

Militant

THE MARXIST PAPER FOR LABOUR & YOUTH

ISSUE 560
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20p

**Bristol... Brixton...
Southall... Toxteth...
Moss Side...**



Toxteth, Saturday night

TORIES TO BLAME

By Tony Mulhearn
(Prospective Labour
Parliamentary candidate,
Toxteth)

The Tory press are having a field day! After Southall and Toxteth, the Tories are doing their best to build up a frenzy against youth and immigrants!

But who is really to blame for the anger and despair of the youth involved in the weekend's riots?

The Labour movement must spell it out clearly. It is the Tories and their system who are responsible for huge social problems and mass unemployment.

The Tories are daily devastating the lives of hundreds of thousands of workers' families. Three million are out of work.

Whole industries and whole regions are now industrial wastelands, destroyed by the Tories just as totally as if they had been burned out by a riot.

In Toxteth, youth unemployment has reached crisis proportions. Among black youth it is a horrifying 50%, and not much lower for young whites.

Reports Southall,
Toxteth p2-3

The Labour Party must be fighting the economic vandalism of the Tory Government. They should be shouting from the rooftops about the way this Government is pillaging and looting the living standards of all workers, young and old.

It is a monstrous lie to
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"This was a concentrated pre-meditated attack by a small hooligan element, indulging in criminal activities and intent on making life unbearable."

Mr Kenneth Oxford Chief Constable of Merseyside

Rioting no answer

ORGANISE TO KICK THEM OUT

Time is running out. A combination of one of Britain's bleakest unemployment areas with one of Britain's most disadvantaged black communities could be disastrous." From a recent Liverpool University report on Toxteth to House of Commons Committee.

"The Labour Party must organise the disenchanted and despairing youth in a fight against the Tories' hooliganism."

Militant

ORGANISE 24hr GENERAL STRIKE

Britain has been rocked by rioting at two separate points two hundred miles apart. In Liverpool CS Gas was used for the first time ever on the British mainland.

In their separate ways, both these explosions show the crisis facing British capitalism. They especially point to the absolute dead end faced by hundreds of thousands of youth today.

The labour movement must now vigorously take up the issue of Southall. To begin with, the fact that a majority of those arrested were local people and not skinheads is itself an indictment of the police.

The GLC leader, Ken Livingstone, has called for the release of all those local people defending their homes. This must be supported by the Labour Party, the LPYS and by the Labour GLC itself.

The labour movement must also take up the demand, as outlined in the Greater London Labour Party 1981 election manifesto, for the disbanding of the SPG riot police and for the democratic control of the police force by representatives of the community.

In addition the labour movement must raise the issue in the trade unions and in the local workplaces.

A 24-hour strike by all the local industries and a mass demonstration would be a warning to the fascists that the whole of the working class in Southall is united in protecting the area.

But the defence of the area against further attacks must not be left to the Southall youth alone. It is the responsibility of the whole labour movement.

The trade unions, the shops stewards' committees, the Labour Party branches and the Labour Party Young Socialists must organise self-defence so that the white and Asian workers stand firmly together to keep the fascists out of Southall.

There can be no justification for the vicious behaviour of the skinheads. But socialists must also ask themselves how is it that

hundreds of white youth can be mobilised in this way? How is it that these youth can be whipped up into a racist frenzy?

The answer to that must lie in the dead end faced by those youth: with nothing but long-term unemployment, low wages, bad housing in front of them and without any faith in the labour movement they are easy meat for the latter-day Hitlers in the British Movement and other nazi groups.

Now even representatives of the ruling class in Britain are beginning to realise what the nightmare of mass unemployment really means.

If things go on as they are now, there will be over a million unemployed youth on the streets of Britain in the next few years. They are worried that the youth will not be prepared to accept their fate very kindly.

Labour leaders must not content themselves with expressions of regret over the violence; they must take up and champion the cause of the young unemployed

The riots in Liverpool have rammed this point home. They are quite clearly a reflection of the despair and the hopelessness faced by youth in the area, with the additional spur of police harassment and intimidation.

There will be a furious campaign on the part of the Tory media to whip up a backlash against youth generally, and in favour of strengthening the police. From all sides there are already calls for special riot gear, water cannons and even CRS-type police (modelled on France's paramilitary riot police).

Papers have despicable headlines (like the 'Mail's' 'Black War on Police') and some Tory MPS are calling for repatriation of immigrants—these are samples of the attempts that will be made to turn the Southall and Toxteth events against

black workers in general, despite the clear evidence that in both cases the police were fighting black and white youth.

The labour movement must not run away from this issue or be carried away by the hysterical campaign that the press will now launch. On the contrary it must take up the issues facing the youth with the utmost vigour.

The violence and riots cannot be condoned, and that goes especially for attacks that were made from time to time on ambulancemen and firemen. But the blame for the violence must be laid firmly where it belongs—with the capitalist system and the Tories.

It is their system and their policies which are condemning youth to the scrapheap.

The Labour leaders must not content themselves with expressions of regret over the violence: they must take up and champion the cause of the young unemployed. They must show clearly to the youth that they are prepared to fight the Tories and the system they represent.

They must as a first step take up the demand for a national 24-hour protest strike against the Tories.

They must begin a serious campaign to bring down the Tory government and bring in a socialist government committed to the public ownership of the top 200 monopolies and finance houses, in order to plan production and plan jobs.

The National Executive Committee of the Labour Party must also stop their penny-pinching and niggardly approach to the LPYS and give Labour's youth the resources to get on with the job of bringing youth in their tens and hundreds of thousands into the Labour Party itself.

It is only the working class organised in the labour movement, which can provide a future.

Now is not the time for the movement to put its head in the sand. The Labour Party and especially its leaders must raise the banner of socialism and clearly point the way ahead for youth.

TOXTETH-THE TORY TIME BOMB

The upheaval in Toxteth is the result of years of bad housing, high unemployment, lack of facilities and police harassment.

By Tony Aitman (Kirkdale Labour Party)

Toxteth has the highest unemployment in Merseyside. It is one of the worst run down inner city areas in the country, decaying for decades.

There has always been a large police presence in the area leading to many arrests in the past with the 'sus' laws and so on.

A full-scale explosion was inevitable. The events were sparked off on Friday evening when police made a heavy-handed attempt to arrest a black youth on suspicion of stealing a motor-cycle—which turned out to be his own.

That incident led to a large police presence in the area the next day, and it was this which created the scene for the mass revolt.

Many police had taken off their numbers so they could not be identified.

The rioting took place at several points at the same time, but it was overwhelmingly the local youth who were involved, both black and white. In no way was this conflict a 'race riot'. It was directed against the police.

Within hours of the explosion, Young Socialists and Labour party members were out on the streets. The YS published a leaflet which called for the police to be withdrawn and for the police cordon in the area to be lifted.

The leaflet went on further to raise the issues of unemployment, housing and the need to fight to get the Tories out.

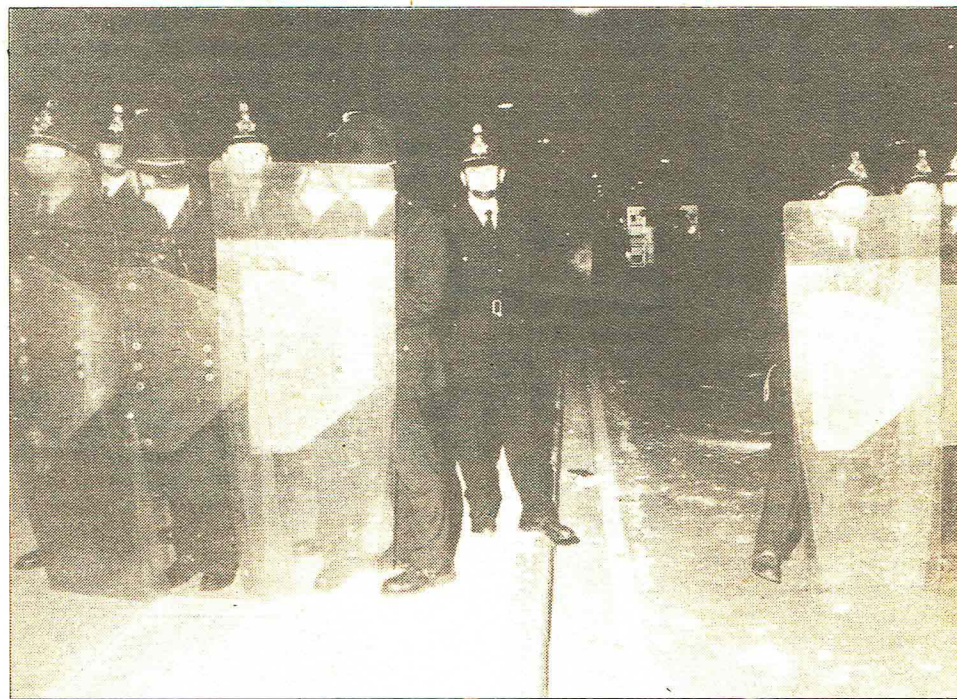
There is 32% unemploy-

ment among blacks in the area. Among black youth the figure is 50%. Unemployment among white workers is 17% and higher among white youth.

Many of the young people on the streets were sympathetic to the YS members, clearly seeing the link between the slogans on YS badges and the situation they found themselves in.

Labour Party members have now raised the issue of organising street committees to protect and keep the peace in their areas where there is any further threat of rioting. They have raised with small shopkeepers the possibility of helping to evacuate goods in any case of looting.

But they have also made it quite clear that the priority issues for Toxteth are the social problems. The labour movement must take up these issues or it will lose the chance to influence the youth thrown on the scrapheap of capitalism.



Police in Toxteth last weekend

LPYS-Defend youth

By Leslie Holt (Anfield Labour Party)

The Merseyside LPYS have been pilloried in the press for the fact that they took to the streets on Saturday night to appeal to the youth and talk to them.

A LPYS leaflet explained that the explosion had been sparked off by police harassment of youth, especially black youth, in a situation of mass unemployment and poor housing. They called for the dropping of all charges against those arrested.

It was after this, on Sunday, that most of the serious looting took place and the YS have been accused of encouraging this.

In fact, the LPYS leaflet stated quite clearly that "most workers, including most black workers, do not accept that street fighting, burning and looting are the way to solve the problems facing us."

The leaflet was supported and the YS congratulated by a meeting of the officers of the three CLPs in the area and by a local ward branch meeting. The LPYS do not support the looting that took place in Liverpool, and

especially the looting by organised criminals from outside the area.

But having said that, a line must be drawn between the organised looters (who will most likely have escaped arrest) and those local people involved in petty pilfering.

It is not surprising in an area where hardship and poverty is so widespread that in the general disorder, some people would blindly snatch at those things they cannot normally afford.

There are already signs that there is a 'back-lash' in the air against the 270 arrested. Many of those who have appeared in court, for example, have been remanded on the grounds that if they were let out they would continue to riot.

These included twelve- and thirteen-year-olds, one of which was arrested on his

way to school. A mother was remanded and because her husband is in hospital with CS canister injuries, her young children are having to be taken into care.

Youth have been charged with being in possession of the most trifling objects—a dog chain, a skirt, a pifco torch and twenty cigarettes—and so on.

Without condoning the looting in any way, the labour movement must now take up these cases to make sure that there is no judicial 'vengeance' wreaked upon the local community.

WALTHAMSTOW: Demo Against Racist Attacks. Saturday 11 July 10.30am.

Assemble Bakers Arms, Stanley Road, E10 at junction Leabridge Road/Hoe St/Leyton High Rd.

Buses 55, 38, 48, 69, 276, 262, or Walthamstow Central tube station (Victoria Line).

Called by National Organisation of Asian Youth (supported by LPYS).

Liverpool Liberals call for army

In Liverpool the Liberals are the Tories!

Liberal MP David Alton has tried to whip up a witch-hunt against the Labour Party Young Socialists for the fact that the YS were giving out leaflets on night of the riots in Toxteth.

At the same time, some of the Tory press are talking about a sinister 'leadership' during the riots which the police Special Branch are reported to be investigating.

The Labour Party must resist this vicious campaign of baiting. The YS must be

defended! If the Liberals want to seek out who is responsible for the violent conflict in the town they should look in the mirror. In Liverpool, there has been Liberal control of the city council for years. They are the main Tory party in this city.

They are responsible for cuts in council expenditure which has exacerbated the social problems: they are the ones who have added to the unemployment, the bad housing and the low wages. They bear the biggest

responsibility for the explosion of the youth.

Liverpool Liberal leader Trevor Jones has even called for the use of troops against rioting youth, something that even most (Conservative) Tories have not called for yet.

The conclusion must be clearly drawn: there is no difference between the Conservative Tories and the Liberal Tories. Thatcher must be kicked out of government and Jones must be chased out of Liverpool!

SOUTHALL

Youth smash racial attack

Gutted
Hamborough
Tavern where
skinheads
congregated.



An explosion of anger greeted the attempt by racist thugs to run riot in Southall last Friday.

Sickened by previous attacks and knowing that the police would do nothing to protect them, the Asian youth organised their own defence and drove the thugs out of their community.

The thugs had been bussed in, ostensibly to hear a band in a pub; in reality as part of a planned attempt to go on a rampage through the streets of Southall.

Trouble began in the early evening when the gangs of skinheads appeared, shouting racist and fascist slogans. They rampaged down the High Street smashing shop windows and they beat up an old Asian lady.

Immediately, crowds of Asians, white and West Indian youth began to appear, even whole families came out to protect their community. The skinheads were chased back to the Hamborough pub where they were protected by a police cordon.

Inside the pub the band could be heard singing "Indian Bastards, Indian Bastards." It was a direct incitement to racial hatred. The police later said that they were defending the 'right' of the skinheads to be in the pub, and when the Asian youth refused to move the police began to force them back.

After having done nothing to protect the Asians' shops, the police were protecting the skinheads and this enraged the Asian youth even further.

The police tried to escort the skinheads away from the Hamborough, but once out of the pub, they ran riot again, throwing abuse and missiles over the heads of the police protecting them at the Asians.

The Asians in the end pushed the police and the skinheads out of the area after a pitched battle in which the Hamborough itself was gutted. The skinheads had come looking for trouble but got more than they bargained for this time.

However, even on their way out of the area, the skinheads were still attacking Asians and smashing the

windows of Asian homes.

Asians in Southall have had long experience of police bias and indifference. Recently two Asian youth were attacked by seven white youth, suffering broken bones and a broken nose. As it was actually happening two policemen were watching and 'waiting for reinforcements'.

When the latter arrived, they arrested everyone and even charged one of the Asians who had broken ribs with threatening behaviour and the other with being drunk and disorderly!

