags are being held up. Then an old negro, slightly inebriated, staggers up to the lady by my side, and asks, "What they got that flag for? What's wrong with the Stars and Stripes?" The old lady turns and scorns him, "Listen, the Stars and Stripes ain't our flag, we was only born here."

MIDDLE EAST: SANCTIONS

CAMP DAVID

1,001 UNANSWERED QUESTIONS



In their separate letters to President Carter the Egyptian and Israeli leaders have already demonstrated almost completely opposite interpretations of parts of the so-called agreement at Camp David. The American Secretary of State Cyrus Vance is at present touring the Middle East to sell the deal but in fact he is trying to find the ground for a treaty that as yet has no real basis.

Vance needs to be a magician, not a diplomat. Begin has made the position of Jerusalem, for example, quite clear from his point of view: "We annexed East Jerusalem in 1967—end of discussion." Sadat, on the other hand, has called for East Jerusalem to be returned to

Arab hands.

The same kind of disagreement over the "Agreement" is shown in relation to the Israeli settlements and the question of the status of Israeli forces in Gaza and the West Bank.

The real negotiations are only now beginning with

Vance's tour. The main emphasis of his diplomacy will be towards persuading Saudi Arabia and Jordan to accept the deal. Saudi Arabia is particularly important as the main economic prop of the Sadat regime, yet one which revolves around the most traditional Muslim laws and practices.

Despite Vance's hope that King Khaled may impress moderation on other Arab states, reinforcing Sadat's position, he may very well balk at the agreement that leaves the West Bank and Jerusalem in Israeli hands.

King Hussein also, at the time of writing, appears to be coming out against the agreement.

The Jordanian monarch is capable of turning 180°. There can be few Arab leaders who have so brutally betrayed the Palestinian Arabs in the past, yet even from the standpoint of the reactionary despot that he is, there is no special advantage for him in the agreement. In

fact there may be positive disadvantages.

Compared to all the various permutations, the King probably prefers the status quo, that is Israeli rule of the West Bank, as the least of all evils. For Jordan to become entangled in an expensive security involvement on the West Bank would be unthinkable, and even with economic aid the political risks would be far greater than any he now faces.

By John Pickard

In Israel the agreement has been broadly welcomed. Even the opposition of the settlers moving out could be overcome in the vote in the Knesset, at least in theory.

But the truth will dawn very quickly on Israeli workers. There are 1,001 unknowns and loopholes in this agreement.

The same Knesset mem-

bers who will vote for peace may later oppose dismantling of the settlements. Many of the Knesset members who vote to dismantle the settlements will then turn a blind eye to "military camps" and "archaeological digs" set up in the occupied areas.

Many other key problems have barely been faced or not faced at all. There is no agreement at all on the West Bank and Gaza.

From the point of view of Israeli capitalism the deal will be interpreted as meaning little change from the present. There will be no end to the Israeli security operations in these areas.

And what about the Golan Heights, taken from Syria in 1967 and 1973? They were not even mentioned at Camp David.

Inevitably, the Arab opposition to the agreement has already grown to a crescendo in the various national capitals and in the occupied area itself. In Israel, the Zionists will use the Arab opposition

as "proof" of the futility of agreements and of the need for secure settlements and borders.

In the unlikely event of a deal being signed, it could only include a settlement of Sinai, that is, a separate peace with Egypt. But such a deal, even with economic aid for Egypt, would undermine the Sadat regime dramatically and would provoke massive opposition in the occupied areas on a scale unprecedented since the occupation of those areas in 1967.

Far more likely is the possibility that there will be a postponement of the promised peace signing scheduled for three months' time, starting another round of talks about talks, and so dragging out the process all over again. This possibility also promises trouble for Sadat and Begin, both of whom have built up the hopes and expectations of their own workers to a new pitch in the last few days and weeks.

In Israel especially, a catastrophic anti-climax would produce a far-reaching debate and soul-searching, adding enormously to the class polarisation that has already begun within Israeli society.

OILGATE EXPOSED

"There is blood on their hands". The whole movement will echo Jack Jones's indictment of sanction busting and the cover-up.

For thirteen years, Shell and BP have oiled the wheels of Smith's murderous military machine. For most of this time Shell Rhodesia has been the sole oil supplier to the Rhodesian army.

Worse than the sanction-busting manoeuvres, however, has been the breath-taking hypocrisy of the companies and government, Labour and Tory alike, who for years indignantly denied any suggestion that British oil was getting through. Over £250 million of taxpayers' money was cynically squandered on a farcical naval blockade of Beira when all concerned knew that oil was flowing unimpeded through Lourenco Marques.

President Kaunda of Zambia has rightly said that the sanction-busting conspiracy is a British "Oilgate". Big business is now terrified that the reaction in Africa will lead to the expropriation of their assets in Zambia, with all the effects that would have in Zimbabwe itself. No wonder they applauded Jim Callaghan's hurried visit to Lagos to try to smooth things over!

But there has been enough covering up already. The labour movement must demand that the full facts are uncovered, and that those responsible for concealing sanction-busting are brought to book.

The Bingham Report has not revealed all. Senior ministers [apart from George Thompson] were not interviewed, and Bingham had only limited access to cabinet papers.

But Bingham shows the whole thing stinks. The basic facts [see 'Militant' 423] are quite clear: Shell and BP [as well as foreign oil companies] deliberately and systematically avoided sanctions for 13 years, sometimes by secret detours, but mostly by brazenly riling the oil directly from Lourenco Marques to Salisbury with the help of a few misleading shipping documents. Top civil servants actually advised them on suitable cover-up arrangements. Senior ministers, as George Thompson has confessed, connived in the cosmetic arrangements, and gave bland assurances that British companies were not breaking sanctions.

Shell and BP directors, principal secretaries, and Labour ministers are now all busily trying to pass the buck. Unfortunately, however, Bingham shows that not only was the sanction-busting deliberate, but that the deception of the public and the labour movement was also quite conscious.

"Oil would still reach Rhodesia, but it could be truly said that it was not British oil...It was undoubtedly

felt to be desirable that the Total arrangement should not be publicly disclosed: this was [perhaps primarily] because of the indication given to the companies that HMG would not disclose it, but also because of the use which could be made of the information by critics of British sincerity."

The whole operation, in other words, was deliberately covered by a heavy cloak of official secrecy to prevent criticism.

By Lynn Walsh

While the oil companies, anticipating exposure, have been relatively candid, hoping thereby to put the responsibility on the government, and even ministers like Thompson have owned up, Sir Harold Wilson has said that he had no knowledge of Shell/BP's sanction-busting arrangements. But senior Labour ministers knew. Key papers were sent to the cabinet office.

Is it credible that Sir Harold, well-known for his domination of the cabinet, really did not know? Is it not a case of the blind eye? If he really did not know, however, is it any less scandalous that a Labour prime minister, who had promised to bring down Smith "in a matter of weeks rather than months", should not make it his business to find out what was going on around him?

