

Militant

THE MARXIST PAPER FOR LABOUR & YOUTH

ISSUE 477
2 November 1979

15p

TROTSKY
1879-
1979
Centre
pages



TORIES DICTATE CUTS TO LABOUR COUNCILS



Corby workers lobby BSC to save their town

The life and death of a whole town is at stake if the British Steel Corporation bosses are allowed to go ahead with their plans to end iron and steel making in Corby.

This was made clear in an open letter from Corby trade unionists to the BSC and members of the steel committee:

"We would like to remind you [if you need reminding after or town's

By Heather Rawling

12,000-strong demonstration on 20 September] that it will not be simply profit-and-loss accountancy, nor falling market

CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE

CORBY WORKERS FIGHT BSC DEATH SENTENCE

Tory Environment Secretary Michael Heseltine, this week threatened new government powers to force Labour-controlled councils to carry out all the brutal cuts demanded by Thatcher's big-business cabinet.

Fearing that Labour will sweep to victory in the towns and cities next May on a tide of angry opposition to Tory cuts, the Thatcher government is arming itself with new powers to dictate cuts to local Labour councillors elected on a programme of defending housing, education, cultural facilities, and vital social services.

Heseltine aims to introduce a procedure for local government finance under which he would decide what every local authority "needs to spend". The rate support grant will then be fixed accordingly, and rigid limits will be imposed on the rate increase any local authority is allowed to make.

This attempt to make Labour-controlled coun-

Liverpool council's Labour-controlled Personnel Committee backs the Labour Party's national cuts campaign lobby of parliament on 28 November. Details back page.

cils powerless to stop Tory cuts going through must be exposed and fought.

Elected Labour representatives must use their position as councillors as a public platform from which to mobilise trade unionists, Labour Party members and the wider public against Tory plans to sabotage education and bury the "welfare state".

Heseltine himself made clear the horrifying im-

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Last week, the Voluntary Euthenasia Society decided to publish their booklet on how to commit suicide

Militant

REPRESSION IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The Czechoslovakian show-trial last week has aroused widespread indignation.

The jailing of five dissidents with vicious sentences totalling 19½ years, just for merely expressing opposition views, is an indictment of the Stalinist bureaucratic dictatorship that rules there, and throughout Eastern Europe, in the name of 'socialism'.

This trial has been seized on by the spokesmen of capitalism to try to hit at the left in the labour movement. They hope to confuse workers by fostering the idea that the socialist alternative to capitalism can only mean a one-party 'Communist'

[i.e. Stalinist] dictatorship.

If Thatcher, Carter and other leaders condemn the sentences handed out to the Czech dissidents, it is with the interests of big business in mind, not the interests of the Czech workers.

Marxists, too, condemn these trials—but from the standpoint of the working class in Czechoslovakia and internationally.

Marxists support the nationalisation of the economy in Eastern Europe which has demonstrated its superiority over capitalism. But the repressive, dictatorial regime of the privileged bureaucratic caste which rules over society in Russia and Eastern Europe is a horrifying travesty of socialist democracy.

We stand for workers' democracy in Russia and Eastern Europe as well as in the West. The Czech dissidents were ludicrously ac-

cused of being 'anti-State, anti-socialist, anti-people and demagogic', and of being financed by the CIA to restore capitalist rule, destroy socialism, and undermine State power.

Their actual crime was to be members of the 'Committee in Defence of Unjustly Prosecuted Persons' (VONS), basically a civil liberties committee set up to monitor infringements of Czech law and disseminate information about treatment of political dissidents. Such an organisation, composed mainly of intellectuals, journalists, artists, and professional workers, could not possibly be a threat to any state really based on the mass support of the working class.

Was this trial just an aberration, simply an excess on the part of a few officials?

No. The repression of which the trial was but one expression is a reflection of the acute impasse of the Stalinist regimes. Any movement of opposition is seen as a potential threat to the rule of the bureaucracy. Concessions to the intellectual dissidents opens up the threat of a more profound movement of the working class.

All the Stalinist countries

currently face major economic problems.

Economic growth rate has slowed to a trickle, and in some countries, notably Poland, the workers and agricultural workers are facing the prospect of a real cut in living standards.

The bureaucracy, which squanders a vast proportion of society's wealth through personal privileges and all-pervasive mismanagement and waste, is incapable of developing the planned economy any further. The relatively progressive role it played in the past is exhausted. With the increased complexity of the economy and society, it has become an absolute fetter on progress.

But the ruling bureaucracy will never reform itself out of existence. This ruling caste rests on its material privileges, and these would not last five minutes given the establishment of workers' democracy. As Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968 showed, when the workers began to move it was in the direction of Lenin and Trotsky's conditions for a healthy workers' state: [1] Soviet democracy, with right of recall over officials; [2] No officials to be paid more than the wage of a skilled worker; [3] No standing

army, but an armed people; and [4] Democratic workers administration, no permanent bureaucracy.

The regimes in Eastern Europe know that they cannot 'liberalise' without undermining their very existence as a special, ruling caste. Yet they cannot continue to rule in the old way, hence the period of political instability in Eastern Europe, with the Stalinist regime zig-zagging between intensified repression, as in Czechoslovakia and East Germany at the moment, and 'liberalisation' and concessions, as in Poland where they are faced by mass hostility and oppression.

The resistance of the Polish workers has scared the bureaucracy and prevented them from following the Czech path of all-out repression. But all the Stalinist bureaucracies know that one spark, one major move to overthrow the parasites in one Eastern European country, and establish workers' democracy, would shake each one of them.

All the ruling cliques are blindly seeking a way out of their dilemma. They vacillate between centralising and de-centralising their economies, but to no avail. Without the oxygen of

workers' democracy they cannot surmount all the increasing problems.

In Britain, the so-called Communist Party has condemned the Czech trials as a 'travesty of socialism' ['Morning Star' 25 October]. But they continue to treat these repressive measures as 'aberrations', or 'mistakes' on the part of the authorities, and have despite their criticisms yet to admit that they arise from the very nature of the bureaucratic regime.

How can they counter the hypocritical denunciations of Thatcher and Carter over human rights in Eastern Europe? They cannot effectively answer the charge that that is the kind of society they wish to establish in Britain.

The approaching political revolution in the East, will further shatter the hold of the leaders of the 'Communist Parties' in Britain and throughout Western Europe.

Only Marxists who uphold the traditions of Lenin and Trotsky can provide an effective alternative to capitalism in the West and to Stalinism in the East.

MILITANT DEFENCE CAMPAIGN: KEEP UP THE SUPPORT

John Golding has shown no signs of taking the offer of space in 'Militant' to put his point of view in the dispute about his vote on the 35-hour week at Labour's National Executive in January.

Instead, he is pushing ahead with his action for libel damages. Yet, as the Defence Campaign column has clearly shown over recent weeks, there is an overwhelming feeling that this dispute should be resolved according to the democratic traditions of the labour movement.

After writing to the Post Office Engineering Union's National Executive urging them to refuse to give financial backing in such a court action, the Doncaster branch wrote to the Defence Campaign.

"We note...that the financial burden of such a court action could be crippling to your paper; it must be added that we also feel that our Union subscriptions can be put to a better use than lining the pockets of already wealthy lawyers."

They suggested "an open and frank discussion take place between the two parties in the hope that an amicable solution can be arranged."

We were able to reply to them that 'Militant' had in fact made clear its willingness to have such a discussion, and at the beginning of October agreed with Bryan Stanley, the POEU's general secretary, to take part in such a meeting.

Before any meeting could take place, however, 'Militant's' solicitors were presented with a new demand for a retraction, together with costs for John Golding.

Clearly, 'Militant' could not accept this, and undermine the paper's credibility by retracting an accurate factual report which has been confirmed by at least six NEC members present at the meeting concerned.

Nevertheless, we hope that John Golding and the POEU's NEC (John Golding is employed as an official and sponsored as an MP by the Union) will reconsider the position.

Meanwhile, we have no alternative but to step up the campaign in the labour movement to defend the paper.

The donations received in the past few days are the best proof of the attitude of active trade unionists and Labour Party members to John Golding's court case.

Again it is impossible to list all the individuals and organisations who have contributed to the Defence Fund. But some particularly stand out. POEU members Ray Wemborne's generous £20 was one of a number of donations from members of John Golding's own union, reflecting the groundswell of opposition to his action.

Many thanks for the large donations received from

T&GWU branch 6/562 at Fords Halewood, and from the Scottish Graphical Division of SOGAT both of £25. Collections at the CPSA DHSS SEC brought forth a tremendous £54, and at GEC Trafford Park £26.60. A collection of £23 came in from Manchester University, and £46 from the Leicester area. Generous donations from Labour Party wards, too numerous to mention, and from LPYS branches are very welcome.

The defence campaign has to send receipts out to all organisations and individuals who have sent in donations. In some cases, however this has been difficult because the full postal addresses have not been sent with the donations. Would contributors please ensure that an address is sent with their donations so acknowledgement can be sent.

The resolutions and donations convince us that we have won the argument in the labour movement. But we need your help to fight the case in the law courts and to stop our paper being silenced by legal costs.

Already the Campaign has spent substantial sums in printing and circulating bulletins and letters explaining the case and appealing for support. 'Militant' itself, moreover, has already incurred considerable legal costs in consultations with lawyers and in preparing its defence, a statement of which has been filed with the high court.

Send resolutions and further donations to "Militant Defence Fund", 5 Cremer House, Deptford Church Street, London SE8.

LAMBETH IS ON THE MARCH

Next Wednesday, Lambeth will come to a halt as thousands take to the streets to protest at Tory cuts in public spending.

Lambeth's 8,000 council workers will be on strike that afternoon. They will be joined by trade unionists from all over London and as far afield as Yorkshire.

Pensioners and handicapped people will be there, direct labour organisations throughout London have promised substantial support. London Labour Party and SE TUC have added their support.

The attitude of Lambeth workers was summed up by Bro Sherwood (Lambeth EETPU Direct Labour Convener): "All unions have been brought together over this.

Anti-Apartheid Demonstration

"Forward to a Socialist South Africa" is the call of the Labour Party Young Socialists' coming Birmingham demonstration against apartheid rule. Organised as part of the LPYS's "South Africa Campaign", the demonstration on SATURDAY 10 NOVEMBER will assemble at 12:00 noon at the junction of Rose Hill and Soho Road and march to the Farecroft, Rookery Road, Handsworth. From 2pm to 5pm there will be a conference with speakers from ZANU, British Leyland shop stewards, the LPYS, and from South Africa. Bring your banners and join the march!

We've had our differences in the past, but we're all in this together now. United action is the only way.

"They're attacking those who can't defend themselves, the weak, the senior citizens, those who need home helps and meals on wheels.

"It's not the trade unions who are bully boys in this country, it's the government."

Brother Newlands (NALGO convener) added: "When Thatcher gave her promise to cut spending, she forgot to say that these would be the people affected.

"These cuts are nothing less than criminal. They're even cutting back food from patients in hospitals and from kids at school. Thatcher wants to take us back to the days of 'I'm up here, you're down there. Do what you're told and lump it.'

"She's producing a polarisation in the class system.

They're taking us back to the days when kids had rickets. They're destroying our future. I'd like to see us confront the government to stop this, even if it means the commissioners coming in."

Bro. Sherwood pointed to the hypocrisy of the government. "While they're cutting money on essentials they're setting up 500 inspectors to try and catch social security 'spongers'.

"Of course, these inspectors won't be investigating the huge managerial fiddles that go on.

"We keep getting asked why we are supporting Ted Knight in his campaign, but it's the other way round. It's Ted Knight supporting us.

"This isn't just the Ted Knight roadshow, it's the Lambeth trade unions roadshow."

LAMBETH

MARCH AGAINST THE CUTS

WEDNESDAY 7 NOVEMBER

12 noon

CLAPHAM COMMON

Join the big demo!

NO TO THE CORRIE BILL

Contrary to press reports, last Sunday's TUC-led demonstration against the Corrie bill attracted over 40,000 people.

Despite the very heavy police presence, it was a convincing demonstration of anger at the attacks by Tory backwoodsmen on the hard-won rights of working class women.



NEEDED - A PROGRAMME TO FIGHT THE CUTS

The recent rally in Sheffield of over 2,000 people organised by South Yorkshire Trades Councils against the cuts gives a real indication of the potential for a magnificent and successful nationwide campaign. [see report 'Militant' October 26th].

The large attendance showed the growing anger among South Yorkshire workers about the vicious Tory programme and their determination to oppose it. It also reflected the previous hard work publicising the campaign through lunchtime factory gate meetings, leafletting and other activities.

The next public event is a lobby of Parliament on November 28th, which already has the support of the Scottish TUC and the Labour Party NEC Sub-committee on local government. It may well become the first national mobilisation against the Tory cuts.

But in spite of the magnificent success of the anti-cuts rally, and the energy and enthusiasm now going into the organisation of the lobby of parliament, the actual direction the campaign is to take is not yet clear.

The call has gone up 'Reverse the government's economic policy!' But can we seriously hope to turn the Tory tigers into remorseful lambs when their whole policy is dictated by the desperate state of the capitalist economy for which they stand?

Just as the campaigns in 1970-74 against the Housing Finance Act, wage restraint and Industrial Relations Act meant in practice getting rid of that Tory government, surely a serious campaign against the cuts means a campaign against the existence of this even more vicious Tory administration?

Another vital question has

By Ruth Aylett

(Sheffield Heeley CLP)

not yet been discussed either—whether one of the main demands of the campaign should be upon the Labour councils of South Yorkshire to refuse to implement the cuts.

Already Rotherham council have started to cut services. In Sheffield, the council has a deserved reputation for transforming the city from the giant industrial slum of the 1930s to one of the best in the country in terms of services. But even here, certain cuts are being made.

The argument put to the District Labour Party in the summer was that if certain minor cuts were made to start with, the Tories would not be able to accuse the council of tolerating waste and extravagance, and would put them in a stronger position, to combat any further cuts.

But we will never convince the Tories that expenditure is not wasteful and extravagant while such 'luxuries' as school dinners, care of the sick and elderly and a public housing programme still exist.

Nor will maintaining the services and passing on the cost in rate increases solve the problem. That means asking the workers in South Yorkshire to maintain hard-won services at the expense of a wage cut—heads the Tories win, tails the workers lose.

Unfortunately, none of these points have been properly discussed. A very disturbing argument was put forward at the last Sheffield Trades Council meeting by executive members and prominent members of the Communist Party that such questions should not be discussed at all because they were 'divisive'.

But no lasting unity can be built when such major issues are ignored. These issues are bound to confront us as we step up the campaign against the cuts. Not to adopt any position on them is surely to court confusion at the first obstacle.

The fear may well be that raising the question of non-implementation will lead to a drawing back from the campaign of Labour councillors, who have drawn the lesson from Clay Cross—wrongly—that such a struggle is doomed to failure and that they will end up martyring themselves for nothing.

But the campaign calls on the working class of South Yorkshire to make sacrifices to fight the cuts—a day off work to attend the lobby—possibly industrial action in the future.

Surely we should demand a willingness to make sacrifices by the representatives of the movement? True—the Clay Cross councillors were, in the end, defeated and victimised—but if Sheffield council itself had stuck to its original intention not to implement the Housing Finance Act they would never have been isolated.

It was the failure of the leadership of the movement, primarily nationally and to a lesser extent in the localities, which defeated Clay Cross, not any lack of support by workers in that area.

The response to this cuts campaign so far indicates the willingness and enthusiasm for struggle even at this early stage, before the real impact of the cuts has been felt. If the South Yorkshire campaign can add to the energy of its original initiative a clear strategy and programme, then the Tories had better watch out!

If the campaign takes a socialist direction then the November 28th lobby can be not only a success itself but also a stepping stone to even bigger successes in the future.

LABOUR'S NEC - A STEP FORWARD

By 'Militant' Reporters

The struggle for Labour Party democracy and socialist policies scored an historic victory at the annual conference in October.

The decisions taken by Labour's National Executive Committee at its first meeting since the conference reinforced those successes.

The right wing suffered a major defeat over the composition of the inquiry into Party organisation and structure.

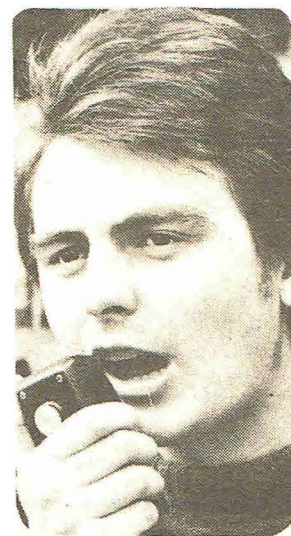
The NEC also referred back short-lists for the posts of head of publicity and secretary to the PLP, because the lists submitted included exclusively right-wing candidates.