If Asian youth had not defended themselves last Friday innocent people could have been killed by racist lunatics.

The Asian community have absolutely no faith whatsoever in the police. Last week an Asian woman and her three small children were murdered by a petrol attack in Walthamstow.

The police admitted it was arson after at first denying it. But when such attacks take place (for example at Sikh temples and at Mosques), the police always refuse to admit any racial bias.

If the Asian youth had not defended themselves last Friday, more innocent people could have been killed by the fascist lunatics.

But the whole question of defence against fascist attacks is something that must be taken up by the whole labour movement and not just left to Asian and black workers.

SOUTHALL MEETING
Wednesday 15 July, 7.30 pm, Southall Town Hall (High Street). The fight against racialism. Leading LPYS and local Asian speakers.

By Mumtaz Khan

ATTACK WAS PRE-PLANNED

Police spokesmen have tried to claim that Southall on Friday was just "a spontaneous street fight. It just happened. The skinheads probably did come just for the concert.

"Police interviewed coach party organisers and have no evidence that the trip was planned to stir up trouble deliberately." (*Mirror* 6 July).

The behaviour of the thugs on the night alone would be enough to disprove that myth. Some of them got off the bus a couple of stops before the pub and attacked people on the

way to the pub where the band was playing. They were large groups, overwhelmingly male, hardly a normal group of youths just going for a night out.

But the conclusive proof that this was a pre-planned attack on the Southall Asian community is that Asians working even in central London had heard of the plan earlier in the week.

On Wednesday, two days before, a gang of skinheads told an Asian worker in a shop on Carnaby Street: "We are going to Southall this weekend and we are going to have a real good riot; we are going to smash up the Indians and their shops."

A nurse who works in a central London hospital overheard a group of skinheads saying earlier in the week, "We are going up to Southall to make trouble."

And on Friday night itself a skinhead asked an Asian youth in the Milford Arms in Hounslow at 6.30, "Are you going down to Southall for the ruck tonight? Those gangs are coming from other places. The skins are going to be in Southall, they are going to run amok."

Whatever their sources, local traders also expected trouble and some shut up shop earlier than usual.

According to the press the

police claim that the only tip off they had was that there was going to be trouble in Greenford, not Southall. As if this was a major diversion. Southall is only two miles away!

There is not the slightest doubt that the attack was pre-planned and it was only the determined defence by the local youth that prevented the area from being terrorised.

The police refusal to accept the fact that it was pre-planned and their lame excuses afterwards have only added more fuel to the anger felt by the local community.

LPYS CALL FOR STREET DEFENCE COMMITTEES

As soon as news spread of the racist attacks in Southall LPYS members were on the street in support of the youth of the area.

On Friday night we saw at first hand the determination of Asian youth to drive the thugs out, and how the police acted. The next day we were at our regular sales pitch at the Broadway junction.

Last year LPYS members were arrested for selling Militant there but on Saturday the police were keeping a low profile.

Hundreds of people stopped to discuss with us. Our normal 20 Militant sales were increased that morning to over 350! In four days after the skinhead attack we sold over 600 papers in Southall.

The YS also attended a

special meeting on Saturday in one of the local cinemas, called by the Indian Workers Association.

Again and again the stormy meeting had to be stopped because of anger from the audience.

There was enormous frustration at the lack of a clear direction from the official Indian Workers Association and Labour leaders.

Ken Livingstone, leader of the Greater London Council, was warmly applauded when he spoke of the necessity of implementing the London Labour Party policy of disbanding the Special Patrol Group and when he called for "the release of those youths arrested as they fought to defend their own community."

But there was also widespread scepticism towards

the adult Labour Party, because of the experiences of the last Labour government. The meeting highlighted the need for a clear socialist programme of action which would fill the political vacuum.

LPYS leaflets, spelling out what such action should entail, have been extremely well received by people in the area.

An LPYS meeting, called at very short notice on Tuesday 6 July was attended by over 400 people, overwhelmingly young Asians. In the very lively and successful discussion, all the tensions and anger of Southall youth was expressed.

Speakers from the LPYS (this was the only meeting organised after the weekend) were heard with interest and respect.

Near the end of the meeting a provocateur (who drove away in a big white Mercedes) disrupted the meeting with an inflammatory harangue. The meeting finished early but LPYS members discussed with most of the youth outside. Many people joined the LPYS and promised to help us in organising our next meeting.

A YS meeting has been arranged for this coming Wednesday 15 July at 7.30 in Southall Town Hall.

Amongst the demands that the LPYS have raised are: An end to police harassment of black and Asian youth. The release of those arrested while defending their community. The disbandment of the SPG. Defence of the area by the labour movement as a whole.

MILITANT RALLY

There's something for everyone at the Militant Rally on July 18. A great programme of events and activities has been planned.

LIVE ENTERTAINMENT starting 11.30

Peggy Seeger and Ewan McColl
Morley College Frolic Group
Martin Pearce (Folk Blues)
"The trial of Thatcher" (Barking and Dagenham LPYS)

FILMS STARTING 11.30

The Battleship Potemkin—Eisenstein's classic about the 1905 Russian Revolution.

Look back at Grunwick—The struggle for trade union recognition and decent pay.

The War Game—the film on nuclear war which the BBC refused to show.

RALLY MEETING—3.00pm

Speakers: Peter Taaffe—Editor Militant
Ted Grant Militant Editorial Board
Joe Marino General Secretary of the Bakers Union
Rod Fitch Labour's prospective Candidate for Brighton Kemptown

1 WEEK TO GO

EXHIBITIONS all day on:

Brixton
Newcastle Unemployed Workers Union
Youth Opportunities Programme
History of the Militant
History of the Labour Party
Alan Hardman cartoons
Labour History—Poplarism
STALLS

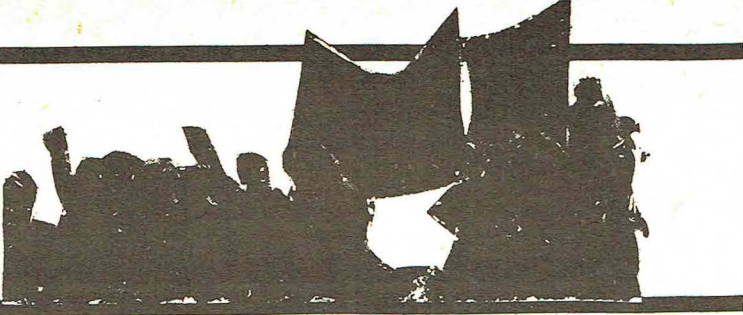
Militant publications, World Books, Badge Stall, Cartoon, Posters stall, carrier bags, LPYS/YCAU, Militant, Trade Unions, S. Africa, International Socialist papers, children's books and many more.

In addition there will be an 'Any Questions' political session.

A creche will be open all day too!

Already coaches are coming from S. Wales, Manchester and E. Midlands. Don't miss out. Get your ticket from your local Militant seller or from Rally Organiser, Militant, 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN. Cost: 30p—unwaged, £1—others.

WORKERS IN ACTION



CARDIFF SAYS MARCH OUT THE TORIES

As the Labour Party march wound its way through Cardiff on Saturday the city's working class gave it an eager welcome.

Pensioners sat outside old people's homes waving and shouting support. Staff of local hospitals bought papers, posters and stickers.

Even the prisoners of the city's jail cheered and shouted, waving white pillow cases to the marchers through the prison bars!

At one cross road, traffic built up while patiently waiting for the march to pass. One YS member shouted through the megaphone "If you want the Tories out toot your horn." A barrage of cars trumpeted his reply!

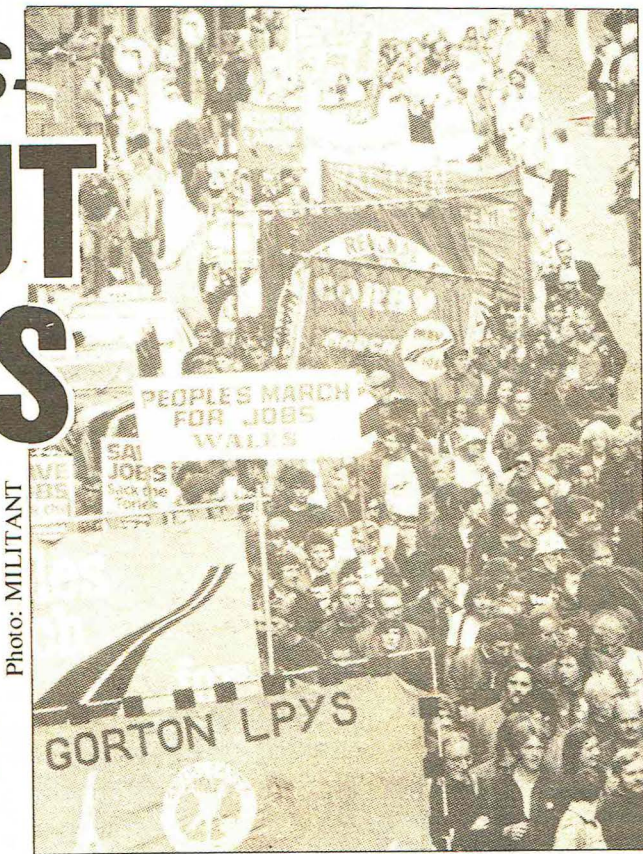
In all, 15-20,000 marched through the city to protest at the Tories, and by far the liveliest section of the march was the LPYS contingent made up of over 2,000 Young Socialists.

In the build up to the march Young Socialist branches from the South of

Wales had put in a lot of work. Young Socialist and 'Militant' posters festooned the route, and on all the approach roads into the city, YS placards and posters welcomed the marchers who came by coach. On the march itself, everywhere you looked people were holding 'Militants'.

At the following rally it was clear that the left of the Labour party had the support of thousands of marchers present. There was massive applause lasting several minutes when a telegram from Tony Benn was read out, and there was a good response to Young Socialist Ken Smith with his call for linking these marches to 'something more concrete—the leaders of the labour movement must call a 24-hour general strike and force a general election. We can't wait another two years.

By Bob Wade



He warned that April's riots in Brixton would be inevitable in areas like Liverpool due to mass unemployment—a prophetic remark!

Doris Hardacre was cheered when she criticised those in the party who practice 'tokenism' in regards to the role of women in the labour movement.

Front bencher Stan Orme was listened to with only mild heckling when he urged the need for import controls, but provoked a wall of booing and jeers when he attacked those in the 'Militant' tendency with their heads in the clouds.!

And Dennis Healey fared little better, with Labour leader Michael Foot having to intervene, appealing to the thousands of workers present to let Healey have

his say! Firemen, health workers, members of the T&G and other victims of the '5%' policy, wanted to have theirs as well.

But the barracking Denis Healey received also reflected the feeling of many activists on the march that the demonstration in Liverpool, Glasgow and Cardiff were fine shows of strength by the labour movement, but that it was beginning to be like the soldiers of the 'Grand Old Duke of York.'

These massive demonstrations must be linked to positive steps to stop Thatcher in her tracks by launching a mass campaign around a programme of demands to rally the labour movement. Bring the Tories down! Rhetoric is not enough—action is needed!

ONE MONTH TO LPYS CAMP

There's only a month to go until the biggest LPYS Summer Camp ever! Bookings are 50% up on last year, with over 600 young trade unionists, unemployed and school students coming to the Forest of Dean, Gloucestershire, between August 1st-8th.

What better way to spend a week than discussing and swapping ideas with Young Socialists from other parts of Britain, as well as from West Germany, Belgium, Holland, Austria and Ireland.

We've got leading speakers coming along: Joe Marino (General Secretary of the Bakers' Union), Peter Taaffe (Editor of 'Militant'), John Throne (Editor, 'Militant' Irish Monthly), Joe Higgins (National Executive, Irish Labour Party), and a representative from the Young Socialists in the North of Ireland.

Have your say in one of the debates organised. There's one between the 'Solidarity' group, backed

by Denis Healey, Roy Hattersley and Co., and 'Militant', and also debates between the LPYS and the National Organisation of Labour Students, and the LPYS and Poale Zion.

Sporting activities will also be to the fore. Football, cricket, athletics, canoeing, or horseriding—there's something for everyone!

In the evening there are discos and club nights, a rock group and 'Crusheen', playing Irish folk music. What more can you want (except perhaps a tent!)?

Book up now! Don't miss out! Check details of transport from your area! Send £5 deposit to A. Bevan, LPYS, 150 Walworth Road, London SE17.

LPYS Summer Camp, August 1st-8th. Bracelands Campsite, near Coleford, Gloucester.

Cost: Only £40 (meals provided) or £15 (self catering). Reduced rates for children under 12, creche facilities provided.



LPYS in action this year outside the Stock Exchange

LONDON LABOUR- No Retreat - Carry Out Manifesto TUBE STRIKE

Letter from GLC councillors

Dear Comrades,

The National Union of Railwaymen has recently decided that unless they receive an improved realistic offer from London Transport (LT) in their current wage negotiations, their members on London Underground will be called out on strike from July 20th.

In view of the serious implications which a strike of Underground workers would have for the unity of the labour movement in London, we are writing to appeal to assist us in our campaign to avert this confrontation.

We fully believe that the workers claim is a modest, just and fair claim. They receive a cost of living increase in their wages. Comrades should bear in mind

that the NUR members on LT are amongst the lowest paid of all the staff employed in LT or the Greater London Council. The present basic wage rates for the large number of these workers are still under £70 per week.

In response to the NUR's current claim, LT Management offered an 8% increase with a promise of possibly upping this to 8.5% in return for the Union agreeing to no increase in annual leave entitlements and no reduction in the working week for the next two years.

LT Management's attempt to impose this condition on these workers goes against a direct commitment we gave in our Election Manifesto to reducing the working week largely in

order to create more job opportunities.

We urged the Labour GLC to pay NUR's just claim. Regrettably the Labour Group rejected our resolution to this effect. As socialists committed to the implementation of the Manifesto we do not believe we can let this issue rest here.

If the strike occurs it will split our movement wide open. We will alienate a large section of low paid trade unionists, the very people we fought the election to protect. As we implement our Manifesto, we are coming into direct confrontation with the Thatcher government.

To be successful in our struggle, we need above all else the united support of the labour movement. If we fail to support this section of the trade union movement in their struggle to protect their living stan-

dards now, how can we expect them to support us when it comes to the final battle with Thatcher.

We are writing to ask you to assist us in changing the GLC's Labour Group stance on this issue and persuading the Labour GLC councillors that the NUR's cost of living claim is a fair and just claim and should be paid. Please help us prevent this disastrous strike. Only by mobilising the labour movement outside County Hall will we be successful:

(i) Call a special meeting of your Labour Party Executive, General Management Committee or Officers to discuss this issue and if you are represented by a GLC Councillor, to impress upon him the need to pay the claim.