Some time ago, Richard Crossman revealed that in the judgement of Jim Callaghan, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, Britain "couldn't afford sanctions" [Vol II p 142]. Privately, Labour mini-

sters recognised that they could not make sanctions effective without measures against South Africa, Rhodesia's ever-open back door. British capital, they feared, with over £4,000 million investments in South Africa, would not tolerate interference with its trade.

George Thompson, moreover, has also confirmed that it was the financial crisis which accompanied the panic

Africans fighting in the liberation movement.

Black African leaders like Kaunda, it is true, have made their own secret deals with Smith and Vorster. But they now have all they need to divert attention away from their own policies and against the double-dealing of the British government.

Labour Party Conference, and the whole labour movement, must demand that the Labour government carry out the policies of the Party on international issues. If there are problems, let the Labour leaders spell them out. Publish the facts! Expose the ruthless plundering of the oil giants and other multinationals. Cut through the cynical diplomacy of capitalist governments and treacherous double-dealing!

Only by sticking to policies which reflect the internationalist interests of the workers, and by appealing to the exploited workers and toilers throughout the world, will a Labour government avoid becoming ensnared in the reactionary interests of international capital.

Even after Bingham's revelations, the oil is still getting through. It is absolutely clear that only action by the workers themselves can stop the oil. If the Labour government were serious about destroying Rhodesia's apartheid state, it would appeal to the organised dockers, railwaymen, refinery workers, and seamen to boycott all blacklisted oil. Then, and only then, would Smith be starved of oil.

Now, the days of white supremacy in Rhodesia are numbered. When the Smith regime falls, the South African police state will remain as

the last real bastion of white capitalist rule. A trade boycott would paralyse the apartheid regime. But only the working class, through their own strength and determination, could enforce an effective boycott.

As a first step in the right direction, the labour movement must insist that all the dirt which has been swept under the thick carpets of Whitehall and Westminster must be thoroughly cleaned out. Here again, it is only an inquiry based on the labour movement itself that will be able to get to the truth.

'The Times' has already voiced the attitude of the ruling class. Set up a Parliamentary Select Committee, they propose—knowing full well that such a committee, ultimately controlled by those implicated in the cover-up, would reveal nothing new.

But prosecutions in the courts are out, says 'The Times'. After all, it would be "unfair" to prosecute the "small fry"—and "a general charge against a decade of prime ministers, Foreign Secretaries, Permanent Secretaries, and Chairmen of oil companies of conspiring to evade the sanctions legislation is not a realistic proposal. The issues are essentially political and should go before a political tribunal."

Why? Because—it is clear—charges arising from our "Oilgate" would amount to a damning indictment of the whole system. But failure to bring charges does not mean that no crime has been committed, nor that no one is guilty.

Whether or not an official inquiry brings out the whole truth, the rotten system which has thrown up this monumental scandal will stand condemned in the eyes of millions of workers throughout the world. It is up to the labour movement to expose the whole truth, and draw all the necessary conclusions.

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

LETTERS

The sickness of capitalism

Dear Comrades

I was absolutely infuriated to read in today's edition of the 'Coventry Evening Telegraph' that "recent research by the Spastics Society and others shows clearly that by the application of existing knowledge about prevention, handicap at birth could be reduced by about 40 per cent." This means that out of the 80 physically handicapped babies born every day in this country we have the technological and medical ability to forewarn the parents of 32 of them, and possibly prevent a large number of those babies being born handicapped at all.

It saddened me to think that the reason this doesn't happen is because medical and other forms of research and advancement are, under capitalism, either ruled out because "the nation can't afford them" or they are only pursued when they can bring higher profits—the advent of the microprocessor and the resulting unemployment very clearly shows this.

Public spending cuts have hit the NHS very badly in this country, so that for example Walsgrave Hospital, one of the potentially biggest and best-equipped in the country, has several wards lying idle. At the same time there are thousands of nurses on the dole, and a few months ago an appeal to buy a "Body-Scanner", a vital piece of equipment in the early detection of a wide range of fatal diseases, had to be launched because the "Welfare State" couldn't afford to buy one.

Incidentally, in the course of the appeal, the price of the Scanner nearly doubled! Can it be any coincidence that the massive monopoly EMI are the manufacturers of the Scanner?

There are many more examples of people with fatal diseases and injuries dying or becoming seriously crippled because of the public spending cuts. And those cuts are because of the sick, murderous capitalist system, because the capitalists can't bear to see their nice fat profits eroded by providing for the welfare of the working class.

That's why I agree with the 'Militant' when it says: "No to cuts in public services! Restore all cutbacks!" But of course that won't happen under capitalism, nor with a Labour government like the present one.

When there is a general election, I'm going to be out there fighting for Labour to win it—but I'm also going to be fighting for a Labour government committed to the socialist policies of 'Militant', so that we can not only restore the cuts in the public services, but can increase expenditure and push forward medical research and technology to wipe out all the terrible diseases and disabilities that capitalism forces us to suffer from.

Yours fraternally
Steve Chinn
Coventry NW CLP

Solidarity

Dear Comrades

At the last meeting of Salford Trades Council on Thursday September 14th we passed a resolution of support for the workers at Westerns Shiprepairers, and a £5 donation will be sent.

There was almost no opposition to the resolution from the delegates. The one note of dissent surrounded the call for the nationalisation of the yard. Of the few delegates who raised disagreements with this demand, the vast majority were convinced by the argument that private industry could do nothing for the workers of Birkenhead, that the workers at Westerns had realised this and that the call for nationalisation is a natural development for these workers.

The only vote against the resolution came from a delegate who claimed that nationalised industries had proved themselves to be less efficient than private ones, and that we ought to stop calls for nationalisation and ask the boards of private companies to give the trade unions shares in the companies so that we can benefit from the increasing profits paid to shareholders!

It was pointed out by other delegates that the nationalisation of industry is one of the first rules printed on their union cards. The general mood of the meeting was one of fraternal support for trade union brothers in struggle and an increasing understanding of the drastic measures necessary to solve the crisis.

Fraternally
M Harbour
AUEW-TASS Salford
branch delegate to Salford
Trades Council

TORY TRADE UNIONISTS—
EXPOSE HYPOCRISY OF
BOSSES' PARTY

Dear Comrades

While down at the TUC I decided, out of curiosity, to attend a meeting of 'Trade Unionists for a Tory Victory'. As far as I am concerned the whole organisation is geared to cheap electioneering.

Recognising the wishes of rank-and-file trade unionists for an end to government interference in wage bargaining they decided to adopt as their slogan: 'Keep Trade Unions Free From the State'.

Two aims become evident from what was said at the meeting. Firstly, they are exploiting the justifiable discontent of workers at their dramatic fall in living standards suffered under wage restraint. In this way they hope to win the trade union vote in the coming general election [hence the two-page advert in the 'Daily Mirror' during TUC week].

