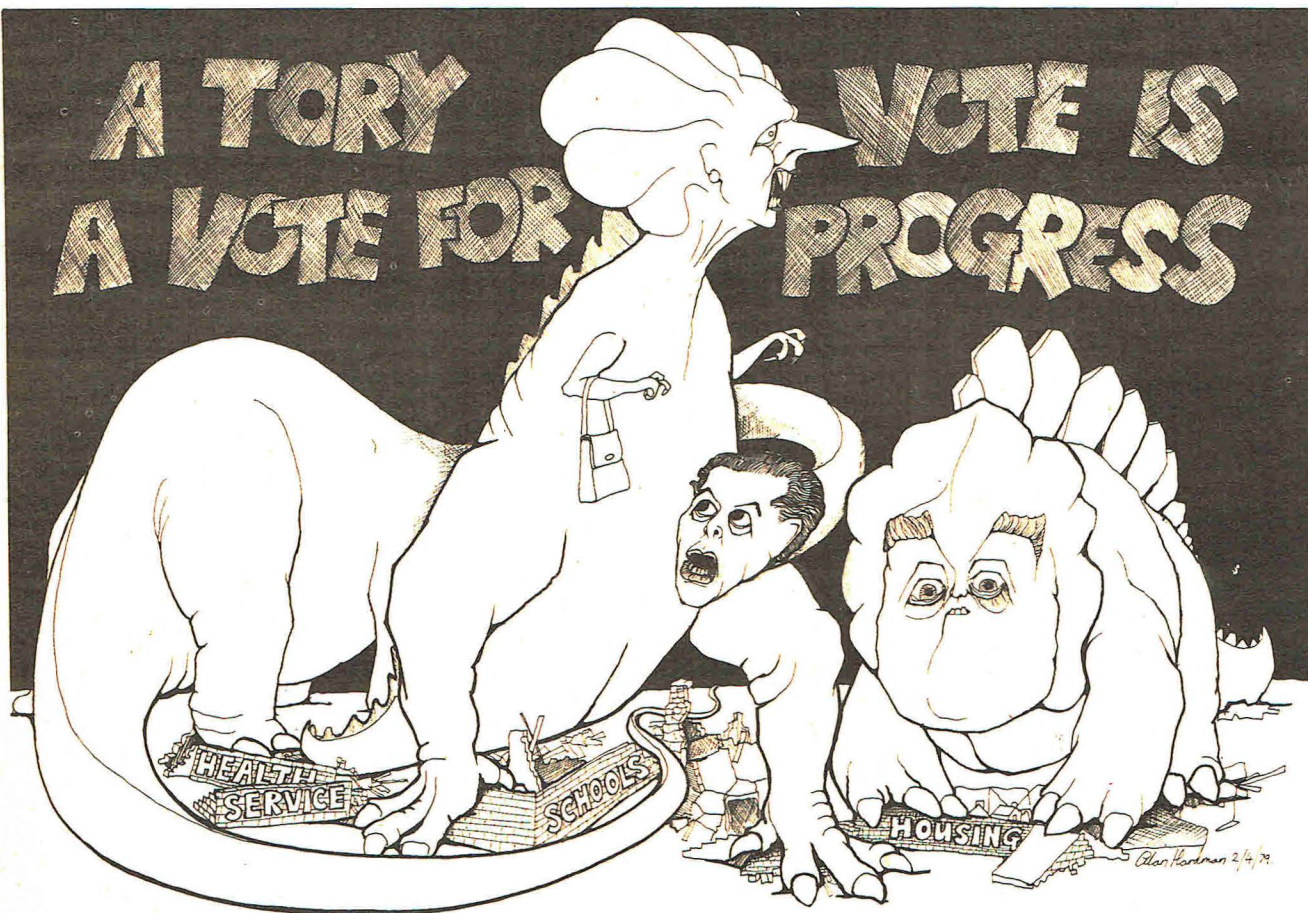


# Militant

THE MARXIST PAPER FOR LABOUR & YOUTH ISSUE 450  
6 April 1979

15p

## TO FIGHT TORY THREAT- SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN NEEDED



For all the cunning of their advertising men, the Tories are unable to hide the brutal nature of their policies. They are trying desperately to give Thatcher a face-lift, to tone down her most unpleasant features.

Her TV broadcast tried to present her as a soft-spoken, mild housewife. Don't be fooled. One Tory MP has shown that under-

neath that thick layer of make-up, the Tories are presenting a more ruthless face than ever.

In an article in the 'Daily Telegraph', Jock

Bruce-Gardyne has shown just how he would implement what the Tories hope will be a real vote-catcher—tax cuts, for the rich naturally. Most Tory spokesmen talk vaguely of reductions in 'wasteful' expenditure. Not Jock. He spells out the 'chopping list' in

**Roger Shrives**

(Deptford Labour Party)

detail.

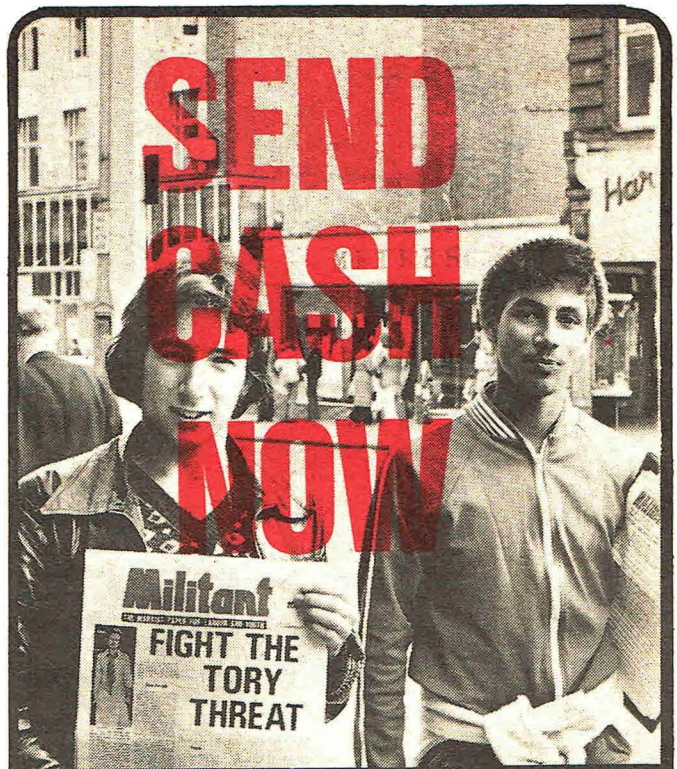
The first targets for this true-blue butcher are the civil service and the NHS. All recruitment to the Civil Service and

NHS administration should stop, he says, and the numbers reduced through 'natural wastage'. Another huge addition to the dole queues!

This, of course, is only aimed at the lower grades of the civil service. As an ex-member of HM Foreign Service, he wouldn't be so undiplomatic as to cut down on the lavish living of the diplomatic service!

The next victims are the pensioners and those on supplementary benefits. Yes the very same old people the Tories shed crocodile tears over, for their "suffering" during industrial disputes, are now, it seems, a

Continued on back page



When a government has fallen, half a Budget has to do. But, for the 'Militant', whose Fighting Fund is trailing nearly 50% behind target, half a budget is not nearly enough.

Another £10,000 is due by Saturday. [See page 13]. Without it, we cannot take on the additional staff we urgently need for the preparation of material and for stepping up the circulation. That £10,000 is crucial to plans to use a new, more sophisticated camera and developer—essential for improving the plate-making process and thus the printing too.

Militant's Fighting Fund

MUST get back on target. Then—it is no exaggeration to say—£10,000 could be raised EVERY week during the election campaign. Provided the opportunities are used, the 'NORMAL' fund-raising activities of 'Militant' supporters could raise TEN TIMES the 'normal' results! [Details and examples next week].

All money raised and messages of what's to come for the first quarter's target should reach the 'Militant' offices by 12 noon this Sunday April 8th at the very latest! "Don't put off till tomorrow what you can do today!"

## WORKERS SAY- NO TO CLOSURES

There may be many issues raised in this election, but for the workers in at least three factories there will be just one—redundancies. The dole queues are lengthening every day, as workers from the shipyards, the steel works and other threatened industries take their place at the back. (See page 14 for more reports).

But for the workers at Dunlop, Speke, Vickers in Newcastle and Courtaulds at Spennymoor, if the unions cannot prevent it, the end is nigh this month. By the time the election is over they might have added another 4,500 to the jobless statistics.

These workers, whose whole future is in the balance, will doubtless be scrutinising every election candidate, to see where they stand on closures.

At Dunlops they will be going all out to re-elect Garston MP Eddie Loyden who has a fine record of assisting industrial struggles on Merseyside, especially the job losses at Standards, Westerns and now at Dunlop.

Two members of the TGWU General Executive work here and the Speke stewards have been instrumental in organising the Dunlop UK Combine. As one steward put it, "If this place closes with its tradition of trade union organisation, what hope does any other plant have?" "Every plant on Merseyside threat-

**REPORTS FROM:  
RICHARD KNIGHTS  
(Merseyside)  
JOHN PICKARD  
(Tyneside)  
BILL HOPWOOD  
(Teesside)**

ened with closure is looking to us for a lead," commented another.

They cannot give up without a fight. What alternative is there when the bosses are allowing Merseyside to die on its feet? With full picketing nothing is moving in or out of the factory, and the TGWU has called for national blacking of Dunlop. By April 19th, when their ninety days run out, the workers will know if they have succeeded.

But April 19th is the day that the Courtaulds workforce must have ringed in black on their calendars. 1,600 of them can see their lives collapsing around them, for their factory is due

Continued on back page



# Militant

## NEAVE KILLING AIDS REACTION

The assassination of Airey Neave must be condemned by the whole labour movement. No gains for working people have been won through the methods of individual terrorism. These are the methods of despair. They are used by those with no confidence in the ability of a united working class to end both national and social oppression. Marxism has always opposed individual terror. For whatever the

motives of those involved, by substituting themselves for the mass movement of labour they are doomed to fail.

But worse the feelings of shock and revulsion they engender provide the opportunity for the introduction of extra repressive measures, without the general outcry that would otherwise accompany them. The Prevention of Terrorism Act could only have enjoyed such an easy

passage, in the atmosphere of utter disgust prevailing after the Birmingham pub bombings.

Already after Neave's death the cry has gone up for the restoration of capital punishment. His assassination plays straight into the hands of the most reactionary Tories. Coming at the beginning of an election campaign, it will not so much make Ireland an issue, but rather allow the Tories to make their general desire to clamp down on 'law and order' a major issue.

William Whitelaw when he was the Tory spokesman on Northern Ireland went out of his way to link terrorist violence with what he considers is the 'violence' of the picket line, implying that they should receive common treatment. Already in the wake of this assassination, Tory MP Sally Oppenheim has spoken of 'industrial terrorism'. Thus

ammunition for a vicious slander campaign against Labour is provided. The tactics of these gunmen have never found a place in the labour movement. But all repressive legislation brought in supposedly to combat terrorism, has always been used against the organised workers.

### Tory government

It now appears that the Provisionals and the 'Irish National Liberation Army', both of whom have claimed responsibility, actually welcome the election of a Conservative government. One of their spokesmen was reported to have said "we want to blast the Tories into power." Their thinking must be that the mailed fist

of Conservatism, brought down on the Irish people, would revive the flagging support for their organisations. Nothing could better expose their complete isolation from the working class and their cynical desperation. To most workers a Tory government appears a nightmare to be avoided at all costs. To the terrorists the prospects for the Irish and British working class under a Thatcher government, can just be played around with.

But the breeding ground for the violence and despair which causes terrorism, is still the social squalor and repression that make up everyday life in the North. The Labour leaders must not allow themselves to be bulldozed by the capitalist press, into adding to the arsenal of repressive measures already in Ireland.

The same hypocritical press that tries to use

terrorism to whip up a reactionary mood, refuses to take up the evidence of continuous brutality by the RUC and the army, that the Bennet Report has unearthed. According to Gerry Fitt even Airey Neave was concerned about the Report's findings. But private thoughts cost nothing. Neither Neave nor any other Tory nor yet any of the Labour Ministers, have been prepared to publicly condemn these abuses.

Labour has a responsibility to the Northern Ireland working class. To deal with the proven brutality, to deal with the torturers and the interrogators, and to withdraw the troops and replace them with a trade union defence force, that alone can protect the Irish people. And Labour must stand for socialist measures to purge the social evils from Britain and Ireland.



Will the Liberals solve the problems of slum housing in Liverpool?

Photo: Report

## WHAT HAPPENED AT EDGEHILL

Labour Party members everywhere will be wondering what is the meaning of the Edgehill result? Is it the start of another Liberal revival? Or are there local reasons for the victory?

Perhaps Labour Party workers in Edgehill were expecting defeat by the Liberals, but not by a majority of 7,254. Labour and the Tories both lost votes to the winners, the latter even losing their deposits. This should be a warning to the Party.

The low turnout—just 56%—with mainly Labour supporters staying away is a warning in itself. At the by-election at least, there was no enthusiasm for Labour among working class voters.

Edgehill, a railway constituency, was the first Liverpool seat ever won by Labour.

By Terry Harrison

However, it is a seat that has been neglected for years by its sitting M.P. Eventually Sir Arthur Irvine was removed by the CLP and replaced by a left-winger, Bob Waring.

The seat was safe in the County elections also. Edgehill is a typical part of 'good old Liverpool'. It is one of the last remaining concentrations

of two-up, two-down houses with outside toilets and no bathrooms; an area where slum clearance began but where rebuilding never took place.

Reminiscent of the post-war bomb sites, its main economic mainstays, Plessey's and the railways, are declining sources of work. Unemployment levels are high, even for Liverpool. Despite being a Labour stronghold, little appears to have happened to improve the conditions of its people. In the late '60s the Edgehill party was in a sorry state. Twice the City Party had to intervene in order to re-organise the Party. During one period it had not met for eighteen months.

Much of the area's decline took place while the Labour government was in office. They were seen to be responsible. The Tories had little chance, so into the gap jumped David Alton and the rest of the Liberals. Armed with the 'policies' of Community Politics, they seemed to be dealing with at least the niggling problems of cracked

pavements, dirty entries and house repairs.

Tied to this was a publicity machine second to none. Newsletters abounded, dealing with their success stories that made them appear to be "getting things done". Unbeknown to the electorate, with the dominant position on the District Council they pursued thoroughly reactionary anti-working class policies, at times combining with the Tories. Sometimes they even upstaged them. The Liberals on the Liverpool Council, including the new Edgehill MP, are firm supporters of council house sales, for example.

The establishment may have abandoned the Liberals nationally, but not in Liverpool. The local paper, the 'Daily Post and Echo', see the Liberals as a gift, ensuring that Labour does not gain a majority in the local council.

It is they who get the headlines. Skillfully avoiding the controversial aspects of their policies that would make people think twice, and most of all giving no publicity to the Labour councillors' opposition to the real attacks being made on working class living standards.

With the general election campaign under way, Labour leaders must offer a socialist alternative now, to rekindle the spark among their supporters and keep the Tories and the Liberal Tories from the door.

## CROYDON CENTRAL-SOCIALIST CANDIDATE



David White, Labour's candidate in Croydon

One of the most marginal seats in the election is Croydon Central in South London. At the last election the Tory candidate scraped home by 164 votes. This time the Labour candidate is David White, who has a long and consistent record of fighting in the Labour Party for socialist policies.

When he was a GLC councillor he defied the Labour whip to vote against rent and fare increases. In this campaign he will highlight the threat that a Tory government would be to working people, and he is fighting on Labour Party policy: for a 35-hour week, a £70 minimum wage, an expansion of public services,

and the implementation of Clause IV.

The London Regional Committee of the LPYS are organising assistance for his campaign. A number of activities have been arranged. All LPYS members in London should try to support them.

Sunday April 8th: canvass, 10.30 am, Croydon Labour Party rooms, Coombe Road, Croydon. Saturday April 14th: street activities, Croydon LP rooms, 10.30. And in particular the mass canvass, Sunday April 22nd, 10.30, LP rooms.

Help is also required in the evenings. For further details ring either John Bulaitis [01-778 1709] or Croydon Labour Party [01-688 1378]

## IPSWICH-LABOUR FIGHTS BACK

A 360 vote majority for the Tories in 1977 was turned into a 190 vote majority for Labour in a recent council by-election in Whitton Ward, Ipswich. A good omen for the general election.

The LPYS played a key role in canvassing what seemed a hopeless area for Labour, mainly private estates, areas

which normally aren't even canvassed. It was these areas which turned out for Labour.

The successful Labour man, Frank Wilding, thanked the youth section for the role they played. The Party should get the message: there is no substitute for enthusiastic youthful canvassers.



# TORY TAXATION POLICY ONLY HELPS BIG BUSINESS

**"A Tory government would cut the monstrous burden of taxation!" This will be the refrain from Thatcher, Joseph, Howe and the rest during the campaign.**

For many workers, now paying painful amounts of income tax out of their hard-earned and far-from-adequate wage packet, such a slogan can hardly fail to have a certain appeal.

But the Tories are the Party of big business; we may be sure that Tory tax cuts would mean pennies for the poor and pounds, millions of pounds, for the rich.

The truth is, all the tales of woe about the crippling rates of taxation on the wealthy are so much Tory propaganda. Most of the wealth in this country is held by a tiny handful of people who live off the backs of the majority—and taxation makes little or no difference.

The latest figures, published in the government's 'Economic Trends', show that the top 10% of taxpayers take 26.2% of all income: this is more than the income taken by the bottom 50% who

receive only 24%!

"The scale of rates (of income tax) is exceptionally steep," say the Tories. "The top rates, at 83% on earned income and 98% on investment income, stand out as a beacon of fiscal absurdity." ('The Right Approach to the Economy', ed. Angus Maude, p25)

But who actually pays these top rates? The answer is: practically no one!

In a recent feature on 'Personal Finance'—full of good advice to the rich on how to increase their wealth—the 'Economist' (24 March) said:

"In Britain tax avoidance, by means of perfectly legal and often sensible investment schemes, has become the most profitable of all industries...The victims of punitive income taxes are not the idle rich. The wealthy can convert their income into capital gains, insurance policies, or works of art and avoid tax in many ways."

Then, of course, there are the illegal ways of avoiding tax...Sir William Pile, chairman of the Board of the Inland Revenue, recently estimated that tax is being evaded on something like £10,000 million a year of earnings (equal to 7½% of gross domestic product).

As most workers on PAYE have little or no chance of

evading tax, most of this evasion is clearly by people in the upper-income bracket.

Despite the nominally high tax rates for high-income earners, then, after allowances for things like mortgage interest payments is made, there is little change in this grossly unequal distribution of income.