(ii) Send letters, resolutions, to the Labour Group at County Hall calling upon the Group to ensure LT

pays the claim.

(iii) As individuals telephone, write, send telegrams to Ken Livingstone at County Hall urging him to back the claim.

Yours fraternally,
Valerie Wise
John McDonnell

I.L.E.A.

The decision of the Labour Group on the Inner London Education Authority to go ahead and implement its election pledge to reduce the cost of school meals from 35p to 25p a day will be widely welcomed.

Even before this decision was made the Tory press has sought to undermine

this proposal by giving prominence to the opinions of some of the ILEA's senior staff that this decision will 'almost certainly' lead to the District Auditor surcharging those ILEA members who vote for the reduction.

This threat of surcharge was certainly one of the reasons why 15 votes were cast against the reduction when it was discussed at the Labour Group. Certainly the threat of surcharge is real but the way to deal with it is not by abandoning an election pledge, but to go all out to win support for this decision.

Already the Trades Union Joint Negotiating Committee for Greater London Council and ILEA staffs has written to Bryn Davies, the ILEA leader, saying that "support would certainly be given to a fight by the Authority to implement the manifesto."

All sections of the labour movement, along with parents associations, in inner London should, between now and the ILEA meeting on July 14th, declare their support for the Labour Group's decision and call upon all Labour members of ILEA to vote for the 10p reduction

WARRINGTON

A CHANCE TO SMASH THE TORIES

By Richard Venton
(Birkenhead Labour Party)

Warrington is a "boom town"—a success story for big business. If that's true, God help the working class in the rest of Britain!

Jobless locals, numbering 8,737, and their families know the real facts of life under Thatcherism.

The day the bye-election was declared, the June unemployment figures showed an 8% rise, 564 more people deprived of a job and a decent wage.

And that's before July's school leavers flood onto the streets, trekking from factory to factory with refusals dashing their ambitions for independence. There's one glorious vacancy for every 900 school leavers in the whole of Cheshire! What future is that to offer youth?

This bye-election is a chance to start an organised fight back against Thatcher

and big business. Warrington's unemployment level shot from 5% to 12.8% during two years of Tory rule. Should we move to find work? The North West has 13.5% unemployment.

There's no escape from the dole queues except to organise to throw out the Tories and the decrepit system they uphold.

Warrington's industry is diverse—engineering, steel, chemicals, breweries, paper making, soap, etc, but diversity is no solution under crisis ridden capitalism. Massive redundancies and closures have occurred in the steel works and wire works. No wonder an 8 year-old school boy asked Labour candidate Doug Hoyle "Will there be a job

for me if I leave school?"

The local Tory candidate offers the alternative of a good dose of hanging, the return to the birch, and a curfew on children to improve law and order! That will create loads of jobs.

Roy Jenkins, the overpaid pensioner from Europe, claims to represent "a fresh approach." In Labour's stronghold Warrington he poses as a "real Labour candidate" with fellow right-wing traitor David Owen and his allies in the Liberal party.

The SDP and Liberals prattle about the "enterprise" of small businessmen. Perhaps they'd support the ideas of the President of the Warrington Chamber of Commerce who last week said "the small 2 or 3 man business is the shape of things to come in Warrington."

Back street sweat shops are on the increase, offering low wages and atrocious conditions, before going bankrupt from the pressure of the big companies who offer Jenkins and Co. their

financial backing.

Workers, housewives and youths in Warrington have the opportunity to crush the Tories and the new Tory Party—the SDP. A resounding Labour victory should be used by the TUC and Labour Party to launch a campaign for a one day general strike to force a general election and replace the Tories with a socialist Labour government.

The socialist principles in Clause IV of Labour's constitution are the basis for these policies.

A socialist plan of production through nationalisation of the 200 big firms and the money lenders under democratic workers' control and management, could wipe out poverty. This could finance a 35-hour week and an £80 minimum wage and a massive scheme of public works to create jobs and expand services.

Committees of housewives, trade unionists and small businessmen could monitor price levels and ensure wage rises match price rises. Rents, rates and

mortgages could be reduced by eliminating the bank's pound of flesh in the form of interest charges.

And the danger of nuclear war could also be finally eliminated under socialism. The local Burtonwood site—extended by 47 acres this year making it America's biggest base in Western Europe—could be converted from weapons of destruction to socially useful production under public ownership and workers' control.

Much needed house repairs, public transport and leisure facilities could be expanded under a planned socialist economy. The working class of Warrington should vote Labour.

They should also join the Labour Party and the Labour Party Young Socialists, fight for an early general election, and join the fight inside the Labour Party to ensure that the next Labour government is committed to full-blooded socialist policies capable of ending the chaotic rule of big business.

ROY JENKINS— A breath of stale air

"A winning treble" trumpets the headlines in London's 'New Standard'. They are referring to the three leaders of the Social Democratic Party, Owen, Williams and Jenkins.

By Roger Shrivies

udice" against the ruling class!

They needn't have bothered. He hasn't.

Jenkins was Chancellor of the Exchequer from 1967 to 1970. Many capitalist commentators think he was the best post-war Chancellor. For them maybe he was.

So, the SDP want a "more classless society" do they? When the 1960s brought the first post-war signs of capitalist crisis in Britain, what were Chancellor Jenkins' "classless" solutions? A highly inflationary devaluation, a squeeze on credit and the old capitalist faithfuls, a freeze on pay and attacks on the unions.

It was these Tory policies which led to large numbers of people leaving the Labour Party and to Labour's general election defeat in 1970.

Meanwhile, Jenkins himself hardly suffered. His sons were being educated at Winchester, one of the top public schools, and he was developing a taste for claret and gulls' eggs, served in the very best of restaurants.

To nobody's surprise, the gap between him and the labour movement grew. In 1972 he along with 68 other Labour MPs helped to save the skin of Heath's Tory government by voting with the Tories on the EEC. He was the leader of Labour's right in Parliament until he was elevated to the Presidency of the European

Commission in 1977.

While workers' living standards were declining and unemployment was going through the roof, Roy was pulling in £60,000 a year plus £270 a week 'expenses'. When he left the post this year, his golden handshake amounted to £90,000.

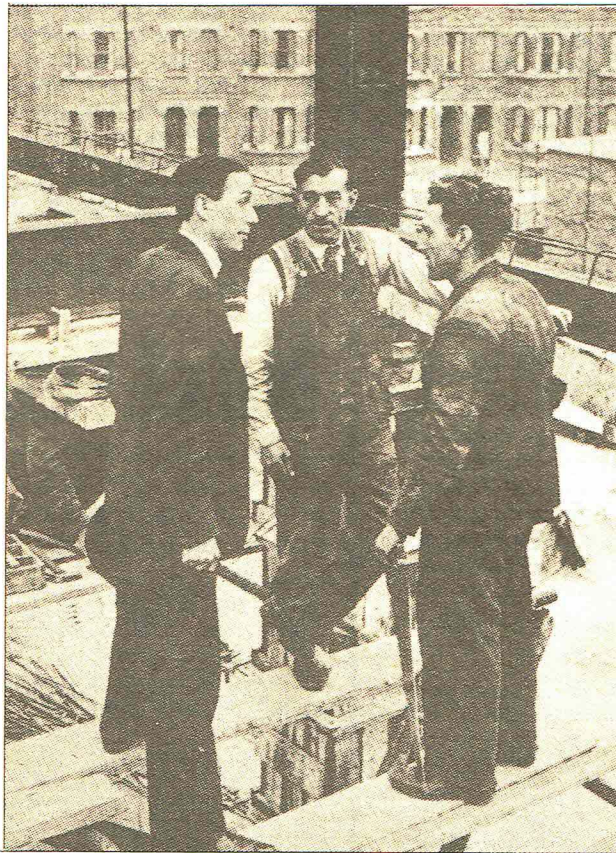
To tide him over, he has taken a job as adviser to the merchant bankers Morgan Grenfell at £200 for a two day week. (Who says the 35-hour week is impractical?)

Jenkins the Moderate still doesn't 'believe' in the class struggle. He just practices it—for the bosses. His latest ideas, he swears, are middle of the road. The road though seems bumpier than it used to be. Take Jenkins' views on trade unions.

Last February, when the miners were giving the Tory government a well-deserved bloody nose, Jenkins the Moderate called for a new arbitration service for industrial disputes.

This would judge disputes over workers' pay claims and employers' pay offers on the basis of whether they would "maintain employment." So presumably if the bosses said that the alternatives were either no pay rise or the dole for the workers, the arbitrators would award no pay rise.

How to enforce it though? Jenkins flirted with the idea of imprisonment of trade unionists—but he remembered what the dockers and miners had done to Heath's Industrial Relations Act so perhaps that was out. Enforcement would in-



Spot the careerist (no prizes). Jenkins with Labour voters in the '50s.

stead, said Jenkins, be through "the weakening of a potential striker's financial position in the realm of tax rebates, supplementary benefits and redundancy conditions." In other words, benefits and redundancy pay for strikers should be cut!

But strikers don't get benefit anyway, only their families—and this has already been cut back by £12 by the Tories. Jenkins (the Moderate) wanted more vicious attacks! Use fear of mass unemployment to whip the workers into line. Some moderation.

Money has flooded in for the SDP, not from workers, but businessmen who are worried about the Tory government's disastrous policies but who don't want people to turn to an increasingly

radical Labour Party.

Numerous attempts have been made in the past to split from the Labour Party and create a third 'moderate' party. They have failed before and will fail with the Social Democrats eventually. But with the support of the media they can pick up votes and can cause confusion, particularly among middle class voters.

The Labour Party in Warrington by-election and nationally must campaign to expose the SDP as no more than a second Tory Party.

If the Labour Party clearly leads the fight against the Thatcher government and campaigns for a Labour government committed to socialist policies, Jenkins' crumbling old biplane will never get off the ground.

MILITANT READERS' MEETINGS

Hear the ideas of 'Militant' in your area.

NEWHAM 'After Mitterrand's victory—the fight for socialism in France'. Speaker: Brent Kennedy. Thursday 16 July, 8.00 pm, Lister Room, East Ham Town Hall.

COVENTRY 'Ireland—the struggle for socialism'. Speaker—Tony Saunois (LPYS rep. on Labour Party NEC). Tuesday 14 July, 7.30 pm. Hertford Tavern Hertford Place, Coventry.

BLYTH. All meetings start 7.30 pm. Wed 15 July—Import Controls and the Textile Industry. Wed 29 July—Brixton: What happened and the lessons for the labour movement. Venue: 148 Disraeli Street, Blyth.

BARROW 'Militant'—what we stand for. Saturday 18 July, 7.00 pm. Labour Rooms, 22 Hartington Street, Barrow. Speaker: Roy Physick. For further details phone Sunderland 653994

HARTLEPOOL 'Poland'. Room 2, Town Hall, Hartlepool, Thursday 16 July, 7.30 pm.

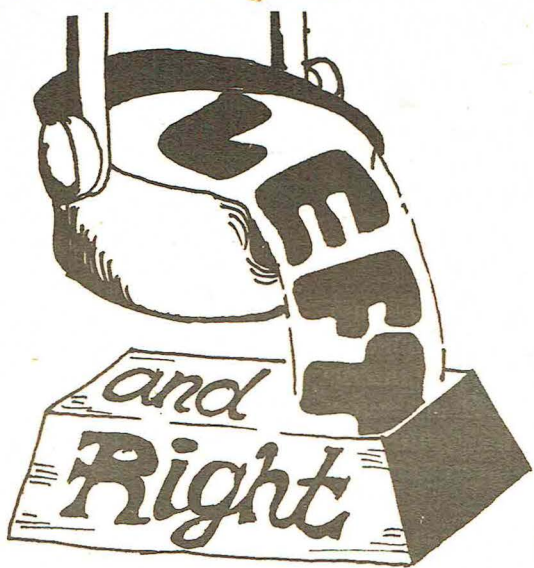
TEESSIDE 'Benn or Healey? Which way forward for Labour?' Room 9, Stockton YMCA. Thursday 9 July, 7.30 pm.

BARROW: 'Militant—What we stand for'. For further details contact Ray Physick, Sunderland 653994.

STIRLING 'The State', 23 July, 7.30 pm. 'Poland—what is happening?' 13 August, 7.30 pm. 'Which way for the Labour Party?' 3 September, 7.30 pm. Cowane Centre, Stirling.

CANVEY ISLAND: 'Ireland—after the elections: prospects for Labour'. Speaker: Eddie McParland (Greater London Labour Party Executive Member). On: Thursday 9 July at Labour Hall, Lionel Road, Canvey.

TYNESIDE Marxist Sunday School Sunday 12 July: 7.00 pm History of the Communist International. Sunday 19 July 7.00 pm The rise of fascism in Germany 1919-33. Sunday 26 July 7.00 pm The Chinese Revolution 1925-27. Sunday 2 August 7.00 pm The Spanish Revolution 1931-39. Sunday 9 August 7.00 pm Popular Fronts and France. Venue from your local Militant seller.



The media has heralded the arrival in London of Pinkertons, the American Detective Agency, with stories of the wild and woolly west. But tracking down the likes of Butch Cassidy or the James Boys in those days when 'men were men' etc. took up only a small part of Pinkerton's work. The media conveniently forgot to mention the main role they played in bludgeoning down the rising giant of American Labour of that period. In the book 'Labour's Untold Story' by Richard Boyer and Herbert Morais, the authors describe the tactics used by Pinkertons's (pages 68-69): "...most of the murders (of strikers) and most of the blood came from the private army of the Pinkerton Agency, an agency which in the 'eighties had graduated into the ranks of big business... In 1885 (Pinkerton's) sent out a secret circular offering the union-busting services of their agency to 'railroad companies and other organisations'... Pinkerton's were used not only as strikebreakers and spies but as agents provocateurs, deliberately creating violence which was often used to discredit the labour movement and frame up and imprison its members."

The Fleet Street press recently gave much space to Ted Heath's attacks on Mrs Thatcher. One of the criticisms of this former Tory prime minister was that he did not think further legislation to shackle the unions would work. The problem he found when in government was that union leaders were not very receptive to these ideas. The 'Daily Mail' (2 July) took up his plight: "Union leaders in his time, he recalled, were simply not willing to discuss the crucial issue of industrial relations reform. He added: "I wasted a lot of my best claret and cognac at dinner parties with union leaders and never got them to speak one word about industrial relations reform." All they wanted to do was reminisce about how they got drunk at conferences." We should thank our union leaders that when forced into taking part in these banquets with Tory ministers, despite having cognac and claret forced down their throat, they weren't drawn into discussing yet more shackles for the trade union and labour movement. And obviously the tales of getting 'drunk at conferences' were no more than a ploy to keep the Tories occupied and off the subject of union 'reform'. Obviously.