Secondly they are urging Tories to take a more active part in their union activities, for two reasons: they have witnessed the heroic struggles

of workers such as at

Grunwicks and Garners and recognise the potential power of the trade unions armed with a fighting leadership.

They regard this power with dread and they want Tories to get involved in unions to have a moderating influence and hopefully to produce a tame trade union movement which would pose no threat to big business. By winning over a large proportion of trade union members to the Tory party they hope to bring pressure to bear to weaken the links that already exist between the TUC and the Labour Party

But the Tories don't really intend to do any favours for the workers. As Jim Prior said when speaking from the platform, "Wage claims of 25-30% [which would win back part of the lost living standards lost since the beginning of the Social Contract] aren't on, neither is the 35-hour week."

So on vital issues facing workers, the Tories will stay

faithful to their class.

We must make no mistake about it, the Tories will do nothing to benefit the working class. But the blame for an organisation of this kind ever standing any chance of getting a basis of support inside the trade union movement must rest with the policies of the present Labour government which have meant drastic deterioration in every sphere of workers' lives.

The Labour Party, at this year's conference, must ditch the policies of the past and fight the next election on socialist policies, based on the nationalisation of the commanding heights of the economy under the democratic control of the labour movement. That is how we will solve the problems facing workers and avert the catastrophe of a reactionary Tory government.

Yours fraternally
Clive Walder
Hove LPYS and CPSA

Invasion of Czechoslovakia—
Move for peace?

Dear Comrade

Re Czechoslovakia 1968.

In answer to your statement and to expand on the subject. Ian Ilett has misinterpreted me on the idea of "magic wands"—the meaning was, there are no short cuts to socialism or miraculous transformations, the only way is through Marxism-Leninism.

Capitalism with all its greed cannot be undone in 20, 40, 60 or 80 years. As long as there is capitalism in the world there will always be the danger of a throw-back to it, there will always be the opportunist waiting to pull down socialism and to expand its imperialist frontiers.

After the January 1968 Plenum of the Central Committee, the re-organisation of the Slovak Democratic party took place. It openly called for elections in Czechoslovakia to be supervised by the USA, Britain and France. It called for the return of

collectivised farms to former owners by October 1st and banning of the Communist Party and their press. Petitions were circulated calling for the abolition of the people's militia.

In 'The Guardian', 2nd November 1977, a man described as a defector from American Military Intelligence was quoted in Moscow, the day before, as saying "the period of liberal reforms in Czechoslovakia in 1960 was part of a CIA operation."

He was Glen Rohrer, who claimed to have been in US Intelligence for 17 years and worked in the Czechoslovakia sector along with special nationalist groups and specially trained commandos. These poured into Czechoslovakia in 1968 in the guise of tourists and were intended for an operation, code name, "Prague Spring", in which he said the CIA played a major role.

Arms were said to have been found in the basements of eleven ministries: heavy machine guns, hand-grenades and anti-tank guns. Similar stocks of weapons had also been found in Bratislava, Ostrava and Karlovy Vary. The basement of the press club in Prague was stocked with weapons, most of them of West German and US origin. In addition, powerful mobile radio stations were illegally transported from West Germany.

The Warsaw Pact troops entered into Czechoslovakia on the 21st August 1968 to prevent bloodshed and protect the Czech borders. I sincerely believe that by this action World War three was prevented.

Yours fraternally
Vincent Smith
Worthing Branch
New Communist Party

ADS

RATES

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

Militant Meetings

ROCHDALE Militant Readers Meeting 'The General Election—Our Approach'. Speaker: Pete Dodd. 8 pm, Sunday 8th October, Labour Party Rooms, 14 Smith Street, Rochdale

KINGS LYNN Militant Readers' Meeting 16 Church Street Kings Lynn (room above T&GWU offices). Monday 9th October, 8 pm. Speaker Bob Edwards, 'Militant' Editorial Board/Harlow CLP. Subject: 'Militant and the need for Marxism in the Labour Party'. Further details from Tim Webb (Kings Lynn 5766)

LLANELLI Militant Public Meeting 'After Labour Party Conference: the way ahead for the labour movement'. Speakers: Rob Sewell (Swansea Labour Party) and a Ford worker. Wednesday 11th October, 7.30 pm, Llanelli YMCA (Stepney Street)

LEICESTER Militant Public Meeting 'A Socialist Programme for Labour'. Speakers: Pat Wall (President, Bradford Trades Council and LP NEC candidate); Trevor Spooner (Melton CLP Conference Delegate). Venue: AUEW Hall, Vaughan Way, Leicester. 7.45 pm, Friday October 20th. All welcome.

Discussion Groups

RHONDDA Trade Union Discussion Group. Every Tuesday, Star Pub, Ystrad, Rhondda (back bar), 7.30 pm

WALLSEND Marxist Discussion Group. 'The role of a Marxist paper'. Speaker: Peter Doyle. 4th October, 8 pm. Stanley Arms, North Shields.

Music for the people

Dear Comrades

Music lovers among the readers of 'Militant' will be excited to know that booking has opened for a performance of Wagner's 'The Ring' at the Royal Opera House. Comrades will be pleased to know that the seats are reasonably priced: a 'decent' seat in the stalls is £80 and if it's a special occasion a box is a snip at £176.

If any of the comrades are on social security and can't persuade them that this is 'justifiable expenditure', it will be a relief to know that the 'socialists' who run the Royal Opera House have provided cheaper accommodation in the 'gods' for the lower orders. A give away here at £32 each! Enough said!

Yours fraternally
Pete Dickenson
Peckham Labour Party

Nationalise water!

Dear Editor

One of the main policies advocated by 'Militant' is nationalisation of the banks and building societies. But one national resource which I thought would be the first the Labour government would take up is to nationalise water, which we all use.

Here in the North East a giant hold has been built called "Kielder Project", to store and sell water to other authorities. This is paid for by us taxpayers, paying £200 million for water.

Why is it not possible to use Water Desalination Units? Millions of gallons of sea water are at hand. But it's not profitable for water companies. Only in Jersey is a desalination unit used.

The appointments to water authorities are not workers, they are mostly businessmen, Lords and retired army officers. What does Dennis Howell, our "Minister for Water" say to nationalising water? "It's too complicated to proceed." Why?

Any Labour government could take 51% interest in the control of water companies. Maybe then the water rates would not be so high.

Yours fraternally
William West
Blyth

STOCKTON Trade Union Discussion Group Meetings. 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.

HARTLEPOOL Marxist Discussion Meetings. 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.

HARLOW Militant Social. Build the Militant appeal. Saturday September 30th, 69 Sycamore Field, Harlow. 8 pm. 50p including food.

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

£12,000 NEEDED BY OCTOBER!