It was decided that these should be re-opened to include candidates like former Tribune MP Max Maddon. Head of publicity, in particular, is a vital job, and whoever takes the job should be prepared to sweep away the practices by which the press are fed with selective information to fill out their blatantly pro-right wing reports.

The NEC now seems more determined that the full-time staff should be in step with the Party's political character.

Defeated at the conference in debate after debate and in the NEC elections, the right wing had hoped to dominate the committee of inquiry.

From this they hoped to reverse the decisions to make the Party more democratic and to change the structure of the NEC to give themselves an in-built majority. With only a minority on the present NEC, they hoped to achieve this by securing "strong" representation from the PLP.



Tony Saunois: 'Why should the PLP get extra rights?'

"Many Labour MPs," Jim Callaghan reportedly told the NEC, "felt bruised and hurt by some of the comments made at the conference and wanted strong representation" on the inquiry. "The special and unique position of the PLP entitles the PLP to a strong influence," claimed Fred Mulley.

Quite rightly, the NEC refused to agree to this, limiting them to the leader and deputy leader of the Party, elected by members of the parliamentary party. Why the PLP is "special" or what sense "unique" was apparently not explained by Mulley.

"Why should the PLP be given more rights and additional privileges to the rest of the party?" asked Tony Saunois, Young Socialists' NEC representative. Like other sections of the Party, they will be entitled to submit evidence, but they have no claim to extra rights of representation.

The NEC was elected by the conference and should have a dominant position on any inquiry into the party organisation.

With the inquiry established, it must now look at

ways of improving party organisation and democracy. The results if they are to help in building a party able to defeat the Tories and lead the struggle to transform society must ensure that the membership has control over the party leadership and it is firmly rooted amongst working people and their families.

It must uphold the decisions of conference to allow mandatory re-selection of all Labour MPs and ask for the NEC to have the final say over the contents of election manifestoes.

These will help ensure that it is Party policy which forms the basis of election campaigns and that MPs are accountable to those who select them as candidates and fight for their election.

Yet the inquiry must go further than this. Democracy must be increased and the industrial base of the party strengthened. The election of the party leader, deputy leader, shadow cabinet and cabinet must take place annually at conference.

This would ensure that the parliamentary leadership is more representative and accountable to the rank and file, rather than the undemocratic status quo which allows only the MPs to elect the leader and have a limited say in their selection.

The establishment of workplace branches of the Party, with all the rights afforded to other affiliated sections of the party, would tremendously strengthen the party in industry. It would enable thousands to be drawn into the Party membership and allow campaigns explaining the socialist aspirations of the Party to be effectively waged.

Coupled with the re-establishment of joint Labour and Trades Councils and regional LP-TUC committees, this step would weld together the political and industrial wings of the labour movement, a vital development to secure the socialist transformation of society.

This inquiry must be presented with these demands. These are what must be fought for to help transform the Labour Party into a mass, democratic, and socialist alternative to the Tories.

"WITH THE PURPOSE OF MAKING ARRESTS"

A jury at Leicester Crown Court has cleared an LPYS comrade of an attack on the police—throwing out the evidence of three officers who claimed they saw the incident and another two who extracted a 'confession' from him.

The comrade was arrested during an anti-National Front march in April, and charged with maliciously wounding a policeman by throwing a brick at him. In court, the three officers said they saw him throw a brick which bounced off two policemen's helmets, piercing one of them.

They told the court they had watched him constantly for four minutes, but one of them failed to notice he had a beard, another could not remember the length of his hair, and the third maintained (unlike the other two) that the police were under a constant hail of missiles. So how could he pick out the one brick that caused the damage?

The police were "absolutely certain..." "beyond any doubt" that the comrade was guilty of the offence, despite the fact that at least one other anti-fascist is charged with exactly the same offence!

Even more disturbing was the admission by the plain-clothed officers who made the arrest that they had mingled with anti-NF demonstrators "with the purpose of making arrests".

One said he could not tell the difference between the Front and their opposition, but went on immediately to say that more than half the counter-demonstrators were coloured!

Despite the contradictions of the police evidence, it was the comrade's sincerity in his own defence that surely swayed the jury. He pleaded guilty to a lesser offence of carrying an offensive weapon, and was given a suspended sentence. He said the only reason he was carrying broken glass was because it had been previously thrown by someone else, and he was taking it to a

By a Leicester Young Socialist

rubbish bin in case someone was hurt in a scuffle.

In view of the hundreds of pounds in fines that magistrates have doled out for minor offences at anti-NF meetings, this particular comrade must feel very lucky indeed.

But the wider implications must be of the utmost concern to the labour movement.

In this case, where the police bungled their story, the charge didn't stick, but in nearly all similar cases, defendants are not so lucky.

Whenever the labour movement mobilises to fight racism and fascism: or, indeed when it mobilises for any other reason; defending living standards on the picket line, for example, it will be subject to the threat of indiscriminate arrest and police harassment.

The bosses will always use the forces of the state such as the SPG, police or the armed forces against working people when they move against the interests of the profit system. And this will of course be done under the pretext of 'law and order'.

It will not be until the state is under the democratic control of the mass of working people that there will be an end to such abuses of the kind that have been seen at incidents such as Southall, Leicester, Grunwick or Notting Hill.

YOUTH CAMPAIGN AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT
New leaflet, 'Fight for jobs—Stop the Tories' £4 per 1000
'Fight Unemployment leaflet £2.50 per 1000
Anti-Unemployment posters £3 for 50
35-hour week Newsprint poster £1 for 20
Stop SUS poster £1 for 10
All prices inclusive of postage. Send money with order to
YCAU, 435 New Cross Road, London S.E.14

**EASTERN REGION
LPYS ON THE
MARCH**

Cries of 'no cuts' and 'Tories out' echoed around the streets of Colchester on Saturday when more than a hundred people joined a joint Labour Party Young Socialist/Youth Campaign Against Unemployment demonstration against the Tory government.

A totally disproportionate police escort of 40 police, complete with a reinforced back up wagon and special riot hats, enclosed the demonstration. They showed a completely anti-Labour attitude—members of Stevenage LPYS who had travelled over 80 miles were told they wouldn't be allowed on the march unless they 'got a move on' when they arrived a few minutes late.

However, hundreds of YCAU leaflets were distributed and copies of the 'Militant' were sold. A rally followed the march and the main speaker was Oona McDonald MP.

She said the campaign against the cuts must not only be against the Tories, but taken into the Labour Party to make sure the leadership, when returned to office, would not only restore any cuts the Tories make, but also take up the call for public ownership in the economy.

On local anti-cuts campaigning she warned of working with the Liberals. She said, "The Liberals like to make an issue, such as a

hospital closing down, as just a community issue. We have to point out that such cuts are not isolated issues, and explain the political and economic questions at stake and give the answers."

She added that the Liberals were still a capitalist party and would be no real alternative to the Tories, and as such could provide no answers to the crisis of the profit system.

Two earlier speakers, Nick Toms (LPYS National Committee), and Dave Smith (NUPE area official), said that the only firm basis for a 'welfare state' was a socialist society.

They both pointed to the crisis in the British economy as the cause of the vicious Tory cutbacks. Nick Toms said that only when the commanding heights of the economy were under control of the labour movement and planned for the benefit of society, would it be able to end the cut-backs, unemployment, low wages and all the miseries of capitalism.

The situation was well summed up by Dave Smith; 'You can't plan what you don't control, and you can't control what you don't own.'

By Steve Amor

(Stevenage LPYS)

Defend Overseas Students

A number of leading Universities could face bankruptcy or closure if the Tories are allowed to implement their proposals to charge overseas students the full economic cost as their fees.

This would mean fees of £3,500 per year, and follows a 30% increase in fees last month. This means that British university fees will be far higher than those charged in other countries.

The government are proposing to cut the grants to Universities in direct proportion to the number of overseas students they have. Colleges with a large number of overseas students, up to one third in some cases, could be threatened with closure.

For example, Birmingham University receives 15% of its income from this source; London University 18%, and University of Manchester Institute of Science and Technology 33%. At North London Polytechnic, nearly 40% of the students are from overseas. Whole courses, departments and colleges are threatened.

This will directly affect British students, and people hoping to go to college.

It is one of the biggest attacks on the future of higher education for years. NUS must not allow overseas students to be isolated. The whole student movement must be mobilised to defend education.

A number of colleges have organised occupations in opposition to these attacks. At North London Poly, 150 students were evicted by the police.

At Bradford University, the students have occupied the computer centre. There have also been occupations at UMIST, Manchester University, and a number of Polytechnics.

However, occupations themselves will not stop the Tories' attacks! Occupations should be used to bring attention to the situation. But NUS must give a lead in what must be a political campaign against the Tories' attack on state education.

Thus, it is essential that this issue is taken out of the colleges, and into the labour movement. **Students cannot fight alone!**

The actions of the Tories in attacking working class living standards, and public expenditure are not an accident. They flow from the dire crisis of British capitalism, and their need to cut public expenditure to try to restore the profits to big business. Students must link up with the labour movement in this battle. In particular, student unions should approach campus trade unions for joint action and campaigns to defend education.

NUS should fight for:

- ★ No fee increases!
- ★ Stop all cuts in public expenditure!
- ★ Abolition of all college fees!
- ★ A massive increase in education expenditure!
- ★ The mobilisation of the labour and student movements on socialist policies to defeat the Tory threat!

CAMBRIDGE

Support for NEC grows

The support for the left majority on the NEC by the ranks of the Labour movement, was clearly shown at the Eastern Region Labour Party Rally on October 20th.

Over 700 people, many of them ordinary members of the public packed into the Guildhall and voiced support for the ideas of the left, despite the continual propaganda campaign that has appeared in the Tory Press against these developments.

The Eastern Region Labour Party, covering the rural areas of East Anglia with a few industrial centres, has never been reknowned for its militancy, but the 700 Labour members and trade unionists who packed the hall gave Tony Benn, the main speaker, a standing ovation and two choruses of "He's a jolly good fellow".

In contrast, the other main speaker, Roy Hattersley, who defended the record of the past Labour Government, received only polite applause and several angry remarks from the floor.

Hattersley's opening anti-Tory remarks obviously received great support from the rally, which showed the hatred for the Tory policies. But he ran into trouble when he defended the policies of wage restraint, under the reasoning that to carry out reforms the economy has to be 'put right' first. When he held up 'phase One' of the wages policy as a success the audience shouted out, "Yes, but what about phase four!"

Hattersley finished his contribution on the question of the democratic reforms adopted at conference saying the Labour party was a broad church and that there was a 'place for the vanquished' as well as the victors. This brought quite a few cheers from the rally.

Benn, on the other hand gave a comprehensive analysis of the crisis in British capitalism, explaining that if it is allowed to get into the dire position it has done in the past, the capitalists would turn to war as a solution to regenerate industry, as they have done twice this century already.

He also exposed the biased

manner in which the Tory press presented issues. As he said, "If we were to believe them, then the crisis in the economy is the fault of the immigrants, the scroungers, the trade unions, the muggers, the reds under the bed, and so on." The real crisis as Benn explained, was the failure of the capitalists to invest in industry.

However, he did not explain clearly that the only way to end the misery capitalism inflicts on the working people, was the dismantling of the profit system, and the introduction of the planned economy under the control of the working people.

Even so, the rally was a positive step forward for the Eastern Region Labour Party. It was clear from the response that Benn received, that the rank and file of the party in this rural area, despite the campaign in the Tory press, support the moves taken at the national conference, and see the need to take a new direction, away from the anti-working class policies of Callaghan's government.

LEFT and RIGHT

Room at the top— on merit?

A meeting of big City bigwigs at a Lord Mayor of London's reception had the pleasure of a talk by the Chairman of Lloyds, Mr Ian Findley. He told the guests, "I know that you feel the City should be a place where merit, and not any advantage of birth or wealth should determine promotion to responsibility.

He continued, "Of course, not everyone gets to the top. Some climb a little way and find the view quite acceptable without going higher. Others find the air getting a bit rarified and stop for a rest.

"There are those who carry on climbing though some find the going a little congested as the ladders converge towards the apex." The Lord Mayor's guest list contained 54 Sirs; 12 Lords; 1 Lady; 1 Marquess; 1 baron, and two [nominal] women.

The strange 'moderates'

Remember how the press blew up the incident in Birmingham when a handful of 'workers' shouted abuse as 2,000 AUEW members filed into Digbeth Hall for a strike meeting. What the press forgot to mention was that at least 11 of the fifty people who were so angry about the strike were known members of either the National Front or the British Movement.

Political neutrality— OR Rank discrimination?

From the cinema chain that brought you "Shivers" and "Rabid", comes a new production 'Double Standards'.

Trying to book the Odeon Hammersmith for an LPYS rally last week, the caller was told "We do not hire out to political parties. We try to avoid political involvement."

Now Odeon Hammersmith is owned by Rank Organisation who in 1977 gave £20,000 to the Tory Party, and £30,000 last year. Hardly non-political involvement. It seems that you pay your money, but you've got no choice.

WHAT'S THE TRUTH ABOUT THE KRONSTADT REVOLT?

Periodically, there is a hue and cry about the 1921 Kronstadt rebellion and its suppression.

Opponents of Marxism seize on this episode in the Russian revolution in an attempt to discredit the Bolsheviks in general and Trotsky in particular.

Last week again in 'The Case of Leon Trotsky', BBC Radio 4 implied that the suppression of Kronstadt led directly to Stalin's terror.

What is the truth about the Kronstadt revolt?

Kronstadt was the island naval fortress guarding—and by the same token, in the wrong hands, also threatening—the sea approach to Petrograd (then the Soviet capital, later re-named Lenin-grad).

The enemies—and some of the so-called friends—of Marxism try to hang a number of conclusions on their version of the Kronstadt events.

"Did not Kronstadt prove: that the revolution should not have gone so far so quickly? That attempts to build socialism in a backward country were premature? That the Bolsheviks were undemocratic and blood-thirsty

"That the Bolsheviks would not hesitate to butcher any who opposed them? And, ultimately, that Lenin's methods, Trotsky's methods, led straight to Stalinist terror?"

A new book 'Kronstadt' contains the answers to these questions in the form of articles, speeches and documents of the time. Also included is material from the period of the Spanish Civil War when the question of Kronstadt was again raised to deflect attention from the entry of the 'anarchists' into the Popular Front government.

Trotsky at that time urged his son, Leon Sedov, to write a pamphlet on Kronstadt, realising that a detailed refutation of the lies and distortions surrounding Kronstadt was vital.

What the book demonstrates most clearly is the half-baked superficial nature of the main allegations against the Bolsheviks and the serious scientific approach to the facts which characterises the writings of both Lenin and Trotsky.

Trotsky, in particular, shows how Kronstadt was not an isolated incident, but part of a period of disruption, revolt and insurrection which resulted from the harsh demands upon the peasantry



Red Army soldiers fire at Kronstadt rebels

Lenin and Trotsky, surrounded by soldiers



made necessary by the policy of war communism.

The Kronstadt rebellion is put in perspective, as part of a process, given extra prominence because of the great revolutionary traditions of the Kronstadt sailors. Trotsky shows, as does Lenin, that the international counter-revolution was hoping so desperately for a successful rebellion at Kronstadt that the capitalist press abroad announced the revolt two weeks before it had happened.

That there was a conspiracy of anti-soviet forces to gather aid for Kronstadt and before that to trigger off the revolt is proven by a memorandum of the 'Russian National Committee', an emigré organisation of the Cadets, who had supported the monarchy as a bulwark against revolution and after October 1917 supported and took part in the armed attempts to overthrow the Bolsheviks.

Those in the labour movement who genuinely have doubts about the role of the Bolsheviks should take care not to line themselves up with the supporters of capitalist restoration and the crushing of the Russian revolution.

Questions about the revolution being 'premature', 'too far reaching' and so on are answered in other works of the authors; but two central questions are posed and dealt with in these articles and speeches.

resistance of the capitalist class to the ending of their rule.

In a revolutionary upheaval—which (by definition) is thrown up by deep social forces, not a handful of conspirators—it is determined, decisive action by the ascendant class which minimises bloodshed and suffering.

In Petrograd and Moscow, the October rising claimed only a handful of casualties—a drop in the ocean compared to the mass slaughter of the imperialist war, and subsequently of the civil war provoked by imperialist intervention.