The Fleet Street hacks have descended on Warrington as it approaches its by-election. In this working class area, the Tory press knows it hasn't a chance in hell to manipulate public opinion in support of the Tory candidate. They hope to cut across the Labour vote by building up the Social Democratic Party. But despite all their desperate searching, they have had little luck in tracking down the much loved 'I used to vote Labour until I discovered the Social Democrats' member of the working class. 'The Guardian' (30 June) while trailing the SDP candidate Roy Jenkins, gave an example of what is causing Fleet Street so much frustration: "Outside Woolworth's a grey-haired woman asked reporters, 'Is he to the Right? My husband says he's to the Right.' Why didn't she ask him herself? 'Excuse me,' she said to him anxiously, 'Are you Right?' Mr Jenkins beamed, made a moderate slicing movement with his hand, and replied 'I am to the right'. 'Oh that's all right,' the lady said, 'I shall be able to say you're to the Right.' Reporters asked if this was satisfactory. 'Yes, he says he's to the Right.' Did she object to the left? 'Oh no, I like the left.' The significance, as on all occasions, evaporated in the morning sun."

'OUT OF THE GHETTO'

"Out of the Ghetto" by Joe Jacobs.

The battles against Mosley's fascists, organising support for the Spanish workers against Franco, the struggle to build the trade unions and the Communist Party in the East End in the 1930—all these are vividly described in 'Out of the Ghetto'.

Joe Jacobs was a member of the Communist Party from the late 1920s until 1938, when he was expelled. He was secretary of the Stepney branch of the Communist Party up to the Cable Street battle against Mosley's fascists in October 1936.

His book is a personal account of politics and life in the East End. Of one of his first jobs in the clothing trade he comments:

"I used to continue working until I was told to go, which could be anything up to 8.00 pm... One night... 8.00 pm came and I hurried on getting more angry each minute when finally at 9.00 pm he said to me, 'Would you like to work overtime? I'll pay you extra'.

"I was too frightened to refuse and carried on. At about 10.00 pm I fainted and after being revived I was allowed to go home. Condi-

Published by Joseph Simon. Obtainable price £3.00 plus 50p from World Books, 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN

tions in these sweat shops were atrocious. Dirt and dust everywhere. The TB rate for our industry was very high."

He describes the campaign organised by Communist Party and other workers of the East End against the fascists. By 1936, there was a clear division, with sections of the Communist leadership seeking to avoid confrontations.

Only days before the march, the Party's East London Organiser told Joe Jacobs, "If Mosley decides to march let him. Don't attempt disorder (Time's too short to get a 'They shall not pass' policy across. It would only be a harmful stunt.)"

But the slogan 'They shall not pass' was already all over Stepney, whitewashed on walls and pavements.

The CP were calling on their members to attend a rally on Spain in Trafalgar Square, and only to go to the East End after Mosley's march. Two days before the march, however, the 'Daily Workers' called for a mobilisation against Mosley.

The next issue, just twenty-four hours before the Black Shirts took to the streets, gave no details or call to action. Nevertheless, the massive mobilisation by the working class and the Jewish community prevented Mosley entering



Mosley's fascists in the '30s—the enemies of the workers' movement.

the East End despite "a massive force of mounted and foot police", trying to clear a way through Cable Street for the fascists.

There were sudden changes of Party line on many crucial questions at this time. Jacobs comments: "It was not the first time the Party members had to face abrupt turns in policy or tactics. It certainly was not the last."

The Party leadership's blind obedience to Stalin confused many East End communists. When it was announced that Zinoviev, an old Bolshevik, and former secretary of the Communist International, was involved in a terrorist plot against Stalin, Jacobs found:

"It was a bit perplexing, but I could not bring myself to believe that Stalin could be wrong... I was so sure the Communist Party leader-

ship could not be wrong."

Of Trotsky, he says: "Certainly I would not read anything written by Trotsky. Might as well ask a Catholic to read Marie Stopes, when the church had said he must not."

His faith did not save him. In 1938, Jacobs was expelled from the Party.

The Communist Party in the 1930s attracted many industrial militants and others involved in the anti-fascist struggles.

For that reason, 'Out of the Ghetto' has many useful lessons for those active in the labour movement, as well as being a fascinating and inspiring account of one man's political activity in a crucial period for the British working class.

By Peter Lush

Next time we'll be ready..

By Frances Curran (Provan LPYS)

It is Friday morning and I pay my regular visit to my grandparents.

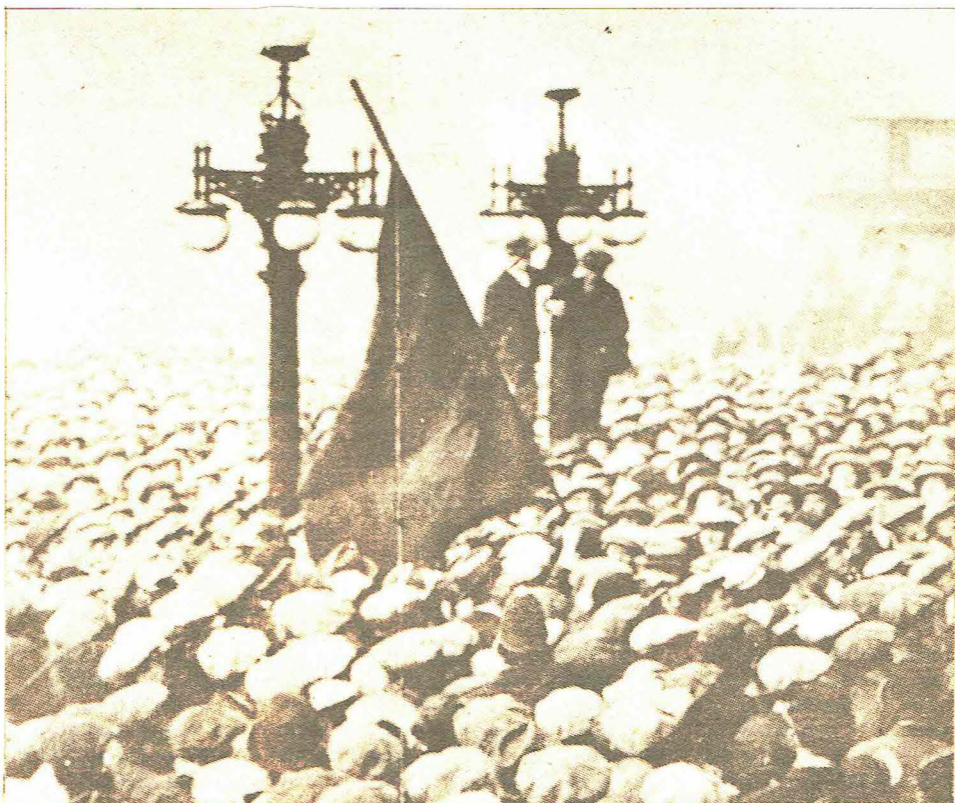
My granddad is sitting looking out of the window when I go in. He has trouble with his legs and cannot walk more than a yard or two.

He can only go out by car or taxi, and who can afford either nowadays? Certainly not my grandparents.

Having served the bosses well over his working life; the last 20 being spent as a crane driver in Parkhead Forge, one of the few remaining private steelworks, climbing up and down the 80 foot ladder countless times a day regardless of physical condition, his reward is now the rest of his life in a chair, his legs being of little use.

I give him a copy of the 'Militant' and he asks how the Young Socialists are getting on. His memory is good and he remembers his own youth, the struggles and demonstrations then as now.

As a schoolboy he remembers the tanks below his tenement window, rolling up Glasgow's Gallowgate towards George Square, just before the crushing of the workers' uprisings of Red Clydeside.



Glasgow's George Square 1919—the huge movements of the past will be repeated.

He remembers the rent strike which sparked off huge demonstrations and mass meetings.

As he speaks I wonder if this will be me in fifty years time, pensioned off when I can no longer work and forgotten about. The misery and isolation being broken only by a few memories.

Then I remember why I joined the LPYS and what I am fighting for. Capitalism offers nothing to working people now or in fifty years time. Looking at my granddad makes me even more determined to beat the bosses.

This time when the tanks roll up the Gallowgate we

will be ready for them. Ready to challenge the bosses and the whole rotten system which they represent.

But this time I am sure that the history books will tell a different story. Because if they don't you had better book your chair and your window now!

END CHEAP LABOUR! YOPs Get Organised

A million young people are now out of work. This summer, another 250,000 will be written off at sixteen; two-thirds of school leavers won't have a job to go to.

Apprenticeships are almost non-existent. In Coventry, once the heartland of British industry, eighty per cent of apprentice places have been wiped out under the Tories.

Labour's youth are organising a fight back. The Labour Party Young Socialists' National Committee have called on all branches to step up the campaign.

Unemployment benefit is now costing £300 million a week. Not for school leavers though—the Tories have decided they can go without money till September.

(Un)employment secretary Jim Prior—not short of a few quid himself—had the affrontery to suggest in parliament last week that "young workers are pricing themselves out of a job".

The best most will get is a paltry £23.50 a week on the government 'Youth Opportunities Programme'. Millions have been spent in a massive advertising campaign, using choice quotes from the likes of Sir Terence Beckett, director general of the Confederation of British Industry, who says, "Industry cannot afford to ignore the plight of unemployed young people."

How right he is. Youth won't accept the bleak prospects created by Beckett and his cronies, who own and

By Kevin Ramage

control industry. But they won't be used as cheap labour, either.

It is a scandal that Len Murray, Joe Gormley and Terry Duffy, trade union leaders whose job is to defend working people, give their support to the YOP campaign.

According to the Manpower Services Commission, who run YOP, one in three so-called trainees are being used to replace full-time workers. That means at least 30,000 jobs scrapped last year.

It's cheaper for employers to take a new face off the dole every six months—and the government pays.

Even the YMCA has now launched a national campaign, asking for money for the unemployed. But the Young Socialists should be leading the fight, for trade union rates of pay on YOP and for decent jobs.

The *Daily Mirror* reported recently that eight unemployed girls have been given a job counting dustbins in Chesterfield. The work was described as "very important"; it would "take three months, as Chesterfield has 44,500 bins..." Perhaps they're checking in case they lose one!

Some Tories have come up with an even better answer. Why shouldn't young people do community work: gardening and shopping for the

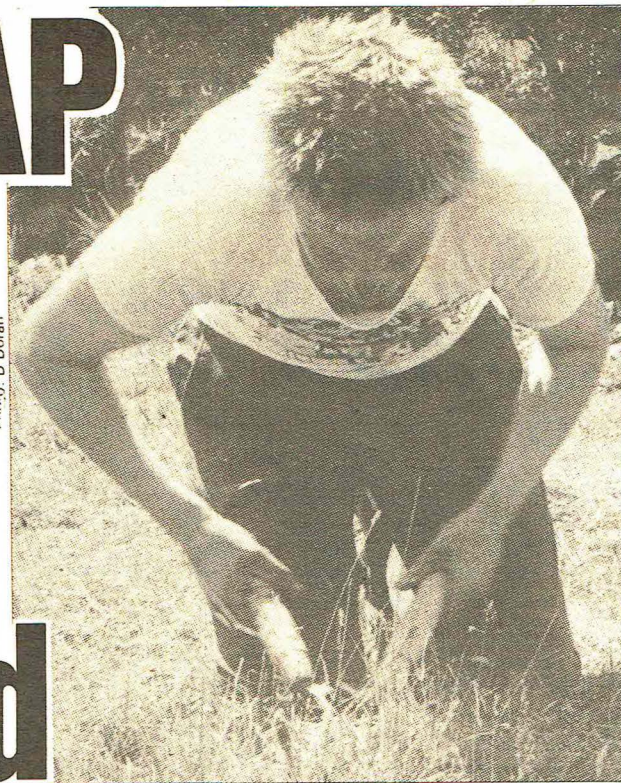
full-time job when I left school, but there wasn't a job.

Then I worked in a hotel as a waiter, starting at 11.30 in the morning, to about one o'clock the following morning, seven days a week. I was told I would come out with £32, but I only got £27. I packed that in.

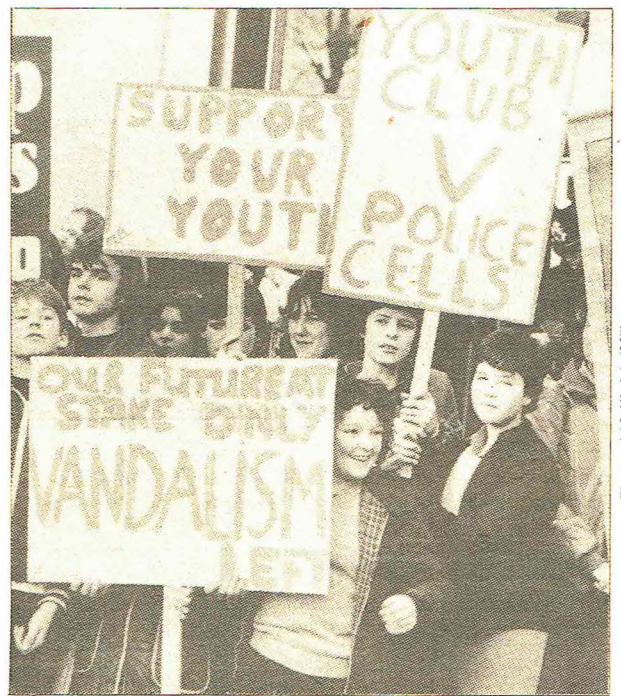
Then the Careers Service said there was a YOP job in a Youth Centre which sounded good, but when I got there they said the Youth Centre bit would come later and I was sent to do gardening. After that we did various jobs painting and decorating.

For the last couple of weeks I've been working chasing cows while the fun-fair is on the Town Moor. That job's just stupid.

No training, time off to go to college, or real experience, just five lads chas-



Photos: Above, a YOP trainee in Wallsend, Tyneside, "experiences" work—cutting a lawn with shears!
Below, demonstration in Solihull last February shows increasing anger of youth at incessant attacks.



elderly?

Before you all rush to apply, there's just one catch. The pay is £550—a year! That's two days' pay for Leyland axeman Michael Edwardes.

What was that about young people pricing themselves out of jobs?

The LPYS must be in the fore of the fight for jobs. We demand:

- ★ A guaranteed job for every school leaver
- ★ Restoration of every young person's right to Supplementary Benefit
- ★ Trade union rates of pay for YOPs
- ★ A minimum wage of £80 at eighteen.

ing cows and a supervisor on £400 a month to watch us—a real waste of money.