According to the financial press last weekend, the strike at Fords means the pound is now worth less. If this is the case, it will hurt you less to get rid of a number of pound notes [in our direction of course] if you do it NOW—rather than risk waiting till they're worth more.

We need to cover all disputes from the workers' point of view and therefore our only source of finance is our readership.

Included in our very grand total of £2,718.65 we have received another marvellous donation, this time from a reader in Birmingham—£250! Someone in North London has given us £40. We are very grateful for the extra large amounts coming in response to our September appeal for £20,000.

Anyone matching them may remain anonymous or not as desired but "match them if you can!" The vast majority of donations however are not quite as large but just as welcome expressions of appreciation of the 'Militant'. For example £16 came from RC Lynch, an ASTMS rep from Stoke who writes: "...at last week's course for ASTMS members the policies of the 'Militant' always triumphed in argument and discussion, and a good number of copies were sold". Keep going along these lines comrades.

We've also received literally hundreds of promises of more on its way. Special 'guarantees' have been sent from Barnsley, Hull (sponsored walk), East London and a number of readers who got together in the North, to put in a total of over £500. A curry evening in Cardiff was very profitable and will be boosting our effort next week.

Our thanks to Sheffield District LP delegates (£5.21) and the collection at Hoole Ward LP, Chester, for £2.80. A 'Militant' Readers' Meeting, 'How to fight Fascism', raised £26 from Leicester, and meetings in Banbury and Reading raised £9 and £6.35 respectively.



A STEWARD at this year's Brighton TUC, Joe Collis, donated £20 to our Fighting Fund from his expenses.

Joe is a life-long Labour Party member and was a founder-member of the T&GWU branch at Spitalfields market, where he worked as a porter.

He is now retired from work—but not from activity. At 'Militant' fund-raising activities he is one of the most energetic salesmen and always knows the best way to appeal for cash for 'Militant'.

£52,500 NEEDED BY OCTOBER 7th

FIGHTING FUND CHART £70,000

Area	Target		Proportion of target received	Received
	39 Wks	52 Wks		
Eastern	3,300	4,400		1,935.60
Hants & IOW	1,575	2,100		2,117.98
Humber-side	1,650	2,200		1,365.23
Lancashire	1,125	1,500		567.70
London: North	5,775	7,700		4,562.77
London: South	2,850	3,800		2,313.26
Manchester & District	2,175	2,900		1,461.13
Merseyside & District	3,375	4,500		1,982.16
Midlands East	3,300	4,400		2,086.64
Midlands West	5,500	7,400		4,021.58
Northern	3,675	4,900		2,635.51
Scotland East	1,875	2,500		1,249.84
Scotland West	2,125	2,900		1,203.29
South East	1,725	2,300		1,699.41
South West	1,725	2,300		1,533.13
Thames Valley	1,275	1,700		1,003.64
Wales East	1,500	2,000		1,054.50
Wales West	1,725	2,300		1,594.33
Yorkshire	3,900	5,200		1,936.01
Others	2,250	3,000		4,485.50
Total	52,500	70,000		40,809.21

Progress towards year's target Towards October 7th target

Students who have contributed include Preston Poly Labour Group (£5), and we have had donations from Rother Valley LPYS of £3 and £2.03 from Wallsend LPYS.

£10 donations from T Steele (Mansfield), J Humphries (W London), one of the stewards at Bethnal Green Hospital (E London), and a reader in Chester are all extremely welcome. A trade unionist on Tyneside has donated £15 from his honorarium—any more going?

Keep up the effort

Fivers this week came from: N Davis and Judith Hodgkinson (both students), H Alexander (Tyneside), Tony Croke (Stafford), and Trevor Ball also Stafford (who's in the NUS, which means he either studies or sails?); and from Tower Hamlets, London, from Cllr B Hickey and P Sholen; also M Glove and L Keely (Nottingham), P McDonald (Hayes) and two fivers from someone in Consett, who gave no name.

Brian Roberts (Liverpool) and Paddy Feeney (Hammer-

smith LPYS) gave £3 each, and £2s came from D Brown (Hull), O Craxton, B Hodgson, J Such, C Ross (all W London), B de Veney (Slough), P Sztumf (Harlow), A McGowan (Peterborough), S Grant (Stafford) and M Antonitu (Swansea).

A large number of readers sent us £1 this week and these included: Val Frost (Hayes LP), R Williams (Rugeley LP), Cllr John Senior (Sheffield), K McGrogan (Clay Cross LPYS), Fred Thain (Slough), R Dixon and D Wicken (Barking), J Pepper (Leicester), Jim Ingham (Stafford LPYS), H Thomas, C Bostock, V Mercer and P Murray (all Harlow), Bill Brocks (Birmingham), K Landles (Tyneside), A Allan (Dundee), L Cunningham (Upminster), A Watson and T Riddington (both active trade unionists in Eastbourne), J Turner, J Locke, R Howard (all London), P Kordun (POEU) and S Durrami (both W London), from two readers in North Derbyshire and a CPSA member in Rotherham.

Fund-raising events included a comrade in Banbury jumping in the river(!) and a social afterwards (??to dry out) raising £17. Jumble sales

raised £22.60 in Dundee and £43.50 in Manchester, but only £6 came from a disco in Gateshead—was the beer under-priced, comrades?

A birthday party in Birmingham left us £10.50 better off, and £30.50 was very welcome from a jumble sale in Cwmbran. Supporters in Thanet raised £8.20 and tea and papers in Rotherham came to £1.66. A surplus of £3.10 came from Nottingham on sales of the 'Militant' Anti-Tory posters.

A full-time employee of the NUM donated 20p in Stevenage, and we are hoping he would consider a bit more—after his imminent increase!

We've now got under £12,000 to raise by October 7th to bring the fighting fund back on target. But that's just two weeks. It means every reader collecting the £1s from workmates, neighbors and family as well as every organisation of the labour movement. If this is energetically done, next week we will be in sight of the target, and we will be sure of reaching the goal. But don't relax your efforts for a moment. October 7th is the closing date for the September appeal. Rush cash to the Militant offices now!

LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE

GREETINGS

Northern Regional Committee of the LPYS sends socialist greetings to all delegates

Greetings to all delegates at Conference
From LPYS Scottish Regional Committee

Prestonpans LPYS send socialist greetings. We are on our Marx for our pending by-election.

STRATFORD ASLEF

Greetings to 1978 Labour Party Conference Forward to a nationalised integrated transport system

ISLE OF WIGHT CLP

greet all socialists at Conference
End to 3-year rule
our Resolution on 35-hour week lost
IOW reference back

Fraternal greetings from
Coleg Harlech Labour Club
Our struggle is one

Workers of the World Unite

SOUTHGATE LPYS

BRISTOL SOUTH LPYS

35-hour week and £70 minimum wage now! For a socialist manifesto to defeat the Tories.