The top 2% to 10% group takes 20.7% of income before

% share of income taken by top	Before tax	After tax
1%	5.5	3.8
5%	16.3	13.5
10%	26.2	23.1

tax. After tax, they still take 19.3%. Hardly a penal, egalitarian redistribution of income!

So the real tax rate is nothing like the official figures so vehemently denounced by the Tories. In 1976-77, the top 1% of taxpayers paid less than half their income (45.4p in the £) in tax; the richest 10% paid 29.4p in the £; while the average for all taxpayers was 20p in the £.

As the Tory Party is full of lawyers and accountants—both Margaret Thatcher and

Geoffrey Howe are tax lawyers—we can take it that, despite all their propaganda, they are really well aware of the facts.

Yet the Tory propagandists constantly imply that the Labour government has ruthlessly increased taxation on the rich. Regrettably, this is not so. In reality, the income tax system has become less progressive under this Labour government, as 'Economic Trends' shows.

Even if we take the taxes which cause the most Tory howls—capital transfer tax (levied on gifts between rich people) and estate duty (levied on the property of dead rich people)—we find that the burden of taxation has actually been reduced under this Labour government.

In 1972/3 (the last full year of the last Tory government) the total yield of capital transfer tax and estate duty (at 1978 prices) was £1,057 million. In 1978/9 (the last full year of the Labour government) it was only £370 million!

The Wealth Tax, moreover, proposed in Labour's 1974 Manifesto has been completely dropped!

Finally, company taxation

Tories, like Sir Keith Joseph, claim that business "initiative" and "enterprise" is stifled by intolerable tax rates. But once again, he is peddling a Tory myth.

panies over the economic crisis of 1974-76. Most big companies now have plenty of cash (profits were up 20% in the first 9 months of last year)—but the tax concessions remain.

Corporation tax as per cent of trading profits

1969	27.5
1970	23.6
1971	18.4
1972	13.2
1973	16.5
1974	4.9
1975	1.4
1976	1.9
1977	5.7

1978 [first 9 months]

\*Source:

For 1969-76 The British Tax System by JA Kay and MA King. For 1977-78. Financial Statistics.

## Consequences of tax cuts

Yet if the Tories get their way, taxes on big businesses and the wealthy few will be reduced even more. And despite any small cuts in basic income tax, workers will pay dearly for the Tories' tax hand-outs to the rich.

To balance the lost revenue resulting from tax cuts, the Tories will:

(1) cut public expenditure even more, which will mean things like higher prescription charges, dearer school meals, higher council rents and so on; and

(2) increase indirect taxation, like VAT and tax on petrol, drink, tobacco, which mostly falls on working-class consumers and means higher prices in the shops.

In short, don't be taken in by the Tories' tax-cut propaganda!

By Lynn Walsh

## From their own mouths

### TORY PRESS LINK TRADE UNIONS AND TERRORISM

"Airey Neave's murder and Margaret Thatcher's consequent cancellation of her election-broadcast come as a reminder that democracy itself has become an election issue. The very foundations of democracy, a secure and ordered society under the rule of law, can no longer be taken for granted in the way they once could."

"The shadow of the international gunman is the most obvious threat. But intimidation—whether by violence or political pressures on the police—is also a growing threat..."

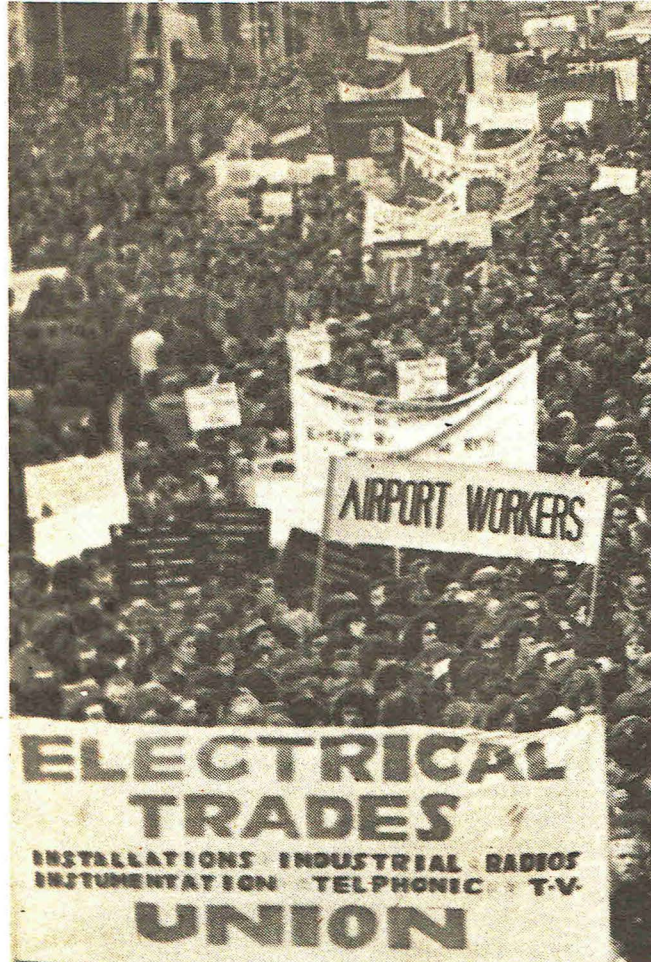
"To thwart a powerful union can bring ruthless retribution legitimised by government. Nor can the

individual opt out of the struggle. For the new levathan will mobilise him against his fellow-citizens, force him to strike, 'black', picket, demonstrate, or go slow under pain of expulsion..."

"More than any other contemporary politician, she [Margaret Thatcher] has proclaimed the indivisibility of political freedom and economic rights, law and order and defence against external violence allied with subversion. After mourning one of the closest of her colleagues, she will return with renewed determination to these themes, and the British people should heed them as never before."

'Daily Telegraph' Editorial 31st March.

Photo: Derek Speirs (IFL)



Mass demo against Irish Tories on 20th March. The shape of things to come?

## SAFEGUARDING THE PALACE

One of the last acts of the Labour government was to increase public expenditure by £214,238—in a wage rise for the Royal family. During the years of the Labour government while workers, especially the low-paid, have had to fight for a decent wage increase, the Royals have been well looked after. 1977 saw an 18% increase, 1976 15%.

The recent increase will take the Queen's salary to over two million. It's £2,134,000, to be precise, and that's not counting all the income she gets from her investments, land holdings, etc. All the other Royals will get similar financial assistance, including Prince Andrew, who has to make do on £10,000 a year, but then he's only at school.

But socialists should not confine their opposition to the Monarchy to the grounds of expense. Identification with the ruling class has never helped the labour movement. Instead of bolstering the undemocratic Monarchy Labour should be seeking to end its privileges, its perks and its power. For the Monarchy acting as a reserve weapon against the labour movement in the future. Both it and the House of Lords should be abolished.

## Housewives

Sally Oppenheim, the Tory Prices spokesman, has been explaining why 'the ordinary housewife' will not be voting Labour. Building on the usual Tory view that women should stay isolated in the home, she said that housewives had never gone on strike and had kept smiling throughout this year's industrial disruption. Mrs Oppenheim can, of course, easily smile. For her chief contribution to the battle against inflation last year was to sell her house for a mere £500,000.

## Housing

"It is our job to storm the council estates and show the people that we care for them."

Michael Heseltine, Tory spokesman on Housing. Conservative News, Jan 1978

For what Tories really think about council tenants, see pages 8 and 9.

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## WHEN DID THE TORIES EVER WORK!



BRITAINS BETTER OFF WITH THE CONSERVATIVES.



# YOUNG, HARASSED AND BLACK

By Bob Lee  
(Secretary,  
PNP Youth)

**On July 18 last year Judge Michael Argyle imprisoned four brothers for periods ranging from seven years to two months. What terrible crime were they guilty of that wrought such vengeance on their whole family?**

**According to the evidence of the Institute of Race Relations submitted to the Royal Commission on Criminal Procedure, their crime was to be black in Britain today:**

"Not only were the sentences savage but the whole case rested on the police version of events. The Virk brothers had in fact been the victims of racist attacks and racial abuse. They had defended themselves under severe provocation. The police arrived and arrested the Virk brothers whilst the (real) attackers went free.

"Judge Argyle not only accepted the police version of events but went on to condemn as 'irrelevant' the introduction by the defence of 'racial prejudice' as a motivation—and rebuked them for asking the white attackers whether they belonged to the National Front."

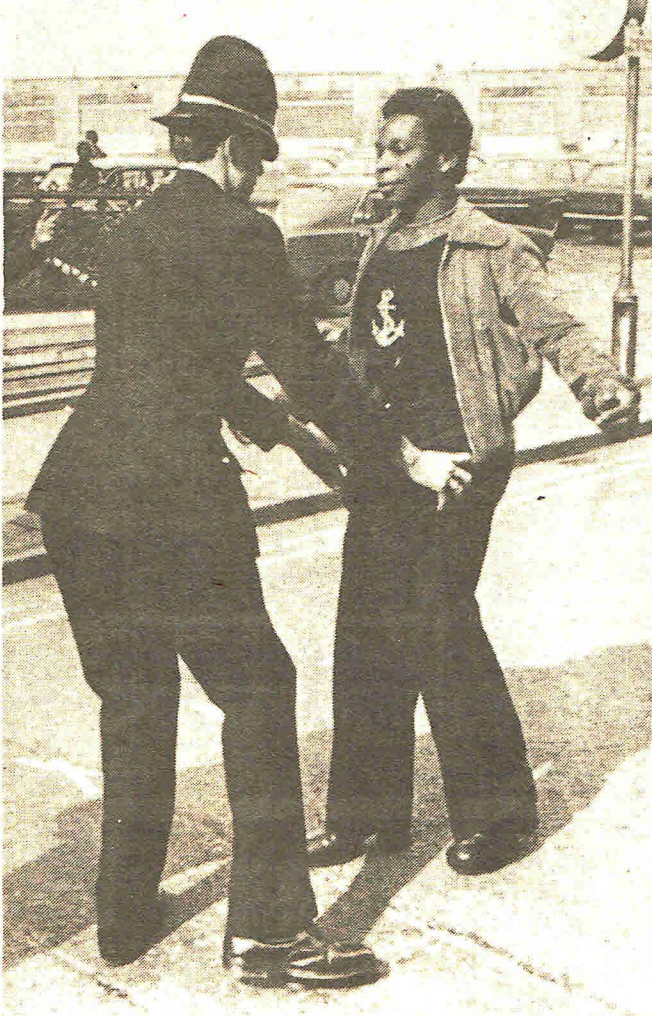
The Institute's evidence on police and black people in Britain is broadly divided into four categories. The first deals with the general question of the police, their 'powers' and use of these powers in policing the black communities. The evidence compiled is a horrifying illustration of the systematic campaign of harassment and intimidation waged by the police against the black community.

The political dimension to such harassment is brought out vividly:

"In 1971 the Lewisham police went so far as to hijack a London Transport bus to Ladywell police station because some members of the Black Unity and Freedom Party were on it. This followed an incident in which BUFP members had actually asked the police to arrest some white youths who had attacked a black youth on the street. The members were searched and a list of minor charges were brought. (West Indian World 19 January 1973)"

The second category of the evidence deals with "police powers and the black individual". Here the evidence focuses on the treatment black people receive on the streets and at police stations. As well as highlighting such things as the arbitrary arrests of blacks and the entering of their homes, the Institute identifies two specific areas where the law is used to harass individuals. What the evidence refers to as 'SUS 1' concerns the systematic use of Section 4 of the 1824 Vagrancy Act.

"So widespread is the use of this charge ('SUS') against young blacks that certain areas—in particular the West End of London—have become 'no go' areas for this section of the community", declares the pamphlet. The Institute



Continual harassment aimed at isolating black community

then goes on to add weight to the wealth of existing evidence to expose this law (see 'Militant' 16th, 23rd, 30th March).

Of the powers conferred on the police by the Immigration Act 1971—'SUS 2', the Institute states:

"Under the...Act the police have the power to arrest without a warrant anyone whom they suspect of being an illegal entrant. After arrest they can be charged and tried in court, which has power to, and usually does, recommend deportation. At that point the

suspected person is held indefinitely in detention until either removed or reprieved. And since all blacks are considered 'immigrants' and some of them are illegal, the only way to tell an illegal black from a legal one is to suspect the lot."

The implications are clear—every black is a 'suspect', liable to be picked up at any time. Ample evidence is presented to show how the police use this law as a 'legitimate' excuse to carry out random arrests and intimidate blacks on the

situation totally controlled by the police, who will tend to confirm and corroborate each other's evidence. The police, having picked up a black person on some suspicion or other, now have to justify this, to produce evidence so that their charges will stick in open court. The flouting of Judge's Rules, use of brutality and intimidation, the fabrication of evidence, the forcing of confessions, are too often the outcome."

The 'rights' of juveniles are often completely ignored. The pamphlet points out that complaints of ill-treatment of black juveniles by the police are "too many and too serious to be ignored." For instance, juveniles under 17 can only be interviewed in the presence of the parents or other responsible person. Yet this rule was clearly flouted in the case of the Islington 18:

"W was arrested and held from 5.30 till 8.45 when his mother was informed. MC was held from 11am and his mother only informed at 6pm. Mrs B's son was moved from station to station and she was not allowed to see him. Mrs R phoned a number of stations which denied all knowledge of her son though he was being held. The parents of DW were not contacted till after three days of interrogation during which he was kept incommunicado. A solicitor who attempted to see B was refused. (Under Heavy Manners)"

The third category of the Institute's evidence covers the question of the actual prosecution and conviction of blacks. "The discretion on charging exercised by the police demands serious scrutiny", says the submission, "because it already goes some way to predicting the type of sentence the defendant must receive."

The increasing use of conspiracy charges illustrates this trend. Though conspiracy is an extremely serious charge, for which conviction often carries a savage sentence, the "burden (or quantity) of proof" required by the police is slight compared with many other lesser charges.

The evidence also shows how the police use bail as a "bribe" to secure "voluntary" statements and finger prints. "There appears to be an increasing tendency for bail conditions to be imposed upon black youth, but not on white youth in similar situations."

Despite the meticulously collected, detailed material showing the wide-ranging and arbitrary powers of the police, the crucial question of exactly why this systematic abuse takes place, and how to end it is not adequately answered.

This is the Institute's fourth category, the accountability of the police to society. While the Institute is correct to draw attention to the suspicion blacks hold towards the police, this is only part of the problem. Before we can really come to grips with this conflict, we must pose the entire question in the context of class society and the role of the police in that society, especially in its application to racial and other minorities.

The British ruling class have always used the police force to persecute religious and ethnic minorities. At the turn of the century, the

Jewish refugees, forced to escape from the pogroms in Eastern and Central Europe, became the victims of widespread police terror in Britain. The Government of the day introduced the Aliens Act which, like the Immigration Act of 1971, gave the police an official excuse to harass and intimidate the immigrant community.

The same applied to the Irish minority in Britain. Indeed, the 'Special Branch' of the police was originally known as the 'Special Irish Branch'. The task of the Special Irish Branch then, as is the task to a large extent of the Special Branch today, was to harass and victimise Irish Catholics. Even the small minority of gypsies have not escaped police persecution. They, like other minorities, have had to face to endless provocation and harassment from the police force.

Oppressed minorities in capitalist societies invariably fall victim to state persecution because, more often than not, their experience of being the oppressed among the oppressed, forces them to become the most militant and revolutionary section of the working class. Their struggles can often provide that vital flame needed to ignite a movement of the entire oppressed class. And, therefore, it is always in the interest of the ruling class to isolate minorities and split

them away from the rest of the exploited mass. That is the underlying calculation behind the open police persecution of blacks in Britain."

While we welcome the evidence provided by the Institute, and support its aim to restrict abuses of police power by more 'restrained' police behaviour, we must at the same time point out its limitations.

The struggle against the persecution of blacks is inextricably bound up with the struggle against capitalism. That is the source of racism, of which this persecution forms a crucial part.

"The oppression facing blacks today will face all workers tomorrow. All the danger signs are there. The use of the SPG to break picket lines and the police 'overmanning' of workers' events such as demonstrations are a glimpse of what may be ahead.

Northern Ireland stands like a chilling dress rehearsal of what is to come—unless the movement acts now. Only when the working class is firmly in control of society can policing and accountability be firmly placed in the hands of the community where it belongs.

Police against Black People. Race and Class Pamphlet No 6. 95p.

## CHILE SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN:

### Build links with Socialist Opposition

A two-day conference held in London on 24th and 25th March proved that Chile is still a burning issue in the labour movement.

Isabel Letelier, the widow of Orlando Letelier, one of Allende's ex-ministers assassinated in Washington, concentrated in her speech on the role of the multinationals and the banks in Chile.

She showed that the monetarist economic model being imposed by the junta means starvation and acute poverty for the majority of the population. She talked about the relative successes of the boycott of Chilean goods in the United States and urged British workers to carry out similar acts of solidarity with their comrades in Chile by working towards the total economic and political isolation of Pinochet's regime.

The second day was the AGM of the Chile Solidarity Campaign.

Isabel Letelier also addressed this meeting. She outlined the issues raised by her husband's assassination at the hands of the Chilean secret police [DINA] and a terrorist group of Cuban exiles. She announced that a very heavy sentence had been passed on 'those involved' except of course for the heads of DINA who have not been extradited but whom Pinochet is keeping in "protective custody" in luxurious surroundings!

Her husband, and many others were killed because their ideas posed a threat to

capitalism in Chile. She emphasised that the workers there, in spite of the risks they run, were still organising and still fighting back and she urged British workers to support them politically and materially.

Mike Gatehouse, Secretary of the Campaign, stressed that the government over the past year had been backtracking in its attitude towards Chile. The most dramatic example of this was in the granting of an export licence for the Chilean Airforce Rolls Royce engines despite the determined efforts of the shop stewards to block them.

Another area of concern was the possibility of the restoration of diplomatic relations with Chile which would be a major blow to the morale of the resistance.

Fraternal greetings were sent by a CUT [Chilean TUC] representative who appealed for a campaign on the right of exiles to return to Chile.

The major disappointment was that the Conference, for the second year running, rejected a resolution for mentioning socialism! The Campaign unfortunately still resolutely refused to take on the task of raising the lessons of Chile in the labour movement as a whole. It is vital that with the growing opposition to the regime effective links are built and finance raised for the socialist opposition in Chile.

By a delegate  
to the CSC Conference

## ABOLISH 'SUS' NOW!

**Westley, John, Winston and Jackie, black youths from Brixton, were on their way home from work when two of them were arrested on a platform at Oxford Circus underground station.**

**The police said they had been loitering with intent to steal from a girl's handbag, jostling a woman on the way to the barrier, and attempting to put their hands in the bag of a middle-aged woman standing beside them on the escalator. The boys denied the charges.**

**A woman who stood behind the boys on the escalator and was nearby when they were arrested gave evidence that she had not seen a middle-aged woman on the escalator, nor had she seen anything suspicious.**

**The magistrate, after expressing the view that the witness should mind her own business, found the two youths guilty.**

**This is just one of the many cases each year in which the police use the now notorious 'SUS' laws to intimidate and criminalize large sections of black youth in Britain today.**

By Paul March [PNP Youth]

convicted immigrant can be held indefinitely in prison awaiting the Home Office decision whether or not to deport. But in cases of suspected illegal entry (now extended by the courts to mean those who enter by deception) this procedure is short circuited—the criminal trial is cut out—instead the

streets.