There is one good thing about this job—for the first time since I started on YOP we've got the right equipment, a stick and wellies!

YOPs on £23.50 are just cheap labour for the firms, and the dole is worse.

There have been a lot of muggings of old people lately, mainly by teenage unemployed. People are hanging around the streets and have got no money.

What do you think should be done about it?

For a start they can scrap the nuclear weapons that cost millions of pounds an hour to keep. They should use the money to reopen hospitals, schools, nurseries and make useful jobs. But not at £23.50.

I would think that at least £80 is a minimum, bearing in mind we're supposed to

It is vital that every YS branch takes up the campaign: on the streets, at factory gates and soap-box meetings in the shopping centres, on marches, days of action, at the dole offices.

We must make the protest heard; we must recruit the unemployed youth to the fight to throw out the Tories and this disease-ridden system.

The next unemployment figures come out on 21 July: make it a national day of protest against Thatcher and her government. Join us—get involved in the fight for socialist policies now!

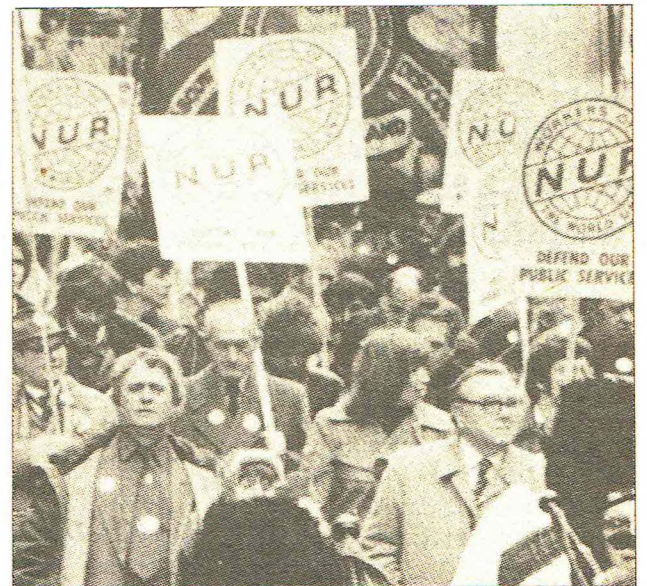
be preparing for a future with flats of our own and families. Some YOP trainees I know are married with kids, on £23.50.

That's why we've started the petition and are trying to get YOP workers to campaign for a better deal. If there was no YOP or unemployment, then we'd be in proper jobs, so we've joined NUPE and are trying to build the idea of all YOP workers joining a union.

The union paid for five YOP members from my scheme to go to the Cardiff demo. My holiday will be staying in the house, but through the LPYS and the union, I'm trying to get sponsored to go to the LPYS Summer Camp."

Copies of the petition, further information, and donations from Tony Goodall, 18 Deepdale Crescent, Cowgate, Newcastle upon Tyne.

Sealink floated on crocodile tears



The rail unions must fight denationalisation

The £22 million invested in new ships and improved harbour facilities last year for British Railway's shipping subsidiary, Sealink UK Ltd., gave confidence to those whose jobs, directly or indirectly, depend on BR's international business.

This was in spite of a £7 million drop in the shipping services' operating surplus to £2.6 million and the eleven BR-owned harbours' surplus hovering for the second year at around £4m.

This confidence, however, is undermined by the real threat of de-nationalisation. Control would pass from a management who see shipping as an integral part of Europe's rail network to anonymous shareholders concerned only with private profits.

The enabling legislation for the introduction of private investment capital gives no specific guarantees on routes, frequencies, manning levels, conditions of service or grades and wage levels.

The experience of freightliner staff during their period of divorce from BR and National Carriers Ltd Staff should be a warning.

Already ominous sounds have been heard from European Ferries, Sealink's would-be purchaser. Speaking at the company's annual meeting the chairman referred to the "dangerously low" level of fares on cross channel ferries.

The culprits are clearly seen as Sealink and Seaspeed (hovercraft) in pursuing an aggressive cut-prices policy to secure business. "Our problem is that we're slugging it out with nationalised companies," (FT 16.6.81). So much for the twin myths of amateurish, inefficient nationalised businesses and

By Len Bates
(Euston No 2
Branch TSSA)

the capitalists' love of open competition.

The chairman of European Ferries expressed concern for the future of smaller operators, "unless something happens within 18 months." It would be interesting to witness this representative of big business' reaction if his company's bid is upheld by the Monopolies Commission (within the next 18 months) at the expense of bids from smaller companies. In the capitalists' world it's dog eat dog.

It's likely, though, that more sincere concern is being directed towards the sharp fall in European Ferries' shipping profits last year. This contrasts with a reported considerable rise in its property and banking interests.

There can be no doubt that a sold-off Sealink would quickly be 'rationalised', with inevitable reductions in the new combined fleet.

The capitalist solution to short term loss of profitability is to cut out all but the dead cert profit makers. This would mean concentration on peak season traffic and put at risk the all year, all routes, rail connected service that has become society's established property.

Only the combined strength of the labour movement can defend such patiently built public assets from the demolition squad mentality of quick money free-enterprisers.

And the labour movement must uphold its threat to reclaim, without compensation, any de-nationalised undertaking and demand that the Labour leadership implements that policy.

Tony Goodall
(Newcastle West
LPYS and NUPE)
spoke to Chris
Edwards (Newcastle
Central LPYS and
NUPE)

Tony Goodall's story will be repeated for thousands of school leavers this summer. Tony spoke to *Militant* about his work experience and why he is working hard to get a better deal for YOPs.

"I did three days a week from school for a bakers firm. I only got £12 per week, but they said I'd get a

FRANCE— Workers press for lasting reforms

The victory of the left in the French elections has ushered in a new period for France and for the whole of the European labour movement.

The left's vote of 56% was its biggest ever in the whole history of the French Republic, going back over a century. With 333 seats, the combined left have more than twice as many MPs as the Opposition.

**By John
Pickard**

May 1968. During that strike movement the CFDT (French Democratic Confederation of Labour) trade union federation came closest to expressing the powerful pressure in the French working class for a fundamental change in society.

While the leadership of the Communist Trade Union, CGT (General Confederation of Labour) were trying to take the steam out of the strike by accepting almost anything that De Gaulle offered, it was the CFDT which at first refused to sign an agreement and which reflected, albeit in a contradictory and confused way, the pressure of the workers. The CFDT leaders called for an end of capitalist society and called upon the workers to "master their work and their future".

De Gaulle at that time thought that "the game was up". Senior civil servants went across Paris to discuss with the workers' committees the smooth transfer of power. The socialist transformation could have been carried through peacefully at that time, but the hesitations and vacillations of the workers' 'leaders', especially of the Communist Party and the CGT, let slip the opportunity and De Gaulle came back on the wave of disillusionment that followed.

From being a right-wing Catholic trade union, the CFDT swung over to become the most militant of the unions, playing a key role in the industrial struggles of 1968 and afterwards. It was the activists in the CFDT who in 1971 were the main force in re-establishing the Socialist Party out of the remnants of the semi-defunct SFIO (French Section of Workers International).

The new party took over the new traditions of the CFDT and from the beginning looked towards the left. In France it resulted in the formation of the 'Common Programme' with the Communist Party in 1972 and internationally in the Socialist Party forming special ties with the other parties of Southern Europe, notably Greece, Portugal and Spain—parties which are to the left of those in the North.

In the early years of the

new party, even Mitterrand himself was moved to make what were for him extremely left statements because of the pressure of the rank and file.

But while the elections have produced a large increase in support for the Socialist Party, the Communist support has declined dramatically to 15%-16%, their worst results since 1936. They are reaping the harvest of years of bankrupt policies.

In the early 1970s the party abandoned all the traditions of the foundations of the Communist Party, leaving only the name of the party linking it to the past. But in recent years, the party has moved back towards a more orthodox pro-Moscow line in relation to Afghanistan and Eastern Europe. They have, in other words, embraced all the worst features of both the old pro-Moscow Stalinism and the degenerate Euro-Communism.

Even their relationship with the Socialist Party has been ambiguous. Both parties agreed the Common Programme in 1972 but the Communist Party abandoned the programme in 1977, with the result that they were blamed for the Left's narrow defeat in the election of 1978. At that time and for the next three years, the Communist Party spent as much time attacking the socialists as attacking the right-wing policies of Giscard.

Fight for a socialist planned economy

In the search for cheap votes, the Communist Party even jumped on the bandwagon of racialism, supporting and instigating harassment and intimidation of the North African Moslem immigrants. These policies will have cut no ice with the majority of French workers and they partly explain why the Party lost votes to the SP even in former Communist Party bastions, like North Paris.

The strength of the Socialist Party in the Assembly has been enough for Mitterrand to be able to extract an abject surrender of their policies by the Communist party in return for Communist Cabinet posts. **But as the 'Financial Times' pointed out: "His position will be far weaker in dealing with the popular expectations aroused by the shift to the left. A recent poll showed that 70% of the people expected their living standards to rise under M. Mitterrand's Presidency."**

The growing crisis of capitalism will put enormous pressure on Mitterrand. Unemployment is 1.7 million and OECD forecasts are for an increase to 1.9 million by the end of this year. As is the case in Britain, even formerly prosperous areas are feeling the chill wind of recession.

Redundancies in April were running at 45% above the level for April last year. The economy was virtually stagnant in 1980 and is expected to remain so in 1981. Inflation is at 13% and rising while industrial investment is falling. France is running a balance of payments deficit of \$8,000 million.

Mitterrand has already made moves to appease big business in the appointment of senior ministers. In particular Claude Cheysson, Foreign Minister, (the special advisor, Regis Debray is only an ornament for the gaze of the intellectual left) and Jacques Delors, Economics Minister are from the right wing of the Socialist Party, appointed to reassure domestic and international capitalism that government policies will be conservative.

In the short term, perhaps for a year or two, the Socialist Party will be forced by the pressure of the working class to carry through reforms in their own interests. Wages, pensions and other benefits will rise in real terms. The government may have to make early concessions on extra holidays and shorter working hours. But if the government continues to operate on the basis of capitalism, the reforms will begin to turn sour.

Mitterrand and the Socialist Party could bring about a fundamental change of society if they based themselves upon the real mood of French workers for such a change. If the leaders were to campaign and explain that reforms would only be guaranteed and built upon by taking over all the industrial and financial monopolies, then huge support for such measures could be mobilised.

Not only would workers support such a change, but as in 1968 at the height of the movement, large sections of the middle class and professional workers would also be swept into the movement for change. A Socialist planned economy involving the conscious and democratic control by the mass of workers would be the secure foundation for the elimination of unemployment, inflation and other social ills.

But the whole logic of Mitterrand's programme is against this course of development. Even if the government goes through with the nationalisation measures in its programme, the overwhelming majority of the economy (84%) will be left in private hands, and the work-

ing of the capitalist system will inevitably dictate terms to Mitterrand rather than the other way round.

Already the run on the Franc has jolted Mitterrand into jacking up interest rates to protect the currency. But he will not be able to prevent devaluation. There are an estimated \$8 billion worth of 'Euro-Francs' floating around the EEC which will make any exchange controls ineffectual.

There has already been a de facto devaluation of 9% as the Franc floated down against other currencies. Future devaluations will be made even more certain by the government's economic policies. Without a big increase in economic growth (the chances of which are nil), the increased public expenditure due to the government's programme will increase the budget deficit and so increase inflation.

The reforms already announced will cost Fr 5 billion this year and Fr 16 billion in 1982. The government has also promised to provide an extra 210,000 jobs in the public sector by schemes of public works. They have promised compensation for nationalisation and so on.

Even the temporary increase in the bank rate, to a record 22%, was being subsidised by the government by compensating businesses for the high interest charges. These policies will more than double the government's budget deficit, to well over Fr 65 billion, (£6 billion). Inflation will therefore rise fast within a year or two to perhaps 20% or 25%.

Workers will soon find themselves in the same position as they were after 1968, when wage rises were eaten away by inflation until they were little better off in real terms. Finance minister Delors is clearly aware of these looming problems.

He is on record as saying "the programme to reduce unemployment and social inequality must not conflict with the need to contain inflation and to contain the competitive position of French industry". This is a warning of Healey-style austerity is ever there was one!

It is inevitable that within a measurable period of time the government will begin to put pressure on the trade union leaders for 'restraint'. The right-wing of the Socialist Party will lean on their liberal allies the 'Left-Radicals' as the excuse for 'moderating' their policies.

It was the Radicals in the Popular Front of 1936 who were the main excuse used by Blum and the Socialist leaders for abandoning any semblance of a socialist programme or perspective. Despite being a puny political force today (their fourteen

seats are only due, in any case, to electoral deals with the Socialists), the Left Radicals will still be used as a fig leaf to hide the nakedness of the Socialist Party leadership.

Mitterrand's involvement of the Communist Party in the government, however is not so that the Communist Party would have even the slightest influence on policy, but in order to embroil them, and especially the Communist-dominated CGT, in unpopular decisions. The agreement between the Communist party and the Socialist Party quite explicitly extends the 'solidarity' in Parliament down to the workplace itself.

When the government has to introduce unpopular policies, the Communist Party leaders will have to share the odium as far as the workers are concerned. From Mitterrand's point of view it is obviously better to have the Communist Party in the government, in junior posts of course.

The Communist leaders, however, have fallen over themselves to get Cabinet posts, blithely unaware of the role they will be playing in protecting Mitterrand's left flank. They have learnt nothing from the experience of the French post-war governments.

Because of the experience of war and the role played by them in the Resistance, the Communist Party in 1944 commanded enormous support among the workers. The working class then would have supported the socialist transformation of society if the lead had been given.

The French capitalist class had no alternative but to bring the Communist Party in to the government and while the workers' 'leaders' were mesmerised by their Cabinet portfolios, the ruling class were able to diffuse a potentially revolutionary situation. Once the dangers were passed, the capitalist class no longer needed the Communist Party and they were unceremoniously dumped out of the government.

On a smaller scale, the Communist Party leaders today are prepared to play the same role as in 1945 but with the important difference that the ruling class will need the Communist Party to diffuse the situation progressively more in the future and not less.

But no matter what the minor twists and turns followed by the leaders of the Socialist and Communist Parties, the coming years will see enormous upheavals inside their ranks.