In the case of Kronstadt, several factors determined the action of the Bolsheviks. The fortress posed a threat to Petrograd itself, and a successful resistance in Kronstadt would have inspired the recently defeated White armies. International capital was gathering aid for the rebellion and the ice which afforded passage to Kronstadt would soon begin to melt, leaving an impregnable fortress open to supplies from capitalist reaction.

Action had to be taken. Reluctantly the whole Bolshevik leadership, with a heavy heart, concluded that action must be taken quickly and decisively.

The suppression of the Kronstadt rising was, as Trotsky said, a tragic necessity. The survival of the revolution was at stake; the alternative was counter-revolution which would have placed Russia under a capitalist dictatorship worse than that of the Tsars.

As if anticipating the later hue and cry, Lenin wrote, "If people abroad exaggerate the importance of Kronstadt and give it support, it is because the world has broken up into two camps: capitalism abroad and Communist Russia."

By Pete McNally

(Ladywood LPYS)

KRONSTADT
published by:
Pathfinder Press
price £1.50
[+ 20p, P&P] from:
World Books,
1 Mentmore Terrace,
London E8 3PN.

PRESS - MOUTHPIECE FOR BIG BUSINESS

Militant's right of reply in the News of the World, over the scurrilous attack they made on this paper on September 9th. has still been refused.

By Bob Wade
(NUJ)

The News of the World, under the guise of reviewing McCormick's book 'Enemies of Democracy', churned out a mixture of fabrications and malicious innuendoes about the Militant. This was also echoed in other Tory journals.

But why should the Tory press go to such lengths to try and discredit the Marxists of the Labour Movement? The answer is of course they are part and parcel of big business and the profit system.

The News of the World for example is just part of a multi national company. The News of the World and the Sun both belong to the News Group Newspapers Ltd, which in turn is owned by News International Ltd, the Rupert Murdoch empire.

News International owns a whole host of companies. It controls the Berrows Organisation, which owns 30 local newspapers, it owns City Magazines Ltd; and Downland Publications Ltd, the Australian network of newspapers and magazines. Many American papers, including the New York Post also come under their empire.

But Murdoch is not only interested in newspapers; News International also own Wardley Chemicals Ltd,

Convoys Ltd (warehouse and transport firm) Townsend, Hook and Co Ltd (paper manufacturers); WH Smith Ltd, and Eric Bemrose (Engineers) Ltd, who make colour film.

News International are riding on the crest of the capitalist wave at the moment, while other 'newspaper' groups are going to the wall. Last year they made a massive £25m pre-tax profit, a figure that has steadily increased since the early seventies.

The press frequently moan about the supposed curtailment of 'freedom' in the media by the impositions of the trade unions. 'Militant' has often shown how nonsensical their complaints are. The 'News of the World' article shows the degree of monopolisation of newspaper ownership. It's freedom for a few millionaires.

The radio and television coverage is hardly different. The BBC as we reported [Militant, 22 June] have been prepared to submit TV programmes which in any way dealt with police activity to the Metropolitan Police for advance scrutiny. You can well imagine the howls of rage if a union asked to see in advance any of the immense amount of footage misreporting their activities!

This cosy agreement to spare the police embarrassment may now have come to an end. And who is to thank for the prospect of ending this unsavoury piece of censorship? The National Union of Journalists and the Association of Broadcasting Staffs. They told the BBC chiefs that they would not accept the agreement.

In consequence the BBC announced they would no longer require producers to stick to the arrangement, though they did say they would be rediscussing with the police. It is the organisations of the labour movement who are the only real defenders of press and TV freedom.

When a national paper such as the Sun or the News of the World is part of such a massive multi national firm, it is no wonder they will support the policies of big business! They will do every-



LPYS members demonstrating against the capitalist press in Fleet Street June 1978

Photo: MILITANT

thing in their power, which is considerable, to discredit socialists in the labour movement.

And just to make sure their papers follow this line, the Editorial Director of the Sun and the News of the World, Mr A Lamb, is also on the board of Directors of News

move to better their living conditions or protest at the unfairness of the system.

They of course see such moves as dangerous. In consequence they have a never ending stream of advice for the workers.

Divine right of tycoons

Whenever the labour movement even hints at the idea of a democratic control over the press media, the howls of 'press freedom' can be heard all along Fleet Street. When the press barons talk of freedom they mean the freedom that gives them the divine right to control every aspect of the media so that it does not conflict with their interests.

That is why they are against the democratic control of the press and why they are against the nationalisation under workers control of the commanding heights of the economy, as it would mean an end to the position of privilege and power they have in society.

That is why the Tory press is against Marxism and the Militant.

International Ltd.

With these resources behind their elbow, the bosses are in a position to shower the workers with pro-capitalist propaganda and to pour scorn on them whenever they

School students - DON'T FIGHT THE TEACHERS FIGHT THE SYSTEM

"What do they do? Do they just gossip in the staff room and get drunk in the pub, or is it something more sinister?" "They" are teachers.

Is this statement a recent emanation from Rhodes Boyson; perhaps. Or the NF's "Spot a Red Teacher" Campaign. Could be, but no.... It's a paragraph from the latest issue of "BLOT", magazine of the National Union of School Students.

The author of this article continues; "I asked some class mates what teachers did: "they do nothing"...."they nag you". One friend summed it up "they're lazy buggers".

This is rubbish. Like anyone else who works for a living with a few notable exceptions like the police, teachers have had their living standards savagely reduced through a combination of wage restraint and inflation.

Like a school student, a teacher's work does not stop when the bell goes at 4pm. Long hours can be taken up marking and preparing for lessons. Their jobs are threatened with education cuts.

These cuts will mean increasingly dilapidated school buildings and large class sizes—which can have the same effect on the teacher as it does on the school student. They do not "do nothing" nor are they "lazy buggers".

The article, called confidently 'What teachers do' goes on to give a completely naive 'analysis' of the power structure in schools.

"In school we have a dictatorship. The teacher disciplines us, s/he chooses what we study and we study it.... We are objects for them to use in whatever way they please... They turn us into passive objects...."

As any realistic teacher will tell you, the dictatorship in schools comes from the head and to a certain extent, the Board of Governors. Ultimately it comes from the

capitalist class themselves, who control education for their benefit and who determine such vital matters as finance.

The school authorities do attempt to bully students into passive objects, because school students are the workers of tomorrow, and they wish to prepare us for the discipline of the work place.

There are, obviously, a number of sadistic teachers, but they are a minority. To blindly label all teachers as 'sadistic' or 'dictators' will in no way forward the struggle of school students for better schools. Neither will the liberal sprinkling of swear words in the magazine, which has appeared again despite NUSS conference passing a resolution to the contrary.

The correct way to deal with a teacher of the nature described would be to, initially, ask the NUT Branch to act, and to take further action later, if nothing is done.

What does 'BLOT' argue: 'Get your parents to write a letter of disgust to the local press' (those trusted friends of workers and school students!)

This issue of 'BLOT' will gain as many negative results as the last series.

When it is distributed in schools it will kill any sympathy that existed from local teaching unions for the NUSS.

School students cannot gain results in isolation from the rest of the labour movement. School students have to build strong fraternal links with their brothers and sisters in NUT, the school ancillary unions, the local Labour Party and YS, and the Trades Councils.

This scandalous attack by NUSS on teachers, and the inane use of four letter words, could have one other serious result for NUSS activists.

It could clear the way for the victimisation of militant school students, by the heads and other reactionaries, and that cannot be defended.

By Dale Ackroyd
(NUSS NC
Personal capacity)

WORKERS NOTEBOOK

Life can be tough for a family with an income of "only" £9,000 a year, moaned the right-wing 'Daily Express' recently [11 October]. Quoting a report by the Reward Regional Survey organisation, which looked at the position of an "average family" living in a three-bedroomed semi in the South East on £9,000 a year, they found they would need an increase of at least 23.5% to keep pace with inflation—in spite of the Tory tax hand-outs. Pay increases nationally are averaging just over 16%. But, confessed the 'Express', "tax cuts for the vry highest group have been so great that its cost of living has actually fallen by 8.1% this year...Really in clover is the £30,000-a-year family. Because of Budget tax cuts, this family could have dropped its earnings from £33,200 in October 1978 to £30,500 now—and still not be any worse off." So there

we have it! This rabidly pro-Tory paper must admit that even those on £9,000 pa are suffering under the Tory government—and that the rich and the super-rich are living in gilded clover.

Another index of Britain's inexorable industrial decline are recent figures on spending on research and development [R&D]. A recent paper in the government publication 'Economic Trends' [July 1979] shows that while total spending on R&D by government, industry, and others rose from £768 million in 1964 to £2,151 million in 1975, inflation was such during this period that if everything is calculated in 1975 prices spending actually fell by £49 million between 1964-75. "Government performed" R&D fell by more than 11% between 1969 and 1975. More recent figures show that between 1975 and 1977, despite increased spending at cur-

rent prices, there was a sharp fall in real terms. Another recent survey by the OECD, 'Trends in Industrial R&D', points to a growing disparity in scientific effort between the main capitalist economies: "as efforts in the United States and the United Kingdom have declined...those of Japan and Germany have increased, with little change in France." But whereas at the beginning of August the French government announced increased spending to put its R&D activity on a par with the biggest spenders ['New Scientist' 9 August], Britain's Tory government was announcing further cuts in R&D and university spending.

Big business itself does not always share the Tory government's Messianic belief in salvation through the rebirth of free competition. Commenting on the government's deci-

sion to refer London's commuter services to the Monopolies and Mergers Commission, with the implied threat of axed subsidies and living off, the London Chamber of Commerce and Industry confessed that "when competition does exist, this rarely results in improved services in the capital." ['The Guardian', 8 October]. Criticising the lack of co-ordination, "the chamber wants the various transport operators in the capital to be under the same control so that the interests of commuters are considered when strategic decisions affecting the transport network are taken." Have London's tycoons discovered the virtues of socialist planning? More likely, the fact that some of them have to share the painful experience of rush-hour train travel in order to get to their chauffeur-driven Daimlers at Waterloo and Victoria has driven them in desperation to the idea of an integrated, planned transport system.

Railway closures:

THE GREAT COVER-UP

'Militant's' exposure of the British Rail bosses' plans to run down the railways has stirred up a hornet's nest up and down the country.

Spokesmen for BR have been rigorously denying that some of the cuts, especially the 41 lines published in 'Militant' [issue 474], are to be made. Some have even questioned the very existence of the confidential document, the Rail Business Review [RBR].

One spokesman told the 'Bridlington Free Press', "There has been no document issued to the effect that 40 branch lines will be closing." Perhaps the BR bosses could show this 'spokesman' page 25 of the RBR which states, "The figures (on passenger earnings) take account of the 40 closures approved for evaluation in the Review."

Another BR spokesman told the Whitby Gazette in Yorkshire a different story; "It (the RBR) was a discussion document to look at the options which was not proceeded with."

If it is not to be proceeded with, then why are the Rail Council and members of the executive board being circulated with it at this very moment? And why did one spokesman deny the document existed, and another say that it does?

The answer to these puzzles can be gathered from extracts of internal letters (which have been obtained by Militant) which are circulating among the management

By 'Militant' reporters

board of BR. The proposals are very severe.

In consequence the bosses are getting worried as how to present this package to the public and the trade unions, and indeed how to carry the plans through, without causing an uproar.

As one letter regarding the Review in 'Public Affairs', dated 10 September states, "It is difficult to see how the results of the 1979 Corporate Review, now regarded as optimistic, and pointing to the Board's almost certain inability to meet the requirements placed upon it by the government, can be served up in a way which will not contain 'a sense of failure' on somebody's part—either ours or the government..."

"If we are not prepared to face up to the fact that there is little good news in it and represent what it is telling fairly and squarely, it would be far better to find another excuse not to publish."

So! Not only does the document exist, but given the present absolute demise of the rail service, even these draconian measures drawn up some years ago are now considered optimistic!

In a memorandum accompanying the Review as it circulates the management board, it states, "It is very



Passengers at Victoria Station. Longer waits, fewer lines and higher fares in prospect

Photo: MILITANT

important that neither the Minister nor the Department (of Transport) should initiate views to the public which could trammel us with a sense of failure.

"It is also vital that agreement should be reached with the Department that any public utterances should not be before Rail Council on November 20."

Given the severity of the bosses' plans it is no wonder they could not "serve up" the proposals attractively and did not want the public to hear anything of them.

Our article on the closure of 41 lines, stated that the closures would go ahead in three to six months, which was based on information given to us from reliable sources. However, judging by the outcry already voiced in

local newspapers in areas of the country, it is now likely that these lines will get a stay of execution.

Nevertheless, the severity of the economic situation and the public expenditure cutbacks, mean that these proposals cannot be put off forever.

The dilemma which faces BR management is outlined in the Review. The section on passenger fare prices, for example, gives an indication of their 'failure'. At present, despite the high levels of fares, they only cover 60% of the total costs of the passenger service. The remaining 40% is covered by government subsidies.

But as the Review shows, the proposed cash limits on subsidies for passenger travel which will no doubt be strictly

enforced by the Tories will remain constant at £483m from 1981 to 1989.

This is despite the fact that costs for the passenger service will inevitably increase, and that by 1989, even with the massive cutbacks, the passenger service will need a grant of £633m.

In this case services will either have to be cut or fares increase dramatically. The Review is full of such examples in every section of British Rail.

But this is what is to be expected when trying to maintain a full rail network in an ailing capitalist economy as opposed to a fully integrated transport system in a socialist planned society.

There is one other aspect that activists in the labour movement should take up

within the Labour Party. According to a BR spokesman in the 'Whitby Gazette', the plans to close 41 lines was "an exercise started early in the time of the last government".

It cannot be said whether just the issue of closing the 41 lines was discussed by Labour MPs or the Review as a whole, or whether they opposed or supported the proposals.

However, this issue, like numerous others, must be a lesson to all Labour activists. It is impossible to try to maintain this bankrupt system without inflicting hardship and misery on the working class. The struggle for a socialist integrated transport system is not 'utopian'. It is the only alternative to complete chaos.

HITTING AT APARTHEID

The Labour-controlled Cardiff City Council have decided to apply financial sanctions against the Welsh Rugby Union for its support of the South Africans' Barbarians tour.

The Rugby authority will lose a rates concession worth more than £15,000 on the National Stadium in Cardiff and they also have been refused permission to hold their centenary celebration at the City Hall next year.

This is a very welcome move. Too many people appear to swallow the propaganda about "keeping politics out of sport" neatly sidestepping the fact that it was the apartheid regime that introduced politics into sport by its own policies.

Mr Bill Connor, the WRU secretary recently foamed at the mouth over incidents involving nails strewn on the pitches at Newport and Llanelli. He called those responsible "lower than reptiles who ought to be put up against a wall and shot".

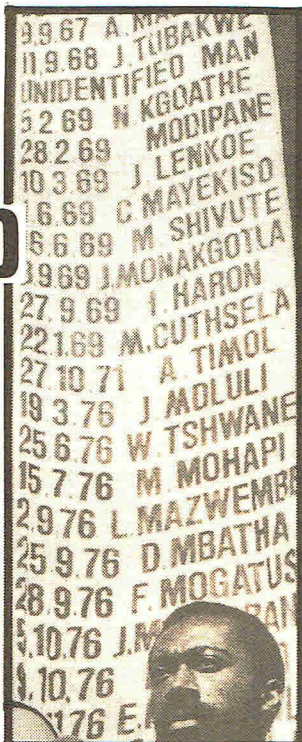


Photo: Laurie Sparham (IFL) (ii)

A list of the victims of apartheid unfurled at demonstration

Terry James, the ANL organiser in Cardiff claims that the incidents were not the work of anti-apartheid protesters but of a 'dirty tricks' department. Whatever the case, Mr Connor's interesting opinions on criminal law reform should make him a good candidate for certain jobs—as the police chief in Soweto maybe.

LUXURY LOAF

While I was shopping the other day, I saw a sign in the shop window that said 'LUXURY LOAF SOLD HERE'.

When you take the high cost of living, particularly if you're on a fixed wage or if you're low paid or a pensioner, then the 'staff of life' can be a luxury indeed!

With bread costing anywhere from 25p to 31½p a loaf, that makes a big hole in your pocket if you think how many loaves you use each week. If you're unemployed or receiving a state pension, then you have to think like that when you work out your weekly budget.

Another thing is the conversion to metrication. On the one hand, you have a metric packet of butter with more in it than the old half pound, so the new price is naturally more than the old one. On the other hand, the amount of coffee in a jar has gone down from 4 ozs to 3.5 ozs, but the price is still the same.