However, the harassment is not just confined to the streets. More often than not, the worst is yet to come. The Institute points out that "on the street there may be independent witnesses to police harassment."

"Once inside the station, however, the suspect is in a



# LEFT & RIGHT

## Brothers in law

On the night of the parliamentary vote of confidence, in the midst of the head counting, Jo Grimond, 'Liberal' MP, and three Tories, Rhodes Boyson, John Gorst and Frederic Bennet, found time to attend the memorial dinner for Ross McWhirter [whose brother is a founder of the notorious NAFF] and hand out awards to citizens who set us all a good example.

For leadership in "his fellow-workers struggle to preserve the rule of law" and "courageous resistance" George Ward, the Grunwick boss who ignored company laws, paid slave wages and trampled on workers' rights, was presented with £500. Once that might have paid one of his employees for a year. But not now. Instead he donated it to the Denning law library at Buckingham's private University College.

Presumably this was a tribute to Lord Denning, Master of the Rolls and one of the Law Lords who upheld Grunwick's appeal to the House of Lords and told Ward that he did not have to recognise the workers' union, APEX.

## Making a packet

The Post Office has found a way of saving £100,000 a year—by doing the job they pay 'efficient private enterprise' for.

"People in our factories were spending hours every month tearing their way into...security-tight packaging". So a Post Office team redesigned the packing to save time and space.

The research cost the PO £17,950. [Would it have cost that much for the workers doing the job to find out what was wrong?] "Not bad for a saving of one million plus [over ten years]" says the Post Office staff paper. But it's only a drop in the ocean compared to what private contractors milk out of the state-owned industries every year. How about tearing us out of that little packet?

## Subsidising scabs

Dr Meade, the parent who became the hero of London's Tory press when he took legal action against Haringey Council, in an unsuccessful attempt to force them to scab on the public sector strike by re-opening schools, was not left to bear the burden alone. Not penniless himself—his son went to a top fee-paying public school for four years, this latter-day champion of state education got plenty of help with meeting the financial costs.

Not surprisingly, Tory MPs happily coughed up. But Meade boasts that there were even more Labour MPs willing to dip into their pockets to help drag a Labour council through the courts. These Party representatives are paid a lot more than the £60 a week NUPE are fighting for. They were not elected to launch attacks on struggling low-paid workers and the Labour Party. What better evidence is there that regular reselection of Labour MPs, calling them to account to the Party rank and file, is a necessary check? And if they all lived on a workers' average wage, those who feel in sympathy with Tories and strike-breakers would perhaps not need persuading to go and make their careers elsewhere.

# Sailor on a tarmac sea

## Bob Stothard continues his account of life behind the wheel of a truck

By 10.00 am I am at the first drop: two pallets of welding rods which have to be "handballed off" as the customer wants his own pallets back!

The factory gate was built for a horse and cart and I have just six inches either side to back the trailer through—and it must be dead straight. Rope up again and set off for the next drop.

It's raining now and seeping through my donkey jacket as I stand on the trailer awaiting the forklift. It's a long time coming back so I go into the stores to see where the driver has got to: he's sat on a chair in a mess room getting a cup of tea and a pastie. I bite my tongue to keep civil: long experience teaches you not to get abusive and let them make your time there more difficult by stretching it out.

The next drop I go to the works' canteen with the men for a cheap dinner. The two after that are just parcels of bolts which I store in the cab to save getting the ropes and sheets off again. I stop on the road and carry them in by hand—it's quicker than getting the lads to come out and get them.

Half-way round Cheshire and into Warrington. I've got ten done—it's a good day so far but I'm tired out and feeling claggy—it's 3.30. I ring the gaffer to check.

"How many have you done?" he asks.

"Seven." I lie, to give a bit of time to play with if I need it.

"Will you get the rest done today?"

"Expletive deleted off!"



Lorry driver pickets during the strike—the unity and determination it created will not be forgotten

"I was only kidding" (he wasn't). "Give me a ring in the morning."

When I'm in Liverpool I usually stop at a Sally Army hostel which keeps a wing especially for drivers. There's plenty of waste land to park, you get a cubicle to yourself (transport digs nine times out of ten feature an average of six beds to a room) a TV lounge and snooker table—but no means of getting a drink. Still, they change the sheets in Arden House—a lot of other transport digs don't even change the oil.

No lorry is safe in Liverpool when parked—even in broad daylight. I always try to avoid the city when I can, although the tea-leaves who frequent the parking ground at Arden House rarely seem to pinch from cabs—just the loads if they're worth the bother.

It's the young kids who "offer" to "mind the motor" for you who will cause damage if you don't cough up a few bob—I've seen a few wagons with the windscreens on the driver's seat in the

morning, or the ropes slashed, tyres down, etc. What kind of life is it for youngsters of ten or so to be hustling like that?

Nights out when you're a wagon driver may appear romantic. The notion persists that a driver is a 'sailor on a tarmac sea', with a girl in every port and that we booze and night-club it at every available opportunity.

What a laugh! The truth is that you wouldn't last five minutes on the road carrying on like that.

In reality once you've had your evening meal and washed and changed there are generally three options: the cinema, staying in the digs watching TV or a pint at the nearest club or pub with some of the other lads.

My night-out money just covers the outlay on meals, bed and breakfast and 20 tabs. In fact, most drivers are forced to put their hands in their own pockets for a few jars on a night. I usually prefer a few pints to help me sleep: 4 or 5 men in one room

snoring and so on will keep you wide awake; then they're getting up at all hours of the night to get their 'early starts'.

The one thing common to all lorry drivers is that they just can't stop talking about work. If I had a pound note for every mile I've driven just talking about it I'd be able to finance a daily 'Militant' on my own!

The men just don't 'shoot the breeze'—it's pure, undiluted dedication to the job. There is, naturally, a pride in being a 'loner', able to cope with all the various problems—a mechanic, diplomat and battler all in one.

In the past this made the task of organising the trade extremely difficult—but the recent crushing strike victory ensures that never again will lorry drivers stand for the three-card con trick; we are prepared to stand together to defend and advance our interests.

**By Bob Stothard**  
(T&GWU 8/162)

# VIETNAM - A Soldiers' Nightmare

When US imperialism was forced to draw out of the Vietnam war, it left behind a country devastated by bombs, chemical weapons, and all the horrors of modern warfare.

The war was an attempt by the ruling class of the United States to smash the Vietnamese revolution.

The 'Militant' explained that even the most powerful capitalist country in the world could not win a war in a country where the mass of the peasants were determined to throw out imperialism and to gain control of the land.

The American working class would not stand for having to fight a doomed war so far away from home.

A lot of books have been



US troops dodge bullets as they are ordered into the Vietnamese city of Hue for a 'mopping up' operation

written about the Vietnam war. One of the most graphic is 'A Rumor of War' by marine lieutenant Philip Caputo.

It is a terrifying account of the war from one man's viewpoint. Philip Caputo joined the marines for action and adventure. All he wanted was to be a hero in the mould of John Wayne.

He was soon made a lieutenant, and went to Vietnam in 1965, thinking that the war would be over in a matter of months and he could return to a hero's welcome in America.

But there were to be no epic battles. It was a war of

survival for every soldier fighting in it.

A constant round of vicious manhunts through jungles and swamps, where snipers harassed the troops and the fantastic heat and booby-traps cut them down one by one.

They went weeks without washing and they could get no sleep in their tents because of mosquitos and insects. Caputo, who went into the war with enthusiasm, soon became more and more sick of it.

Friends and soldiers were maimed for life. He saw soldiers with no limbs, and was forced to live with the

stench and fear of war.

He had to face up to fighting in a hellish jungle where life could be ended at any second.

Caputo is certainly no angel. He was court-martialled for the cold-blooded murder of two innocent Vietnamese civilians; in effect a scapegoat for the crimes of the military chiefs and capitalists who pushed the soldiers into the war.

But this book is a cruelly honest account which I would recommend to all 'Militant' readers.

**REVIEW BY**  
**Andrew Campbell**  
(Deptford LPYS)



# RELIGION

The third, and final, article in the series by Peter Taaffe looks at religion in advanced industrial societies, capitalist and stalinist.

FOR



Cardinal Wyszynski—  
Good relations between  
Stalinist bureaucracy  
and church leaders

# SOCIALISM

It is not just in the backward countries (dealt with in the two previous articles) where attempts at a religious renaissance have been made, but also in the advanced capitalist world and even in the Stalinist states.

The continuation and even strengthening of religion in Eastern Europe and Russia is an eloquent testimony to the bankruptcy of these regimes.

In Poland, for instance, it is estimated that 80% of the population regularly attend Catholic churches. In Russia it is estimated that 30 million belong to the Orthodox Church which was assiduously courted and built up by Stalin and his heirs as a national prop to his regime.

The suppression of the Hungarian revolution and the invasion of Czechoslovakia were endorsed by "Soviet churchmen"! One was described the Orthodox Church as a "state church in an atheist state"!

However, opposition religious movements, too, have sprouted in Russia over the past few decades. The Jewish religion, the Baptists and, largest of all, the Moslems, concentrated in Central Asia and numbering about 45 million have all grown.

Like causes produce like results. Russia is a one-party, totalitarian regime, but one resting on a planned economy as opposed to the social base of the Shah's Iran which was landlordism and capitalism. Political power is concentrated in the hands of a usurping bureaucratic elite. Democratic and national rights are ruthlessly suppressed.

Consequently, religion of all shades has become a vehicle for expressing the growing opposition and the airing of grievances of the oppressed nationalities in Russia.

The bureaucracy is mortally terrified that the events in Iran will infect Russia's

Moslem population in the areas bordering Iran with the same revolutionary virus. It could stir up a movement for national and democratic rights.

What an annihilating condemnation of this allegedly "Marxist" regime! Sixty-two years after the Russian revolution religion is viewed as a threat to its existence. Hence the persecution of the Jews, the Baptists, and other religious groups.

## The socialist transformation of society would lay the foundations for 'paradise'—not in the hereafter, but on earth. But it is Marxism which will achieve this.

Genuine Marxism, while opposing religion from a philosophical point of view is nevertheless completely opposed to this systematic hounding and persecution of those who cling to religious beliefs. Ideas will never be eradicated by the use of a bureaucratic club. On the contrary, such methods will only reinforce the grip of religion in Eastern Europe and Russia.

The main influence of these movements, however, is among the older generation, despairing intellectuals of the type of Solzhenitsyn, and in the more backward regions of Russia.

It will not be the churches, but the mighty Russian working class which will overthrow the bureaucratic elite and establish workers' democracy. This will also be the case in Poland as much as in Russia. Notwithstanding the strength of Catholicism, the Polish workers in 1971 and 1976 turned in the direction of Marxism and the programme of workers' democracy rather than towards religious obscurantism in their clashes with the Stalinist bureaucracy.

And rather than the Catholic hierarchy adopting the role of implacable opponents of the regime—which is the picture presented in the

capitalist world—the Cardinal of Poland, Wyszynski, declared in 1977 that "after long years of reflection over many years he had decided that in the difficult situation of the country the bishops and the Primate of Poland must take heed of the requirements of Poland's reasons of state."

This was interpreted as meaning that it was necessary to "preserve internal peace" (i.e. for the working class to back away from a confron-

tation with the bureaucracy) in the interests of the state and in that of the Church in order to prevent any Soviet intervention."

In the advanced capitalist world also, particularly in America, religious revivalism has recently enjoyed a limited success, especially among sections of despairing middle-class youth.

On the one side the 'Economist' is forced to agree, rather reluctantly, with the verdict of the Vatican mentioned earlier: "The last third of the 20th Century is a period in which the familiar forms of organised religion have lost their hold on most people who would call themselves members of the educated middle classes... This is probably the first time in history in which, at least in fashionable assumption, to be intelligent and educated, is also to be without religious belief."

The decay of capitalist society, its warped moral values, the greed and selfishness together with the seeming aimlessness and rootless existence of the majority of the population is more and more evident. It is in this atmosphere, saturated with hopelessness and despair, that all kinds of crazy cults and religions have sprung up, particularly in capitalist

America.

The 'Economist' cheerfully remarks: "The market place of religious innovation is one of the last and best examples of free enterprise in the world today."

But this realm of "free enterprise" too has produced monsters, such as the Manson gang, with their ritualistic murders, and the even more grotesque Dr Bob Jones, whose "experiment" resulted in mass murders and suicides in the Guyanese jungle.

The very fact that a thousand or so people (predominantly black) could traipse off into the jungles of Guyana to follow this madman is a crushing condemnation of American capitalist society. To many of the blacks the existence in Jones' hell-hole was, it seems, preferable to continued life in America with its searing racism, unemployment and poverty.

The situation which has developed in capitalist America, is very similar to that which existed at the time of the collapse of the Roman Empire.

The same feelings of hopelessness, the same despair, seems to pervade the whole of

society. Christianity first developed as a response to this searching and questioning, particularly of the lower orders of society. No class existed at the time of the collapse of the Roman Empire which could, in effect, show a way forward.

The Roman lumpen-proletariat played no productive role in society, but in fact lived at the expense of society. It stood, moreover, in an antagonistic relationship to the slave population. Society had to re-constitute itself again on the basis of a "free peasantry", i.e. on the basis of feudal relations, before it could go forward again.

The oppressed, therefore, looked for solace and deliverance towards a "Messiah". Because no objective force existed in society to solve their problems, they looked for it from on high. The

situation today is profoundly different. The resources, particularly with the development of micro-processors etc., are at hand to completely eliminate want and privation. On the basis of a planned economy it would be entirely possible to raise wages, increase social service spending and dramatically cut the working week.

Society can go forward, new vistas can open up for the whole of mankind, if capitalism and landlordism is abolished throughout the globe. Only one class is capable of achieving this—the working class.

The modern working class is the only force capable of taking society forward. Private ownership of the means of production and the nation state are enormous obstacles to the further development of society. Only a planned socialist economy throughout the world can take society and mankind forward.

The socialist transformation of society would lay the foundations for a "paradise"—not in the hereafter—but on earth. But it is Marxism which will be the weapon by which this will be achieved, not the churches.

Lenin described the role of religion in this way: "Religion teaches those who toil in poverty all their lives to be resigned and patient in this world, and consoles them with the hope of reward in heaven. As for those who live upon the labour of others,

religion teaches them to be "charitable"—thus providing a justification for exploitation and, as it were, also a cheap ticket to heaven likewise. 'Religion is the opium of the people'. Religion is a kind of spiritual intoxicant in which the slaves of capital drown their humanity, and blunt their desire for a decent human existence."

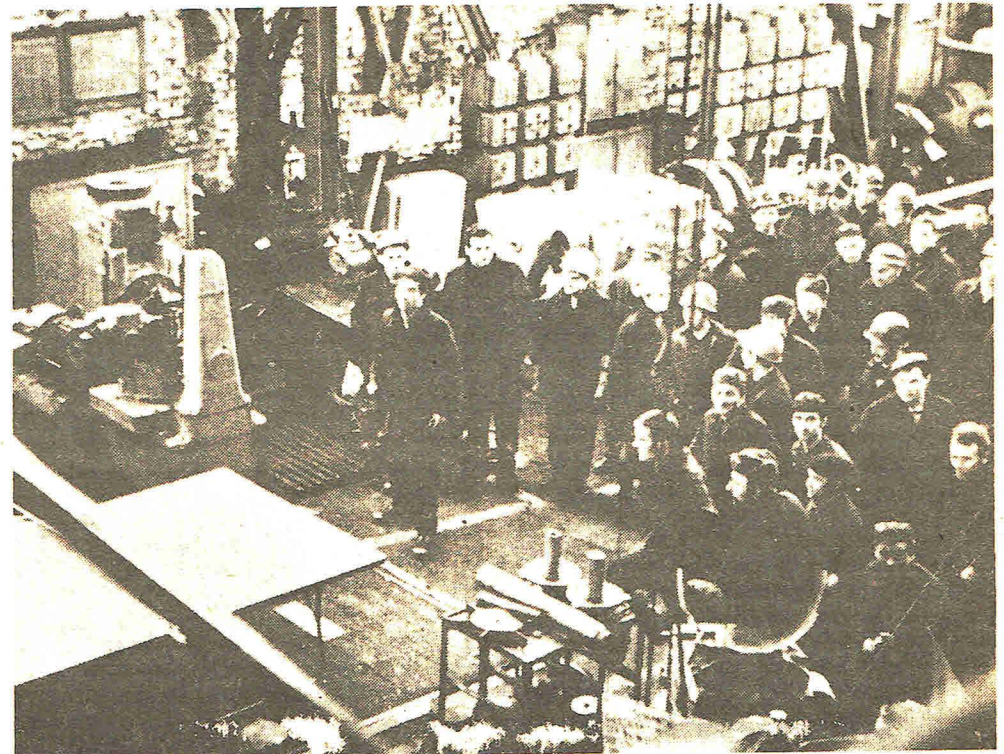
This remains true today, despite the many courageous religious individuals and groups who take the side of the poor against the rich: Of course, Marxism, notwithstanding the philosophical differences with religion, can and will link up on the basis of a socialist programme with those Christian workers and those from the middle class who are prepared to undertake a serious struggle against capitalism.

The church, with its ear to the ground, is undoubtedly capable of reading the signs correctly. It can see that the march of events is moving in the direction of socialism on a world scale. The Vatican was correct in the fact that "it believes the coming power in the world is a form of proletarian revolution embracing Italy, Spain, France, Portugal and Latin America. A lot of bishops are saying that starving babies will not be fed by capitalism, and the only thing that will feed them will be socialism." ('Evening Standard', 29th March)

Mervyn Stockwood also remarks: "My guess is that within a hundred years a non-Marxist government will be the exception. The red flag will fly over most of the globe." ('The Cross and the Sickle')

Undoubtedly, many radical Christians will collaborate with the working class and with Marxism for the socialist transformation of society. At the same time, sections of the working class and of the middle class will still undoubtedly retain religious belief even while participating in the socialist revolution.

But it is only the programme of Marxism that is capable of correctly arming the working people with an understanding of the processes at work in society and with a programme and policies capable of ensuring victory over landlordism and capitalism throughout the globe.