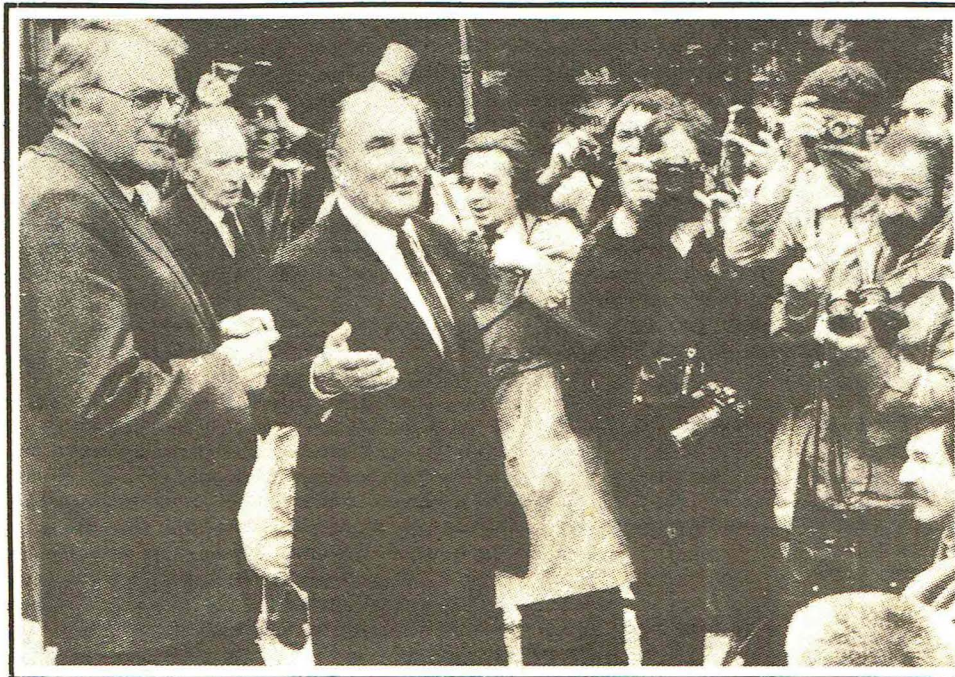
In the short term, the Socialist Party is likely to increase dramatically in the wake of the election victory. There will be more life and vitality in the Party branches and especially in the Young



Steelworkers and their families protest at the devastation of the steel town of Longwy March '79

Photo: John Sturrock (Report) II

President Mitterrand and Prime Minister Mauroy



Socialists than there has been for years. The raised expectations of the mass of workers will be refracted through the ranks of the advanced workers in the CFDT and the Socialist Party.

In the longer term, the increase in the economic crisis will create some disillusionment and falling away in membership. The party's electoral support will probably decline from its present peak of 38%. But at the same time, there will be big splits and upheavals inside the party as large sections of the rank and file move over to the left in opposition to government policy.

Even in the Assembly itself the weakness of the official opposition will ensure that the real opposition to Mitterrand comes from the left of the Socialist Party. There is already a recognised left wing group in the form of the Ceres faction and this will grow in influence over the coming years.

In this period of crisis large sections of the Socialist Party rank and file will move in the direction of Marxism as they become disillusioned in both the right and left wing reformists.

But the same upheavals will also be reflected inside the Communist party. There are already sections of its membership opposed to the disastrous line of its leader, Marchais, over the last few years and are opposed to the Communist Party entering the government. The more the Communist Party is embroiled in unpopular government policies, the more opposition will grow inside the party itself and there will be pressure on the leaders to withdraw from the government.

But it is in industry that the opposition to the government will reflect itself first. The traditions of the French

labour movement are those of great volatility and spontaneity. Only a quarter of French workers are in a trade union, but that has not prevented them from being involved in mass movements in the past. In 1968, for example, only about 3 million of the 10 million workers on strike were actually trade union members.

The violent opposition of the Lorraine steel workers to the proposed redundancy terms two years ago are a pointer to the character of future industrial disputes. Whereas in Britain the social contract was used by trade union leaders to hold their members in check for more than three years after 1975, such a long 'honeymoon' or austerity period would be very unlikely in the French context.

With inflation beginning to eat away at the workers' gains, within a year or two at the most, there will be big strikes over wages. The rivalry between the two main trade unions, the CGT and the CFDT will only exacerbate the opposition to the government in industry.

For the moment, the CFDT leaders who are close to the Socialist Party are counselling 'responsibility', while the CGT leaders have demagogically tried to outbid the others in their demands. One CGT leader told a recent rally that "we shall not be the trade union gossippers of a so-called left wing austerity" and when the CFDT called for a 10% rise in the minimum wage, the CGT called for 20%. The CGT is bigger than all the other trade unions put together.

Pressure will be put on the Communist Party leaders through this trade union to distance themselves from the policies of the government and even with the Communist

Party still in the Cabinet, the CGT is likely to move to a position of at least semi-opposition so that it will grow at the expense of the other trade unions.

If the Communist Party itself adopted a position of semi-opposition to Mitterrand, it's own support would also grow. It is not excluded that if the Communist Party were to oppose the government outright that in a few years it could become once again the main working-class party in France. Even now, despite having only 15% in electoral terms, the Communist Party retains support among important sections of the industrial workers.

France has reached an historic turning point. The election of Mitterrand and the Socialist Party have ushered in a period of great changes and upheavals, a period marked by sudden and rapid swings in the consciousness and the mood of the working class and the middle class.

All the organisations of the labour movement will be shaken from top to bottom by this social instability.

The history of France has shown many occasions when the opportunity for social change was presented and then lost. In modern times that was the case in 1936, in 1945 and in 1968 when there was no question that the mass of workers were eager for a change but their energy and combativity was frittered away by the weakness and hesitations of their leaders.

In the next decade in France the key questions facing the labour movement will once again be the need for a Marxist leadership. The future in France as elsewhere in Europe will be a new period of Popular Frontism when the pressure of the working class propels the workers' parties into office, only for those parties' leaders to vacillate, to put the brakes on the movement, creating disillusionment and disappointment.

But compared to the 1930s, the working class today is far stronger. The French ruling class has traditionally supported a strong peasantry as a counter-weight to the working class, but industrialisation in the last two decades has changed the whole class balance of forces.

Whereas in the 1930s the peasantry were more than 40% of the workforce today they are only 8%. France is now the second industrial power in Europe after West Germany, and its working class, as shown in 1968, is immeasurably stronger than in the inter-war years. It is now easily the strongest force in society.

France in 1936 was only just dragging itself out of the depression—between 1930 and 1932 industrial production fell by 35%—but that is not true today. The greater strength of the workers is matched by greater confidence as the wounds and defeats of the 1930s have been healed.

It is possible that disillusionment and disappointment with Mitterrand's government could result in a swing to the right in the next Assembly elections in five years time. The middle class is especially susceptible to sharp swings and whereas in these elections 20% of the Gaullist voters were reported to have swung over to the Socialist Party, they could just as easily swing back again if living standards were cut.

If that happened it would be a serious setback for the workers, but because of the strength of the labour movement it would probably be followed at a later stage by another Left government under greater pressure from the working class than ever before.

But this process would not go on forever because while the workers struggle for an answer to their problems through their organisations, the ruling class would begin to make plans for a bloody crushing of the labour movement using the army and the state apparatus. If the workers can find the road to Marxist ideas, then the plans of the capitalists will turn to dust.

All these events will have a big impact on the international labour movement. For workers in Britain, the economic programme of the French elections will be a testing ground for the so-called Alternative Economic Strategy which is very similar.

The class struggles in France have always held the attention of the international labour movement and have provided the very basis of Marx' and Engels' own ideas. The struggles in 1789, 1848, 1871, 1936 and 1968 had a profound effect on workers in many other countries. The same will be the case in France in the 1980s.

CHILE - The workers' struggle

The strike by over 10,000 miners at Chile's second largest copper mine, El Teniente, has been defeated at the eleventh hour.

The strike, which began on 21 April in support of an 18% wage claim, finally ended on 20 June, one day before the 60-day limit imposed by the Junta's infamous Labour Plan was due to expire.

The strikers had stated their intention to exceed this limit. It was the enormous political significance that the strike held for the trade union movement in Chile (like our own Grunwick strike), and the international solidarity it attracted, that made its destruction vital to the junta.

Strikers and their families were subjected to illegal harassment and intimidation by the military authorities, and the strike was vilified in the junta-controlled media.

The strike was first weakened by the return to work of 5,200 workers who, after 40 days, accepted the 2% increase offered by the state mining corporation CODELCO.

4,800 workers at the mine's processing plant held out until the 59th day when they, too, were forced to succumb to the intolerable pressure put upon them by the authorities.

Control in the Rancagua area by the military and police was considerably tightened. Marches and demonstrations in support

By a
correspondent

of the strike were banned nationally, and raids on the homes of the strikers and their supporters were systematically carried out.

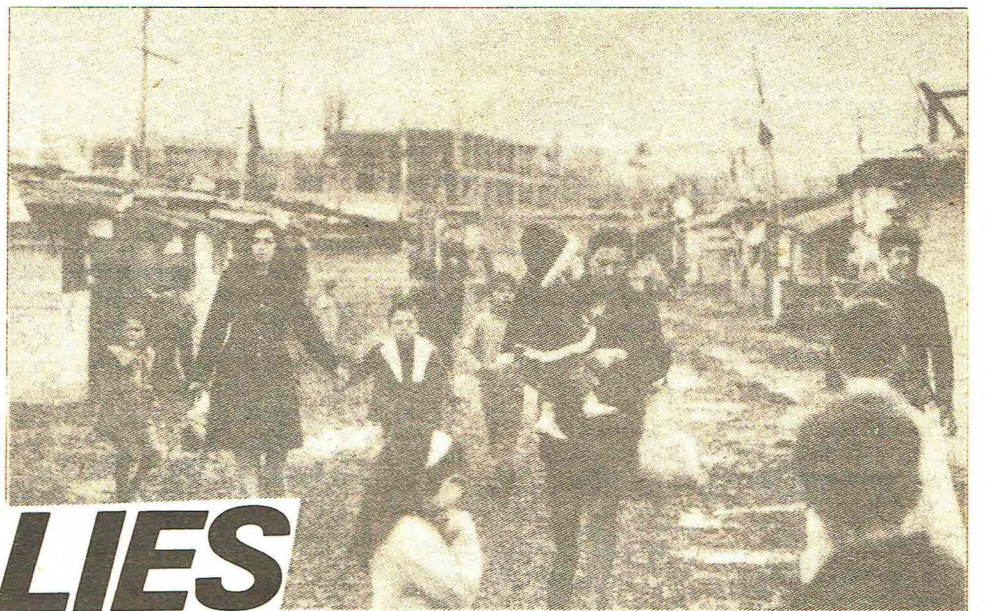
Chilean miners earn about £130 a month, while prices for basic commodities are equivalent to those in Britain. The working day ranges from 12 to 15 hours (without overtime) and silicosis is rife. Some miners contract the disease within four months of starting work, and the average miner's working life is only 15 years as a result of the appalling conditions they face.

The monetarists in the Chilean government are trying to sell off CODELCO to private enterprise, most likely to American capitalists, to raise desperately needed foreign capital. It is for this reason that the government have applied a vicious whip to the miners' backs.

But in the longer term, the sale of the nationalised mines will be seriously damaging to the economy, adding more to the insoluble problems already faced by the Junta.



TWO FACES OF CHILE: the armed forces of the regime and the slum conditions faced by over a fifth of Chile's population. Public sector housing starts fell from 28,000 a year in 1965-73 to 9,000 a year in 1974-78. Chile is short of over 600,000 houses.



...AND THE BOSSES' LIES

"Chile today is a pleasant place to live. The government is nowhere near so restrictive as those in other Latin American countries such as Uruguay, Argentina, Cuba, Guatemala and Bolivia...That Chile has a bright, and hopefully, democratic, future is certain."

These are not the remarks of some uncritical journalist who visited Chile in the time of Allende's Popular Unity government. They are from the latest supplement to 'Roundabout', the internal newspaper of Reckitt & Colman, one of the British multinationals investing in the Chilean police state.

Not surprisingly, this

SRI LANKA
NSSP lobby Exhibition celebrating 50 years of franchise in Sri Lanka—today 1½m tea plantation workers have had the right to vote taken away.

Picket Commonwealth Institute, Holland Park, London, Thursday 16 July, 10.00 am.

By George
Collins

bosses' propaganda sheet warmly defends the savage military dictatorship in Chile. The real enemy of democracy in Chile, they say, was Allende!

"It was the Marxist president Allende," they inform their workers, "who had come to power by constitutional means, only to destroy it during his reign." The army chiefs, on the other hand, "displayed remarkable patience during the period in which Allende completely dismantled the country's economy."

These lies refer to the fact that Allende's government, under enormous pressure from the masses, had nationalised large sectors of US-owned mining and industry to stop the drain of profits from the country. All it "dismantled" was the direct stranglehold of the US capitalist class over the Chilean economy.

In retaliation, US imperialism cut off aid to Chile and used its enormous power to sabotage the na-

tional economy. Finally, it was the CIA which backed the Chilean generals in the bloody coup which overthrew Allende in September 1973.

In the coup, the Reckitt bosses reluctantly admit, "there was bloodshed and several hundred people died or disappeared..." In reality, Reckitt's "several hundred" amounted to over 50,000, while thousands more were imprisoned or disappeared.

This scandalous cover-up for Pinochet's mass butchery is an unwitting warning to workers that Britain's 'democratic' capitalists regard any measures as justified when their interests are at stake. Driving the point home, they add that monetarism is "working" in Chile, unlike in Britain, because the Chilean regime "did not have democratic processes getting in the way"! This amazing cynicism underlines the utterly ruthless nature of the capitalist system.

"People tend to forget," Reckitt's management go on, "that the ordinary people of Chile would, without doubt, have unseated Allende without the help of the CIA had he continued to mismanage their country."

On the contrary, in the

wave of enthusiasm following Allende's early anti-capitalist measures, support for his government increased from 36% of the vote in 1970 to 50% in the local elections of April 1971. Only a week before the coup 800,000 people—a considerable part of Chile's total population of less than 11 million—demonstrated in Santiago chanting "Allende, Allende, the people will defend you!"

Allende's undoing was his failure to go the whole way in dismantling capitalism and replacing the state machine with the power of the armed people. Instead, he allowed the reactionary generals to remain in control of the armed forces; the capitalists and their representatives kept control of the levers of the economy and the state.

By refusing to arm the workers, Allende made it impossible for the people to defend him—or to defend their organisations against the generals' murderous attacks.

The Reckitt bosses support the junta because it has acted as the policeman of their class interests. Reckitt's Chilean subsidiary, Atlantis, manufactures household goods and has over 80% of the shoe polish market in Chile

(perhaps this helps to explain their partiality for military dictatorships).

Now, they rejoice, Atlantis is "getting the chance, through the country's government, to operate in a good and peaceful atmosphere for growing its business..."