ROYTON & WARDLE WOMEN'S SECTION

greet conference
Support the Rochdale Nursery resolution

Chester LPYS

through Militant, sends socialist greetings to the labour movement. Forward in the struggle for a socialist programme

Hampstead LPYS

send fraternal greetings to Labour Party Conference 1978
★ 35-hour week with no loss of pay
★ No to phase 4

Holset Shop Stewards' Committee

calls for the Labour Party to follow proper socialist policies
We wish it well in its struggles

Fraternal greetings to Labour's Conference from Militant Readers in St. John's Lodge NUM (South Wales)

Forward to workers' democracy in nationalised and private industry.

LABOUR PARTY YOUNG SOCIALISTS National Committee Reps

send greetings to all delegates and urge support for the NEC Minority Report on Reselection

Bill Esmonds
Jim Newlands
Kevin Ramage
John Cantwell
John Ingham (vice chairman)
Phil Frampton (chairman)
Nick Bradley (NEC rep)

John Woulfe
Wilf Flynn
Reg Sidebottom
John Bulaitis
Steve Glennon
Glenys Ingham (LEFT Editor)
Tony Saunois (NEC elect)

For a 35-hour week
Nationalise the Monopolies!



Continued from front page

take-home pay for a B Grade assembler is £54 for a 40-hour week. Hardly a princely wage in 1978! In order to get by, earnings have to be supplemented by over-time working and shift working.

And who could deny that car workers, with track-work and shifts do one of the most punishing and hazardous jobs

in the country?

And it's not as though Ford can't afford to pay a rise. Last year, their pre-tax profit was £246 million, more than double the 1976 profits. This year's profit is estimated at over £300 million.

Giant profits are one good reason why Ford workers are not interested in any of the

management's proposed productivity deals. "We gave them productivity last year: Let's get our share of that first," is a typical comment.

Mr Terry Beckett, managing director of Ford's, has lectured the union negotiators on "facing the realities of life." What does he know about it?

MOBILISE FULL SUPPORT

His "restraint" has consisted of taking a salary rise from a mere £30,457 to a comfortable £54,843—an 80% increase!

Ford employees are at the head of a long queue of workers who desperately need a substantial pay rise to recoup what they have lost through several years of enforced pay restraint. Local authority manual workers, for example, who include thousands of scandalously low-paid workers, have just put in for a £60 minimum wage.

Spokesmen of big business and their kept press are already cynically attempting to divide and rule. Fearing the united power of Ford workers, they are saying "give the Ford workers a bit over the odds: but make the public sector workers pay for it."

Unity

The government, rants the right-wing 'Daily Express' (25.9), "should let private firms reach their own agreement" but "impose strict cash limits on its own payroll... To put it plainly, some people are worth 15%. Others, strapping from the public payroll, don't merit a bone

button."

"There is no reason," adds 'The Times', "why a fitter in Fords should get the same as a fitter in British Leyland... There is not the slightest requirement... that the public sector should get as of right the same as the private sector..."

What could be more cynical? The bosses' press reveal their callous, brutal attitude towards millions of workers suffering from the crisis in the bosses' rotten system.

The Ford workers will reject out of hand this reactionary, divisive rubbish! Trade unionists at Ford are fighting a vital battle for living standards and jobs on behalf of all Britain's workers.

For the full claim! All support to the Ford workers!

HALEWOOD

Eric Cooper, MS&B Convenor, spoke to 'Militant'

Terry Harrison: What was the reaction to the offer at Halewood?

Eric Cooper: One of absolute disgust. I was down in London at the National Joint Negotiating Committee. I phoned up the result of the negotiations on our claim to the Fords stewards at the MS&B plant. Within half an hour I had an answer back that the MS&B plant were going home on unofficial strike for an unspecified period.

TH: Do you think the intention of the company to publicise their productivity deal will have any effect on the members?

EC: None at all. It is quite easy for the company to tell the newspapers or anybody that they intend to publish a productivity deal.

Part of the basis of their claim was that during the first nine months of 1978 Halewood had only achieved the productivity scale on 35 occasions. That means that this elusive bonus would only have been paid on 35 days in a year.

TH: Do you think that the government's threat to take sanctions against firms breaching the 5% guideline will have any effect?

EC: To me it's ludicrous. Fords can say to us that unless they stick to the 5% they will lose all the Ministry's car contracts. But if we're on strike, they aren't selling cars to anybody. We're talking

Liverpool Labour Party Young Socialists PUBLIC MEETING Support the Ford Workers!
Speakers: Eric Cooper (MS&B Convenor) Leading shop stewards from the Ford plant at Halewood
Labour Party Young Socialist speaker
Room A Municipal Annex, Dale St, Liverpool 2. 7.30pm Thursday, 28th September.

about £6 million a day lost with the plants idle.

We don't accept phase 4, we don't accept the 5%. Fords have hidden behind this with a view to imposing on the rest of the country to assist Jim Callaghan.

TH: So you think the struggle is going to be important to all other workers?

EC: I think our struggle is of the utmost importance. We are the first in the queue of the major industries. We think that our fight is their fight. What happens at Fords is going to happen to the rest of the country.

TH: Have you had any indications of support from outside at this point?

EC: I've had one letter from the Labour Party Young Socialists, which the shop stewards' committee appreciate very much, and we've

decided we are going to send four delegates to the meeting they are organising on our behalf.

TH: Will you be picketing?

EC: Yes, a 24-hour a day picket. Contract work, stocks within Halewood, we're making sure no oil goes in for the furnaces. We're making sure that no panels go out so that they can start supplying Germany with Halewood panels. We're making sure that nobody gets into that plant, whether it's to do work, whether it's to do modifications. We're going to make sure that nothing assists Fords.



DAGENHAM

Bob Faulkes reports from the picket line

I asked three pickets, Brian Beadle, Ray Morris and Len Lines, what they thought of Ford's offer. "Rubbish," "disgusting" were among the few printable answers. "This company is earning fantastic profits, and it's hiding behind the government's shirt."

"The government's 5% is

rubbish. We're on B grade. To us 5% means £3.68 before stoppages, that's about £2 afterwards. Yet the rents are going up, and all your other costs are going up. Look at the TV! An extra £4 increase coming for a license."

"Look at our hourly pay," said Len Lines. "I'm on D grade and I get £1.83 an hour. A West German Ford worker gets £3.50."

Why had they reacted so quickly to Ford's offer? "Our stewards reckoned that there's a month of negotiations to go, and we've seen in

the past that when Ford knows there's trouble coming they start stockpiling. Every day we wait means an extra three days on strike. You've got to hit them quick!"

"I've had enough. I'm prepared to stay out indefinitely. They can shut the whole plant down. We can all buy Japanese."

How did they see the fight against the 5%? "This is the turning point for everyone," they said. There was nothing but anger and frustration with continuous wage restraint.

Ford is the first major explosion of anger at the 5% norm: but it will undoubtedly be followed by many more.