Shipyard workers at Stettin 1971. Opposition to bureaucracy took the form of Marxist demands not Catholicism

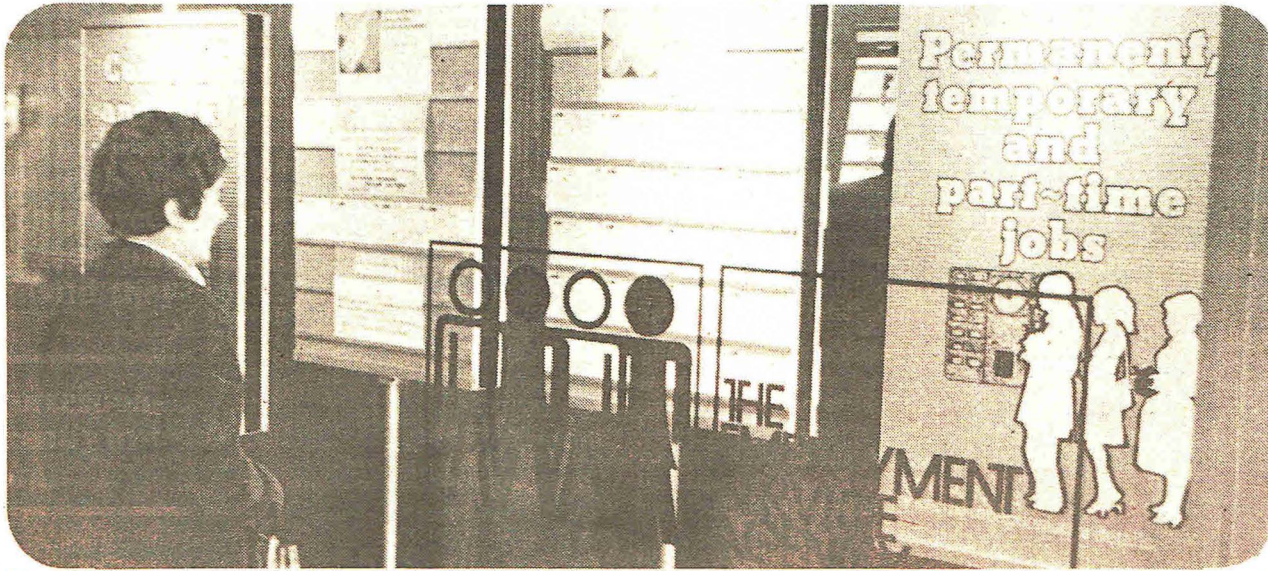
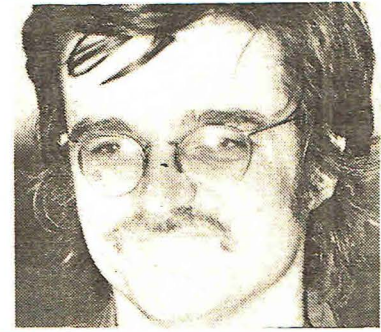


# "LABOUR ACTIVIST" AND THE MANIFESTO

Recently, 'Labour Activist', produced by the Labour Co-ordinating Group, published its criticisms of Labour's draft Election Manifesto and offered its

own alternative.

Andrew Glyn, in an article first published in the 'New Statesman' (16th March), takes up their arguments.



Unemployment is one of the most burning issues—but have Labour Activist any alternative?

Photo: Andrew Wiard (Report)

'Labour Activist' quite correctly criticises the Labour Party's draft manifesto for not providing a 'socialist analysis of the international crisis and of Britain's problems' and for 'failing to analyse the obstacle to democracy, socialism and prosperity formed by the class system, the structure of government and management.'

But does its own 'Manifesto for a socialist Britain' do better?

LA's own analysis of the crisis in the world economy is hopelessly inadequate. It says that the recession has been caused by the **mis-taken response** (my emphasis) of governments to the end of the post-war boom and the breakdown in western financial and trading arrangements.

But 'mistaken' in whose terms? High unemployment is intended to hold down wages and pave the way for rationalisation of industry. Capitalists throughout the world fear that any attempt at deflation and expansion would soon collapse amidst accelerating inflation as happened during the last attempt at expansion in 1972-73.

With profitability even lower than it was then, with memories of rapid inflation fresh and the prospect of booming markets fading, it is probable that the collapse would be even quicker this time round. It is ludicrous to say, as LA does, that 'as each country in turn faces the

**The lack of control of the Labour government is because overwhelmingly the means of production are under capitalist control**

threat or the reality of a currency crisis, its government deflates in order to protect itself against speculation.'

But what about Germany and Japan, whose currencies are strong? Calling the world slump 'the moral and practical responsibility of western industrialised countries' is quite absurd when the interests of the capitalist class and not 'mistakes' dictate the policies now being followed.

LA says that the next Labour government must 'reassert control over the British economy lost as a consequence of the growth of multinational banking and trade and our entry into the EEC.' But did the Labour government really have that much more control in 1964, before Britain was in the EEC and when the internationalisation of the British economy was less advanced? Or in 1931?

Not at all. The 'lack of control' of the Labour government reflects the fact that the overwhelming proportion of the means of production and the financial system are under the control of the capitalist class. Blaming internationalisation is looking to a symptom rather than the cause.

In dealing with import controls, LA brushes away the objection that they would mean trade retaliation by arguing that 'we cannot reasonably be expected to do more than allow imports and exports as a whole to rise together.'

But there is nothing 'reasonable' about competition in world markets. If exporting industries in the advanced capitalist countries find themselves deprived of full access to a rapidly growing market in the UK they will exert maximum pressure for retaliation, which would lead to jobs lost in UK export industries.

Saying imports were not below what they would have been anyway will cut no ice with workers abroad who would see import controls as directed against them and will join their bosses in demanding retaliatory action. This is not to support free trade: neither capitalist protection nor capitalist free trade offers a solution.

LA says quite correctly that 'Full employment should be named as the first priority of the next Labour government,' and calls for 'an explicit plan for deflation and the return to full employment including increases of public spending of £3,000 million a year.'

Such increases would certainly make possible many of the improvements in health, welfare, etc., which the draft manifesto calls for. But how would they be financed? LA says 'not by tax increases but largely by saving on unemployment benefit and higher tax yields from economic growth.'

But this would not cover all the extra expenditure. There is no explanation of how the financial institutions could be forced to finance a greater level of public borrowing.

The Labour Party's draft manifesto itself shamefully waters down the 1977 Conference demand for nationalisation of the banks and major insurance companies into a pathetic scheme to unite the Giro and National Savings Bank and to give 'serious consideration as to how best to create a further substantial public stake.'

LA does not comment on this and so presumably does not accept the necessity of nationalisation of the finance sector to free the government from the dictates of the City.

LA also ignores the inflation which would result from reflation, as business tried to restore profitability—still less than one third of the level of the early 'Sixties. Does LA, like some other proponents of the Alternative Economic Strategy, want stringent price controls? If so, how far could such an expansion go without seizing up from lack of profitability, given that the overwhelming proportion of industry would be in private hands and thus operating according to the capitalist criterion of profitability?

Or does LA propose an incomes policy to guarantee profitable, and thus capitalistically sustainable, expansion? Given capitalism's need to increase profitability, an attempt to expand on a capitalist basis can only mean holding back the growth of real wages. LA fails to analyse such contradictions of capitalist reflation.

The draft Labour Party manifesto calls for £1,000 million a year for the NEB and specifically for 'a major public stake in pharmaceuticals, building materials and construction.' The idea of a commitment to a 10-year housing plan has been dropped; buttressed by nationalisation of the industries concerned, including finance, this could have been the basis

of a real socialist plan for housing.

LA itself has no more specific programme of nationalisation than the draft, just calling for the NEB to have the 'power to acquire big companies wherever necessary for reindustrialisation.'

LA puts much weight on forcing businessmen in 'key manufacturing industries' to implement the government's 'investment, production and employment targets' through compulsory planning agreements.

But it would be absurd to imagine that businessmen will give up their most basic prerogative—control over where they accumulate capital. The authority of a parliamentary majority will never make the business and financial community accept the directives of a Labour government.

The labour movement already has the experience of their scornful treatment of planning agreements. Bob Cryer, one of LA's steering committee, said recently in the House of Commons: 'In view of the massive amounts of aid to industry which this government has been giving... it seems that industry could develop a more co-operative attitude to planning agreements.' But LA is silent on how to ensure a 'more co-operative attitude.'

Only the nationalisation of the 200 or so companies which control 60 per cent or more of the assets in the UK would be the indispensable minimum for securing real control over, and thus the ability to plan, the economy.

This should be on the basis

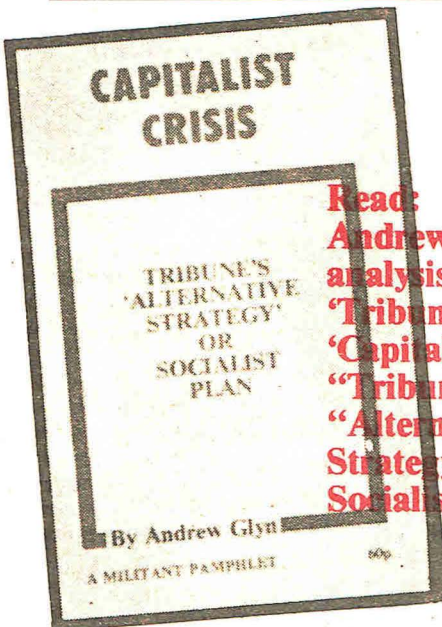
not only of 'workers' control at the plant level' as LA advocates; but also with workers' management of the industries carried out by workers from the unions in the industry concerned, from the TUC to represent other workers' interests as consumers, and with government representatives to ensure that the plans of the individual industry and enterprise mesh in with the needs of society as a whole.

LA's suggestion of 'joint worker-management and services' is just a recipe for workers taking responsibility for management decisions.

Rather than LA's call for a wealth tax which, though obviously a welcome measure, would never affect the huge holdings of shares which give control over British business, nationalisation compensation should be on the basis of proven need.

Neither the Labour Party draft, nor the LA manifesto adds up to an adequate basis on which to secure real control over the economy. I believe that the absolutely necessary advances of a decent minimum wage, a real expansion of housebuilding, full employment and so on can only be secured and guaranteed by a socialist plan of production based on the far-reaching socialist programme I have just outlined.

[The Labour Co-ordinating Committee is supported, among others, by Michael Meacher, Brian Sedgemore, Stuart Holland, Audrey Wise, Jeff Rooker, and Frances Morrell.]



Read Andrew Glyn's analysis of 'Tribune'. 'Capitalist Crisis: "Tribune's" "Alternative Strategy" or Socialist plan?'

Price 60p from World Books,

1 Mentmore Ter., London E8 3PN



# OLD SLUMS



The Craze family outside their private-rented slum

Photo: Julian McKittrick/Militant

# SOMEV TO I

## LANDLORDS THRIVE ON 'HOMES OF HATE'

"It's heartbreaking. We've been kicked in the mouth. And there seems no end to it." These are the bitter words of Mrs Norma Craze, one of the victims of a housing nightmare on Borough Road, Birkenhead.

This row of six small terraces are referred to by the unfortunate tenants as "Homes of Hate".

On 4th October 1978, the council finally got round to declaring what was obvious to local people for years—that these houses are unfit for human habitation. But does that mean an immediate end to their heartbreak? They've been informed that 'statutory confirmation' is required from the Department of the Environment, in London, and that this could mean 18 months to two years before being re-housed.

"It could fall down round us in that time!" remarked Mrs Craze, and that is no exaggeration. From the back, the houses look like the topsy-turvy drawings of a child. In one place, two large cracks have developed in the main walls, which could result in a fatal collapse if left much longer. Several gaping holes in the roofs allow hordes of pigeons to nest in the attics.

Mrs Craze, who is now a widow, showed us round the house where she lives with her two youngest children, Natalie, aged 11, and Victor, aged 8. These friendly, intelligent kids have to live in disgusting conditions, despite several heroic efforts by their mother to repair the walls and ceilings.

As we sat talking, I could feel a draft coming up through the lounge floor from the cellar. "That's because

the cellar 'window' is an open space with only hardboard pinned to it. The landlord has failed to repair it since we moved in. The electricity bills are sky-high," explained Mrs Craze.

The kitchen is riddled with damp. A good cupboard is now rotting on one side because of the damp. This is partly because of broken gutters, which affect the bedrooms as well, and which pours straight through a hole in the landing ceiling. "The bedding is damp, and the carpets are ruined. The walls are too damp to paper them. It's terrible to see the conditions of the wall my kids have to sleep next to."

The landlord's attitude is enough to make your blood boil. He has callously disregarded the pleas of his tenants for years—decades in some cases! He's a fine example of that wonderful capitalist beast—the enterprising landlord.

His rent comes first, his own convenience second, and his tenants' needs a poor last.

Now that the council has declared the houses unfit for humans, the landlord has made a really generous offer. Out of the goodness of his heart he's promised that if the council re-house the present tenants, he will not re-let the property. But on one condition: that the council takes responsibility for bricking up the houses.

The landlord collects the rent, the tenants suffer the humiliation of having to live in his rotting slums, and the public pay for the closing of the houses once they've been evacuated! No doubt he'd want compensation off the council if they cleared the land and the houses are built on, for public use! This man deserves a medal for bare-faced cheek, not to mention greed.

The council probably want

the land to extend a shoppers' car park. But the Tory Wirral council are not noted for being big spenders at the best of times—except when it comes to royal visits or Mayors' balls. So when can the tenants expect to be re-housed?

**HUNTING for a private flat, bedsit or digs to rent in Hillingdon is like looking for gold in a coalmine: if you find any, it's a miracle.**

Our story in last week's Uxbridge edition of the Gazette about tent-dweller Colin Robins and his fruitless search for a home prompted us to follow the trail ourselves.

Our conclusion: Once you've discounted luxury flats with prices to match, there's practically nothing left.

Because of bad housing, Norma can't even go out to work any more. A job arose, but no buses were available from where she lives. She couldn't get housing near to the job, so she has to exist on a widow's pittance. Her eldest daughter suffers the fate of most unmarried mothers—miserly benefits. "I managed to buy lino, a cup, a knife, a fork and a plate—I'm not allowed visitors!"

People like Mrs Craze and her family are just a few of the thousands needing immediate re-housing at a price they can afford. The tenants and the labour movement must take control of housing, removing the rule of the grasping landlords, the faceless bureaucrats and the building societies, and instead plan what is needed, not just what is most profitable.

And what is the council's response? They suggest that if the kids are suffering from bad housing, or are not getting enough sleep because of the burglars in the attic at

night, then they should be taken into care. This is a disgusting situation. "I don't want to part with my children. Why should I have to?"

The tenants of such horror homes must be re-housed in decent property immediately. Workers must be on decent wages. Widows, one-parent families, pensioners, etc., should receive state benefits which allow them to live in civilised conditions. As Mrs Craze put it, "If the government gave widows enough to live on, I wouldn't have had to come here in the first place."

Tory council must be replaced by Labour councils in the coming elections, by all Labour candidates taking up cases like this and by explaining an alternative. This must include the extension of direct works departments, to embark on a crash building programme to re-house all those in need, including those in condemned property.

If people want to buy a home from a private owner, they should have cheap council mortgages available. End the dictatorship over people's lives by leeches like the landlords, banks, building societies and insurance companies. Nationalise the moneylenders! Cancel the debts on interest charges! Build decent homes for all.

This policy would get a massive response from tenants. It would guarantee the removal of the Tory moneybags who preside over crimes like that in Birkenhead. The Tory Party look after the moneylenders and the landlords. Let's make sure Labour protects the tenants with socialist measures.

**By Richard Venton**

(Birkenhead Labour Party)

What could be more basic than the need for a decent home?

Yet in Britain today millions of people still lack the comfort and security of a good house or flat at a price they can afford.

In capitalist Britain, rent, interest and profit come before people.

The facts are stark:

★ 50,000 families became homeless in England in 1978.

★ More than 1 million households are now on council waiting lists in England and Wales.

★ 700,000 households live in homes classified as unfit for human habitation.

★ 950,000 more are in houses lacking either a bath, hot water, or an inside toilet.

★ A further million households live in homes each needing at least £1,000-worth of basic repairs.

And things are getting worse. Public spending cuts have brought a disastrous fall in council building. Private houses are not being built because—with soaring prices and astronomical interest rates—people just can't afford to buy their own home.

Last year, the total number of homes built in Britain was 280,500—the lowest level

since 1974. Council houses completed numbered 130,800 and private houses 149,700.

The number of new starts was also right down—to about half the number built in 1967! Public sector starts [only 107,600] were the lowest for the 1970s.

Meanwhile, building workers are suffering from a higher rate of unemployment than any other major industry [11.3%]. The areas with the worst slums, moreover, have the highest number of building workers out of work [e.g. Merseyside 23.1%, the North East 19.1%].

The continued and worsening shortage of houses pushes up both house prices and private rents. The homeless have even less chance of being housed, and countless families have little prospect of moving out of intolerable slum conditions.

Above all, the shortage, despite the Rent Act and other Labour legislation, increases the power of the landlords, the leeches who exploit people's vital need for shelter.

If the Tories come to power there is no doubt that they would immediately set out to increase the power and profits of the landlords.

One cause of the slump in council building is the policy of Tory-controlled councils who have deliberately under-spent on housing allocations.

Many Tory councils have been offering only a derisory number of houses. In the case of Westminster, for instance, the Tory authority last year offered no houses to new tenants at all last year, while there are 9,500 on the waiting list, 4,400 living under conditions of considerable hardship!

This shows the real Tory attitude to housing: if you can't afford to buy your own

## TORIES ABUSE COUNCIL

A letter from Mrs Thatcher's private office blurred out the real Tory attitude to council tenants.

Mrs Evelyn Collingwood, usually a Tory voter herself, wrote to Mrs Thatcher to tell her that many council tenants did not want to buy their council houses.

"At Mrs Thatcher's request," wrote one of her aides, "I am replying on her behalf to your recent letter.

"I hope you will not think me too blunt if I say that it may well be that your council accommodation is unsatisfactory, but considering the fact that you have been unable to buy your own accommodation you are lucky to have been given something which the rest of us are paying for out of our taxes."

Not surprisingly, Mrs Collingwood found this "nasty reply" to be "grossly insulting." She won't be voting Tory now.

An embarrassed Mrs Thatcher quickly repudiated the letter written on her behalf when it was publicised in the 'Daily Mirror'.

But isn't the letter typical of Tory attacks on council tenants? How many times have we heard Tories smear council tenants as "scroungers"?