Both these examples involve small amounts of money. But when you haven't got much to live on, they're important.

During the election we saw Thatcher with her two shopping baskets, one heavy and one light, showing us how food prices had risen under the Labour government. I wonder if she would have the same confident smile all over her face if she was holding up the same two baskets at today's prices under her Tory government?

The message must go out loud and clear to the leaders of the labour movement, both in the Labour Party and in the unions: We need socialism to preserve and improve our living standards. We don't need Toryism to preserve and improve the bosses' living standards.

By Chris Kelly (Southampton Labour Party)

RE-SELECTION - 1605 STYLE



It's a bit rough, if you're a right wing Labour MP worried about re-selection. All these reminders of the first, unsuccessful attempt at the most final 're-selection' of all.

Photo: J McKittrick (Militant)

LEON TROTSKY

What need is there to justify celebration of the 100th anniversary of Leon Trotsky's birth?

By
Lynn Walsh

Known to history by his pseudonym, Trotsky was born Lev Davidovich Bronstein in the Ukraine on 26 October, 1879 (according to the old Russian calendar, 8 November according to the Western calendar, adopted in Russia only in 1918).

Thirty-eight years later to the day, Trotsky led the insurrection which secured the October revolution.

In the revolution of 1905, Russia's "dress rehearsal" for 1917, Trotsky was elected president of the Petrograd soviet. Even before 1905, Trotsky advanced his theory of the permanent revolution, predicting that Russia's working class would not only have to take on the tasks of the liberal-capitalist revolution, but begin those of the socialist revolution—in conjunction with the international development of the socialist revolution.

His theory was brilliantly confirmed by the events of 1917/18.

With Lenin, he was acknowledged co-leader of the first ever socialist revolution, the greatest event in the history of the world. Commissar for foreign affairs in the first Soviet government, Trotsky was also the founder of the Red Army and commissar for war from 1918 to 1925.

Trotsky was also, with Lenin, co-founder of the Third, or Communist International, and wrote the manifestoes and many of the most important documents for its first five congresses.

From 1918 to 1927, Trotsky was a member of the Politburo of the Soviet

Communist Party, and was expelled and sent into exile because the increasingly bureaucratic Stalin clique rightly regarded him as their foremost opponent.

In spite of his unrivalled record up until Lenin's death in 1924, however, Trotsky's subsequent contribution was no less important. In fact, Trotsky's most valuable legacy for present day Marxists is the fact that, in the period of the isolation and degeneration of the Russian revolution, he unswervingly upheld the genuine ideas of Lenin and the Bolshevik party, and fought tenaciously to defend the real traditions of October.

Trotsky's personal struggle against Stalinism ended on 19 August, 1940, when he was murdered by Stalin's assassin. But nothing can bury the memory of such a revolutionary, or eradicate the ideas that he upheld throughout his long active life.

Even the leaders of the West European Communist Parties, formerly unscrupulous apologists for Stalin's crimes, who for decades fell in with the vile denigration and falsification of Trotsky's role, have at last been forced to admit Stalin's responsibility for Trotsky's murder and to promise to call for his "rehabilitation".

They have yet, however, to accept Trotsky's Marxist analysis of Stalinism, and the vital political conclusions which flow from it.

Yet the historical personality of Trotsky has hardly had a better fate among the "liberal", "democratic" opponents of Marxism.

In spite of the fact that Trotsky, many of his family, and tens of thousands of the International Left Opposition paid for their opposition to Stalinism with their lives, there have been many at-



1921: Trotsky addresses soldiers

tempts to associate Trotsky with the totalitarian dictatorship.

Trotsky has been painted as an "arch bureaucrat", a "militarist" and would-be dictator. Alternatively, it is argued that, although Trotsky organised an opposition to Stalin, he, like Lenin, espoused ideas that led inevitably to totalitarian dictatorship.

Nothing could be further from the truth! Only a fear of the genuine, revolutionary ideas of Trotsky far outweighing the liberals' distaste for Stalinism—which, after all, can be put to good use in discrediting the idea of socialism—makes such distortions possible.

Of course, with Lenin, Trotsky was an uncompromising advocate of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

But, again like Lenin, he held the Marxist view that the proletarian dictatorship had to be based on "proletarian, or Soviet, democracy", not on personal dictatorship and totalitarian rule, as in the later Stalinist caricature.

A life and death struggle between genuine Bolshevism and its usurpers

The purpose of a workers' state is to consolidate the conquests of the revolution, to suppress the resistance of the old possessing classes, and to guarantee the social and political supremacy of the working class. This can not be achieved unless the workers, the poor peasants, and the other exploited strata enjoy full freedom of expression and association.

In fact, the soviet government, which gave the land to the peasants and placed industry in the hands of the workers, was the broadest and freest democracy ever established in history.

The various Soviet and local committees, deliberated freely and often expressed sharp differences. The measures of the Bolshevik leaders were based on constant appeals to the masses, and relied entirely upon their support and initiative.

In the first five years "the dictatorship of the proletariat", which meant the domination of the working class over the transformation of society, could not have been further removed from dictatorship in

It was only Trotsky and the International Left

Opposition which provided a clear

Marxist analysis of the development of Stalinism

celebrates a great revolutionary

TROTSKY: 1879-1979



the Red Army as they leave for a campaign in the civil war.

the sense of repressive, totalitarian rule.

During the civil war, however, when Britain, France and other capitalist powers supported the armed counter-revolutionary campaigns of the White generals, political freedom was inevitably severely curtailed. In the early 1920s, when the young workers' state was threatened with extinction, the Bolsheviks' government was pushed into placing a ban on opposition parties.

For Trotsky, as for Lenin, the curtailment of political freedom was a temporary, emergency measure, necessitated by civil war. But when he feared that the isolation of the revolution was giving rise to the growth of a bureaucracy in the party, the soviets, the army and elsewhere, more and more concerned for its own vested interests, Trotsky was the first to sound the alarm.

As early as 1923 Trotsky began to warn, in a series of articles which later appeared as 'The New Course', of the dangers of a post-revolutionary reaction, and the incipient growth of bureaucracy in the Bolshevik party and the soviets. He began to protest at the preponderance and arbitrary behaviour of the party's bureaucracy.

Before he died in 1924, Lenin agreed with Trotsky on a bloc in the party to fight bureaucracy.

When Trotsky and a group of left oppositionists began a fight for a "revival of proletarian democracy", the politburo was obliged to promise to restore freedom of expression and criticism in the Communist Party. But Stalin and his associates made sure this remained a dead letter.

The life and death struggle between genuine bolshevism and its bureaucratic usurpers had begun.

At first warning of the dangers of a bonapartist reaction, Trotsky showed that the events leading up to his forced exile abroad in 1928 made it an accomplished fact.

Up until 1934/35, Trotsky continued to advocate reform in the Soviet Union, aiming at the revival of soviet democracy. Subsequently, he concluded that the bureaucratic dictatorship which had strangled the democracy of October could be removed only through a political revolution.

It was only Trotsky and the International Left Opposition which provided a clear,

Marxist analysis of the development of Stalinism—and which was able to maintain a consistent, Marxist opposition.

In a stream of articles, and above all in his brilliant book, 'The Revolution Betrayed' (1936), Trotsky laid bare the basis of Stalin's dictatorship.

Stalin, Trotsky made clear, represented the new privileged bureaucratic strata which, through a bloody political counter-revolution, had usurped the fruits of the revolution and deprived the working class of its political control.

Nevertheless, the bureaucracy preserved the economic and social gains of the revolution as the basis of its power.

Despite the bureaucracy, the nationalisation of production and the planned economy demonstrated its immense achievements, though at a far greater cost than under workers' democracy.

International isolation, however, produced intense contradictions in Russia's still backward economy. The meagre national income, with a scarcity of basic necessities and consumer goods and conflicts over their distribution, inevitably gave rise to new social divisions, with the ruling stratum, headed by Stalin, promoting its own privileges and power.

Because of the socialised property relations, on the one side, and the rule of a despotic bureaucracy, on the other, Trotsky characterised Russia as a **deformed workers' state**. He defined Stalin's regime as one of **proletarian bonapartism**.

Post-revolutionary Russia was a **transitional** society arising from the abolition of landlordism and capitalism, but by no means a **socialist** society, which would presuppose the conscious, democratic rule of the working class.

Cutting through the "Stalin cult", Trotsky explained the degeneration of the Soviet Union not as the result of Stalin's personal struggle for power, but as the result of a deep-rooted process of bureaucratisation resulting from the isolation of the revolution.

Stalin's "theory" of "socialism in one country" was primarily a rationalisation of the bureaucracy's conservative role. Later, the policies and ideology of Stalin themselves reinforced the isolation and bureaucratisation, gradually playing a

more and more open counter-revolutionary role on the world arena.

While not ruling out the possibility of a restoration of capitalism in Russia given massive defeats of the working class internationally, Trotsky stood for a supplementary, political revolution to restore the workers' democracy introduced by the October revolution. Its programme was the programme of Lenin:

- ★ Free and democratic elections with the right of recall of all officials in the party, the state, and industry;
- ★ No official to be paid more than a skilled worker; and end to bureaucratic privilege and corruption;
- ★ Abolition of the standing army, and its replacement by democratic workers' militias;
- ★ For democratic workers' control and management in industry, and a return to the democratic rule of the workers' and peasants' councils created by the October revolution.

Trotsky has left an indestructible legacy

This is the only analysis and programme of opposition to Stalinism that has stood the test of time.

In the 1930s, because of the horrendous scale of Stalin's terror, on the one side, and the rise of its fascist "twin" in Italy, Germany and Spain, on the other, intellectuals who had previously supported Trotsky's position rejected the idea that the Soviet Union was a "deformed workers' state".

They advanced the idea that Russia's ruling bureaucracy was a new and independent social class, a "managerial class" (according to James Burnham) or a "bureaucratic collectivist class" (according to Max Schachtman).

This led to the idea that under Stalinism Russia was not even a degenerate workers' state, but merely a new variant of capitalism, so-called "state capitalism". In other words, according to these critics of Trotsky, nothing remained of the October revolution and the basic tasks of the social revolution still have to be carried out.

Developments themselves have clearly refuted these ideas. The former champions of the theory of "state capitalism" are noticeably silent today.

There are certainly acute economic problems and growing political conflicts in the Stalinist states: but they are of a fundamentally different character from those in the capitalist countries. There has been no "convergence" of totalitarian monopoly capitalism and totalitarian "state capitalism" as postulated by Burnham, Schachtman, and others.

Ironically, in the post-war period, Trotsky's ideas came to be questioned from an entirely opposite standpoint. Quasi-Marxists, like Trotsky's biographer, Isaac Deutscher, advanced the view after Stalin's death that with Khrushchev's 'liberalisation' there would be a process of 'de-stalinisation', with the gradual restoration of democracy.

In other words, the political revolution advocated by Trotsky was no longer necessary; the bureaucracy would be reformed out of existence. . . .

Events themselves have demonstrated how false this idea was.

The Hungarian workers' rising of 1956 was—and remains—an unmistakable harbinger of the political revolution predicted by Trotsky. The soviets established in the space of a few days by the Hungarian workers returned virtually point by point to the programme of the political revolution advanced by Trotsky.

After 1956, the bureaucracy in Russia and Eastern Europe undoubtedly attempted to remove some of the more oppressive features of Stalin's rule and partially meet the economic demands of the workers in order to dampen political opposition.

But have not the events in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the oppositional movements elsewhere in the Stalinist states confirmed Trotsky's perspectives? Among the dissident intellectuals, some like the Medvedev brothers, have undoubtedly been influenced by Trotsky's writings and have been groping in a confused way towards his revolutionary conclusions.

But wherever there has been a movement of the workers, as in Poland, they have stood clearly in defence of all the social gains achieved under Stalinism, albeit in a grotesquely distorted way, and advanced exactly the same demands for the establishing of workers' democracy originally put forward by the

Left Opposition.

On the hundredth anniversary of Trotsky's birth—and thirty-nine years after his assassination—the Kremlin bureaucrats still contemplate with fear and dread the wider dissemination of Trotsky's ideas, which have undoubtedly experienced a re-birth in the underground opposition circles which certainly exist among the advanced workers of Russia and Eastern Europe.

Trotsky's ideas are again being brought to the fore because the relatively progressive role played by the bureaucracy while the nationalised, planned economy was still able to develop Russia, is now completely played out. The bureaucracy is now an absolute fetter on further progress.

The vast, highly educated, highly cultured working class that has developed even under Stalinism is straining at its chains. It is only a matter of time before the workers move to throw the parasitic bureaucracy off their backs.

The bureaucracy's undiminished fear of Trotsky's ideas and the instinctive way in which the active opponents of Stalinism strive to re-discover and grasp them are the finest tribute history could bestow on Trotsky.

For today's Marxists, Trotsky's books and articles of the 1930s and 1940s, writings which could only have resulted from his involvement in the struggles of those years, are an indispensable guide to present-day understanding and action.

Trotsky's analysis of Stalinism retains all its validity today. The theory of 'proletarian bonapartism', together with the theory of 'permanent revolution', provide the only key to understanding the Stalinist states, of Eastern Europe, China, Cuba and a number of other countries.

And Trotsky's writings on the strategy and tactics of socialist revolution produced in his last years remain a Marxist's goldmine.

Frequently, Trotsky's critics have scornfully pointed to the fact that his perspectives for the second world war and its aftermath were not borne out. The war, he predicted, would be followed by revolutionary upheavals which would decide the fate of Stalinism and capitalism, with either successful social revolution in the west and political revolution in Russia—or a barbarous capitalist counter-

revolution, East and West.

Trotsky was not at all wrong in so far as the war was followed by massive revolutionary upheavals. What he did not foresee—and could not have predicted—was the relative strengthening of Stalinism.

The Stalinist and reformist leaders of the workers' movement together derailed the post-war movements and handed the shattered states and economies of Italy, France, Greece and other countries back to the capitalist powers on a plate—thus laying the political foundation for a new period of prolonged capitalist upswing and relative stability.

But the world recession of 1974/75 signalled the end of the long post-war boom. The working class of the advanced capitalist countries, whom Trotsky always regarded as the key to the socialist revolution, are again moving into action against capitalism, especially in Spain, Portugal, Italy, and Britain. Tomorrow, it will be France, Germany—and America.

Meanwhile, the struggles of the oppressed people of the ex-colonial world, which continued in spite of the post-war boom, is beginning to take on an even greater intensity. And these movements will go together with the coming upheavals in Russia and Eastern Europe, and interact with them.

Who will say, now, that Trotsky's optimism, even though expressed in a period of the blackest reaction, was just a 'tragic illusion'?

"The experience of my life," Trotsky told the Dewey Commission set up to refute Stalin's monstrous purges, "in which there has been no lack of either success or failure, has not only not destroyed my faith in the clear bright future of mankind, but, on the contrary, has given it an indestructible temper. This faith in reason, in truth, in human solidarity, which at the age of eighteen I took with me into the workers' quarters of the provincial Russian town of Nikolayev—this faith I have preserved fully and completely. It has become more mature but no less ardent."

Later, when Stalin's assassin was already poised to strike at his opponent's skull, Trotsky wrote his testament re-affirming his revolutionary optimism.

Whatever may be the circumstances of my death. I shall die with unshaken faith in the Communist future. This faith in man and his future gives me even now such power of resistance as cannot be given by any religion...I can see the bright green strip of grass beneath the wall and clear blue sky above the wall, and sunlight everywhere. Life is beautiful. Let the future generations cleanse it of all evil, oppression and violence, and enjoy it to the full.



Trotsky: His writings are indispensable.



AMERICA

JOE HILL... "I never died, said he"

"Don't mourn—organise." With these words sixty four years ago on 19th November 1915 the American socialist, Joe Hill, faced the firing squad, having been condemned to death on a framed murder charge.

The bosses thought that they had extinguished Joe Hill's impact for ever. They have never been more wrong.

Hill's songs and example remained to inspire the American and international labour movement.

By Mike Sheaff
(Plymouth Devonport LPYS)

"There is pow'r, there is pow'r, In a band of workingmen," sang 6,000 Californian dockers out on strike 8 years after Hill was murdered.

Others of Hill's songs, for instance on the scab 'Casey Jones', have become part and parcel of workers' folklore. His attack on religious fanatics always preaching to workers from the outside is still popular:

"You will eat, bye and bye, When you've learned how to cook and to fry, Chop wood, 'twill do you good"

In the 'Ballad of Joe Hill' written after his murder, it is truly said; "Where workingmen defend their rights, that's where you'll find Joe Hill."