SOTON

At the Ford's Transit plant 2,500 workers voted decisively for strike action. Nick Brooks (Southampton Labour Party) spoke to John Kelly (T&GWU) and Martin Killing (a T&GWU shop steward).

"There is a tremendous feeling at a shop floor level in support of the claim. When the company came out with their derisory offer, we felt there had to be an immediate protest to show how deeply our feeling go. Things have escalated from there."

"On top of last year's big profits (£246m), Ford's had £92 million tax deferred, probably never to be paid. Out of last year's profits, £70 million went to shareholders in America. This is the equivalent to more than £20 per employee per week, which is what our claim is."

"On the shorter working week, it's about time that a major company is forced to take a lead in that direction to create more jobs."

"In the last year wage costs per vehicle have risen by £26, whereas profits have risen by £159 per vehicle. We're lagging further and further behind: that's got to change now."

"For the blokes on the shop floor, a 5% rise would mean £3.40 a week. That's an insult. Most blokes say: "stuff it."

The claim

- ★ For a £20 minimum wage increase
- ★ A 35-hour week
- ★ Additional holiday and leave, with better holiday pay
- ★ Full layoff pay and an improved pension and sickness scheme
- ★ Increased shift pay plus extra hour's pay for track workers

SWANSEA

Rob Sewell, Swansea Labour Party, interviewed shop-floor leaders for 'Militant'.

Terry Bennet, Deputy Convenor:

"Shop Stewards' committee met last Monday and decided that if the company offered only 5%, then we would call the men out from Friday to Monday as a protest action. This was seen as a warning to the management, a shot across their bows as it were."

"When we met the men on Friday, after the offer was announced, they supported the shop stewards' call for protest strike action, but such was the anger of the men that many felt that we should have called an all-out strike. The company's offer was rejected out of hand."

"The 5% offer is scandalous, considering that Henry Ford made £246 profit in Britain out of our efforts last year. We estimate that Ford's could meet our claim in full—and could still make £300m in profit in 1978."

What about the argument that a breach of the 5% would

make the low-paid suffer?

"I have always said that if the higher-paid could help the lower-paid through restraint, we would be all for it. If we could donate £1 to every pensioner, then great! But it can't be done. If we forego our pay increase it simply goes to Ford's in higher profits."

Albert Rosser, Ford worker:

"None of the men believed that Ford's would offer them a straight 5%. They thought they would have allowed an element of leniency. When they heard the news, they were aghast. Why didn't Callaghan put sanctions on Ford's for increasing the price of their cars a few weeks ago, when they knew they were going to make enormous profits?"

"Let them put sanctions on. Who are they kidding? It is a 1971 situation again when we were out for over 9 weeks. The men are ready to take on Ford's and the government. We've even got our leaders on our side this time, which never happened before."

MILITANT TRADE UNION PAMPHLETS

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Order single copies or bulk orders for your trade union branch/shop stewards' committee as an excellent basis for discussion
From: Militant, 1 Mentmore Tce, London E8 3PN

WESTERNS



Westerns workers need the backing of the whole labour movement in their fight.

photo: Militant

BACK NATIONALISATION

Our fight for nationalisation of Western Shiprepairers is getting great support from fellow workers. Nearly every day now, messages and donations arrive.

Merseyside dockers sent £25; Birkenhead dockers £22.50; Manchester Dry Docks Joint Shop Stewards' Committee £10; GMWU No 2 branch in Lucas Aerospace, Liverpool (facing redundancies themselves) sent £10; Labour Party Young Socialists in Merseyside, Chester, Stevenage, Moss Side etc. sent money and support; Liverpool NGA support nationalisation with £20 donation...the list goes on.

Particularly pleasing is the magnificent £100 from Clarke Chapman shop stewards' committee at Ince 'B' Power Station and the £100 from workers at Hebburn Shipyard, British Shipbuilders, Tyne and Wear. It's this class solidarity which makes our fight possible and really boosts our morale.

Numerous other trade unions and Labour Parties have sent messages to the leaders of the labour move-

ment calling for support for nationalisation. It's still a question of pushing for nationalisation in every trade union and Labour Party in the country—otherwise, victory is not guaranteed.

We have made enormous progress, though. The Merseyside Confed now officially backs us—a very welcome step. At TUC Conference, Officials showed that there are 930 million man hours of work immediately available just to fit BP tankers with the equipment to meet new anti-pollution regulations.

MPs

The British Shipbuilding Negotiating Committee recognise the Westerns Action Committee as the official representatives of the men, and they said they now regard us as a special case for nationalisation. Every 'Militant' reader should make sure every TU or LP they belong to backs up this stand, and guarantee these promises become fact.

We also met our local MP, Edmund Dell, whilst at Brighton. He said that under

Section 4 of the Shipbuilding Nationalisation Act, there are provisions for the government to direct British Shipbuilders to nationalise Westerns or any yard, without it going to parliament. However, he said he wouldn't do anything about that himself.

This is a disgrace from a Labour Minister. He is going totally against the policy of Birkenhead Labour Party which called on him to "publicly demand nationalisation of Westerns" at their July meeting.

This underlines the need for workers—especially Western's men—to join their Labour Party branches to make sure MPs follow the wishes and policies of their local Labour Parties.

We can't expect the Tories to do anything for us. In the 'Birkenhead News' a local Tory wrote a letter which ended with the remark: "Fortunately the Conservatives did and would wreck any measure to nationalise Western Shiprepairers."

The fight to save jobs demands nationalisation. And nationalisation is a political question, opposed on

principle by Conservatives, whether we like it or not.

We've been renewed and revitalised in our determination to win. We've built a hut for shelter during the winter! We've got 3 or 4 times as many regular pickets as ten weeks ago.

Now we're lobbying Labour Party Conference in support of an emergency resolution to nationalise Westerns, already moved by Wavertree Labour Party. Other Labour Parties must follow suit, by passing an emergency resolution and by mandating delegates to speak and vote in favour of it.

Our message to all workers is: "Don't ease off now—continue to build support for our fight."

Messages, donations, enquiries c/o 29 Gaywood Close, Ford Estate, Birkenhead.

By Kevin Scully

Vice-Chairman,
Westerns Action Committee
in a personal capacity.

TIMES

"Better informed" —by ultimatum

By Jim Brookshaw (Times AUEW chapel committee, personal capacity)

Some of my colleagues at Times Newspapers Ltd were privileged to receive a personal letter last week from the Managing Director, Mr Marmaduke Hussey. (It seems that the reason some people, like me, didn't get the letter was due to good old 'Times' inefficiency)

The letter threatened to suspend publication of The Times, The Sunday Times, The Education, Higher Education and Literary Supplements, and give us all the sack unless we meet the management's conditions by November 30th.