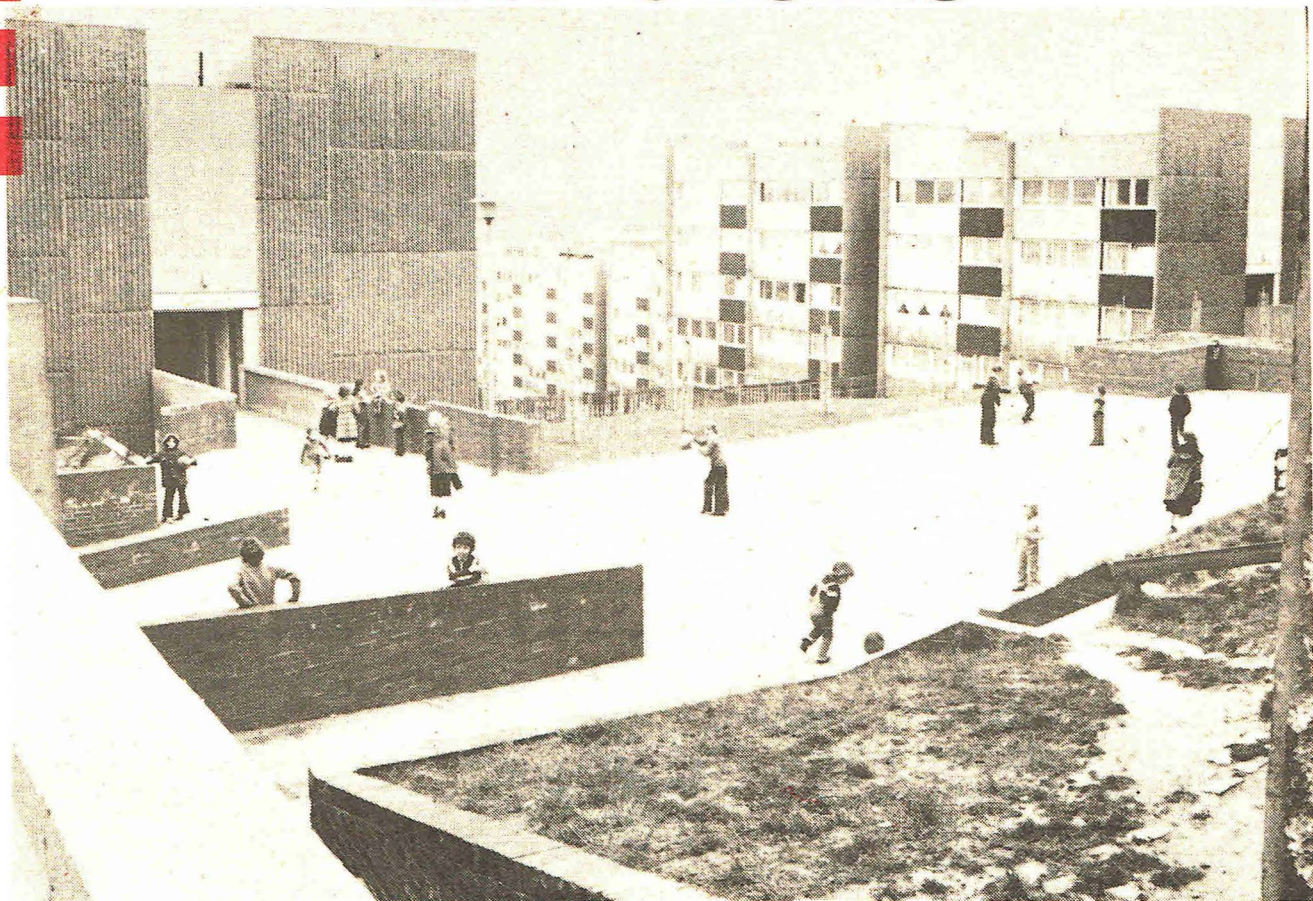
But what is the truth? In 1976-77 the average council tenant received a subsidy of £210. The average mortgage-payer received a subsidy of £205.

Not much in it? But there is more to it than the bare figures. The council tenant will go on paying rent for life.



# WHERE LIVE

# NEW SLUMS



St Cuthbert's Village, Gateshead: a modern Alcatraz

# PLANNERS' DREAM RESIDENTS' NIGHTMARE

St Cuthbert's Village, Gateshead—opened by Harold Wilson with a great fanfare in April 1970—was to have been a new type of closely-knit community which would create a "sense of communal responsibility, and above all a feeling of belonging." It has turned out to be a modern Alcatraz of 700 concrete homes. The last nine years have produced a mountain of problems. Tenants by the dozen have been driven to desperation in trying to escape this "integrated community".

Imagine concrete buildings, some 8 stories high with concrete corridors and concrete roof gardens. A village with a busy by-pass running right through the middle. This is the planners' "integrated community" with "maximum privacy within each respective dwelling."

A planners' dream—but a residents' nightmare. Evenings are spent listening to neighbours' TVs or record players. Children can be heard playing and footsteps resound from the flat above.

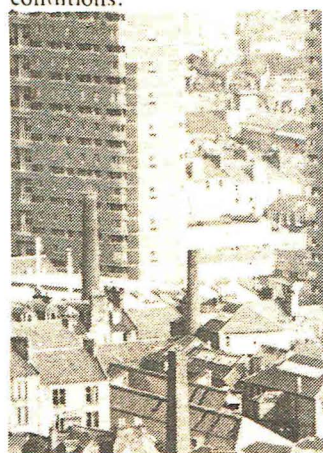
Hollow ceilings accommodate the overhead electric heating systems. Fine in theory, but it produces astronomical bills. Bills in the region of £300 a year are not uncommon—many people pay £12 a fortnight. But even at £12 a fortnight, the heating is not efficient.

Tests by consultants have shown that the heating has to be left on all day to maintain a suitable room temperature. The consultants produced a thick report and then advised that the installation of doors between the passageways would save heat loss—but it might cause condensation.

Low condensation is not a

word to be used in the village. part from the enormous electricity bills, dampness is one of the biggest problems. In a repair survey in 1977, 122 houses out of 700 reported dampness—but no ordinary dampness.

Condensation produces a fungus which grows and envelops the house, and even then families are not moved out. No small wonder local doctors have attributed the deaths of two babies to these conditions.



Bronchial and chest disorders abound. The Tenants Association issued a poster: "A home in St Cuthberts can seriously damage your health. All this, you would think would be enough to have the architects expelled from their profession—but there is more. Drainage from 8 stories often blocks up. When this happens, the drains well back up and fill the sinks with filth. Or the water drains down the walls. A lead in one roof spreads down 8 stories; water comes down electrical conduits causing lights to fuse.

The most devastating results, however, are hidden: the effects on the residents, the misery and unhappiness, the stress of continually phoning the repairs departments, the frustration when nothing happens, the desperation of trying to escape this

Alcatraz. Mothers and children are cooped up all day in these conditions. All of this is hidden from the public. Only the families know the true effects, the marital problems, the rows, depression, and sedatives.

No wonder that many have given up. "There is no point in fighting," says one woman, "because it will never get us anywhere. Once upon a time we were all members of a tenants' association, but nine years ago when most of us first moved in we were arguing with the council over the very same matters."

But something must be done by the council. The Labour councillors in particular have a duty to prove that the council is not—in the words of one tenant—"pulling slums down just to build new slums."

As a first priority the council should provide a decent and efficient heating system. Taking the advice of the consultants, the council has offered storage heaters.

But these have been rejected by the tenants—and rightly so.

One storage heater in the living room combined with the ceiling heat in the bedrooms would still cost around £6.50 per fortnight. The only alternative is gas central heating which would cost around £95 per year. While this would cost more in capital outlay it is the only worthwhile solution.

Together with this must go a full investigation into all the structural defects of the village—and a way found of solving the problems of condensation.

Surely, if we have the technology to send rockets to the moon, we can find a solution to this problem?

Above all, Labour councils up and down the country have to draw the lessons of trying to solve the problems of slum clearance by relying on a planners' pipe-dream of cheap, low-cost housing.

**By Dave Cotterill**  
(Gateshead East LP)

## Monopoly domination

In the area of construction companies and building supply firms, big monopolies have an overwhelming dominance. About 30 big firms, such as Wimpeys, McAlpines and Laings have a commanding position.

The building supply industry has reached a fantastic degree of monopolisation, as the following table shows:

Material	Leading Company	Estimated share of UK market
Asbestos	Tumer & Newall	55%
Bricks	London Brick	45%
Cement	APCM	63%
Plasterboard	BPB	100%
Flat glass	Pilkington	100%
Ceramic tiles	Johnny Richards	65%
Concrete roofing tiles	Marley Redlands	50%
		45%

The fact that so few companies control the bulk of building and building supply industries shows the need for their immediate nationalisation.

Until these facilities and supplies are under the control of the working class, what hope can there be of an expansion in house building?

Together with the profiteering landlords, the land speculators and the big construction monopolies, who build houses only if the profits are high enough, it is the financiers and money-lenders who stand in the way of any real solution to our housing problems.

Only bold socialist measures can cut through the barriers erected by rent, interest and profit. The Labour Party and the trade unions must campaign on a socialist housing programme based on the following fundamental points:

- ★ Nationalise [with minimum compensation on the basis of proven need] the banks, finance houses and building societies.

- ★ Nationalise all building land.

- ★ Nationalise the big construction companies and monopolistic building suppliers.

- ★ Start a crash building programme, with a target of 1 million homes a year, to ensure that there are enough good quality homes for all.

- ★ Municipalise all private rented property.

- ★ Fix rents at levels that workers can easily afford.

- ★ Guarantee all tenants security of tenure and democratic control over their estates.



ers" who live in council houses!

house [and who can when house prices shot up by 31.5% last year, 53% in London!] or afford to rent a reasonable house from a private landlord, then it's tough luck. In a Tory authority it's only the really desperate—or the extremely lucky?—who get council accommodation.

In recent years, however, even Labour councils with a relatively good housing record have been hamstrung by ruthless public spending cuts [enforced through the Treasury's cash limits]—and by astronomical interest rates.

Although a large slice of councils' housing cash comes from the central government through the rate support grant, local authorities still have to borrow money on the open market to finance house building.

With the basic interest rate now well over 11%, councils are having to pay interest rates of over 12% or even 15%. And they are still weighed down by past debts, of course.

For 1977-78, local authorities in England and Wales altogether paid £1,480 million in interest on outstanding loans. This was more than their total net income [after rebates] from council rents, which amounted to £1,127 million.

Taking the London Boroughs by themselves, the situation was even worse: they collected £173 million net in rents—but paid out £316 million in interest payments.

These figures [from the housing statistics of the Chartered Institute of Public Finance and Accounting] make it absolutely clear where most of the money "spent on housing" actually goes: to the parasitic banks, finance companies, and other money-lenders.

## L TENANTS

But the mortgage-payer is being subsidised to acquire a valuable personal asset. One day, if mortgage rates allow them to pay off a fortune in interest to the building society, he or she will own their own house.

But there is more to it than that, too. With mortgage relief, the more expensive the house, the bigger the subsidy. In other words, the richer you are, the more you can get.

The Tories are always screaming about high taxes. If you have a taxable income of over £24,000 a year, the rate of tax is supposedly 83%. But in fact, after allowances—the most important of which is tax relief (i.e. a subsidy) on mortgage payments—the top 1% of tax-payers only pay 45.5p in the £ income tax.

So much for the "scroung-





# IRAN - HOW CAN THE WORKERS ACHIEVE POWER ?

The two months after the overthrow of the Shah have made it plain that the Iranian masses saw the Pahlavi monarchy's downfall as only a stage on the road to national and social liberation.

As 'Militant' reported last week there has been an enormous ferment in the workplaces in the cities and towns of Iran, with workers drawing up their demands. They are determined to use the democratic rights which they are winning in the struggle for better conditions.

To obtain these demands, workers have undertaken militant action. In Shahr-e-Ray, for example, tile workers occupied the local Ministry of Labour office and took forty Ministry employees hostage. They were demanding their pay for the last four months, a demand they won the next day.

Workers have not only been fighting for purely economic demands. Many workers, in particular the oil workers in Abadan and tractor workers in Tabriz, have been calling for the sacking of the old bosses and the right to elect new manager themselves. Workers at the General Heating and Ventilation factory in Tehran have been given permission by the government to run their factory themselves after the old bosses had fled. At the same time a struggle has been developing for full trade union rights and the dismissal of the old SAVAK-appointed 'workers' representatives'.

Already some of these developments have run into opposition from Khomeini's Revolutionary Islamic Committees and their militia. In Tabriz a workers' demonstration was harassed by militiamen who called the workers "communists" or "SAVAK agents" and fired shots in the air. A workers' meeting called after this in Tabriz reported that the bosses now tried to suppress workers by labelling them "communists" and that workers who tried to form unions, committees, or other organisations had been hampered.

Khomeini has continually attacked communist and socialist ideas as "un-Islamic" and said Marxists "are at war with Islam". His supporters are continually attempting to whip up a nationalist frenzy against the left under the slogan of 'Opposition to Imperialism, Zionism and Communism'. Nevertheless, such is the pressure of the workers and the masses generally that even Khomeini has been forced to make demagogic attacks on the rich and grant concessions such as the cancellation of the water and electricity bills of poor people for the last six months of the old regime.

Some of Khomeini's supporters are trying to form 'Islamic Trade Unions' or 'Islamic Associations' in workplaces in an attempt to hold up the radicalisation which is taking place. But this will not work. If these organisations are going to survive as mass movements then they will be forced to

deserve the esteem of the whole Iranian revolution and has earned himself the title of leader of the political and religious opposition. The Tudeh Party fully backs his initiatives." He added that the Tudeh supported Khomeini's plans for a referendum to establish an Islamic Republic.

Similarly the fairly sizeable 'Marxist' guerrilla group, the Fedayeen-e-Khalq, have stressed time and again their support for the "progressive" religious leaders like Ayatollah Khomeini and Ayatollah Taleghani" and their opposition to attempts to "create disunity among the progressive forces of the country." The larger Islamic guerrilla group, the Moja-

hhomeini. They must rely only on their own power and solidarity which already has toppled the Shah. They should build, extend, and link up their own organisations, particularly democratic workers' and soldiers' revolutionary committees against the unelected, self-appointed Revolutionary Islamic Committees.

The Tudeh leaders, apart from continual calls for an alliance with Khomeini, have up to now restricted their demands to vague calls for "a government which would recover the plundered wealth of the country." There have been no socialist policies advanced or any criticism of Khomeini. A call was made for a "national democratic

sary to destroy these dangers was not put forward.

The Fedayeen, while still praising Khomeini and offering to co-operate with the Central Revolutionary Islamic Committee on arms control, have put forward a more independent programme than the Tudeh. Their main call has been for the election of democratic committees in factories, businesses, government offices and military bases. Alongside this has been the demand for the disbandment of the old army and the creation of a 'people's army' with elected officers. While calling for a "true and democratic" land reform", cancellation of all farmers' debts and handing over of big farming enterprises to their

ayeen's March 11 appeal to the Bazargan government to "swiftly control the present situation" to prevent Iran being "plunged into an unwanted civil war."

In a letter to Bazargan's government the Fedayeen asked it to make use of "all political organisations in the country so as to be better able to fulfil its obligations." This was a repeat of the Fedayeen's earlier demand for a place in the government!

The Islamic Mojaheddin have followed policies very similar to the Fedayeen by appealing for "unity", for the election of democratic committees, and creation of a 'people's army'. But at the same time Massoud Rajavi, the Mojaheddin leader, explained that while they stood uncompromisingly for the improvement of workers' living conditions the "ownership by industrialists faithful to the nation was in no danger."

## By our correspondent, recently in Tehran

fight for the workers' demands and would be transformed in the same way in which the former right-wing Catholic CFDT Trade Union Federation in France was radicalised. A failure to fight for the workers' demands would soon doom these Islamic groupings into becoming reactionary tools of the bosses and mullahs.

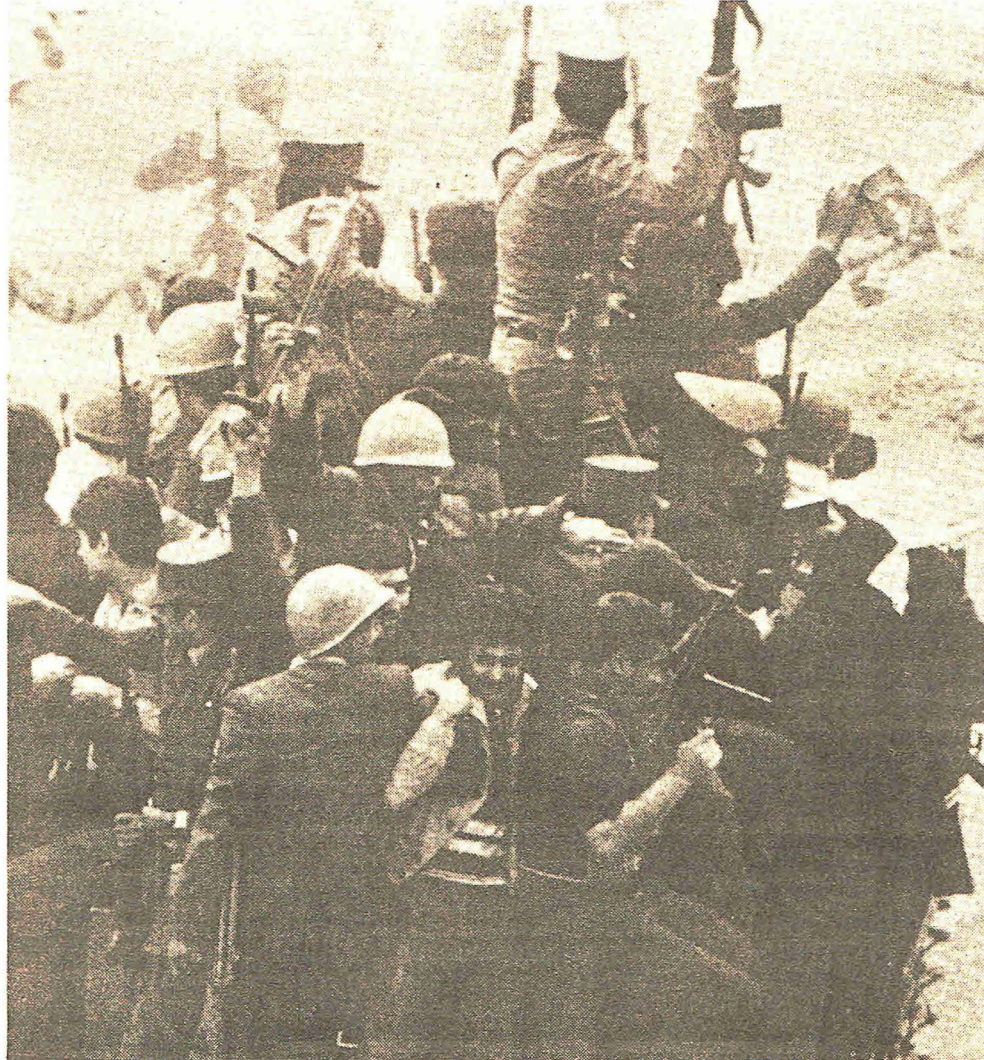
Already workers are beginning to draw conclusions from their own experiences in the revolution. A workers' representative speaking to a big rally in Tehran at the end of February explained that "the very foundation of our society was based on the activities of the working class. Look around you, everything in this country has been created by us and should we withdraw our labour power then everything would cease to exist. After all it was us, the workers, who took arms and invaded the army barracks. Do you know of any employer or lawyer who attacked the barracks?"