Born in Sweden 100 years ago, Joe Hill (Hillstrom) came to America at the age of 19. He worked in a variety of jobs and became active in the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW).

He became an organiser for the IWW, and started to write songs which helped to act as a mobilising force for workers in struggle. The bosses were not going to let it last.

On January 10th 1914 two men burst into a grocery store, shooting and killing the owner and his elder son, leaving his ten year old son as the only witness. It occurred after a period of activity in Utah by the IWW.

A number of suspects were arrested, all released within a few days except Joe Hill, whose preliminary hearing opened on January 22nd 1914.

An indication of the attitude of the judiciary to Hill is provided by an episode during

this hearing, in the questioning of a witness, Mrs Seeley, who saw two men near the scene of the murder.

She described the man as having "light bushy hair", to which the magistrate prompted: "You mean medium coloured hair like Mr Hillstrom's don't you?" Not surprisingly this impartial magistrate decided there was sufficient evidence for Hill to face trial on the charge.

The case for the prosecution could provide no motive, other than that Joe Hill preached a creed of social revolution, which was interpreted in their terms to include individual murder.

Smear tactics of this type have to this day been used against socialists and Marxists in an attempt to defile the programme of socialism, and in this case further demonstrated the political nature of the trial. The authorities hoped, not only to rid themselves of Joe Hill, but in doing so to denigrate the IWW in the eyes of the workers. But the trial rebounded in their face.

On June 27th 1914 Joe Hill was found guilty of murder in the first degree, and on July 8th was sentenced to death.

Protests flooded in; from a meeting of 500 workers in Tacoma, Washington, from the Tonapah Miners' Union, and non-IWW members as well.

A meeting in London held by the British IWW joined the protest. A mass meeting of 30,000 trade unionists in Australia demanded "the instant release of our fellow worker, Joe Hill..."

Attempts at a re-trial were rejected, and preparations for the execution in November 1915 went ahead. An IWW member speaking at a street meeting in Salt Lake City was shot dead by a policeman for



JOE HILLSTROM Protest Meeting!

L. W. W. HALL, 208 2d Ave., Sp.

Before the Board of Pardon, he said: "I don't want a pardon, or a commutation, I want a new trial or nothing. If my life will help some other workman to a fair trial, I am ready to give it. If by living my life I can aid others to the fairness denied me, I have not lived in vain."

Q To the press he wrote: "I am going to have a new trial or die trying. I have lived like an Arab and I shall die like an Arab."

Q "I am without the slightest hesitation that the trial which resulted in Hillstrom's conviction was the most unjust, wicked and brutal travesty on justice that has ever occurred in the west. To an impartial Board of Pardon I can only demonstrate with fact without any argument, why the result is required to void the verdict over him."

JOSEPH HILLSTROM
L. W. W. HALL, 208 2d Ave., Sp.

Sunday, Nov. 14th (8:00 P.M.)

Leaflet announcing a meeting to protest the impending execution of Joe Hill

hurling "insulting remarks" at him.

Seemingly no action was taken against the policeman. The day before his execution Joe Hill told a representative from his Defence Committee, "Tell the fellow workers for me to waste no time in mourning, but to organise our class and march to victory."

Although the bosses were able to kill Joe Hill they could not suppress his ideas. The local evening paper reported the funeral procession passed through streets crowded with mourners. The Utah Copper Company on the other hand was overjoyed, and publicly commended the local government for his firm treatment of the case.

The case of Joe Hill is not an isolated one. Five years after his death two anarchists Sacco and Vanzetti, in America, were arrested on trumped up charges, and executed seven years later.

Two years ago, after half a century they were granted a posthumous pardon, too late by fifty years to save their lives, but not too late to bring home the way in which the legal system can, and has,

been used.

As Sacco said at his trial, "I know the sentence will be between two classes, and there will be always collision between one and the other..."

"That is why I am here today in this bench, for having been of the oppressed class. Well, you are the oppressor."

Now on the anniversary of Joe Hill's legalised murder we can remember that the fight for socialism is not only about constructing an economically fair society, but also about the struggle for justice. Justice for those deprived of the wealth they have created and the present so-called justice used against those who fight in their interest.

Justice for those deprived of the wealth they have created and not the present so-called justice used against those who fight in their interest.

Recall the words of Joe Hill; not to mourn, "but to organise our class and march to victory."

MEANY RETIRES AS HEAD OF AMERICAN LABOUR

George Meany



The eighty-five year old American trade union leader, George Meany retires at last this month.

Having clung to the leadership of the AFL-CIO, the American equivalent of the TUC, for nearly 25 years, Meany's health has finally deteriorated and so forced him to announce his resignation.

The US trade union movement has also been getting sick under Meany's leadership and it is just as well that Meany has lasted no longer, because particularly in recent years he and his cronies have steadily been squeezing to the death the organisational strength of the unions.

By Bob McKee

(Battersea Labour Party)

When Meany took over as leaders during the merger of the American Federation of Labour with the Congress of Industrial Organisations, the new organisation represented one in three of all American industrial workers.

Under Meany's leadership the AFL-CIO, while it has 14 million members, now only constitutes 20% of the potential union membership in the USA.

Starting as a union official for the plumbers in 1922, Meany was always based on the narrow prejudices of the 'labour aristocrats' of the American working class—the craft-based unions of the AFL.

He continuously opposed the expansion of the AFL-CIO into organising the mass unskilled sections of non-union workers. Employers took advantage of this by building up factories in the unorganised South.

Meany's policy was to go for Tamany-Hall type deals with successive Democratic or Republican Presidents, where in agreeing

not to mobilise his members or expand union influence, Presidents would agree to small concessions on pay or conditions for his craft unions.

However, with the growing economic crisis in the US even this policy began to founder. The AFL-CIO leadership found itself agreeing to successive wage restraint policies while US Presidents reneged on their promises.

In the latest example, Carter has refused to introduce legislation to make it easier for unions to win ballots over representation in factories in the South or to safeguard the closed shop where unions have won that right.

Meany coupled his committee-type unionism with reactionary political views—a strong hawk on Vietnam, Korea, etc, he was a rabid anti-communist, a title he used for anybody with vaguest objectives for the reform of US society.

Meany is not solely responsible for the decline of American trade unionism—at least he had some claim to an experience of a working-class New York 'Bronx' background.

He gives way to Lane Kirkland, his mentor, who also represents the breed of bureaucrats who control the US labour movement. A former Meany speech-writer and lawyer, he is a 'technocrat' with not one iota of experience on the shop floor or even office for that matter.

However, despite the apparently smooth hand-over to Kirkland, he is less likely to have an easy time.

With US inflation running at a post war record high of nearly 14% and a fall in real incomes of over 4% recorded last year, the American working-class is already expressing its active disgruntlement.

In the recent past unions such as the miners and rubber-workers have shown that they will not abide with the 'sweetheart' contracts negotiated by the AFL-CIO leadership.

Big unions outside the AFL-CIO such as the auto-workers may return to the fold now that Meany has gone so that the leadership at the top reflects, at least limitedly, the movement below.

SRI LANKA TURKEY PORTUGAL

The capitalist UNP government of President JR Jayawardene continues its vicious repression of trade unions and national minorities.

In the Tamil areas AS Moorthy General Secretary of the Federation of Tamil Trade Unions was taken into custody on 12th September by the police while he was at work in the Port Cargo Corporation. Thereafter he was removed to Jaffna by the army and is said to be held in the Jaffna Prison without trial.

The attack on the trade unions continues.

The Essential Public Services Bill was passed after a 15-hour debate in Parliament, on the 2nd of October. On the same day Parliament approved the renewal of the Emergency in the Administrative District of Jaffna.

The Essential Public Services Act will enable any service specified in a Schedule to the Act to be declared essential by the government. This covers services performed by government departments, corporations, local authorities and co-operatives.

They are in general the supply and distribution of food, water, power, sewer-

SRI LANKA



Trade unionists marching in defence of their rights last year

UNITED FRONT OF LEFT PARTIES FORMED TO FIGHT REPRESSION

By Oswin Fernandes
(Secretary, United Federation of Labour)

sanitary, postal, telephone, telegraphic and broadcasting services.

Once such a service is declared essential any employee who fails to attend work is guilty of an offence. Further any person who 'incites, induces or encourages' another to refrain from attending work is guilty of an offence.

The minimum sentence a Magistrate can impose under the Act is two years rigorous imprisonment

and a fine of Rs. 2,000/-, the maximum being five years rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 5,000/-.

In addition the court may impose one or both of the following orders:

a) that all property moveable or immovable of the person convicted shall be forfeited to the Republic.
b) in any case where the person convicted is registered in any register maintained under any written law as entitling such person to practice any profession or vocation that

the name of such person be removed from such Register.

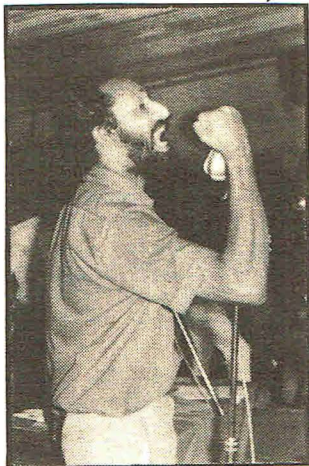
On 2nd of October the day on which this draconian Bill was debated in Parliament five left political parties which had hitherto been disagreeing with each other met for the first time in a mammoth meeting in Colombo. Vasudeva Nanayakkara who spoke at an LSSP [New Leadership] London meeting on 17 August on the fight against repression in Sri Lanka was one of the five speakers at this meeting.

The five political parties have agreed to launch a joint campaign of struggle to compel the capitalist government:

[1] to withdraw forthwith the Essential Public Services Act which seeks to tie the working class hand and foot;

[2] to repeal the so-called 'Prevention of Terrorism' Act immediately;

[3] to revoke the Emergency and military control in the Jaffna district and to respect the basic democratic rights of the people of that district.



Vasudeva Nanayakkara

age and fuel and public transport, medical and

TURKEY STUCK IN IMF MIRE

After two years of desperate economic crisis and mounting political violence Bulent Ecevit's Republican People's Party government in Turkey has finally fallen.

Faced with the worst economic difficulties in Turkey's modern history and under enormous pressure from international high finance, the 'social democratic' government's working class support has slumped following the ruthless austerity measures imposed by the dictate of big business.

Ecevit's attempt to steer a middle course between the growing forces of reaction in this weak capitalist country and the workers' desire for socialism has ended in a deterioration of the problems and defeat.

Far from solving the economic mess caused by a huge balance of payments deficit, lack of foreign currency and production running at 50% capacity, the failure to take over the economy and introduce a socialist plan of production has seen unemployment go above 20%, inflation over 100% and a drastic shortage of basic necessities of life, that has worsened the misery of the

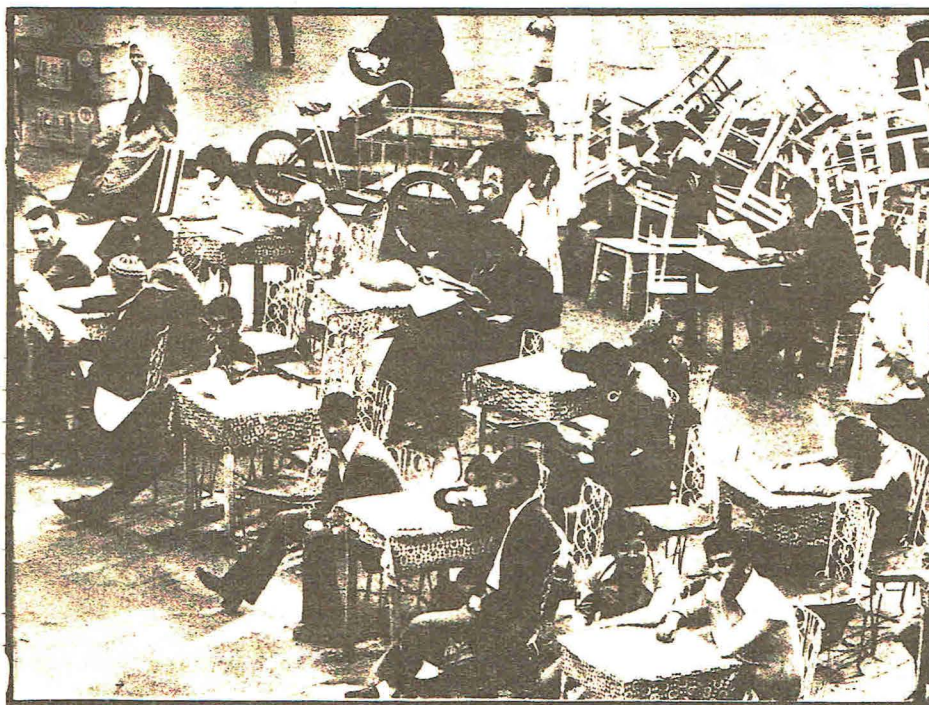
By Brent Kennedy

masses.

The imposition of martial law in 19 provinces, the reliance on the right-wing infiltrated police to keep 'law and order' and the disarming of workers' self-defence groups has resulted not in social peace and the defence of democratic rights but in a spread of reactionary terrorism, pogroms and political murders totalling almost 2,000 in two years.

As a result, the RPP's share of the vote slumped from 41% in the 1977 general election to only 28% in the 'mini election' held this month. Demirel's right-wing misnamed Justice Party benefitted from the disappointment among the RPP voters by increasing its vote from 36% to 47%.

Demirel is now engaged in Byzantine manoeuvres with the smaller right parties in an attempt to replace the Ecevit



Over one in five of Turkey's 'workforce' is unemployed

government. This tactic is not without its problems, however, as the Western bankers and imperialist powers who hold Turkey's purse strings are not happy about the anti-western Islamic fundamentalism of the National Salvation Party and the political violence caused by the 'Grey Wolves', fascist gangs of the National Action Party.

The RPP remains the largest single party in the National Assembly. At its

emergency conference on November 4th-5th, the RPP must formulate a socialist programme of action to meet the crisis.

In this period of acute economic and political tension the prospect of the army taking over through a military coup has been raised. The generals have already tried this twice already in the last 20 years, but today they are faced with an organised working class that is bigger and stronger than ever before.

Rule by Demirel, Ecevit and the army have all failed to raise Turkey out of the mire of backwardness and foreign domination.

The only cure for her economic ills and the only way to prevent another bloody crushing of workers' rights by military rule is the formation of armed workers' defence groups by the trade unions and the mobilisation of the workers and peasants for a socialist transformation of society.

DEFENDING THE GAINS OF THE PORTUGUESE REVOLUTION

In a tremendous demonstration in defence of the gains of the Portuguese revolution since 1974, 100,000 workers took to the streets on 29th and 30th September.

They marched in protest against the National Guard's murder of two peasants, who had opposed the return of the land to the former owner of the estate.

The attempts to reverse the collectivisation of land in the Alentejo have aroused considerable opposition.

As the election of the 2nd of December approaches, the Portuguese Socialist Party claim it is necessary to have a 'moderate' approach to fight the conservatives. The reactionary press are howling for a bosses' government based on the so-called 'Democratic Alliance' (an alliance of four right-wing parties).

It is vital that the socialist and labour movement in Portugal combats this threat with a thorough, fighting socialist programme to throw back the bosses' offensive.

By Jorge Santos and José Pedro Moreira Freire (in Portugal)

LETTERS

Send your views and comments on the issues that affect you to 'Militant', 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN.

Moderately Democratic?

Dear Comrades

The following article appeared in the 'Sunday Post' which is printed in Scotland and is owned by DC Thompson & Co, the well known anti-union publishers. The headline was 'Watch for sparks'.

"The battle in the Labour Party hots up. I hear a Shadow Cabinet meeting outlines the campaign to beat off the threat from the left. Many moderate union leaders are now deeply concerned at the way Brighton went.

"One Scots Labour MP told me he has been asked to let him know as soon as he hears of any Labour MP in trouble over re-selection. At the first sign of a move from the left to oust a sitting man, 'flying squads' of moderates will be moved in to strengthen his position.

"The moderates have seen the strength of the opposition. They realise they can only beat it by being strong themselves. Watch for more sparks".

I'm sure that if the 'Sunday Post' had been making such allegations against so-called 'Left wing infiltrators' this Tory paper would have flung up its hands in horror at a total lack of democracy.

Yours fraternally
An LPYS member

Next Labour Government must be different

Dear Comrades,

Last week during a rare discussion with my employer, the question of politics was raised. Needless to say he is a great supporter of Thatcher and her policies. He also expressed his admiration for Ian Smith.

All of which is not unusual and did not surprise me. However what did shock and surprise me was his next statement.