If the Chilean workers' leaders make full use of the opportunities for struggle in the period ahead, the junta's days are numbered

But for the capitalists there are clouds on the horizon. Pinochet did not possess a mass following and his regime is no more than a bloody but narrow-based dictatorship of the generals. Unlike the fascist regimes of Hitler and Mussolini, it lacks the massive middle-class support necessary to stabilise its rule and send its tentacles into every nook and cranny of society. The labour move-

ment suffered a bloody defeat in 1973 but it was not completely destroyed.

The workers of Chile are gradually rebuilding their organised strength and returning to the offensive. Reckitt & Colman admit that "repression (has been) eased and the right to argue against official policies is always in evidence..." This reflects nothing more than the failing grip of the regime, trying to hold down the workers' movement.

Undoubtedly there will be checks and setbacks in the fight against a ruthless and desperate enemy. But, if the Chilean workers' leaders make full use of the opportunities for struggle in the period ahead, the junta's days are numbered.

The task of the Chilean working class is not only to overthrow Pinochet but to end once and for all the power of the capitalist class which, when unable to rule 'democratically', will resort to dictatorship to defend its interests.

This crucial lesson, which has been learned by the militants of the Chilean Socialist Party of the Interior, needs to be absorbed by all activists in the labour movement internationally who will again be looking towards Chile in the period ahead.

IRISH LABOUR WILL RETURN TO ITS SOCIALIST TRADITIONS

Labour's youth section: solidly opposed to coalition

The Irish Labour Party met in a special conference on Sunday 28 June to decide on the strategy its fifteen TDs (MPs) would follow when the Dail (Parliament) reassembled on 30 June. The election on 11 June had resulted in no overall majority for either party.

The main capitalist party, Fianna Fail, won 78 seats, the second capitalist party Fine Gael won 65 seats, Labour won fifteen and there were eight Independents including two prisoners in the H-Blocks in Northern Ireland. As these two could not take their seats, the actual Dail contained 164 seats.

The proposal put to Labour was to go into a coalition with Fine Gael, giving an 80-seat bloc in the Dail which with some of the Independents would give a majority. This option was put forward by the new party leader, Michael O'Leary, and seconded by the previous leader Frank Cluskey.

They were supported by all of the parliamentary party except new TDs Paddy O'Sullivan from Cork, Michael D Higgins (also party chairman) from Galway, and Senator Mary Robinson.

Michael O'Leary argued for a coalition on the basis of the agreed document he had drawn up with Fine Gael.

This 50-page document was presented to the delegates only during the conference itself. It contained a few minor concessions from Fine Gael. Old age pension ineligibility was to be reduced by one year, a youth unemployment scheme was to be implemented, and a national development corporation was to be set up.

The policies of Fine Gael were otherwise left intact. The borrowing requirement was to be cut, no wealth tax was to be introduced, pay norms in the public sector was referred to and no change was to be enacted in the divorce laws.

The conference voted 60%

By John Throne
(Editor, *Militant Irish Monthly*)

for and 40% against entry into a coalition. This decision was not made on the basis of the document which no-one had time to read except the party leader. The decision was taken for several reasons. Many delegates feared another election if no government was formed on 30 June.

With the Labour Party having lost seats and votes at the last election, and in a desperate financial situation, they feared that the Party would do even worse in an immediate election. There were also many delegates who showed many signs of having no previous involvement in the Labour Party. Some were obviously recently signed up Party members to give support to the coalition.

While the decision is a real setback for the whole labour movement, the vote itself gives very little idea of what went on at the conference.

Forty-six people spoke in the debate. Nine of the eleven who spoke for a coalition were members or ex-members of the parliamentary party. Only two speakers from the



delegates, the body of the hall, came forward to support coalition. It was clear that the Party activists were overwhelmingly opposed to the party leader's recommendation. All the trade union leaders spoke against coalition and all the affiliated trade unions voted against it.

Sean Redmond, General Secretary of the Irish Municipal Employees Trade Union, in opposing, said that unemployment "could only be solved by going outside the capitalist system instead of tinkering with it."

John Carroll, president of the country's largest union, the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, said, "There was an implication in this deal between the parties of a wage policy for the public sector. My union will not go along with that, nor will the Irish Congress of Trade Unions." The General

Secretary of the Federated Workers Union of Ireland, the country's second biggest union, spoke in similar vein.

Perhaps the most notable feature of the opposition to coalition was the vote of the youth in the party. Speaker after speaker from the party's youth section opposed coalition.

They pointed out that during the 1970s the voting age had been reduced to 18, and 680,000 new young voters had joined the electorate. 50% of the electorate at the last election were under 30 and yet Labour's percentage of the vote had fallen from 17% in 1969 to 10% in 1981. The party's absolute vote had fallen from 223,000 in 1969 to 170,000 in 1981. This was the disaster of coalitions, they argued. None of the pro-coalition speakers were able to answer these points

Also of great significance in

the debate was the role played by supporters of the Marxist paper, *Militant Irish Monthly*. They argued the case against coalition and for the Labour Party opposing both capitalist parties and beginning to struggle for socialism in Ireland and a majority Labour government.

"More concessions could be won by mass campaigns of trade unionists, Labour Party branches, and the youth sections than could ever be won in negotiations around the cabinet table," Finn Geaney explained.

"On the basis of capitalism only increased poverty and unemployment is offered," another *Militant* supporter stated. "Only by the nationalisation of the commanding heights of the economy and the creation of a socialist plan of production could the problems of the economy be solved and a decent living stan-

dard provided for all. Labour must stand alone and fight for these policies."

As James Connolly, the Party founder, had explained, "Labour is strongest when it stands alone." Out of the 35 speakers opposed to coalition, 19 were supporters of *Militant Irish Monthly*.

In spite of the decision taken at the conference and the victory for the coalition there was no demoralisation amongst the delegates opposed to coalition. There was no repeat of the walk-out of the left which had taken place in 1970 when the previous coalition decision was taken.

One delegate was warmly applauded when he called on the left and the youth of the party to stay in the party and fight. "The present coalition arrangement will not last long. Fine Gael will dump Labour and go for a majority on its own, or the government would be brought down by the Independents. In that situation the policies of those leaders who argued for coalition would be seen to have been disastrous and then the party would be back to its socialist traditions."

The pro-coalitionists and the Parliamentary Party put themselves out on a limb to get their position adopted. If they are to hold on to their positions the coalition arrangements would have to solve the problems of unemployment, falling living standards and the fall in Labour support.

It will not succeed in this. In this situation the position of anti-coalition and standing on the Party's own socialist policies can win the majority. Then the party will begin to grow and develop.

The sign of the mood of fight and enthusiasm was seen at the end of the conference. No one was available to sing the 'Watchword of Labour', the normal ending to Labour Party conferences. So one youth delegate jumped to the microphone and led the delegates in the singing of the Internationale.

It was a fitting symbol of the shape of things to come as far as Irish Labour is concerned. The decision to go into coalition, while undoubtedly a setback, will only be a temporary one.

US TEXTILE WORKERS- 'We need a labour party'

Not long ago, the US clothing and textile workers merged to form the Amaglamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union. On the final day of their convention in June in Detroit, Michigan, the motion to begin working for a Labor Party was passed unanimously to enthusiastic applause from the delegates.

The sentiment for a Labor party had been brewing all week at this convention of 3,000 delegates representing 455,000 members of the union.

Those who supported the resolution had passed a petition around to the delegates, calling for the convention to take action on it. Hundreds of delegates signed the petition, including several leading officers of the union.

Without a single dissenting voice, every delegate who spoke on the resolution supported it.

"We don't let our employers break us", said Jermaine Hopkins of Local 1899, "Why should we let our government? If we can't

From Betty Traun
in New York

get support from the Democrats or the Republicans, then we should get it from a party of our own."

Gary Hill of Local 2315 stated that the unions need to "look towards ourselves to build a Labor Party of our own".

From St. Louis, Missouri came Geraldine Foster, a black textile worker, who said in support of the motion: "It is not un-American to help yourselves, but

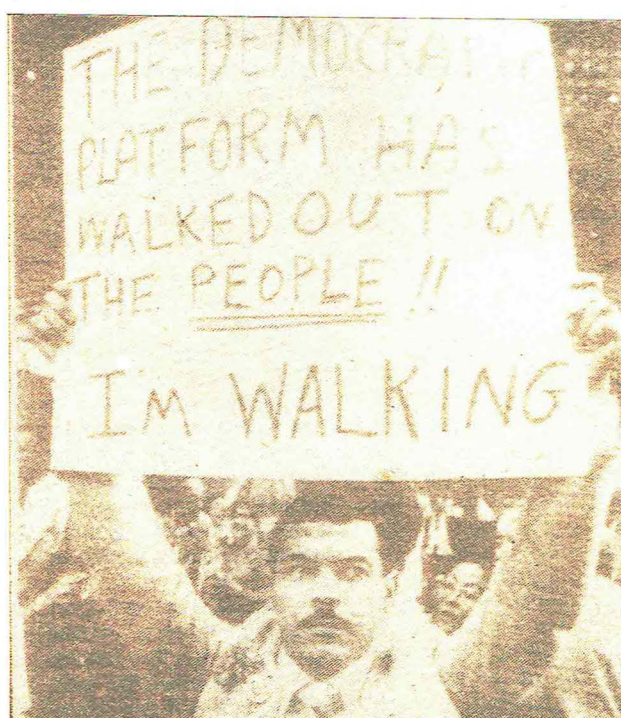
it is un-American not to recognise that the poor, the elderly, and other disadvantaged Americans are 'part of our responsibility'".

Calling the motion "one of the most important pieces of business that we are facing here," Jack Speigle of Local 81 in Chicago pointed out that among members of Congress, who are now pushing budget cuts in social services, were dozens of Democratic Party representatives "who we supported, who we paid money to, who betrayed us".

"We have Labor representatives," he said, "who can do a hell of a better job than those currently in office".

Clothing workers' Vice President Charles Salle, denounced the "Lesser of two evils" concept used in organised Labor's political action activities in the United States.

Looking to Canada with its labor-backed New Democratic Party, he said: "I believe our Canadian friends have found the way to have their voice heard, and it's time we found a way to



At last year's Democratic Party convention. This conclusion is being reached by more and more American workers.

have our voice heard". The resolution which goes into effect calls for the running of "independent labor candidates" for political office, and instructs the

officers of the union to investigate with other unions the formation of "an independent party of labor."



Urgent: Get Benn's consent

Dear Comrade, I have been asked to write to you on behalf of the Rank and File Mobilising Committee. It has come to our notice that many Constituency Labour Parties are apparently unaware that the consent in writing of the candidate for the deputy leadership has to be obtained before a nomination is valid.

Secretaries of constituencies which have agreed to nominate Tony Benn should write to him for a letter of consent as soon as possible c/o The House of Commons, London SW1. Nominations close on August 14.

Yours,
Reg Race M.P.
Chairperson, Rank and File Mobilising Committee for Labour Democracy

Defend Susan Shell

Dear Comrades,

Gay people, like women and black people, are especially prone to victimisation at their place of work. Every year many gay women and men lose their jobs solely on this basis.

Ideas that 'gays are a threat to young people', 'gays are sick', 'gay men are effeminate' and 'gay

Cornish wreckers return

Dear Militant,

With the first hints of summer, most workers will be looking to raise some spare cash for their summer holidays. A chance of a break, away from long hours, bad conditions and unemployment, must seem like manna from heaven.

However, if you think you can escape from the Tories on holiday, you'd better think again.

The West Country, with its sub-tropical climate, good facilities and miles of golden beaches, draws holidaymakers year after year. The Cornish coastline has areas of outstanding natural beauty. It is also very dangerous, to shipping and bathers.

But the government has decided that cuts have to be made and, true to their colours, don't give a damn for the consequences.

Kerrier district council, which covers Hayle, Cambourne, Truro and Falmouth (the heart of tourist Cornwall)

recently announced that full-time life savers on their beaches would have to be sacked, saving some £10,000 a year.

These cuts would include the lifeguards at Portreath (in the north) and Praa Sands (on the Lizard peninsula in the south), two of the most popular and dangerous beaches in Cornwall. Last year at Praa Sands beach alone, five bathers were saved from certain drowning.

It doesn't end there. Manned coast-guard stations will be cut from ten to two, putting more lives and property at risk.

It seems the famous Cornish Wreckers of 'Jamaica Inn' days have made a come-back with a vengeance. It will take the working class, not the hangman's noose, to finish this gang of cut-throats.

Yours fraternally
A. Kinrade
Caerphilly Labour Party

Picket Sri Lanka Exhibition

Dear Comrades

During the last few years the Sri Lankan working class has been subjected to a vicious campaign of oppression and attacks from the present government, under the direction of J.R. Jayawardene and his United National Party cohorts.

The complete hypocrisy of his government and its contempt for the workers is now being demonstrated by plans to open an exhibition, on 16 July at the Commonwealth Institute, to celebrate 50 years of Universal Franchise in Sri Lanka. The Queen will be opening this exhibition celebrating 'democratic rights'!

In reality, the first act by Jayawardene's government was to declare two million

Tamil-speaking plantation workers 'stateless' and deprive them of voting rights. These workers, descendants of Indian emigrants, have lived and worked in Sri Lanka for over two hundred years.

The Marxist party of Sri Lanka, the Nava Sama Samaja Party, has a proud record of struggle in defence of the Tamil people's rights. It has consistently pointed out that the only way to protect democratic rights is to oust the UNP government by mobilising working people for a clear socialist alternative.

The London branch of the NSSP is organising a picket of the opening of the exhibition on 16 July. Labour movement activists in the area should make an effort to attend and lend their support.

Fraternally,
Liz Floyd
Paddington LPYS

women are masculine', are part of capitalism's stereotyping of the roles of the family and men and women, as a tool for keeping women in the home or as cheap labour.

A recent case is that of Susan Shell, who has been sacked from her job in Barking social services girls' hostel.

After a few weeks, Susan bravely decided to tell her boss she was gay. The response from the warden was good, but as a matter of

procedure she reported it to her supervisors. The result was that Susan Shell lost her job.

This is just one example of how the bosses try to foster and use prejudices to divide workers and keep them under heel. But this case is more scandalous than most, and of especial importance to socialists in the Labour Party, because Susan Shell was sacked by a Labour-controlled council.

In his introduction to a new National Council for

Civil Liberties booklet, 'Gay workers: Trade Unions and the law', Tony Benn calls on the labour movement to take up the defence of gay workers' employment rights: "Not only would this involve a binding pledge on future legislation to change discrimination but it would be of real and immediate educational value."

Socialists, with a Marxist understanding of all forms of oppression, must put forward a socialist answer to

the problems of gay people and all other doubly-oppressed sections of the working class.