## Tudeh Party

One of the main reasons for the absence, so far, of the development of an independent working class movement has been the lack of any clear leadership.

The Tudeh (masses) party, which in practice is the pro-Moscow 'Communist' Party, had a mass basis in the 1940s but its links with Stalinist Russia and its failure to lead a vigorous struggle against the Shah have limited its appeal. Now in an attempt to build support by hanging onto Khomeini's coat-tails, the Tudeh has issued an appeal for a 'United Popular Front' which would "combine the strength of the supporters of Ayatollah Khomeini, of the Tudeh and other revolutionary parties."

No criticism is made against Khomeini. Nouredin Kianouri, a Tudeh leader, said just before the insurrection that "The Ayatollah



Workers and soldiers controlled the streets, now they need to create a new state

heddin, go even further. In a television interview, a leader of the group explained how the Mojaheddin's ideology conforms closely to Islamic principles and that they still take orders direct from Khomeini, "the spearhead of Iran's revolution."

These groups do not openly take up an independent working class position, and fail to explain the necessity for the working class to take power if the gains of the revolution are to be consolidated and extended. Only the socialist transformation of society can provide both a guarantee against reaction and lead to the solution of the crisis gripping Iran in the working people's interests.

A policy of seeking to mobilise support for a socialist revolution would mean explaining to the working class that it is necessary to have no confidence in either the Bazargan government or

regime" but this has now been played down and the Tudeh is supporting an Islamic republic.

The only occasion when the Tudeh has been prepared to

workers, they do not put forward socialist demands for the rest of the economy.

The Fedayeen have stressed the "unity of all forces fighting for democracy and

**They must rely only on their own power and solidarity. They should build, extend and link up their own organisations, particularly democratic workers' and soldiers' revolutionary committees against the unelected, self-appointed Revolutionary Islamic Committees**

take an independent stand was a call in the middle of February for all the guerrilla groups to keep their weapons "until all vestiges of imperialism, colonialism, despotism and counter-revolution have been destroyed." But the socialist programme neces-

progress...and expected all popular and patriotic forces to co-operate in the struggle for democratic liberties and against the exploitation of man by man." This striving for unity irrespective of clashing class interests was best illustrated in the Fed-

## Mossadeq's heirs

At the million-strong rally to commemorate the 12th anniversary of Mossadeq's death Rajavi declared that the Mojaheddin did not want the "disintegration of the Bazargan government. We shall support you in the direction of the historical and patriotic role you should play. We are only the bane of the imperialists. We hope you shall gain all the powers of a strong and responsible government and move into the main stream."

This massive Mossadeq rally, which was the first mass demonstration of the Iranian revolution not organised by the mullahs, saw the launching of the National Democratic Front (NDF). This was started by a group within the old National Front led by Mossadeq's grandson, Matine-Daftary, who opposed the old leadership's opportunism and inability to organise any mass support. The NDF announced an eleven-point programme which demanded that the referendum be confined to the abolition of the monarchy, the calling of a Constituent Assembly, the establishment of people's courts, the right of home rule for all nationalities in Iran and the establishment of a Revolutionary Co-ordinating Council.

The NDF proposed that the Revolutionary Co-ordinating Council be elected from "workers, government employees, guilds and other progressive strata" to supervise the Provisional Government's work. It called for the establishment of a "people's army" (in the place of Khomeini's militia). While supporting the right of workers to participate in the administration of offices and factories through workers' councils and demanding the abolition of the "economic oppression of all peasants and workers of the land" the NDF statement failed to clearly point out how "the abolition



# BRAZIL/CHAD

of dependent capitalism through the destruction of the rule of imperialism" could be achieved.

To break Iran from the fetters of imperialism means to smash the power of capitalism itself in Iran. Only through the nationalisation of the major sectors of the economy (the foreign investments and the expropriation of the 22 families who own the biggest part of the economy), and the establishment of a state monopoly of foreign trade can the impact of imperialism, the world capitalist market, be reduced. But even then an isolated socialist Iran would still be subject to enormous capitalist pressures until the overthrow of capitalism in the advanced Western countries or the overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracies in the Soviet Union and the other deformed workers' states.

The failure to understand the nature and role of imperialism as something intimately tied up with the existence of capitalism in Iran leads to the position where the Tudeh, Fedayeen, Mojahedin and the NDF support, to varying degrees, Bazargan, the representative of the Iranian capitalist class. This politically totally disarms the working class. Bazargan is attempting to defend the continued existence of capitalism in Iran by holding back the further development of the revolution. This has to be made clear to the masses.

The oil-boom of the past few years in Iran conclusively showed that capitalism, even when in an upswing, cannot solve the problems facing the working class and peasants. The key question facing the Iranian working class is the struggle for a socialist Iran, both to solve the social crisis and to strip the ruling class of their power and ability to later impose a new dictatorship. But this will not be achieved in co-operation with the Bazargan government; it can only occur through the

overthrow of the capitalist government. Socialists in Iran must explain this, first to advanced sections of the working class and then, through them, to the mass of the class.

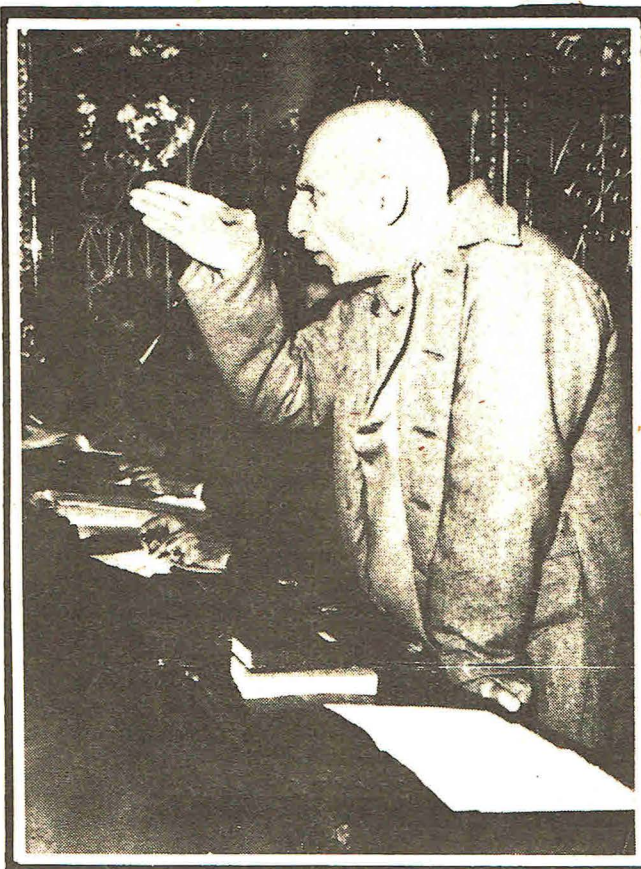
Similarly Khomeini's position must be undermined by exposing his reactionary attempts to limit the gains of the revolution and explaining the utopianism of his populist demands, a process which will be enormously aided by the march of events themselves.

All the major problems in Iran remain to be solved. The widespread support for the creation of an 'Islamic Republic' (which would still be capitalist) will not answer any of these problems. It does not show the mass of Iranians how living standards can be raised and how the masses' democratic rights can be secured. The 'Islamic Republic' means all things to all men.

For Prime Minister Bazargan it means the continuation of the capitalist system with a number of cosmetic changes like calling interest charges 'service fees' and widespread use of the word 'Islamic'. But Bazargan himself has said this clashes with what he called the people's "ludicrously high expectations of material gain as a result of the revolution." Furthermore, he added, after a year of crisis the state had no income "yet workers at the big factories expected everything to be given to them at once. There was no co-operation with the government."

## National movements

Alongside this growing pressure of the working class and urban poor, there has been the rapid development of national movements in Iran in the past few weeks. Only just over 50% of the Iranian population speak Farsi (Persian) as their first language. Most of the rest of the population are of separate



Mossadeq [above] was unable to defeat imperialism, but what of his heirs in the NDF?

nationalities, of whom the most important are the Azerbaijani, Kurds, Baluchis and Turks. These minorities have suffered under the Shah with the wholesale repression of their national rights. They saw the overthrow of the old regime as an opportunity to gain concessions for their national aspirations.

This has been the reason behind the outbreak of heavy fighting in Kurdistan and Turkoman as the Kurds and the Turkomenis have been determined to secure for themselves autonomy and access to weapons to make sure that they are not suppressed again.

In this quickly changing situation it is only a matter of time before there will be a mighty development of the labour movement. Already the advanced layers of the working class have drawn

political conclusions from their experiences. They will increasingly be joined by the mass of the class as events shatter the illusions of an 'Islamic Republic' which would create a new "equal society" and do away with the gulf between rich and poor.

But it is highly unlikely that this development would be reflected in any mass growth of the Fedayeen or Mojahedin given their programmatic confusion, their mainly student base and their illusions of power flowing from the large amount of military hardware they seized during the uprising. In fact the possession of arms without a clear political perspective leaves these groups open to provocation later by the government of Khomeini in order to crush them.

The Tudeh may emerge as

a major force inside the working class, particularly in older, longer established industries like oil. But the Tudeh's past history, its links with the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union and its lack of an independent policy inside Iran will tend to limit its appeal.

In this situation it is entirely possible that a mass workers' movement could develop through another door, such as the NDF or a split off from the National Front or NDF. Neither of these movements even claims to be 'socialist' at present, but in the absence of another channel the working class could transform them. There could then develop either a Peronist-type movement, a capitalist party with a mass working class base, or a PASOK-type socialist party.

The experiences of both the Peronists in Argentina and of PASOK in Greece have shown the tremendous struggles which would develop in such organisations as the class struggle unfolded. Any mass force that emerges in Iran would be under great pressure from the working class to carry out radical measures, and it would be in this situation that masses of workers would be won to the ideas of Marxism as their experiences showed them the need for the socialist transformation of society.

## Independent workers' committees

The task of Marxists now is to explain the processes which are taking place, to show the inadequacies of the programmes which are being advanced and argue for independent working class policies, based on the need for the organisation of the working class movement; the election of democratic committees in every workplace and military unit and the linking together of these committees on a district.

regional and national level.

These committees would have to launch a determined struggle for the people's immediate needs—such as democratic rights, a 40-hour week, a higher minimum wage, a crash housing plan, the control of prices, the right of self-determination and autonomy for the national minorities. All this would be linked to the necessity of an independent workers' government which would nationalise the major industries, take over the property of the 22 families which control Iran, and draw up a socialist plan of production.

Such a campaign would mobilise the vast mass of Iranian people in a huge movement which would be able to bring the Iranian revolution to victory by the coming to power of the working class and the creation of a socialist Iran. The imperialists and Iranian capitalists have at present no means with which they could stop such a movement.

All that is preventing the rapid overthrow of capitalism in Iran is the absence of an independent workers' party campaigning on such a Marxist programme. But in the course of the unfolding of the revolution the ideas of Marxism can get a wider and wider response. This can lead to the development of such a party capable of guiding the Iranian workers and peasants to a democratic socialist Iran, which would be an inspiration to working people throughout the world.

## 'Militant' pamphlet 'IRANIAN REVOLUTION'

Price 10p plus 5p post and packing. Bulk orders [5 or more] post free.

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

# STRIKE-WAVE SHAKES NEW BRAZILIAN PRESIDENT

Brazil used to be heralded as a capitalist miracle, an example of how a 'Third World' country could take off into sustained growth.

The 'miracle' was only ever for a few. According to recent reports from some Brazilian economists, the majority of the population of 120 million are worse off now than in 1964 [when the military came to power], and wealth is concentrated in fewer hands.

And now even the so-called miracle has ended. Inflation is currently at 40% a year, debt payments will probably take two-thirds of Brazil's income this year and growth has slowed to a trickle.

Discontent with economic misery and political



Rally of metalworkers on strike.

repression has soared. Last week saw a strike by 200,000 workers in heavy industry in Sao Paulo. They were demanding a 77% wage increase. In the end they agreed to return to work for 45 days, to see if an agreement with government and management could be arrived at.

Calls for a change in

society have also been channelled through and by sections of the Catholic Church, the only institution not to have been purged by the military since 1964.

As one Brazilian editor put it recently, "We have our Ayatollahs here; they are the priests in the slums and in the poor country

districts which have seen little benefit from the growing wealth."

The dilemma for the new military President Figuerido is how to deal with this rising discontent. Some members of the ruling class have toyed with the idea of establishing a Constituent Assembly and handing over to civilian rule before 1985.

Others have called for a rod of iron. Last week Figuerido did both—he sent police into the union headquarters, arrested 200 workers, but also worked out a deal with the union leaders.

Repression or concessions—either way is a perilous course for the Brazilian elite. The coming period will undoubtedly be the most unsettled for the military since they began their rule fifteen years ago.

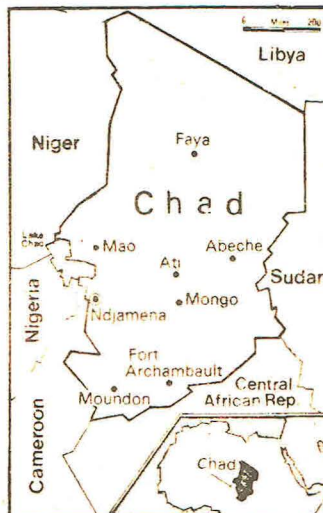
By Jim Chrystie

# Defeat for France in Africa

In a stinging rebuff for French imperialism in Africa, the leader of the Frolinat guerrilla movement has become the new President of Chad. Chad was the country which over the last decade received the largest amount of French military aid—all directed against the Frolinat movement.

From 1968 to 1972 5,000 French troops fought against the guerrillas. Last year when Frolinat moved towards the capital France rushed in 2,500 troops. Eventually this year, France conceded defeat. Its puppet regime collapsed in internal fighting, and France agreed to withdraw its troops.

The experience of Chad shows how France's position in Africa has changed. It used to be able to support neo-colonial regimes with ease. But now there are either mass demonstrations at home (as



happened when they sent troops to Zaire last year) and/or the regimes crumble against the opposition of the people. French and Western imperialism are finding it difficult to cope with the growing revolution in Africa.



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

## LETTERS

## It's just not cricket

Dear 'Militant'

With buffoons like Woodrow Wyatt of the 'Sunday Mirror' telling us that "West Indian Grenada" is not going to go "extremely" left, simply because its national game is cricket, no wonder we're in such a state.

Basing political analysis on sporting inclinations is as useful as basing your decisions on how you feel at the time. This is the way capitalism works, no logic, just reacting to the whims of profit or following the other fella.

We can't afford to have idiots running our lives. If unemployment and low wages is all they can come up with, then it's time we took over. Nationalise under workers' control and management and show the bosses that cricket can't stop socialism.

Derrick McLelland  
Secretary Edgbaston LPYS

## WHO IS WRECKING OUR SCHOOLS?

Dear Comrades

As a student teacher, I was particularly interested in the article on education by Derek McMillan in 'Militant' 446.

The head-master referred to in the article may be exceptional in the vehemence of his attitudes. But it would be a mistake to accept the picture of a 'progressive revolution' in schools as painted by the press.

The class of 9-10 year olds I teach on my school practice is accustomed to the type of curriculum which has been familiar to generations of children. The greatest emphasis is still placed on the 'three Rs' and the teachers still insist on strict obedience.

This is by no means unusual. A survey of 800 primary schools in the North-West in 1973-73 concluded: "a high degree of permissiveness does not appear to be the norm in primary classrooms". A recent report from Trent Polytechnic on Nottinghamshire schools backs this up.

Yet, in spite of all the evidence, the 'Black Papers' edited by Tory spokesman

Rhodes Boyson, have blamed the general adoption of informal methods in British primary schools for a decline in educational standards as well as "delinquency, violence and unrest", rising crime and the "growth of anarchy."

As readers of 'Militant' will be aware, 'unrest' and 'anarchy' for Boyson, are the efforts of working people to defend their living standards against the attacks demanded by big business.

Those who rant about falling standards in education would, of course, be the last to admit that ancient cramped class rooms, lack of facilities, large classes, unemployed teachers etc., don't exactly help standards and that cuts in education spending hardly make things better.

The representatives of capitalism have to find some excuse for the failings of their system. Attacking radical teachers is as good a cover-up as any.

Yours fraternally  
Dave Warren  
UCNW Labour Club

## Meet the Tories — it's a different world

Dear Comrades

Having decided to attend a local Labour Party Young Socialists versus Young Conservatives public meeting I made my way to the venue looking forward to an excellent debate.

I had difficulty in finding the Conservative club at which the meeting was being held. Perhaps my mind was too busy thinking about what I would do behind the wheel of one of the many luxurious cars in the neighbourhood or how I would accommodate myself in one of the spacious houses which surrounded me.

I bumped into another Young Socialist who obviously had the same problem. Our combined efforts to find the club proved fruitless, so we asked three middle-aged women dressed in mirk coats and expensive-looking jewellery, who informed us that it was just over the road.

Entering the building I was suddenly taken aback by the luxurious setting and by the many people dressed as if they had just taken part in a

'Come Dancing' competition. Trembling at the knees, I suddenly wished that my jeans would not appear to be as tatty as they were and that I had had time to shave before leaving home.

Asking a stout gentleman sporting a large dicky bow about the meeting, we were told that due to a mix-up it was to take place at another club.

My brief encounter gave me and other young workers more than enough ammunition to completely demoralise the young Tories and their ideas in the discussion which we eventually found.

We explained that only under a socialist society would the fruits of our labour be channelled back into hospitals, education and public services etc., and that only socialism could give the ordinary working man and woman a dramatic increase in their standards of living.

Yours fraternally  
Les Kuriata  
Selly Oak LPYS

## Courtaulds — we pay, they decide

Comrades

As LPYS delegate to North West Durham GMC I was angered (but not surprised) by MP Ernie Armstrong's criticism of a YS resolution calling for support for the Courtauld's workers (see 'Militant' 444) and for a public inquiry into Courtauld's use of government grants.

The issue, Armstrong said, should not be blown up out of proportion; after all, negotiations were continuing between the government and Courtaulds; it was a very "delicate" situation and would not be improved by "demanding public inquiries".

'Militant' supporters pointed out that when 1,700 jobs were being threatened it was not the time for "hushing things up" and being diplomatic.

Armstrong went on to say that the Northern Region had had its share of government grants in recent years, £699 millions worth, in fact.