He said [I quote] "I always Vote Conservative but I usually make more money with Labour in power". Surely this only goes to prove the failure of successive Labour governments to implement Socialist policies.

Hopefully, the next Labour government will learn from the mistakes of the last and not try to prop up the decaying capitalist system.

They must realise they are there to protect the working class people of this country, and not to increase the profits of the bosses at the workers' expense.

Yours faithfully,
G. Smith
[Keighley CLP]

Laying in stocks for a long hard winter

Dear Comrades,

A response of workers to the Tory conference was shown at my union meeting the following Friday.

The attack on the unions was the major topic on the minds of the branch members. It was already felt that we were going to have to defend ourselves, and our rights by the past experience of this government.

The conference was the final straw. As the secretary put it, "after watching that woman on the news it made my mind

up".

Everyone agreed and we passed a motion to buy the branch loud hailer equipment for the winter, for the marches, demonstrations, the strikes, lockouts, the mass meetings etc. that we will be facing as a result of the Tories policies.

I think that we won't be the only union branch to come to this conclusion.

Your Fraternally
Steve Glennon
(Stevenage NSMM personal capacity)

Churchill— Not the real thing

Dear Comrades,

I am sure many viewers of BBC watched with at least some amazement an edition of 'Nationwide' several weeks ago.

This programme certainly stunned me when they announced that they had an interview on film with the 'actor' who gave the famous Churchillian speech.... "we will fight them on the beaches" etc etc in the politician's absence.

There I sat glued to the screen listening and watching this old man giving a vivid account of how he gave this speech and indeed gave an on the spot demonstration.

The actor stated that 'Churchill's' speech was not even written by him let alone spoken by him!

Coincidentally, I happened across a quotation from Leon Trotsky (written by himself I'm sure)

Trotsky, writing on the decline of British Imperialism and specifically about Churchill states.... "Churchill does not rank among those politicians whose words should be taken for the genuine article". Well that just about says it all!

Yours Fraternally
David Churchley
(Cathcart CLP)

Pennies for the Tory guy

Dear Comrades,

A concrete indication of the Anti-Tory feeling present amongst vast layers of society was the response I got with my collecting tin, on the London LPYS March Against the Tories on 20 October.

Among others I was running alongside the body of the march, with the massive spread of red banners and placards, the slogans echoing around the street, it was extremely easy to stop people for a donation.

Asking for a contribution to the cost of the march [leaflets, posters] or simply asking for a couple of bob to "get Thatcher out" or even worse.... "a penny for Ma-Guy" I managed to collect £11!

The first donation I got was a straight £1 from a Sikh at Shepherds Bush.... "lucky for you I haven't got any change!"

To show how seriously we were taken pensioners and small children were putting in anything they could afford - 2ps, 10ps or a handful of coppers.

Families standing in their front doors would put in 10p per person. Dodging into shops on the route the cashiers or shop-keepers would open up the till and dip in for 30p. Even a chip-shop owner chipped in!

Obviously the Tories' tax cuts have left people with just enough spare cash to donate towards a speedy end to Tory Vandalism!

The lesson is that in future days of action, canvassing etc. a collecting tin is an essential requirement to tap the cash waiting to come our way!

Fraternally,
Martin Craxton
[Hayes & Harlington LPYS]

Thatcher pushes workers to socialism

Dear Comrades

Having been introduced to politics, especially the ideas of 'Militant' some seven months ago, I have already experienced events which have begun to make our ideas echo in the working class as a whole.

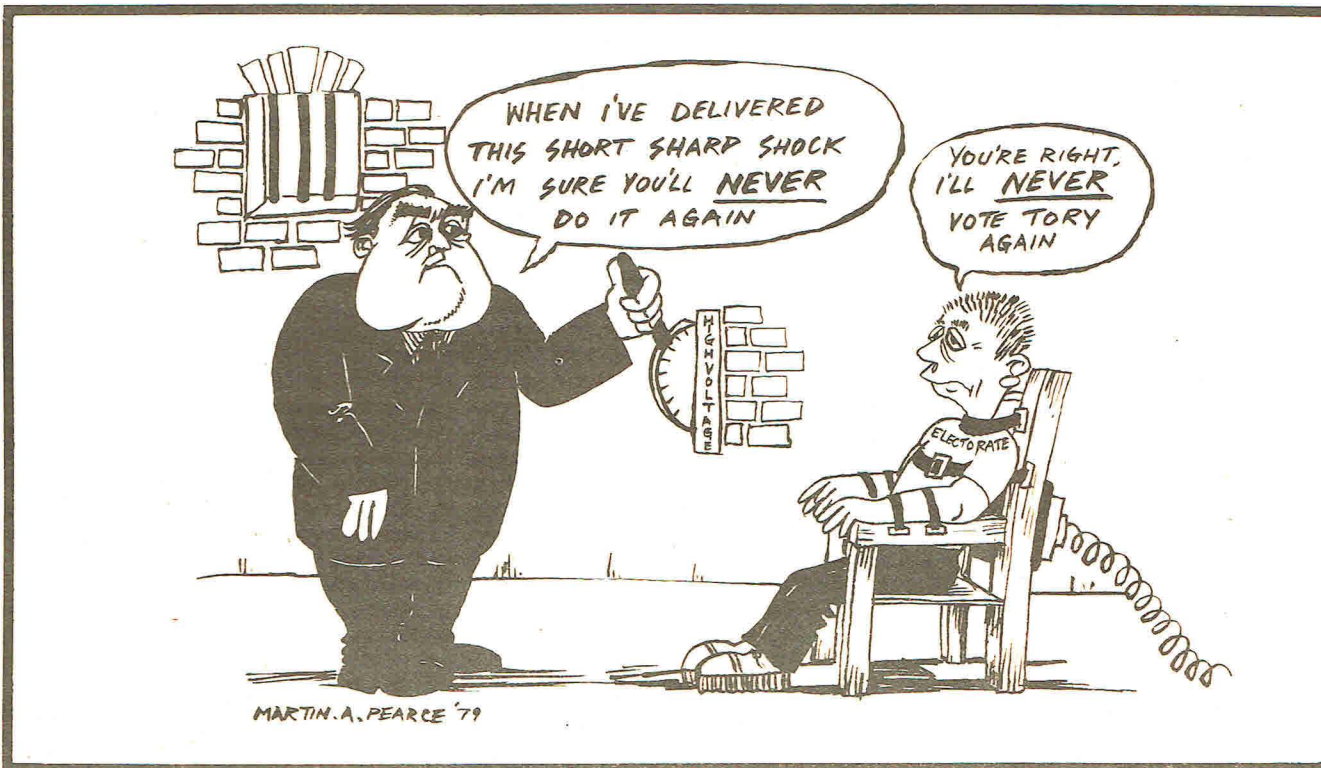
Being enthusiastic about these ideas I transmitted the ideas of socialism to my friends, and people at work. It seems young people are supposed to be only interested in dancing, drinking and sport (not that I'm not). So people saw me as a crank and unusual, and people treated my arguments with hostility. Even young work-mates saw me as a political leper.

As soon as a steward's position became vacant I readily filled that spot. Management could not shake my convictions when they tried to threaten me with jeopardising my future position within the company. Although I do admit I did feel isolated and even disillusioned at times because I seemed to be swimming against the tide.

The Thatcher government has begun to change all that, mainly because I have explained what would happen if she did implement Tory policies. My workmates and friends now listen to me more readily and are aware of the situation.

All this has happened in seven months. I've made a few gains, learnt from past mistakes, even fallen on my face a couple of times. But without offering the ideas of socialism to my fellow workers, I feel I would not have made any advances.

Best Wishes
Peter Gunn
Chairman Salford LPYS



Cartoon sent in by Martin Pearce

Short of money— shocking conditions.... a sharp lesson

Dear Comrades,

The 'Rt. Hon.' Mr. Whitelaw proposes to set up detention centres where youth would get short, sharp sentences to teach them the virtues of discipline.

Perhaps Mr Whitelaw would like to visit my home town of Kirkby near Liverpool, a place with hardly any decent facilities for working class youth. While he is there perhaps he would like a tour of my old "youth clubs"—we had quite a few.

Upon arriving home from school we would eat our tea then make for the street corner where we would play football. The problem with this "youth club" was that it closed at 7.30pm when mothers put their children to bed.

From there we would usually advance to the local shops. Absolutely nothing to do here except make a lot of noise once more. Here again this 'club' closed early as the chip-shop owner would get annoyed and move us on.

Now we were left to roam the streets until we had to go home. Sometimes we would go into one another's houses to have a cup of tea, but as we all had younger brothers and sisters in bed we couldn't play records or talk very loud.

This sort of routine was repeated every night for years on end and Mr Whitelaw can't understand why youth resort to vandalism!

Mr Whitelaw may well put some teenagers in his detention centres, but these very

youth will, in the near future, rise up and destroy the system which breeds vandalism.

Then working class youth will set up and run their own "detention" centres, fill them with table tennis tables, football pitches and other such necessary things; things that Whitelaw's decrepit profit system cannot and will not supply.

Yours Fraternally,
Ray Physick
(Durham CLP)

Where have all the profits gone?

Dear Comrades,

Some people say wage rises cause inflation. This is in my opinion a fallacy.

Look at the following figures, showing rises in prices, wages, dividends etc. for August 1978—August 1979.

Retail Prices were up 15.8%
Wholesale Prices up 14.3%
Weekly wage rates up 11.8%
Industry's expenditure up 0.8%
Dividend yields up 18.8%

It can be seen that retail prices are rising much faster than wages and wholesale prices. Where have all the profits gone?

Not in re-investment, (which is forecast to actually decrease in 1980) shown by the Industry's Expenditure figure, but into the pockets of the shareholders.

This shows that the real strikers, 'ruining the country' are the capitalists who are carrying out a strike of capital and not workers whose living-standards have been severely reduced.

Your Fraternally
Brian Lewis

INCREASE OUR WEALTH!

The 1975 Royal Commission on Distribution of Income and Wealth reported that the richest 10% of the population owned over two thirds of all Britain's wealth.

On the other hand, there was no real evidence that half the adult population own any wealth at all!

It is fairly obvious into which half the readership of a workers paper will fall. The rich may leave some money [for conscience or tax reasons] to Battersea Dogs Home on their death but not to 'Militant'. But we are pleased to say that one reader who received a small inheritance very kindly has given £200 to the Fighting Fund.

This has boosted the week's total to £1,706.46, another improvement. But we can not rely on inheritances to swell our income every week.

The pounds and the pennies which workers can spare from their meagre incomes are our bread and butter. They are necessary sacrifices to build the fighting capacity of our paper as a weapon in the fight to change society.

Tax rebates donated this week included £30 from a Tyneside reader, £22.40 from Dorset and £20 from Dundee reader. A Brighton student gave £20 and, in fact, just seven students in that town gave a total of £76 between them!

That sort of approach has resulted in the South East line on our chart being well in front. We've also had £15 from a Nottingham student and a tenner from a Birmingham reader. Two miners in

By Steve Cawley

Maesteg, Wales, sent £10 and £5.

£11.50 came with a letter from C. Onions in Bootle LPYS, announcing a Christmas card and gift catalogue being run for the fighting fund! This is the sort of initiative we welcome.

Other contributors of over £2 this week included G Ivers (UCATT, Dundee), J Fitzmaurice (Merseyside student), K Mahoney (Bristol LPYS), M. Wilson (GMWU, Liverpool), M Chesney (Birmingham) and B Barker (Bradford West CLP). Thanks to the following for £2s B Narey and E Hill (Yorkshire), J O'Brien (Bristol), S Johnstone (Lowestoft), the Wobeyes (London) and E Frith (Stoke).

M Starr sent £1.70, F Perkins £1, and M Schofield and L Haley donated the change from £1 for their Militants. A number of postal subscribers 'round up' their cheques, postal orders etc and over the year this produces a tidy sum. Thanks this week to A Simpson (Cambridge) for

Build

Area	Received
Eastern	4,700
Hants & IOW	3,100
Humberside	2,000
London North	9,500
London South	3,900
Manchester & Dist	4,500
Merseyside	5,000
Midlands East	3,300
Midlands West	9,000
Northern	5,500
Scotland East	2,900
Scotland West	4,500
South East	4,500
South West	3,100
Wales East	2,600
Wales West	3,400
Yorkshire	6,800
Others	6,700
Total	56,923

TARGET FOR THE YEAR - £85,000

the 65p 'extras' he sent with his £3.50.

Various groups of readers in workplaces or trade union branches have once again put their hands in their pockets to help Militant. Six brothers in TGWU 5/826 Branch (Birmingham) each sent us £1, and a collection amongst AUEW members at Alan Smith Group (Nottingham) raised £14, (including C Lakin £3.50).

Civil servants dug most deeply; collections CPSA NEC members came to £50, DHSS SEC members B Fuge, K McHugh, S Richardson and K Roddy £20, and the CAA GEC topped £61 with contributions from R Wilson, F Bonner, A Nicholson, C Rogers, S Walker, B Rogers, J Campbell and B Waller.

Readers of Militant were obviously enthused by the reports of Labour Party conference given at various meetings up and down the country. After expenses, collections made £16 in Basingstoke, £67.66 in Tyneside, £24.78 Sheffield, £2.10 Nottingham, and £11.71 in Hackney. A successful Militant Day School at Wisbech

(Fenland) produced £15.

Labour Party Young Socialists branches in Tranent (near Edinburgh) and Sheffield sent us donations—for which many thanks. Students in London and Aberystwyth collected nearly £9 after meetings, and £2.50 was the result of a whip round at Ealing North CLP.

'Don't Blame Me' badges are still popular, and it looks as though they're going to be for the duration of the present Tory regime! £62.10 'profit' on them this week mainly from London but also from Yorkshire, Tyneside and Southampton.

About £40 came from socials, 'bed/breakfasts', food & drink, in London, Birmingham, Peterborough, and the Isle of Wight. Rotherham supporters claim to have spotted a 'socialist fleet-footed horse' and sent us £6 'earnings'! Another £24 on fund-raisers like pontoon cards was posted to us, mainly from Birmingham.

A 'fiver' from Newcastle from the winner of a leek show clearly resulted from a meticulous approach to fund-raising! Southampton sup-

THIS WEEK

£1,706

porters did a sponsored walk. A fridge was sold for the fighting fund in Birmingham and a carpet in Canterbury. Leeds 'posters', Bristol 'shaves' and money from giving lifts have all helped.

Over £25 'extras' (on sales of Militant) reached us in a week; remember how they can mount up. Don't hesitate to ask for the odd 5p on the price of the best paper in the labour movement!

With over £28,000 to go to reach the 1979 target, £2,800 on average has to come in

each of the next ten weeks. Ask everyone you know who reads Militant to give a donation every week, depending on what they can afford. In addition, every potential prize leek grower, Christmas Club organiser, good cook, etc, should put their skills to the best possible use to boost Militant's funds with the proceeds.

ads

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

MILITANT MEETINGS

CORB Y

Militant Public Meeting 'Steel Crisis—a socialist programme to save jobs'

Hear:

Terry Harrison (Boilermakers' union and Liverpool Trades Council)
Speakers from ROSAC and Labour Party Young Socialists National Committee

7.00pm Thursday 1 November
Strathclyde Hotel
Hanulton Street, Corby

SALFORD Militant Public Meeting 'The European Communist Parties'. Speaker: Margaret Crear (Royton & Heywood Labour Party). Sunday 4th November, 8.00 pm, at 3 Greenwood Avenue, Swinton, Salford

POOLE Militant Public Meeting 'Which Way for Labour after Conference—the fight against the Tories'. Speaker: Phil Frampton (ex-national chairman, LPYS). 7.45 pm, Thursday 8 November, at 'Retreat' hotel, Ashley Road, Parkstone, Poole. All welcome

LONDON Militant Public Meeting 'The Struggle for a Socialist United Ireland'. Hear: John Throne (Administrative Council, Irish Labour Party); Peter Hadden (Sec, N Ireland Labour & Trade Union Group). 7.30 pm, Wednesday 12 December, Waterloo Action Centre, Baylis Road, Waterloo

STRATHCLYDE Militant supporters' draw results, 20 October: 1st prize: 29 & 30, 29 & 9, 29 & 9. 2nd prize: 12 & 13, 12 & 23, 12 & 35. **27 October:** 1st prize: 39 & 2, 39 & 5, 39 & 29. 2nd prize: 4 & 21, 4 & 25, 21 & 25.