Their demands are: an undertaking on continuous production, i.e. they do as they like and we have to swallow it. A new dispute procedure with an end to so-called "unofficial" dispute. All disputes start out "unofficially"—a problem which could be solved by the unions making all actions official until declared otherwise. Efficient manning levels and operating procedures, i.e. massive sackings and a speed-up. A company-wide wage structure. One purported draft agreement would mean a £10 cut for one chapel.

One of these threatening letters was sent out some time ago. This one is a follow-up because no agreement had been reached. Yet at least two unions made an official approach for talks and were ignored.

We engineers are due to review our Home Agreement with the management on October 1st—an ideal opportunity, one would think, for them to tell us what they have in mind—but they don't seem to want to talk.

It is said that two of our

union officials have sneaked in and out of the building to see the management. Perhaps they will let us know! The National Graphical Association have said that they will not talk "under duress" but private "talks about talks" are rumoured.

This all leads some of us to the opinion that the management want a deal which they and the union leaders know can't be sold to the members, so the close down will take place. The union officials will then come in and get some of our jobs back, with ropes and chains attached. The engineers have already experienced this and don't relish it a second time.

Most of the chapels seem to be taking a 'wait and see' stance at the moment. Mainly because most of us don't really know what the management want.

Unfortunately nearly every department, even some very small ones, have separate chapels. Although this has had its advantages in the past, now, to face this threat from the management, we need unity as never before. "Heroic individualism" won't win this one! But Fleet St AUEW branch have already shown the way, pledging their support to the 'Times' engineers.

This is particularly important as this attack is tied up with the new technology question. If there is not unity union will be set against union and chapel against chapel and the labour force will be decimated.

The management consider this "the big one" and we need to come out of it with a proper wage structure for skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled, with everybody getting a decent wage plus a secure job.

US AIRBASES— National strike proposed

Last Friday [22nd] T&G WU Costains workers on the Thames Flood Barrier project closed down for 3 eight-hour shifts, involving 1,000 men in support. 3,000 men at three Midland power stations also shut their plants.

Since the meeting with Carter Horsley, the men are even more determined to win, and are not allowing anything through the gates unless non-union. (which includes American supplies to the NATO bases). This was decided at a mass meeting last Thursday.

There has been a tremendous response from the drivers. On Tuesday, four lorries stood outside the gates for 5½ hours, waiting to pick up bombs, but the Commanding Officer made no attempt to encourage the T&GWU drivers to cross the picket line. When the same thing happened to coke, chips and petrol deliveries, the CO was

Dick Etheridge (AUEW Construction shop steward, Woodbridge) spoke to **Teresa Mackay** for Militant)

out in minutes saying it "wasn't fair on the Americans; it wasn't their problem". Coca Cola is obviously considered more important!

Workers desperately need more support on picket duty—they are on 16 hours a day. One evening they heard that an Italian lorry was coming through. Cimolai management turned up at the picket line to intimidate the driver, though after repeated requests by the pickets the police eventually removed him.

The driver agreed to wait another hour for an interpreter, and as soon as everything was explained he turned round and headed for Dover.

Cimolai have told the 150 workers in Italy that if work is not restarted in England there will be redundancies in Italy.

The AUEW Construction Executive are meeting on Tuesday 26th and the men are hoping for a national one-day stoppage. They also hope for the support of UCATT and the T&GWU to close sites all over the country.

Carter Horsley are a subsidiary of Northern Industries who made £10 million profit, after tax, in the last 6 months. They had £199 million turnover in that period. Dave says "if anyone thinks we're dealing with some little tin-pot firm, they're being misled".

Some of the workers will be visiting construction sites in other parts of the country. After that they will be going to Labour Party Conference to contact AUEW members and MPs to appeal for support.

BY BILL
HOPWOOD
[AUEW]

PART I

working in the union

In any factory the shop stewards' committee is the front line and most important part of the union organisation. In order to be effective it is important that the stewards are well organised and in touch with the feelings on the shop floor. Over the last year the shop stewards in Huwood have been working to improve their organisation.

The factory employs about 1,000 shop floor workers and for many years it has had 100% union membership. However, the stewards were relatively poorly organised, with on average one regular shop stewards' meeting a month plus occasional other meetings, a poor flow of information from the senior stewards and negotiating committee to the shop stewards and the works, no accurate records, poor minutes, copies of which were not given to all stewards or displayed on notice boards, no library of useful information, no regular income to shop stewards' fund. The two convenors—one AUEW and one Boiler-makers—were officially allowed only 7½ hours a week each for union business.

Earlier this year the shop stewards decided to press for improvements which included: notice boards in the factory under union control; an improved meeting room

with telephone, typewriter, files, cupboards etc.; a supply of pens, paper etc; typing and copying facilities and improved allowed time for union business. This claim took nearly a year to resolve, with the company dragging their feet and many bitter arguments.

One of the points which caused the most problems was the claim for notice boards. In the past there had been two and they were under-used. The union wanted more but the company would only agree if all the contents were vetted by the Personnel Manager and with the condition that nothing "political" or relating to other companies was displayed. This was to a large extent aimed at me as I had put up cuttings from 'Militant' which had caused quite a reaction from the shop floor on the dispute with Babcock and Wilcox (Huwood is part of the group) at the Isle of Grain and notices about a variety of meetings.

The shop stewards refused to accept management control. The end result is that the shop stewards control the notice boards and things that the company would object to such as Grunwicks and the firemen's dispute are in the shop stewards' minutes. Although this is only a partial victory the main aim is achieved.

Militant

16 MILITANT 29 September 1978

NO ARMS TO IRAN

300 people many of them Iranian, turned up to the Conway Hall on Friday 22nd September to attend a rally and torchlight procession called in protest at the Shah of Iran's butchery of thousands of workers and peasants over the last few weeks.

Bob Wright [AUEW] and Phil Frampton [LPYS Chairman] were invited to speak by the organisers, the Campaign against Repression in Iran, as representatives of the labour movement. Both speakers expressed their wish to see the labour leaders come out in opposition to the statements made by the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary who have both expressed support for the Shah.

They also called for an end to British export of arms to Iran and Phil demanded a trade union boycott combined with alternative work for workers in the armaments industry. There was a burst of enthusiastic applause when the LPYS Chairman, in calling for a struggle for democratic rights, pointed out that the Iranian masses could only have true democracy when they had control of the oil which they produce and thus have control over their livelihoods.

Over 50 copies of 'Militant' were sold at the meeting.

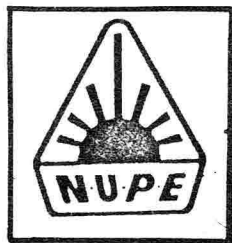
END LOW PAY SCANDAL

NUPE, the public employees union, is celebrating its 50th anniversary in a way relevant to most members —by linking it to a campaign against low pay and the 5% pay 'norm'.

A scandalous 3¼ million workers—many in the public sector, still earn less than £50 a week before tax.