Whilst obviously he wished to save the jobs, if Courtaulds decided that they were going to close down the Spenny-moor plant, then the government was powerless (we only provide the money, we can't force the company to act as we want).

In a discussion with a couple of comrades after the meeting, Armstrong said that maintaining that the company should keep the plant open raised questions of "public ownership". It's not often that I agree with my MP, but this time I did!

If a leading supporter of the government's present economic policy agrees that no control can be maintained over firms to whom we hand out £25 million a day in subsidies, then the question is raised of taking over those firms like Courtaulds who threaten redundancies, under workers' control and management. Only this way can we guarantee the jobs at Spenny-moor and elsewhere!

Fraternally  
Kath Hardisty  
NW Durham LPYS

## 73—and still fighting

Dear Comrades

The old IWW [Wobblies] chant used to be "we go to work, to get the cash, to buy the food, to get the strength, to go to work."

For this generation it is so different. Now "we go to work to get the cash, to buy the things, that give us the time, to earn the extra cash, to pay for the things"—ad infinitum.

The only way to break the vicious circle is still the same, change the system!

PS: Out of curiosity, who is your oldest reader; any advance on 73?

Yours sincerely  
F Thain



## CUTS—THE MEDICINE WE DON'T NEED

Dear Comrade

I enclose a cheque for the fighting fund for £1.75 raised at a Manchester 'Militant' public meeting, with a slide show on the NHS.

The slide show provoked a lively and wide-ranging discussion on all aspects related to health, especially the role of the drug companies in promoting useless drugs—tranquillisers to solve a housing problem!

It also brought home to the audience the fact that housing, car petrol pollution, diet and other living conditions had a bigger role to play in health than drugs and medical staff. The cuts in spending in all spheres of the public sector were deplored—as cuts in housing increase disease.

Locally there are numerous examples of the bad effects of the cuts—the proposed extension to the Manchester Royal Infirmary [an ancient building] has been postponed time after time, and the staff at Withington hospital were told last week by the Health District treasurer that the hospital had

over-spent by £½m last year and will therefore have to cut back by that amount next year. Are they supposed to let patients die because they can't do the right tests?

A nurse at the MRI told me that in the ward for patients who have had strokes etc., there aren't enough high and low beds so nurses have to struggle to lift heavy patients unnecessarily. "They've been trained to lift properly," is the reply they're given when they ask why more special beds aren't available.

This contrasts with the private patients' wing in the MRI where she used to work. There no expense is spared, there are always plenty of staff and all the right equipment as well as private rooms etc. The doctors can earn as much there in a week, and sometimes in a day, as a nurse earns in a year!

Yours fraternally  
Margaret Manning  
Moss Side CLP

## THE BOSSES MAKE US SICK

Dear Comrades

The bosses' union, the CBI, were quoted in the press the other day as being deeply concerned about the growing absenteeism in industry, along with the increasing scale of sickness suffered. It went on to suggest that perhaps many workers were not as sick as they thought or maybe doctors were a bit liberal in issuing certificates.

At the moment many factories are affected by workers laid up with flu,

colds etc, after a bad winter. But as 'Militant' has pointed out again and again, with shift work, unsocial hours, snatched lunches and tea-breaks—every-day life on the shop floor—a whole range of diseases are much more prevalent among the working class, than any other section of society.

Perhaps the CBI should try and work an 8-12 hour day on the factory floor in dust, fumes, chemicals and muck day after day, week in, year

out, and see what the consequences are.

With a wife and family to support, the irony is that millions who do not have a private sickness scheme behind them, are forced to work on regardless of serious ill-health.

But is it any wonder there is absenteeism in British industry? Where is the job satisfaction to be found?

Once-skilled workers have joined the ranks of semi-skilled and the unskilled in

tedious, boring jobs, leaving few to use their skills to the full potential. Since all these productivity schemes have come in to operation, they've tried to turn everyone into robots, and robots we're not!

Unfortunately we don't have all the perks the CBI do. We have to pay our taxes through the nose.

How many workers get to 65? Not that many—"Not another collection—Fred who retired the other week has gone already". At least you

expect a couple of years in retirement.

The run-down of British industry is not of the workers' making but of all those whiz kids who run capitalism. We've had enough of the stick.

If capitalism cannot give us a decent life without all the aggro, then move over mate, we're taking over. We couldn't make a worse mess than they have already.

Mike Singleton  
AUEW (Brighton)



# Build **Militant**

Area	Target 52 wks	Target 13 wks	Proportion of target received	Received
Eastern	4,700	1,175		493
Hants & IOW	3,100	775		372
Humberside	2,000	500		217
London North	9,500	2,375		967
London South	3,900	975		723
Manchester & Dist.	4,500	1,125		681
Merseyside	5,000	1,250		658
Midlands East	3,300	825		932
Midlands West	9,000	2,250		1,376
Northern	5,500	1,375		702
Scotland East	2,900	725		267
Scotland West	4,500	1,125		307
South East	4,500	1,125		749
South West	3,100	775		537
Wales East	2,600	650		302
Wales West	3,400	850		322
Yorkshire	6,800	1,700		1,035
Others	6,700	1,675		358
<b>Total</b>	<b>85,000</b>	<b>21,250</b>		<b>10,998</b>

Progress towards year's target  Towards April 7th target

**TARGET FOR THE YEAR £85,000 - TARGET FOR APRIL 7th £21,250.**

## WE CAN DO IT

**What does it take to get £10,000 for the 'Militant'? A lot of hard work!**

**It has taken 12 weeks to reach £10,998 for the 1979 Fighting Fund. Now, to get the first quarter's target of £21,250, another £10,252 needs to be raised in one week!**

Can it be done?

What is £10,000 anyway? To big business, very little. To 'Militant', it's the difference between 'getting by' and really stepping up the effectiveness of the campaign for the socialist policies to defeat big business.

Many thousands of workers want to back that fight but can afford very little by way of donations. However...

20,000 readers following the example of a hard-up PNP (Jamaica) member in N London last week and donating just 50p would mean £10,000 for our funds!

So would just 200 'Militant' readers giving £50 following the excellent examples of a supporter in Lewisham, T&R Burns in E Wales, and a Leeds trade unionist—all of whom believe that windfalls, union expenses, etc. belong to the 'Militant'.

A Birkenhead POEU member and another Welsh reader gave £20

donations last week. 500 of them would make up £10,000, too!

The permutations are endless. But only if a different set of 'perms' worked out right could any worker give us the £10,000 in one go. A regular donation to the 'Militant' is a much better bet than the pools, the 'National', etc. (Though of course we will not refuse any winnings that do "happen along"!)

We know only too well that workers' resources are not endless.

That is why we have to stress yet again the urgency of 'Militant' getting every penny of the target figures for its funds. It is also why we appreciate every donation we receive—from the £50s to the 50ps. **They all add up!**

Of last week's £1,227.09: £100 was ten 'tensers' from readers in Lancashire, Oldham, Hackney (overtime), Cardiff (3), Bristol, Brighton (student), Lambeth (J Ostrowski) and 'The Potteries' (M Hopkins ASTMS).

£50 was ten 'fivers' from readers in Stevenage, Dundee, Cardiff; Bristol (2), S London (2), Whitehaven (J Cummings), A Rover, Sholi-

hull shop steward (union expenses) and a student who agreed to pay the 'Militant' if the Chairman of Coventry SE Young Socialists got his hair cut!

£10 was just ten of the many 'oners'—from C Mullins (NUPE), Sheffield Cllr., J Birmingham, A Mares (Leeds), P Woodward (Bradford), P Crole (Yeovil LPYS), J Hannan (Dundee), Portsmouth CLP Sec., A Allenby, J Charter (Bournemouth), A Bootle IRSF member, A Quinn of ACTSS and, believe it or not, from a Young Tory in North London—M Woolard!

Another £10 was five £2 donations—a YS member in Islington (to outdo the YC), P Whittaker (NUPE), M Iqbal (G&MWU shop steward), D Cook (ASLEF) and someone in Bristol who sold his trousers!

hundreds who contributed to collections—notably at Scottish Conference of the Labour Party where £150 was raised at a weekend meeting in London—£3.50.

Five POEU members in Leeds Internal Branch donated £13 from their productivity increases. Liverpool NGA supporters contributed £6.22 and Leeds AUEW members £6. Deptford LP members gave £8 and Keele Labour Club members—£3.50.

Various LP Young Socialists contributed to collections, raffles etc., for the 'Militant'. If their Conference goes ahead, we look forward to a bigger than ever collection at the 'Militant' meeting there. If it **doesn't** we appeal to everyone who was going to go, to contribute what they were going to spend there to 'Militant's' election funds!

**THIS WEEK:  
£1,227**

There were numerous other 'sums' from individual supporters—£16.80 from W Coombes (Bristol SE YS), £16.50 from Brighton Trades Council Secretary Anne Jones, £6 from dustman D Dykes (Bournemouth CLP), two £4s from Cardiff, £2.65 and £2.50 from Dundee readers, G Ivers (UCATT) and A Laird, £1.60 from J McCabe (Wirral T&GWU), £1.50 from J O'Grady (Coventry NE CLP) and £1.20 from unemployed PNP member B Hollingsworth.

Many thanks to every contributor, including the

—£20 a piece?! That is a chance for the bigger-than-usual donation—just 500 of them is £10,000. don't forget!

However you do it, you can help us get £10,000 in cash and promises **this week and every week** of the election campaign.

**Push your line across the chart to help 'Militant' help you push for socialist policies and lasting victory for the labour movement!**

**Clare Doyle**

## 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

**MANCHESTER 'Militant' Readers Meeting.** 'Who runs the country?' Speaker: Margaret Crear. Sunday April 8th, 8.00 pm. Star and Garter, Fairfield Street, Manchester.

**LEICESTER 'Militant' Public Meeting.** 'Keep the Tories Out—Labour must win!'. Sunday April 22nd. Venue and Speakers to be announced.

**ALL-LONDON 'Militant' Pre-election meeting.** Sunday April 29th. Venue and Speakers to be announced.

**NORTH EAST 'Militant' Election Rallies.** Thursday April 26th, 8pm. Look out for details.

**MORRISTON Marxist Discussion Group meetings.** Contact Swansea 33542 for further details

**CHESTER-LE-STREET Marxist Discussion Group.** Mondays starting at 8 pm. For further details contact: Eddie Lower-son, Chester-Le-Street 888146

**WALLESEND Marxist Discussion Group.** The first Wednesday of every month. Contact Wallsend 687678 for details.

**NEWCASTLE Marxist Discussion Group** for students and unemployed. Friday afternoons in Newcastle University. For further details contact Roy Goodspeed, tel. 748001

**ROTHERHAM Militant Bakers' Forum:** 'Lessons of the Bakers' Strike'. Speaker: Joe Marino (Bakers' Union EC). Chairman: George Beasley (BFAWU Branch sec. Mother's Pride, Rotherham), both in personal capacity. Saturday April 7th, 1.30 pm, 'The Junction Inn', Greasborough Road, Rotherham

**LEICESTER Militant Industrial Forum 'New Technology—do workers benefit?'** Speaker: Gary Freeman (Nottingham LPYS) at the Globe Inn, off High Street, Leicester. 7.30 pm, Friday 6th April

**MILITANT Northern Camp** May 25-28 (Bank Holiday) Programme of discussion: Marxist Economics; Historical Materialism; Marxism and the trade unions; Perspectives for Britain; an international topic. Cost: £7, cheques payable to 'Militant Northern Camp'. For further details contact: Richard Knights, 3 Olive Mount Villas, Liverpool 15. Tel: 051-722 0928

### CLASSIFIED

**SOUTH WALES Summer Camp—Spring Bank Holiday—** has been cancelled. The organisers are very sorry to disappoint all looking forward to this event, but pressure of work, with the general election, doesn't allow us time to organise. We hope to organise another as soon as possible.

**BIRMINGHAM Labour Party Young Socialists Public Meeting.** "Keep the Tories Out!". Speakers: Tony Saunois (Labour Party NEC), Jeff Rooker MP. Monday April 9th 7.30 pm, Dr Johnson House, Bull St., Birmingham.

**LEEDS LPYS NHS slide show** followed by folk social. 7.30pm, Sunday 8th April, at the Adelphi, Lower Briggate, Leeds

**'After Canvass' Disco.** Honey-suckle Pub, Bensham Road, Gateshead. Friday April 6th. All Welcome.

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History of the Labour Party: Militant Reprints . . . . . 30p  
Capitalist Crisis: 'Tribune's' "Alternative Strategy" or Socialist Plan, by Andrew Glyn . . . . . 60p  
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**PLUS: Apply to World Books for bulk orders of 'Should Nurses go on strike?' Price 3p each.**





UPW members lobby the union's Executive meeting at National HQ, London on 29th March

Photo: Laurie Sparham (IFL)

NOTTINGHAM EVENING POST

UNIONS STAND FIRM AGAINST INTIMIDATION

The unions' campaign to black advertisers in the 'Nottingham Evening Post' has been stopped by the courts, before the case against them is heard.

Big business advertisers in the 'Evening Post', the paper that locked out 28 journalists after the national strike, and refuses to recognise any union, have been successful in getting an injunction to stop the blacking. The print unions have been found guilty of an offence, without a trial.

The NGA is appealing against the injunction, introduced just before Mother's Day, a lucrative time for gift advertisers. High Court Judge Lord Denning has refused to adjourn the injunction until the full case against the union comes to court.

The Vice-President of the NUJ has been fined £250 and £50 costs for obstruction. It is a sign of the bosses' weakness in the face of the unions that they had to resort to the courts.

Of the Post's £6½m turnover in 1976, £5m was from adverts. The blacking campaign will knock a large hole in the income of the

'Evening Post', which would obviously bring enormous pressure on the management to back down.

To make the blacking really effective the print unions and the NUJ must wage a positive united campaign. Other unions must be involved for the maximum effect.

A conference must be called by the leaders of the NUJ and print unions, in consultation with the Trades Council, involving delegates from the entire Nottinghamshire labour movement, to work out how to bring T Bailey Forman (the owners of the 'Evening Post') to heel and win a speedy and decisive victory.

Pole-Carew, the 'Evening Post' managing director, must not be allowed to emulate his hero, Grunwick boss George Ward. If the union leaders take firm, co-ordinated action then unlike Grunwicks these workers will win.

The unions must stand firm against all forms of intimidation.

Rob Hughes (West Nottingham LPYS)

POST OFFICE BALLOT: END LOW PAY - WITHOUT STRINGS

The Union of Post Office Workers' Executive has accepted a pay offer which is now to be put to the members by ballot.

The original claim was for an 8% increase in pay and allowances, full consolidation of previous increases, three hours' reduction in the working week, an increase in annual leave, and a reduction in the incremental scales (which run as long as nine years in some grades), with an escalator clause proposing further wage increases to keep pace with inflation.

The offer now accepted by the leadership is for an increase of 8% in pay and

allowances and a greater reduction in the incremental scales than in the original claim.

However, an 'efficiency agreement' has been presented, in return for consolidation of all increases into the basic rate. The UPW has always said that unconsolidated wage increases, which because of the unsocial hours worked in the Post Office have been costly to many members, should never have been tolerated in the first place.

The agreement involves bringing in part-time as opposed to full-time staff, removing vacancy agreements and introducing new forms of

work measurement aimed at staff reductions.

Industrial action took place all over London as soon as members learnt of the strings attached to the offer, the result of nearly four months of negotiations. The action was in most cases, specifically against the strings and the danger of the EC accepting them.

For many Post Office workers, married with children, overtime is essential to pay the bills. Nobody wants to work overtime, but if it is to be chopped, we need a basic wage we can live on—8% is hardly enough.

This was the view expressed at a lobby of the union's

executive meeting on Thursday 29th March by postmen and clerical workers from all over London.

A very modest 8% wage claim was made in the hope that the other parts of our claim would therefore be accepted, but the offer, totally ignoring many of our key demands and placing so many strings on pay improvements we needed years ago, is a sharp slap in the face. It is likely to provoke more widespread anger and opposition in the UPW.

Philip Waker (UPW East London Counter Branch, in a personal capacity)

ABF BOSSES SHUT BAKERY

250 workers at the Sunblest bakery in Swansea, part of the giant Associated British Foods company have been handed their redundancy notices. The company has claimed that it has to close the bakery because of the effects of the recent drop in the market.

But shop steward Ken Jones doesn't share this view. He believes that it is a direct attack on the union, who were 100% behind the bakers' last wage claim.

As for a drop in the market, he explained, "every year after Christmas bakeries

have a fall in trade, and this year is no exception. In fact I would say production is slightly higher than other years."

Unfortunately there has been no effective lead in opposing the redundancies by officials at local or national

level and many workers, feeling despondant, have agreed to accept the apparently generous redundancy payments (11 weeks' average pay—approximately £1,000 per man, plus additional payments for long service.)

But as Ken Jones points out "How long will £1,000 last? Obviously a few workers will find jobs but there is no way 250 workers will find jobs in Swansea, where already 7,000 are unemployed.

"The closure will also have an adverse effect on the public. The bakery is the largest in West Wales and

when it closes, all the bread will be delivered from Cardiff. But what if we have a bad winter next year; how will the bread get down from Cardiff?"

The only way bakery workers can achieve decent wages without having their members thrown out on the scrap heap is by taking the industry out of the hands of these parasites, by nationalising it under democratic workers' control and management.

By Brian Lewis (Swansea LPYS)

STOP BREAK-UP OF WESTERN SHIPREPAIRERS

John Gardiner, chief executive of the Laird Group, has written to Edmund Dell, Birkenhead's MP, confirming management's scheme to break up Western Shiprepairers.

As we warned [Militant 448], the Laird Group hope to sell part of the yard to Sheppards for ship breaking, the dry-docks to neighbouring nationalised Cammel Laird shipbuilders, and keep the Rose Brae docks for their own use. This spells disaster for jobs.

Gardiner's letter reeks of hypocrisy when he accuses the

pickets of preventing men from being employed. The opposite is true. The pickets are fighting to save jobs; under the Laird Group plan, Sheppard will employ about six men and in the other two sections, firms brought in will employ their existing workforces.

Trade unionists must halt this destruction. Cammel Laird workers must refuse to work on the Western dry docks. Workers in the Laird Group's Liverpool firms—CBS and Gordon Allinsons—must black work on Rose Brae docks.

Locofitters on British Rail (known officially as Regional Shopmen) have just held a national week of action, in pursuit of their claim for increased pay and better conditions.

The week of action, which included 48-hour strikes and other industrial action at many loco depots, was called by the Regional Shopmen's Co-ordination Committee.

This committee, set up last year, made up of shop representatives from British Rail depots, is in effect a national shop stewards' committee.

These workers have put up with poor pay and conditions for years. The top skilled fitters are on only £51 per week basic, semi-skilled on £45.85, and fitters' mates are expected to survive on £42 per week basic!