CLASSIFIED

GLOUCESTER LPYS Lobby and demonstration against the cuts. Speakers: Tony Williams (NUPE area official) and LPYS speakers. Wednesday 7 November. Congregate 9.30 am, Shire Hall Steps, Gloucester

SOUTHAMPTON LPYS Public Meeting Hear: Andy Bevan (Labour Party National Youth Officer) on 'How to fight the cuts'. 7.30 pm, 13 November, at Labour Party Rooms, Burgess Road, Southampton

GREENWICH Marxist Discussion Group. 'What is Trotskyism?'. 8 p.m. Thursday 15 November Greenwich Labour Party rooms, 32 Woolwich Rd, SE 10.

Steve Glennon's flat-warming party November 10th.

MILITANT IRISH MONTHLY

Price 10p November issue out now!
Articles on the Irish Labour Party, Women, Youth & Socialism, and the Catholic Church.
Order from Militant Irish Monthly, 75 Middle Abbey Street, Dublin.
6 issues £1.08 12 issues £2.16



Trotsky Centenary badges. 50: £6 + 40p p&p. 100: £10 + 80p p&p. Order from Anne Mulkeen, Flat 1, 133 Victoria Way, Charlton, London S.E.7. badge 20p + 10p post and packing. 10: £1.50 + 20p p&p.

GET YOUR OWN BANNER! FOR TRADE UNION; LABOUR PARTY OR LPYS BRANCH.

From £50
Contact: Stevenage Bannermakers.
Telephone: 0438 60313 or 0438 725135

Vauxhall : DIVISIVE OFFER WON'T STOP OUR STRUGGLE

After eight weeks on strike, AUEW members at Vauxhall's Ellesmere Port plant voted to accept the current pay offer.

The mass meeting of about 5,000 members was emotional. The voting was about two to one in favour of acceptance.

Many trade unionists are left bitter. With Christmas around the corner and no money coming in they feel that members were starved back to work. Only pressure from the Company and the media made them change their minds.

The management have told strikers that they must stay at home and wait for a recall to work. With some groups refusing to accept the offer, some workers may still be out at Christmas.

The Company offer is both divisive and unjust. It will only lead to stoppage after stoppage.

This has been a particularly bitter struggle. All the powers of the state: the police, Special Patrol Group and the media have been used against us.

The lesson to be learnt by the trade unions is simple. With a Tory government in power the bosses will feel confident to attack the unions and try to starve them into submission.

The struggle at the Ellesmere Port plants, however, will continue for a long time to come. The Transport and General Workers Union are still out and picketing the plant. All trade unionists

**By Tommy Baugh
(AUEW Vauxhall
Ellesmere Port)**

should respect the picket and fully support their fellow workers.

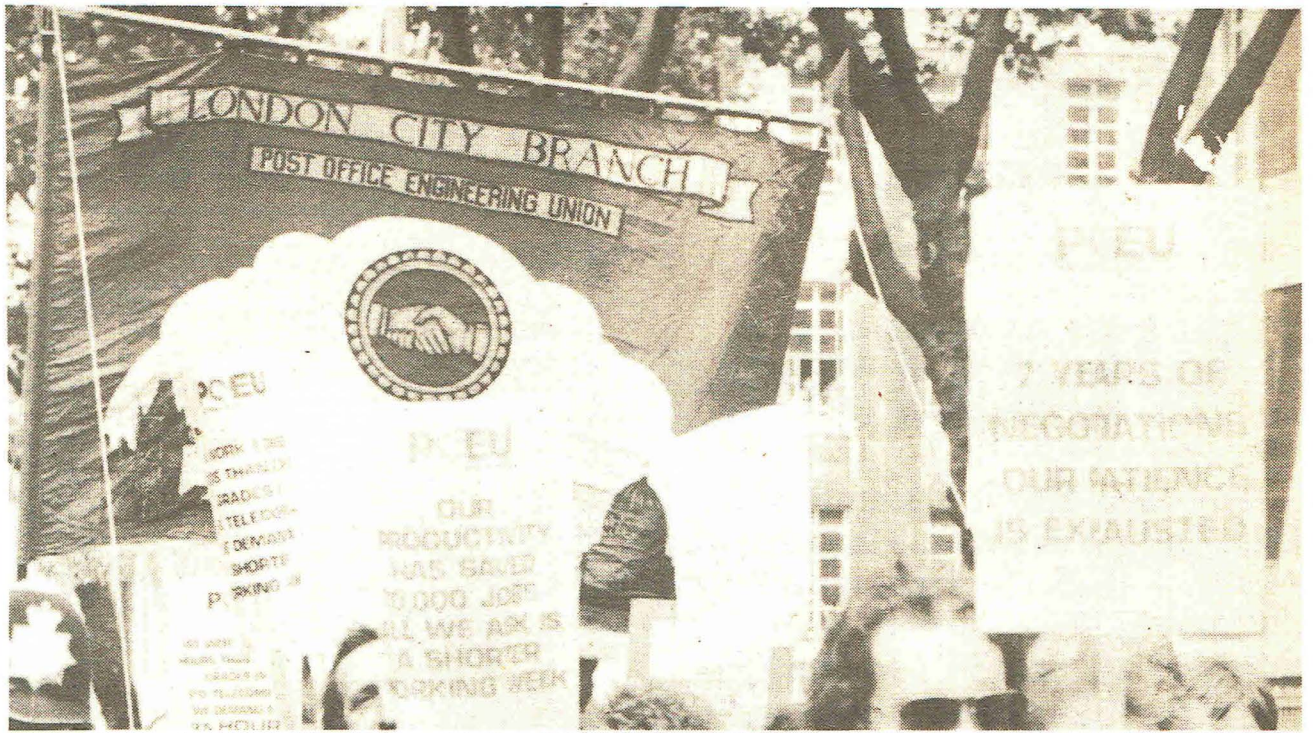
It is now essential that all trade unionists get together and form a united front against the bosses and the Tories. We cannot afford to be split. Active members must lead the way, joining the membership together in the fight for a living wage and a shorter working week. The Tories must be stopped.

If we are to get a fair deal we must fight and fight again. 'Labour to power on a socialist programme' must be the call of every trade unionist.

No matter how long the struggle or how big the obstacles, workers have no choice but to fight for a socialist society, with all the benefits that go with it.

**MILITANT PAMPHLET
'The 35-hour week and the fight
against unemployment'**

Price 20p plus 10p postage
from World Books, 1 Mentmore Terrace,
London E8 3PN



London City branch members of the POEU marching for a 35-hour week in July 1978, during the union's national campaign Photo: MILITANT

REUTERS: POEU LAY-OFFS

Reuters, the Post Office's biggest customer in London's City Area for private wires, informed the P.O. that they were moving their premises to Great Sutton Street in approximately two to three years' time.

Such was the amount of work involved that City area management came to the Post Office Engineering Union's London City Internal Branch on the 21st February 1979 and suggested that a specialised team be set up to handle this move. As their suggested plan was not in accord with nationally agreed procedures, we informed management that the branch could not agree to the setting up of this group.

Nevertheless we received a second letter saying that in spite of our objections management did not recognise

any agreements which prohibited them from setting up a specialised team. Once again we replied, pointing to the laid down agreements. As a result we received a letter on the 5th April, saying that management were not going to proceed with the specialised team, but asking us to agree to temporary posts to handle any failure of circuits: this we agreed to.

The branch heard no more until 27 June, when we were informed that despite the two additional posts they could not get sufficient circuit completions per month and were therefore going to set up a Reuters Project Team, located on the 2nd floor of Baynard House—a building incidentally, where a 'State of Disagreement' existed with management over accommodation standards and security.

The branch wrote back to the general manager, complaining of the methods used by management to set up this team and informing him that whilst we were prepared to discuss ways and means of full co-operation, we could not agree to the team being set up in contravention of the agreed procedures. Management replied that if they decided to use this accommodation for urgent reasons then they would use it.

In spite of further letters and meetings, management decided to implement their new unagreed procedures.

We instructed our members not to co-operate and although we had some scabs who volunteered, the result was that management sent home 11 men on the 2nd October 1979 without any pay and further men were

sent home on the 10th, 18th and 19th October 1979, making a total of 17. The branch put a picket line on the Reuters building at 85 Fleet Street which has been maintained up to date.

We are appealing to all POEU branches to help us financially in this fight against an employer who thinks that the way to get what he wants is by confrontation, not consultation.

There is one thing which we will not agree to and that is the breaking of the procedures on duty definitions. This could only lead to an eventual loss of jobs for our members.

By Jock Campbell
(Secretary POEU London
City Internal Branch)

Paddington NUR force management retreat

Martin Elvin (Stratford ASLEF) spoke to Paddington NUR members

The recent NUR dispute at Paddington station was a warning to British Rail management.

They will not get away with attempts to ride roughshod over railworkers, ignoring agreements and conditions already won, in order to force through cuts in jobs and increases in productivity.

There are important lessons to be learnt from the way that Paddington No. 1 Branch of the National Union of Railwaymen conducted the struggle against the arbitrary imposition of new rosters, cutting 56 jobs, displacement of staff and the run down of parcel facilities. Right from the start, convinced of the correctness of their stand in the face of management's indefensible actions, they proved that they were not going to be intimidated by the lock-out.

They pressurised the executive of the NUR to back their stand officially, and step up the dispute. This pressure was successful in forcing the NUR leadership into calling several 24-hour strikes involving all the membership at Padding-

ton and Old Oak Common, and very nearly led to a 24-hour strike at every mainline station in London.

It was this threatened action which forced the BRB to back down. All locked-out staff have returned to work under the previously agreed rosters, with four of the six weeks' lost earnings paid. However, this was only the basis of a ridiculous time-table for negotiation of the new rosters, without which management refused to pay more than two weeks' back pay.

The management, in agreeing to restore any lost earnings, are admitting that they were wrong. So why was this concession made?

Workers at Paddington feel justifiably bitter. Their demands for a return to the status quo, for full restoration of lost earnings and for proper time to negotiate new rosters were not fully achieved.

The blame for this must lie with the national leadership of the NUR. As one LDC representative pointed out "It is as though the NUR had the management on the floor, and held out a hand to help them up."

The Paddington NUR Branch have pointed out that they were in effect forced to accept a fait accompli. If the NEC had continued to escalate the action, they maintain, a 100% victory would have been achieved. The viciousness of BR management's intentions are shown by the new rosters now in operation. These mean a loss of 38 jobs and due to closure of the parcels offices on Sundays, forcing men to work nights, some for the first time in years. Saturday night work, loading newspapers, which was previously done on a voluntary basis, is now compulsory. The new rosters, an improvement on those originally proposed, are now being worked. But they are not really accepted, and more trouble could break yet. Management's plans were thwarted only by the courage and determination of the workers at Paddington, and through their skillful handling of the dispute. Management have been forced back, although they could have been routed. The lessons are clear. BR management will stoop to any desperate measures to implement their planned cuts and closures. The workers have shown their determination to resist these attacks. Railworkers at Paddington and nationally are being forced to recognise, however, that they have not got the national leadership they deserve. In the coming struggles we must forge a leadership, under the democratic control of the members, with the determination and understanding to lead workers forward.

Working in the Union

By Pete Skerret
(Chairman, Coventry
AUEW-JWC and
Coventry SW LPYS)

YOUTH CAN HAVE THEIR SAY IN THE AUEW

AUEW RULE BOOK; SECTION 4 [MEMBERSHIP] RULE 24. PAGE 61.

Quote: "free members of this section who are below the age of 21, shall be eligible to be selected or appointed annually to junior workers' committees [JWC] as approved by the executive council. Members of such committees may, subject to re-election or re-appointments, continue in membership until reaching the age of 24. The foregoing shall also apply to representatives elected to attend the annual conference of junior workers who must be in compliance therewith up to the opening day of the conference.

The annual conference shall elect representatives to attend national committee, the number to be 7 on the basis of one from each executive council division. Junior workers' committees shall be subject to the control of the district committee. Members of junior workers' committees shall be allowed to attend the district committee at the discretion of the district committee."

JWCs are the platform for AUEW youth just as the LPYS is the platform for youth in

the Labour Party. At national conference a lot of divisions are unrepresented because there is no active youth committee in that area. Because of the low attendance at national youth conference, the right wing in our union have taken up the argument for closing down the youth section.

Terence Duffy, our union president, has already warned at the last conference that he will be looking seriously at the attendance at next year's conference with a view of closing it down. It is up to the readers of this paper to look at the resources in their town or district, with a view to getting together five or six young workers in the AUEW and getting a committee going.

The building of an active JWC is going to mean a lot of hard work for those taking it on but it is very rewarding once off the ground. Once a committee has been set up and the members and officers prove themselves responsible and dedicated people, there is no reason why your district won't help you from there.

The first step, though, is up to you.

BL attack jobs at Longbridge : 'THEY THINK THEY CAN GRIND US INTO THE DUST'

By Richard Lewis
& Bob Geoghegan

(T&GWU Longbridge)

The Leyland management's offensive against the workforce has now been launched on every front.

Redundancies, manning levels, stamping on mutuality and imposing everything under the jackboot. At the same time they kick you in the teeth.

They can spend £1 million on a customers' cruise, but they can't afford to get the floor swept. The place is a hole.

They have steamrolled the blokes to vote yes in the ballot. They've been sending us a letter a day, telling us which way to vote.

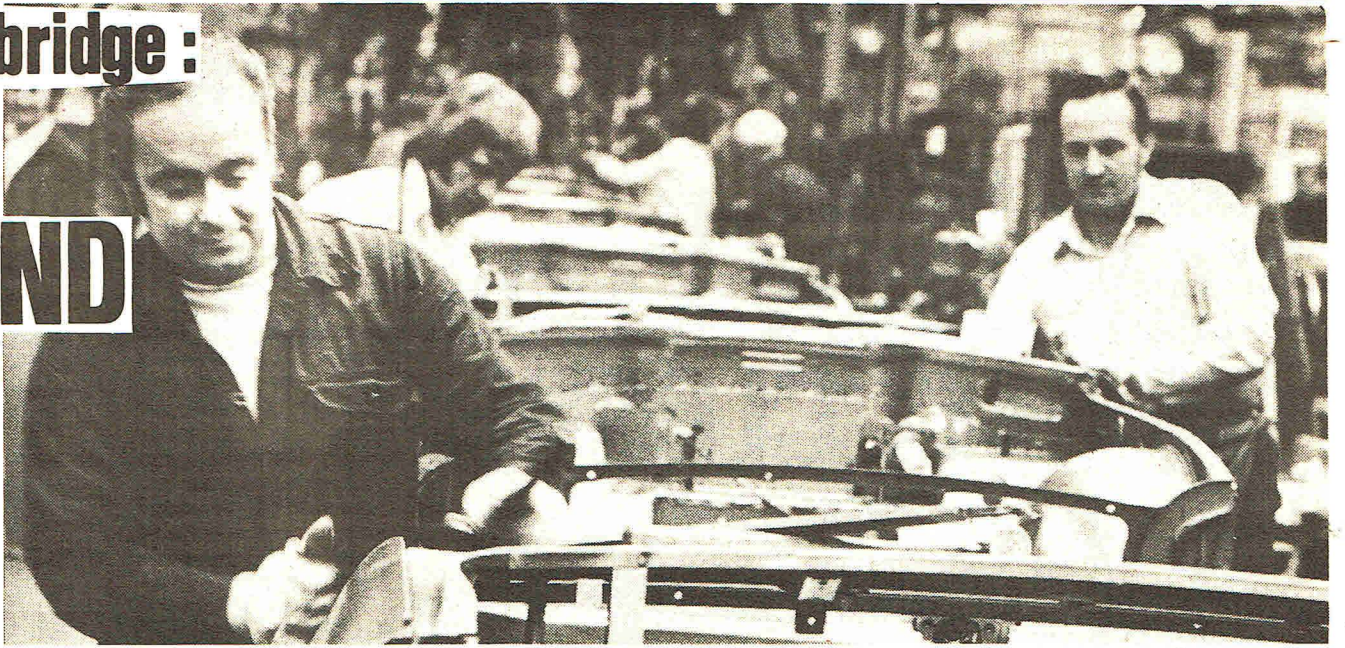
Edwardes had a front page article in the local 'Evening Mail', and even the Lucas management put adverts in

calling on us to vote 25,000 Leyland workers out of a job.

But the reason there's so much disarray is that the trade unions are split themselves. The T&GWU are saying one thing and the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions something else. The blokes didn't know where they stood.

How can you believe in the latest Edwardes plan? £320 million will be invested, and that's been scaled down from the original figure of £600 million. But only 20% will go on new machinery.