NUPE is highlighting the Low Pay Campaign at its Festival in the Glasgow City Hall, Candleriggs, on Saturday, 30th September 1978, where Alan Fisher, General Secretary, will be the main speaker at 2pm along with other trade union officials.

In particular, we are emphasising that not only are NUPE members extremely reluctant to accept the 5% offered by the government, but, indeed, are finding it impossible to live on their wages at the present time. Their weekly expenditure far exceeds their take-home pay, and the only way they would be able to escape what is commonly termed "the poverty trap", is by indicating



50th ANNIVERSARY

By Ron Curran, NUPE Scottish National Officer.

that only a minimum wage of not less than £60 per week would be sufficient.

Most NUPE members could claim supplementary

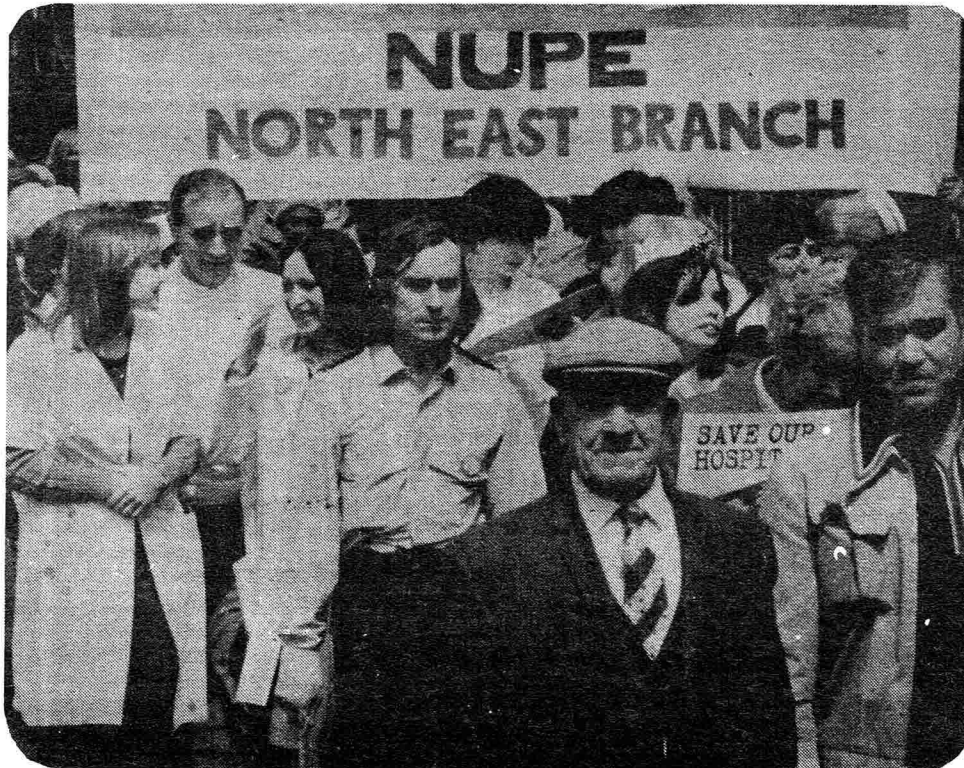


photo: Julian McKinnon Militant

its way.

The Labour Government has allowed exorbitant wage increases for senior civil servants and heads of public services, and we would only quote Lord Grade's increase, now bringing him up to £576 per day, giving a take-home pay, after tax of £43,575 per annum!

NUPE's claim of a £60 minimum wage is by no means exorbitant. It has been

calculated to equate to the TUC policy that a national basic minimum wage should be two-thirds of national average earnings.

NUPE is seeking maximum support from all trade unions in its fight on behalf of low paid workers, because only by concerted efforts will the trade union movement be able to influence the government.

benefits, but there is no way that such a situation is beneficial in allowing them to meet the necessary pay levels in order that a family can pay

NF BACK IN EAST END

OVER 40,000 AT CARNIVAL

Kevin Fernandes (Hackney North LPYS) Last Sunday [24th] about 3000 anti-fascists gathered in the East End of London. They were there to oppose the National Front march which was to go from Central London to Redchurch Street, near Brick Lane.

Groups of anti-fascists who assembled in Brick Lane from midday onwards, were continually moved on by the police.

SPG vans patrolled the area, and police buses blocked off selected streets. Eventually the Anti-NF rally gathered at the corner of Shoreditch High Street and Bethnal Green Road, waiting for the NF to arrive.

Meanwhile, over 40,000 people assembled in Hyde Park to march in the Anti-Nazi carnival to Brockwell Park. Such a massive turnout by young people shows the tremendous potential that exists for a campaign against the National Front and other racials. Compared to this response, the strutting march

of the motley group of fascists was pathetic.

But the ability of the fascists to show their faces in East London on the same day as this huge challenge demonstrates the indecisiveness of the Anti-Nazi League leaders, their lack of any worked-out political strategy, and a failure to orientate eager and fresh young supporters to the labour movement—the decis-

ive force in combatting racial divisions.

Attempts were made by the Hackney and Tower Hamlets Defence Committee in the previous few days to persuade the ANL to divert their supporters to the East End.

Supporters of 'Militant' on the committee argued that the most urgent need on Sunday was to defend the Bengali community of Brick Lane against the threat of the National Front running rampage. Already innumerable Bengalis have suffered beatings, stabbings and destruction of property by gangs of

racialists invading the area.

However, on the day, those who tried to persuade people in Hyde Park to go to Brick Lane were denounced from the ANL platform. No real effort was made by the ANL to divert a sufficient number of people to defend Brick Lane.

The NF march of about 1,500 went unharassed to their new headquarters in Great Eastern Street. They were accompanied by 5,000 police who saw them on their way. A few hours after the end of their march, about 30 NF thugs attacked a few Bengalis on an estate near Brick Lane.

The events on Sunday showed that the fight against the National Front is a fight that cannot be carried out simply on the basis of pop concerts. Only a political fight led by the labour movement, mobilising thousands of workers behind socialist answers to the ills of unemployment, slum housing, low pay and the chronic shortages of special facilities in inner-city areas, ills upon which the fascists breed, can sweep out racialism and the society which produces it.

DEVELOP MILITANT

[Continued from front page]

£20,000 target this week.

'Militant' is worth every penny you can spare, too. That's certainly the feeling of Hampshire supporters who have exceeded not only the ¼ year target but the full year's target

as well [Chart, page 13].

This magnificent effort should be an example to readers in every area. With this kind of help 'Militant' can go forward in every way.

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Militant

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MILITANT LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE MEETING 'A Socialist Programme for Labour'

Tuesday 3rd October at 7.15 pm at The Highland Room, Tiffany's, Central Drive, Blackpool

Hear: Ted Grant (Militant Editorial Board)
Ray Apps (Delegate, Brighton Kempton CLP)
Kevin Scully (EETPU, Western Shiprepairers)
Chairman: Tony Saunois (LPYS rep elect on NEC)