The bonus payments are totally inadequate to offset low basic pay. They don't take account of the increasing work load, and are not calculable for holiday pay or pensions.

The fitters are demanding a minimum basic rate of £60 per week, with pro rata rates for all workshop grades, plus four weeks' annual holiday,

But instead of conceding this claim, British Rail management have taken their usual vindictive stance.

A shops' representative at Stratford Running and Maintenance Depot in East London explained: "When we reported for work on Monday night, we made it clear that we would only service Stratford locomotives. The management sent the entire night-shift home and did the same to the other shifts as they came on duty."

Similar things have been going on all over the country.

But, far from being demoralised, management's attitude has made the fitters all the more determined. "They have gone too far this time", said one union rep.

Plans are now being drawn up by the Co-ordination Committee to build links with more depots, with other railway workers, and workers in other industries. Further industrial action is planned, including a 24-hour strike on 23rd April when negotiations between the management and the unions begin.

By Martin Elvin (Stratford ASLEF)

The tug boat men are being approached to black any ships brought into Western's. There are reports of a ship being docked next week—if trade unionists allow Lairds to get away with it.

If necessary, mass pickets must be mobilised by the Confed unions, Trades Councils and Labour Parties, to stop the Laird Group from permanently wiping out over 600 jobs.

Today it's Western's. But as the shipbuilding and ship-repair crisis deepens,

jobs at Cammel Laird, CBS and Gordon Allinsons will also be threatened. Already Cammel Laird shipbuilding workers face mass redundancies.

All workers must unite to fight sackings and work out an alternative programme of useful work to prevent unemployment. For this, Westerns must be saved. The pickets must not be defeated after 9 months of struggle.

By Richard Venton (Birkenhead Labour Party)



Westerns pickets demand action from Edmund Dell to save their yard, August 1978



# CIVIL SERVICE PAY CAMPAIGN

## NOT JAM TOMORROW- PAY TODAY

Last Monday's national strike by civil service trade unionists was a timely demonstration of their enormous potential unity and power.

The 2nd April strike involved many more civil servants than even the one-day Civil and Public Services Association [CPSA] and Society of Civil and Public Servants [SCPS] strike of 23rd February.

Scandalously, the leadership of some of the smaller unions in the civil service (IPCS, CSU, IRSF, POA, AGSRO) are now hesitant about continuing the struggle for a decent settlement.

Unfortunately also, the CPSA have so far flatly refused to involve the particularly militant members in DHSS and Employment sections in long-term action. The consequence is that members and branches, particularly in powerful computer installations, are taking action unofficially.

At the CPSA NEC meeting of 1st April, the latest government offer on payment of PRU findings was rejected unanimously. The offer would have provided for payment of 9% (or a minimum of £3.50) from April 1st 1979 with 50% of the balance owed from PRU payable in August and the other 50% on March 31st 1980.

Since the PRU exercise is merely a 'comparability' study by which civil service pay is retrospectively brought into line with other workers' wages, anything less than full implementation means a cut in living standards. PRU figures demonstrate that civil service workers are between 25% and 30% behind other workers.

The offer was quite rightly seen as totally inadequate, and the members demonstrated their feelings about it the following day.

The massive majority of civil service workers are in the lower grades, with take-home pay of less than £45 a week, and they are determined not to be fobbed off with promises of further money in the future. They need it now!

On the CPSA National

Executive Committee there was apparently a lively debate about whether the NEC should ask for membership approval in rejecting the offer. Indeed the General Secretary moved a motion, seconded by Mrs Kay Losinska, to conduct a consultative exercise with the NEC recommending a 'No' vote.

By a massive majority the NEC rejected such a course. It would inevitably have sown doubts and confusion and could have given the government the impression that the union's resolve was weakening.

The Society of Civil Servants agreed with the CPSA. One of the most encouraging aspects of the whole pay campaign so far is the degree of unity which has been forged between the CPSA and the SCPS.

Only four years ago, the CPSA overwhelmingly rejected moves for a merger. Now, time after time, the two unions are acting together at national and local levels. Experience has demonstrated that both unions are much more effective working together and the idea of a merger will undoubtedly get a much more enthusiastic response.

Unfortunately the other civil service unions are being left behind in these developments. Their leaderships seem determined to break ranks, settle and avoid conflict. The 'secret' meeting allegedly held to push CPSA and SCPS into settling at 9% was the latest in a series of conflicts.

Over the past few years, the CPSA and SCPS leaderships have been obliged to respond to pressure from the ranks. That will be the case with the smaller civil service unions in the future.

In the meantime CPSA and SCPS are taking steps, quite correctly, to withdraw from Committee A of the civil service negotiating machinery's National Staff Side. At the moment they run the risk of being out-manoeuvred on that body by a combination of General Secretaries who represent only a fraction of trade unionists in the Civil Service.

Unity of all the unions in action to improve members' living standards is vital; participation in a body ruled by a minority of union leaders who want to water down action is another question.

**Pat Byrne**

(DHSS Section Executive Committee member, personal capacity)



15,000 civil servants attended the CPSA/SCPS rally in Central Hall, London on Monday 2nd April

Photo: Laurie Sparham (IFL)

## ONE-DAY STRIKE: UNITY AND STRENGTH

### EDINBURGH

Pickets were to be seen on almost every street in Edinburgh city centre, as thousands walked out on strike, closing all government departments.

A mass rally of over 2,000 gave a resounding 'No' to the latest offer and any attempt at staging the award—not jam next August—we need the money now! Secret talks between the government and the general secretaries of the smaller unions were condemned as divisive.

The meeting, involving all the unions, called for full implementation of the award now, with escalation of the industrial action, if necessary.

Already CPSA members at Livingston DHSS computer centre have voted for an unofficial strike from 2nd April.

**Tam Burke** (Civil Service Union, National Library of Scotland)

### LONDON

In London, at a Central Hall, Westminster meeting, London CSU members voted to accept a 16% pay offer without implementing PRU. But at the joint CPSA/SCPS rally at the same venue in the afternoon, telegrams from other CSU branches nationally, called for a continuation of the strike.

15,000 members attended the CPSA/SCPS rally. The vast majority of civil servants were out on strike. Members at the House of Commons and the House of Lords were on strike for the first time ever.

The government surely cannot go into a general election campaign saying that they, and not the Tories, can control the trade unions, when their own employees are still out on strike.

**Phil James** (CPSA DTI)

### MANCHESTER

In the Manchester area, 15,000 CPSA and SCPS members, members of the CSU, IPSC and IRSF joined the all-out strike resulting in total closure of almost every government office in the area.

At Manchester airport teleprinter operators, air traffic control assistants and customs stayed out. DHSS offices, courts, tax offices, job centres and driving test centres were shut.

From today Manchester's courts will be closed by an indefinite strike.

Offices were picketed all day and a rally held in the city centre which was packed to bursting point.

Members demanded immediate escalation to involve DHSS, DE, Customs and CAA members. IPCS and IRSF member pledged support to the CPSA and SCPS.

The mood is strengthening as the days go by.

**Alistair Nicolson** (CPSA CAA group, Manchester Airports)

### Walthamstow

**Stan Donnelly**, Treasurer CPSA Department of Employment Dagenham branch, on a 50-strong CPSA/IRSF picket line outside Church Hill dole office, Walthamstow, London:

"The striking thing about this dispute is the way people have responded. We had over

### NEWCASTLE

Only a tiny handful of blacklegs did not obey the strike call in Newcastle. The DHSS Newcastle Central Office complex, where I was picketing, normally employs about 12,000 people. On Monday the place was derelict.

There was marvellous co-

### BIRMINGHAM

Last Sunday was certainly April fool's day for the government. By making a last minute offer, they hoped to disrupt or even totally undermine the one-day national strike. It had the opposite effect.

At a meeting in Birmingham, hundreds of CPSA, SCPS and IRSF members gathered to discuss the action. Though poorly-publicised, the meeting hall was overflowing.

IRSF members demanded that their union join in the campaign of selective action. There was strong support for the demand that the DHSS and DE members be involved in selective action and that official one-day regional and departmental strikes be called.

### SHEFFIELD

After marching through the city, a packed meeting was held of over 700 civil servants in Sheffield on Monday which unanimously rejected the latest pay 'offer'. They had been conned by the government on comparability, speakers angrily declared; the latest offer did nothing to radically alter this.

John Harbour, Area Secretary of the CPSA explained: "Last time we got 75% support. This time it is nearly 100%. The tactic of trying to split the unions has rebounded on them."

50 volunteers for picket duty, from people who have never been on strike before.

"Our members feel insulted and let down by the management offer. They have been betrayed by the government, who've gone back on promises to meet the Pay Research Unit findings.

"Last year we accepted the argument that wages should be held down for the good of

The membership are prepared to fight; they are also aware of the need for solidarity. A motion was carried almost unanimously demanding that no pay settlement is agreed until suspended members in Scotland are reinstated with full back pay and restoration of seniority.

Now the civil service unions must be united in the pay battle. All-members meetings must be called to demand the involvement of DHSS and DE in the pay campaign and for the organisation of a strike levy.

**Derrick McClelland** (CPSA DHSS Sec, Birmingham, in a personal capacity)

operation from the CSU and SCPS, and even the three top managers, (members of the very exclusive First Division Association) did not report for work.

Later we attended a mass rally in Newcastle City Hall. Members present from all departments unanimously

passed a motion calling for full involvement of DHSS members and indicated full support for the members at DHSS Washington Child Benefit computer complex who are taking unofficial action.

**Barry Fuge** (CPSA Branch sec, DHSS)

**Rob Jones** (Sheffield)

the country, but now we're determined to struggle."

As I spoke to Stan, an unemployed worker who couldn't sign on due to the strike gave 50p for the strike fund, saying "Keep it up mate, I hope you bloody win."

**Mike Cleverley** (Walthamstow LP)



# Militant

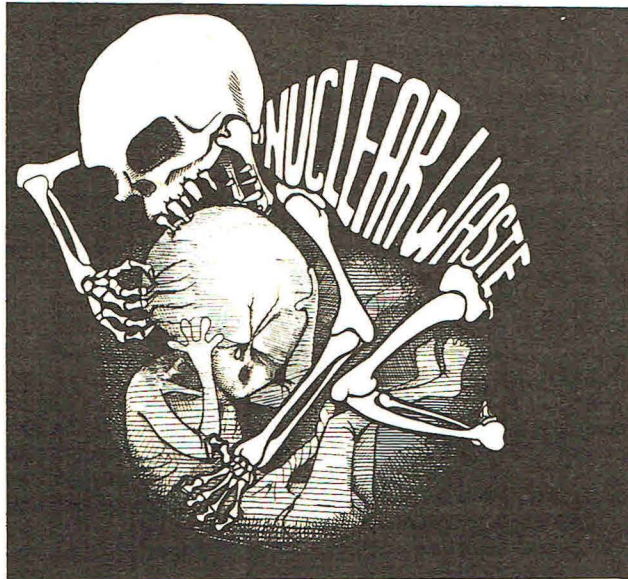
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## NUCLEAR ACCIDENT THREATENS THOUSANDS

"I don't know anything about nuclear power but no power in the world is worth my baby's life." This was the tragic comment of a pregnant woman in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, the scene of the world's worst nuclear accident.

On March 28th, the nuclear reactor at 'Three Mile Island' plant went irreversibly out of control. Only a miracle prevented the annihilation of 160,000 inhabitants within ten miles of the reactor.

**Ronnie Sookhdeo**



The cause of the accident was the failure of one of the much-heralded failsafe valves on the huge cooling tower. Within minutes, thousands of gallons of water which normally conducted heat away from the reactor core became cracked and overheated.

The resulting reaction produced hydrogen gas which exploded and spewed a deadly mixture of radioactive steam, gases and iodine into the atmosphere.

So serious was the accident that the US Nuclear Regulatory Commission warned of the possibility of a melt-down. This was the worst possible accident a reactor can suffer.

Scientists have calculated that in such an accident over 3,300 people would die immediately; 45,000 suffer appalling injuries and a further 45,000 die of cancer within ten years, assuming that they live in a sparsely populated area.

The authorities, already under tremendous pressure following adverse publicity on the disposal of nuclear waste, and reports showing that the lowest radiation can cause cancer, have issued reassurances that the radiation emitted is no more than you would get at the dentists.

But what is the truth? A mountain of evidence has been recently published linking extremely low dosages of radiation with increases in cancer deaths. Horrifying statistics have come from America.

Studies of death certificates of workers at the Hansford Nuclear plant in Washington have revealed a disturbingly high incidence of cancer of the pancreas and leukaemia, even though workers were exposed to levels of radiation well within agreed safety limits of 5 rems per year.

But the most alarming results have come from a chance discovery. The overall cancer death rate among civilian nuclear workers at the Navy's Portsmouth Shipyard in Kittery, Maine was more than twice the national aver-

age, and well above that of the yard's non-nuclear workers.

These figures were calculated by a doctor who had filed a law suit under the Freedom of Information Act to get access to records.

The navy had good reason for maintaining an iron hold over these records. They showed that the rate of leukaemia was an incredible 450% higher than the general population's. The incidence of lymph gland cancer was 125% higher. And the workers were only exposed to an astonishingly low one rem of radiation per year.

These studies have conclusively demonstrated that there is no safe level of radiation exposure. Moreover the iodine which was also emitted causes even more serious abnormalities.

For iodine is absorbed into the thyroid gland, which controls the body's metabolism. In recent accidents, farmers had to destroy their

milk for many months. The authorities already conscious of this have issued similar instructions to farmers.

In the light of the Harrisburg incident, the whole nuclear programme has been questioned.

Can nuclear power be made safe? Are there alternative forms of energy capable of replacing nuclear fission? One thing is: the capitalists, who are only interested in profits not safety or life, cannot be allowed to make these decisions.

I believe that safe, viable alternatives to nuclear fission can be established. But the labour movement must conduct its own thoroughgoing enquiry to answer these questions.

In the meantime it is vital that the labour movement mobilises to ensure that as far as possible health and safety become a key issue in all nuclear establishments.

## SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN

Continued from front page

terrible burden on the economy. Why? For needing to feed and clothe themselves! Pensions should not be linked to wages any more, as this "inflationary". This 'honourable' member also calls for supplementary benefits to be cut, to substantially widen the gap between the "rewards for work and the compensations for idleness".

Not that the mad axeman is against the enforced "idleness" of unemployment. Far from it. He wants to see the "enormous mask of cosmetic applied to the unemployment statistics" torn off. No more palliatives like the job creation schemes. 'Militant' has always explained the limitations of these schemes, but the Tory plans are for the wholesale destruction of jobs.

No more housing subsidies, council houses sold, "rents pushed up at least as much as wages" [one form of index-linking he does approve of]. All in aid of a bonanza in private housing.

Teaching staffs to be cut back because of falling rolls. No question of smaller class sizes in state schools. Public schools are different of course. He did go to Winchester School after all.

And as Bruce-Gardyne says, he is only just beginning on the cuts he would like to see.

These are not just the rantings of a backwoods Tory MP. He has in the past been leader of the Scottish group of Tory MPs, and he is currently a favourite of Thatcher who considers him to be Cabinet potential.

Bruce-Gardyne has exposed the true face, the ugly face of

capitalism in time of crisis. The Tories as the party of big business would be prepared to throw out all the advances in living standards, job security and social services won by the labour movement over the years; to protect profits. But they would have a tremendous fight on their hands, if they won the election and tried to introduce these measures. They should never be given the opportunity to try.

But one thing is certain; a low key campaign with the tone set by the right-wing of the Cabinet would play right into the hands of the Tories. Only by enthusing and arousing the active workers in the shop stewards committees, the union branches and Labour parties will they in turn mobilise the mass of the working class to turn out in the election.

This will not be achieved by Labour Ministers appearing on TV, as happened last week, boasting that "we can also be tough with the unions." Nor will they be encouraged by Dennis Howell's denunciations of workers forced to strike for a living wage as suffering from "free collective madness".

The rank and file must demand a fighting socialist campaign.

If the Labour Party warned clearly of the dangers of Toryism and mobilised the strength of the entire labour movement the Tories would never achieve office. Coupled with a full-blooded socialist platform including the nationalisation of the banks, financial institutions and major companies, allowing Labour to raise the standard of life for all but the idle rich themselves, this would be a sure way to avoid a Tory nightmare.

## YS CONFERENCE CANCELLED

**Phil Frampton**  
 (National Chairman LPYS)

The Labour Party Campaign Committee has cancelled the LPYS National Conference due to take place in Blackpool at Easter.

This was done despite a storm of telegrams and letters calling for the conference to go ahead, and pointing out what a benefit the conference could have been in the election build-up.

Branches should cancel accommodation and travel arrangements immediately. Branches should phone, explaining the situation, and ask for the return of their deposits.

Last deposits, claims from landladies for compensation etc are being handled centrally through Blackpool Corporation and Andy Bevan. The National Committee Officers are trying to safeguard Branches' financial interests, but this will not be certain for several weeks.

To make the task easier, all

claims for lost deposits etc should be sent to Andy Bevan, in writing, with copies of bills. Branches should keep a copy of all letters sent to landladies and hoteliers.

The LPYS officers are discussing organising a delegate conference after the election, but a full conference of 2,000 will be impossible because it will be peak holiday period at resorts.

The loss of the conference is a setback for the LPYS but branches are already laying plans to use Easter weekend for local and regional youth rallies, days of action etc.

Hard, audacious work around clear socialist ideas in the election campaign can treble in gains what we have lost with the cancellation of the conference.

## UNEMPLOYMENT

[Continued from page 1]

to close then also.

With 500 jobs disappearing every week in the Northern region, the shop stewards are keeping up the fight to the last minute. Spennymoor was built and equipped only in the last ten years. The machinery is modern so the workers' best weapon is their preventing the removal of any plant from the factory. The stewards have also seen the union officials and MPs in an attempt to force the government or the NEB to take over the place.

There may be some reluctance from the workers about voting Labour but it's clear that the election of the Tories would give almost no chance of saving the jobs. But the election at least gives the workers the chance to commit the local MPs to saving the factory.

But none of the workers in these factories could vote Tory, when it is the bosses' system which the Tories represent, that wants to throw them on the scrapheap, as if they were just worn out bits of machinery.

"Big business is destroying this country," was a typical comment from a meeting organised by the Vickers stewards. The men there can see that Lord Robens and the Vickers Board are just not interested in jobs or manufacturing wealth, only in making money. If that means scrapping a generation of tradition and experience, so be it.

Vickers have been moving away from engineering gradually. Today, one-third of their investment is in property. So their workforce on the Tyne has been slashed by 85% in thirty years. If Robens gets away with murdering 750 jobs here then he will move on to do the same to the other factories. That's why the workers from all the Vickers plants are rallying round to keep Scotswood open.

Three factories at the end of the line. Let Labour go out to these workers with a programme to stop the closures and end unemployment.

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