Although the new Mini Metro plant will be the most modern in Britain, with robots and the lot, even the



Workers at BL Speke, Liverpool—how secure are any Leyland jobs?

Photo: Angela Phillips (IFL) II bridge jobs for the chop.

robots will be out of date compared with what they are using in Italy for example.

The management have already scaled down the weekly production target for the Metro too, from 6,500 to 4,000, before they have actually started making it. That's self-defeating, because under 'the plan' the Metro is supposed to generate the cash to bring out the next new model, the LC 10, which we're told will be produced at Longbridge.

This year only £5 million is earmarked for the LC 10 so that if (or when) they scrap the car, they won't have lost much. But if there's no LC 10, then that's more Long-

bridge jobs for the chop. The company is really holding a truncheon above our heads at the moment, and handing out orders—obey or else. They want to re-time all the jobs to cut labour. They have started in the CAB 1, where they have moved the blokes to a new track, and cut down from 87 to 82 men. Now they are trying to throw up other jobs on the track.

We have been threatened that if any group at Longbridge takes strike action and pickets, then every hourly paid worker in the plant will be taken off the clock at the nearest half shift. Management has even talked of making different groups give

Below: part of the circular which accompanied the ballot paper sent to workers' homes over a weekend and linked to a plea to 'avoid confrontation', the ballot simply asked 'Do you support Leyland's survival plan'—to say the least a loaded question

FROM THE BOARD OF BL LIMITED TO EMPLOYEES

With this document is a ballot paper which enables you to vote on the future of BL and on your own jobs and livelihood. This could be the most important vote you will ever cast. Without a substantial YES vote BL will have reached the end of the road.

The ballot form and this message have been sent to home addresses because the issue is so serious that everyone must have the maximum opportunity to give it their personal consideration.

Also enclosed is a copy of the letter issued on 10 September as a reminder of the Company's proposed recovery plan.

It's
important
you read this

a guarantee they won't take "unconstitutional" action.

The Leyland bosses are really cocky now. They have got away with it on wages and jobs over the last couple of

years, so they think they can grind us into the dust.

Pretty soon they will go too far. Then there'll be an explosion of opposition. They'd better watch it.

EETPU MEMBERS face 52 redundancies:

Crown House sparks fight anti- union sackings

Electricians working for Crown House engineering at the giant National Westminster building in Bishopsgate, London, have been on strike since 22nd October. Charlie Wickens, a member of the strike committee explains:

"This is an attempt by management to break the shop stewards' organisation on the site.

"These redundancies were preceded by other management provocations. At the beginning of October we had a three week work in.

"They accused us of fiddling the clock cards which were all withdrawn and put in the manager's office. We told them we thought that this was degrading. We would accept that if they wanted to check us, they put some supervision on the clock.

"We've now been told that 52 of us are redundant, plus 12 transfers. This breaks an agreement.

"We have 150 men and there is enough work to last us until May when the building is due to be finished. If there has to be redundancies, we contend that it should be on the basis of the last on first off: this was spelt out in a signed agreement.

"They've picked on the leadership and the militants, to try to break the shop stewards. This is one of many

struggles we've had on this job with management ignoring agreements while we honoured our part.

"Our next step will be in approaching other sparks (at Hayden Young and other firms) to withdraw in our support. Our supervisors—EETPU members—have crossed our picket lines. Their excuse is 'management instructed us'. They will be branched for this and for not taking part in our work-in.

"We won't go back to work until all 150 men are re-employed—we go back together. We are prepared for a long battle.

"Seventy per cent of the lorries won't cross the picket line despite management attempts to undermine the strike by handing pamphlets to the drivers saying "only so many are out on strike, unofficially, and 750 men on site are still working etc.

"The management has pushed us into a corner—now we have to fight. We're confident of victory."

Bob Faulkes spoke to
Charlie Wickens
(Strike Committee
member)

SAUDI CROWN: STOP THE MODERN SLAVE-TRADE!

In the early hours of Thursday morning the 'Saudi Crown' slipped out of the Tyne, unaided by tugs or a pilot.

The crew, confused and frightened, had been removed from the ship, and German mercenaries took over the running of the ship. They sailed it out to Hamburg in the hope of picking up a full crew there.

The National Union of Seamen have arranged for the ship to be blacked on its arrival. The crew, mainly from the Maldives Islands and Sri Lanka [see last week's Militant] were taken to North Shields police station and later to Durham gaol. Immigration officials refused to let anyone other than a union official interview the crew. When I asked to speak to them, I was told that I would

be allowed to see them once preliminary investigations were completed and if I rang on Friday morning, a time and place would be arranged.

When Friday morning came, the crew were on their way to Amsterdam to pick up a flight home. Did immigration officials already know this?

None of the money claimed by the crew had been paid, nor any of the back money due. The owners and agents washed their hands of responsibility.

The Indian Ocean is scattered with small islands inhabited by deplorably poor people open to exploitation by these modern-day pirates. Why should they care about these 24 workers? The labour movement, both here and abroad has to take up their case. It is a disgrace that

these workers are paid on average £16 a week. There is no real check on ships that sail in and out of this country.

Had the crew of the 'Saudi Crown' not decided to fight their case would have gone unnoticed. We must demand that any ship that docks or harbours in this country must comply with the internationally agreed rates before they are loaded or unloaded.

The international trade union movement can stop this slave trade. The fight must start now, so that there is no repetition of the 'Saudi Crown' affair.

By Jeff Price

(Newcastle North CLP
& USDAW)

NUM WAGES LOBBY

On 8th November, miners from all over the British Coalfields will be lobbying their union's National Executive Committee.

We are calling for the maximum possible determination in the fight for our wage claim.

There will undoubtedly be a full turn-out from South Wales, Scotland, Yorkshire and other 'left-wing' areas. It is also vital that lodges and branches with a traditionally 'moderate' area leadership join us to show the national mood and ensure that all our representatives take the claim seriously.

After the lobby there will be a meeting where a number of NEC members will, it is hoped, be reporting back to NUM members.

This lobby and meeting must be recognised as a first step in our campaign over this year's wage claim. With Thatcher's Tories in office, we will have to fight for every penny!

By Merion Evans

(Brynllyw NUM Lodge,
personal capacity)

Heathrow drivers extract compromise

At a mass meeting, long haul drivers employed by British Airways at Heathrow Airport voted to call off their three-week strike.

As reported in 'Militant' over the last two weeks, BA management provoked the strike by attempting to impose conditions which not only contravened EEC laws, but would have turned the clock back 30 years for the drivers. Management's proposals included rosters for working four days on, two days off, plus split rest days and constant shift changes!

Although there has been a return to work without the drivers' proposed roster being won, British Airways management have certainly not had

it all their own way.

The men have accepted a 'four and two' roster. They see this as a tactical retreat, which they felt would best serve their interests in the long term.

Management have been forced to recognise that drivers are only accepting these terms under absolute protest and on the understanding that they will not be allowed to employ outside contractors to handle additional work. Flexible movement of drivers from one section to another will not be increased beyond present levels if the new rosters mean that work loads cannot be dealt with.

Management have also given assurances that priority

will be given to talks on paying loss of earnings and reinstatement of staff travel facilities. A firm stand must now be taken on this issue. Cheap air travel is part of airline workers' conditions of service — management must not be allowed to use it as a whip to get strikers back to work.

Many drivers have expressed disgust at the refusal by national officials of the T&GWU to back the strike. They called for a return to work, using illusory arguments about an 'independent inquiry' and claimed that the strike would jeopardise talks about the future of flights facing closure and the discussions on staff travel facilities.

Surely if the T&GWU were seen to be making a stand on this issue it would strengthen, not weaken their negotiating position.

The need for full unity and co-operation between all sections of workers on the airport was taken up by the drivers again and again. That unity, together with a fighting leadership at national level in the major unions at Heathrow will be essential in fighting the Tory proposals for denationalisation and the planned rundown of BA.

Steve Clare (Uxbridge
LPYS) spoke to
Heathrow TGWU
members

Militant

THE MARXIST PAPER FOR LABOUR AND YOUTH
Editor: Peter Taaffe, Business Manager: Dave Galashan
Published by Militant, 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN. Tel: 01-986 3828
Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office
Printed by Cambridge Heath Press Ltd [TU]

BRITISH AIRWAYS HEATHROW STRIKE CALL TO HALT CLOSURES

British Airways management are threatening to close twenty-eight UK and Ireland routes.

If they're not stopped, at least 534 jobs will come under the axe at Southampton, Cardiff, Leeds, Guernsey and the Isle of Mann airports and others.

T&GWU shop stewards at Heathrow are calling for a total 24-hour stoppage of British Airways work on the airport. This would be the biggest industrial action Heathrow has ever seen.

Ed Bober
talked to
T&GWU spokesmen

The recommendation will be put to a mass meeting of Heathrow BA workers on Thursday 1st. The shop stewards want the workforce to show its determination not to allow these closures.

There is a danger that these routes could be taken over by private firms as the only alternative to closure. This would destabilise the industry and would be used as an argument for the denationalisation of other, more lucra-

tive routes. BA say that £75 million would be necessary to acquire these services: they are not prepared to put up the money.

Pressure is on the airlines to increase efficiency. Currently BA are involved in a £2,500 million re-equipment programme.

They want much of this investment to be 'self-financing', however. They do not regard this as possible on the 28 threatened routes.

"Greater efficiency" in fact will mean a deterioration of services—it boils down, ultimately, to job cuts.

It will be very difficult for workers to find new jobs. Even if some provision is made for redeployment within BA, could a Guernsey man, for example, be found a new job without depriving him of his home on the island?

Relations with management are deteriorating. The TUC is extremely concerned that management have not consulted the unions in the proper manner.

The T&GWU want a 'no closure' undertaking before any working party with management is set up.

Heathrow Drivers extract compromise—see page 15.

CUTS

CONTINUED FROM
PAGE ONE

plications of his new move.

Meeting trade union representatives of two million local authority workers, he made it clear that the government had no intention of allowing for the pending 17½% inflation in the rate support grant for next year.

What this means is that if the local authorities agree to pay their workers an increase which barely keeps pace with price rises, there will be an additional cut in services—or a loss of jobs.

Last year, Denis Healey estimated that a 15% pay rise, if not met by an increase in the rate support grant, would cost a 100,000 cut in jobs!

In the field of housing, the Tories are out to force council house sales and more cuts in spending.

Their ruthless attitude is clearly revealed in a confidential letter sent in August from the Tory-controlled London Boroughs' Association to Geoffrey Finsberg, an Under-Secretary in the Environment Department.

Writing "with the knowledge of George Tremlett", Tory housing chairman of the Greater London Council, Simon Randall urged the Tory government to speed up the transfer of GLC council houses to the London boroughs and to introduce legislation placing "a prohibition on the GLC resuming its land purchase/development powers and on any London Boroughs purchasing or developing land in any other Borough."

Randall's letter makes it clear that the Tories fully expect to be defeated in next May's GLC elections.

Referring to "the tight

timetable now involved," the letter asks: "What arrangements are planned by the government to satisfactorily deal with the housing rump bearing in mind the proximity of the next GLC elections?"

The 'housing rump' means the council homes that the GLC has not yet been able to sell off to the highest bidder or off-load onto already overburdened London boroughs.

The Tories' 'solution' to London's growing housing crisis is drastically to reduce the number of homes available and to slash the resources going into housing. Is it any wonder that they expect heavy defeats in next May's local elections?

In London, there are about 200,000 families on council's waiting lists. Hundreds of thousands are forced to share overcrowded houses with other people, and about 338,000 of London's houses are officially unfit for human habitation.

As far as the Tories are concerned, these people can go to hell! Their needs, their suffering, is nothing compared to the need to 'save money' to channel more cash in the direction of landlords' and big businessmen's profits.

The Tories are already conceding defeat in the coming local elections.

But Labour majorities will be hamstrung unless the Labour Party, hand in hand with the trade unions, organises a mass campaign to explain what is happening—and fights on a clear alternative:

- ★ No cuts!
- ★ No rent increases!
- ★ No rate increases!
- ★ For a mass campaign on socialist policies!
- ★ For nationalisation, with minimum compensation on the basis of proven need, of the banks, insurance companies, and finance houses, and of the big construction companies!

ROSEDALE DEMONSTRATION NATIONAL BLACKING ESSENTIAL

The fight for jobs at Rosedale Mouldings Ltd [see issue 474] goes on. The factory, a plastics company in Bedwas, near Caerphilly, has been closed since September 11th.

The engineering strike was used as the excuse to close the factory; part of the multi-national Lin-Pac company, most of which is non-unionised. The workers are sure that they were singled out because of their loyalty to their trade union.

Three weeks ago we reported how pickets had prevented scab lorry drivers taking products out of the factory. On 18th October the scabs came back, this time with 200 police to assist them.

By
Frank Cuthbert
(Caerphilly Labour Party)

Only about thirty pickets were on duty and, despite a brave struggle, the picket was broken and some mouldings removed.

The machinery and the supplies for British Leyland, however, remain in the factory. The BL stewards in Llanelli are supporting the Rosedale workers and will not touch their produce while the fight continues.

The Rosedale's action committee, formed three weeks ago, has been actively

campaigning for support. They have got the backing of the Wales TUC and held a public meeting with Neil Kinnock, MP for the area, speaking in support.

Despite the firm's apparent determination to move out of Bedwas, the workers are still hopeful of hanging on to their jobs. The leadership of the AUEW, together with the other unions in the Confed, owe a debt of honour to these workers. It is still not too late to organise national blacking of Lin-Pac factories.

Next Saturday, 3rd November, the action committee are organising a demonstration. Supporters should assemble at the factory gates at 10.30 am. The march will go to the centre of Caerphilly.

Messages of support and donations are also needed; send them to FR Morgan, 56 Bryn Afon, Hengoed, Mid Glamorgan.

CORBY

CONTINUED FROM
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share, nor co-operation in a new or old corporate steel plan, but the life and death of a whole town which you will be dealing with.

"The responsibility for the future well-being of our whole community rests on your shoulders..."

"Please note that we, the people of Corby, will not accept the closure of our iron and steel works.

"The financial arguments put forward by BSC are weak and spurious...we will not accept the murder of our town."

Faced with a death sentence from the British Steel Corporation, the workers of Corby are appealing to the highest court in the land—the trade union and labour movement to save them from a slow and painful death.

ROSAC [Retention of Steelmaking at Corby] have issued a rallying call: "All out on November 1st!" The response has been tremendous! The steelworks, factories and shops in Corby will shut down for four hours.

What is life like for those people haunted by the spectre of mass unemployment?

Jim McDonald, ROSAC Secretary: "Uncertainty hangs about the town. Older kids are refusing to go to school because they cannot see the point in being educated for the dole.

"Younger kids are crying at the prospect of a future of no sweets and no pennies for ice-cream. The figures for suicide and alcoholism have gone up."

"The vultures are beginning to descend hoping for rich pickings. Pearl Insurance has moved out of Corby to Kettering, but their insurance agents are still around trying to persuade people to invest their redundancy money with them."

But how much redundancy money would a steelworker get if the steelworks close?

"At Bilston steelworkers with 20 years service were only entitled to £8,645 total redundancy money."

A bribe of £12 million has been offered to the people of

Corby for new jobs.

"In favourable economic conditions it would take six years to recoup 6,000 jobs, but most of these jobs would be for women. On top of this 1,000-1,400 school leavers will come onto the job market every year, and 2,500 are already unemployed in Corby.

"So really there is no future for Corby without steelworks."

There is only one choice for the workers of Corby: Fight with any means necessary the plans of BSC to close the steelworks.

This can only be done with support from steelworkers nationally. A refusal to produce any more steel until all the threats of redundancy were withdrawn would force BSC to sit up and take notice.

A national steel conference would organise this. But Corby's future cannot be secured so long as manufacturing industry continues to decline and factories close up and down the country.

The future of Corby, the steel industry and manufacturing industry are interlinked. Only a planned socialist economy, geared to the needs of society, can safeguard the future of Corby.

LIVERPOOL COUNCIL

On Monday night, the personnel committee of Liverpool City council took the lead in deciding to give all council employees a day off with full pay to support the Labour Party cuts campaign lobby of parliament on 28 November.

This decision, moved by Labour councillor Derek Hutton, and passed 13-to-12, arose from a request from the Merseyside Anti-Cuts Committee, later endorsed by the District Labour Party's executive committee.

The decision has yet to be endorsed by the full council, and Liberals in the city have threatened to try to overturn the council's decision by court action.

The Merseyside labour movement must now exert every pressure to make sure this decision is carried through, and in other areas Labour must push for the same practical support for the national campaign against the Tory cuts.



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