Susan is a member of NUPE and the union is prepared to fight the case. Comrades can help by sending letters and resolutions condemning the sacking to Barking Council, Civic Centre, Dagenham, Essex.

Yours fraternally,
Sam Porter
Rushcliffe LPYS,
'Militant' supporter

Miners want a change

Comrades,

Over past years, invited speakers to the South Wales miners' gala have been on the left of the Labour party or in the Communist Party. This year, our annual conference had decided to invite local Labour left-winger Neil Kinnock MP.

The opening part of his contribution concentrated on the remarks of a certain parasitic prince on unemployment. As an able speaker, Kinnock got much support for his attacks on these left-overs of feudalism.

However, when he began speaking about developments in the Labour Party, some miners felt he was being too evasive. He called for unity; "conference has agreed on the policies, we differ only on tactics."

Without actually saying it, the crowd felt he was supporting Healey in the present deputy-leadership campaign. In my limited experience of miners' galas, I've never heard speakers heckled before, but many were not happy with Kinnock's stand.

I had my back to the platform, so I was quite shocked when Kinnock stopped speaking and seconds later I heard Emyln Williams thanking him. From just thirty yards, I didn't hear the applause.

Emyln Williams immediately repeated that the South Wales miners would be supporting Tony Benn and Arthur Scargill in their elections. There was tumultuous applause!

I think this is just an indication of how rank and file trade unionists and their families are looking for a change in the political leadership of the movement.

The leadership issue is of prime importance and interest to miners, even if they are not active Labour party members at present. I don't think they are unique.

Fraternally,
Merion Evans
Brynlliw Lodge,
South Wales NUM

The media moral

Dear Comrades,

I was interested to read two letters mentioning distortions by the press and media in *Militant* (issue 558).

It reminded me of a lesson at school, how under feudalism the story book heroes were always princes or princesses who got lost in the woods or turned into toads or something. But they were always restored to their rightful place in the end.

This was changed however, under capitalism by writers such as Dickens. The heroes now became poor little waifs who were forced to work as chimney sweeps.

But everything turns out well in the end, when the little boy's long lost uncle turns out to be the president of Barclay's bank. The lesson being of course, if we all wait long enough some kind millionaire will take pity on us.

Such morality tales are no longer so popular and the media (as was suggested in the letter by D. Perry) must resort to spreading divisions among the working class by providing scapegoats.

In this, the media show their true role in any class-divided society: to put forward the views of the ruling class and to glorify the existing order of things or at least to make excuses for it.

Yours fraternally,
Stephen Gillan
Cathcart LPYS

Defence workers need jobs

Comrades,

One reason for the general reluctance of workers in Plymouth and other naval bases to accept socialist ideas is the failure of socialists to fully explain their attitude to defence.

A programme that simply proposes to cut defence without offering alternative employment in areas where around sixty per cent of the working population rely on the navy for their jobs is bound to fall on deaf ears! A Tory vote is therefore an expedient towards a secure job.

The threatened closure of the dockyard at Chatham will have untold social and political consequences in all four naval bases. In Plymouth for example, reliance on the navy is almost total. There is little or no alternative work.

My sister leaves college this year and faces the dubious choice between the dockyard, the police or the armed forces for work!

Above all the Tory plan will demonstrate to all workers that no job is safe under capitalism. When the bosses talk of the need for the armed forces to protect 'freedom', it is their freedom to make profits of which they talk.

Even the navy must be sacrificed in order to save their profits (though not the army, for this is necessary to break strikes and prevent civil unrest at home)!

We must oppose all job losses! Alternative employment must be found for all workers at Chatham!

If we can explain this part of our attitude towards defence at this time, the potential for all Labour Party branches in the areas concerned is enormous.

Fraternally,
A. Zapple
East Nottingham LPYS

Will socialism be prisoner to profit?

Dear Militant,

Is socialism enough? Coming from someone converted for years to socialist ideals, this may sound like blasphemy, but is it?

The fight against the bosses and their minion hierarchies must go on, but I don't think that's enough. Of course we want real democracy, worker's control and collectivisation of the means of production, but unless this is linked to a more fundamental change of values nothing will be gained.

What is the point of replacing the greed of the individual, of the bosses, with the greed of the mass of the workers? Socialism, if it is to remain relevant in a world rapidly being poisoned, making it unfit to live in, must take account of this.

It must include a responsibility towards our world as a whole and not only consider the economic con-

dition of human beings. It is no use having industries controlled by their workers if those same workers are still prisoners of a basic bosses' ideal: i.e. the maximisation of profit without caring a Thatcher's twinset for the effect of their work on the environment.

My body can't tell the difference between a mini-carbonmonoxide-putleadinyergillet metro à la Edwardes and the same model with all profits equally shared.

Socialism must therefore include an appreciation of the true cost of what we produce and consume; how long are we going to continue believing the bosses, that goods can only be valued in money? Everything we produce and buy also costs raw materials, energy, and ultimately pollution.

If it is to be meaningful, socialism can no longer only stand for a moral law between man and man, but must seek to define his relationship with wildlife, with the land and ultimately with the whole of nature.

Fraternally,
Steve Blakey
Grimsby

We can't manage capitalism

Sir,

As a member of the Labour Party, I would like to draw your readers' attention to the right-wing role of our Labour-controlled

borough and county councils.

They are no more than servants of the present Tory government. Every diktat Thatcher and her ministers decide on, our local authorities fall over themselves to implement for them.

For all the opposition and leadership coming from our local Labour leadership against Tory policies, we might as well have Tory-controlled local authorities. In the Labour Party election address for the West Glamorgan County Council, I noticed that the word socialism is not mentioned once.

This seems to indicate that either the candidates are ignorant of its meaning or are perhaps ashamed of it. May I point out that I joined the Labour Party because I believe in the alternative system to capitalism, namely, socialism.

It seems as if the local Labour Parties have assumed responsibility for managing capitalism better than the Tories. This is indeed an impossible task, as the natural party of capitalism is the Tory Party itself.

It would appear that until the 'respectable' politicians who have infiltrated the Labour Party commit themselves to a socialist programme or are removed, all Labour is ever likely to be is part-time managers of capitalism.

Yours,
Peter Davies
Port Talbot

Build **Militant** ads

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

Area	Received	% of target achieved	Target 11 July	Target for year
Eastern	2429		3550	7100
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Humberside	897		1750	3500
London East	2708		3800	7600
London West	1788		2400	4800
London South	2301		2750	5500
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Merseyside	1934		3300	6600
Northern	2163		4300	8600
Scotland East	1306		2200	4400
Scotland West	2139		3750	7500
Southern	2830		3550	7100
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Wales East	861		1300	2600
Wales West	1172		2300	4600
West Midlands	2336		4300	8600
Yorkshire	2751		4500	9000
Others	8879		6250	12500
Total received	43143		60,000	120,000

Target for July 11th £60,000 Target for year £120,000

BREAK ALL OUR RECORDS

By Steve Cawley

You can see from the cars for sale columns in the 'quality' press that with Camargues going for £50,000, Corniches £55,000, and Silver Spirits £47,000 the economic crisis doesn't exist for some! However, we're more concerned about the bottom 99% of the population!

Our income is not sufficient to purchase Rolls Royce cars for the editorial staff—they have to travel by coach!

But we do need your money now to increase our coverage of the tremendous events which are happening daily.

The biggest contribution to our resources this week came from the Marxist Week-End School collection of £295.09 plus £254 from food and drink sold! Meetings in Leicester, Barnsley, and Leytonstone (E London) left us £56 better off, whilst LPYS branches to assist us included Tranent in Lothian (£20), Nottingham, and two Merseyside branches, Ellesmere Port and West Derby.

Thanks to TGWU 5/909 branch for their £20, and to the agricultural union member in Ipswich who gave us £2 in appreciation of the help with an accident claim. £7 came in from Wakefield from a meeting of NALGO Labour supporters who are campaigning for their union to affiliate to the Labour Party.

Individual donations included, two of £100 (Bristol) and £50 (Peterborough), from comrades who've asked to remain anonymous, £25 from R Crawford (SP-OE London), £15 I Sugarman (Oxford), and tenners from Leeds supporters B Payne (housewife) and G&E Pettison, members of POELI

and NALGO.

Other contributors were, Maesteg and Bridgend readers (Wales) £33, Rhondda supporter £5, and Folkestone £40. A large number of donations of £1 and £2 were received; thanks amongst others to comrade Ashik (Tower Hamlets LP) and V Northmore (Doncaster NSMM).

Sales and events for the 'Militant' are a good idea to make money and have a good time: Brighton Labour Fair benefited us by over £85, and Stephen and Alex's bike-ride brought in another £16. A social in South London netted £40, and Stevenage banner-makers sent us £35.

£18.50 was the fee for a BBC World Service interview with our editor, and Cambridge readers made over £15 by supplying food and teas, coffees, etc. Blackburn Mole T-shirts are still subsidising us, as are Yorkshire rock sales and £2 from 'tuck from the Manor' (Rotherham).

A total of £43,142.68 is obviously well short of the £60,000 we need, but in the past we've always had a large number of last minute donations at the end of each half-year. If there's any political or social events on over the weekend, remember any cash 'phoned-in' can be counted.

And then there's the Summer Holiday Draw to be added on. Any readers who see this column on the day of publication should put any stubs, with cheques, POs, in the post immediately!

We're confident our readers will do everything in their power with, appeal sheets, raffle tickets, rock, T-shirts, teas, coffees, food, sponsored walks and rides, paper 'extras', and our famous enthusiasm to raise a massive record sum for the chart in next week's issue. Make sure your area is well in the black!

THIS WEEK: £1745

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History of the British labour movement: Chartists and early trade unions—Brian Ingham; Unemployed struggles of 1920s and 1930s—Brian Ingham; Populism: Lessons for today—Tony Sauniois.

South Africa: History of South African labour movement; Prospects for the future.

Poland: The struggle for Workers' Democracy—Lynn Walsh.

Debates: The future of the Labour Party—Tony Sauniois and Alan Whitehead (LCC); How to achieve peace and disarmament—Peter Taaffe and Harry Robertson (Labour Action for Peace).

1980 Weekend School

China: 1925-7 Revolution—Peter Taaffe; 1944-49 Revolution—Peter Taaffe; Perspectives for Today—Lynn Walsh.

Economics: Wage, Labour & Capital—Bryan Beckingham; Will there be a slump?—Rob Jones; Alternative Economic Strategy—Rob Jones.

Life of Trotsky: Rise of Bolshevism—Alan Woods; Struggle against Stalinism—Alan Woods; 1930s—Ted Grant.

Marxism & the Trade Unions: General Strike—Brian Ingham; Role of Marxist as shop steward—Bob Faulkes.

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LPYS Conference

1980: Workers of the World Unite—Peter Taaffe
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BARROW Labour Party Young Socialists Weekend School July 17-19: Saturday am: Which way forward for Labour? pm: Nuclear Disarmament. Sunday am How to build a YS. pm: sports and social activities. For further details contact Ed Waugh, Newcastle 857017.

Sheffield Hillsborough & Park CLP 'Militant' supporters welcome the birth of Emma Doyle, daughter of Jane and Tom. For Workers' Unity and Socialism.

People's Picnic. Wednesday 29 July. Near Perry, Grafham Water, Huntingdonshire. A1/(A45) B661. In Eastern Region near East and West Midlands and London. If you're not getting married on the day, come along and bring the family. Sports, barbeque, etc. For more details phone Ian Campbell, 0234 781580.

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SOUTH LONDON Militant social. Saturday 11 July, 8.00 pm, at 'The Warrior', Coldharbour Lane, Brixton. The Militant summer draw will take place at this event.

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Featuring SWEET HARMONY

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SALFORD Metropolitan District Labour Party meeting: 'Labour's future policy'. Speakers: Dennis Skinner MP, Stan Orme MP. Friday 17 July, 7.30 pm, AUEW House, The Crescent, Salford.

Camapign for NALGO Affiliation to the Labour Party meeting will elect 6 delegates to national steering committee of CNALP. Important for all NALGO activists to attend. AUEW Hall, Mount Pleasant, Liverpool. Speakers: Frank Allaun (LP NEC); Graham Burgess (NALGO NEC); Harry Keidan (Personnel Chairman, Merseyside County Council); Stan Kelly (GMWU full time official); Terry Fields (FBU NEC); Derek Hatton (National Chairman, CNALP). Saturday 18 July, 1.00 pm.

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Industrial Reports

FOR ONE RAIL UNION

"I don't want to spend any more time fighting my fellow trade unionists; I want us to fight together as railwaymen against our real enemies."

These words of Bro Bob Kettle, at the annual conference of the National Union of Railwaymen, summed up the mood of the delegates as they voted overwhelmingly in favour of a 'Federation of Railway Unions'.

The establishment of this Federation, with the aim of one united union for the railways, will mark a historic step forward for the workers in this industry.

A sign of the progress which has been made in forging this new spirit of unity was reported by Bro Ferguson from Brighton. In his area, the three rail unions were already holding

regular meetings together.

The need for unity was made clear in the debate on pay. The basic rate for a railman is £58.75, which can mean a take-home pay of under £50. "Some grades," said Bro Kettle, "would be better off on social security than a 40-hour week. It is a national scandal to expect our brothers to work for such a low wage."

One of the worst consequences of this situation is that, at a time when 38,000 railway jobs are at risk through the government's conditions on electrification, and the jobs lost through de-nationalisation (see page 7), many workers are working long and regular overtime merely to earn a living wage.

Unfortunately, however, the conference failed to pro-

vide a programme on which the membership could be rallied to fight back.

On wages, the decision was "to urgently negotiate a substantial wage increase for all our members," with no target for a minimum wage to bring the lowest paid up to a tolerable level. "To argue for a £90 minimum," said the General Secretary Sid Weighell, "would mean a 50% increase." He warned the delegates to beware that we are in a harsh economic climate.

Even worse than this counsel of despair was the agreement that the answer to problems of low pay was the return of a Labour government committed to "a planned socialist economic strategy which includes a policy for incomes, prices, profits and dividends."

As Bro Hensby told the delegates, "we have seen the failings of that policy under both Labour and Tory governments. The last Labour government was a good example of that. Far from looking after the low paid, it widened the gap."

On jobs, there was a similar outcome. The AGM was persuaded to reject a call for a 35-hour week "as an immediate demand with no loss of earnings or jobs." Sid Weighell estimated that it would cost £138 million to move from a 39-hour to a 35-hour week. "If we go bust within 6 months you'll know the reason why."

But a very positive advance came on the "Triple Alliance" of the railwaymen, miners and steelworkers. The Alliance was ready to be brought into operation just before the Tory government caved in to the miners' fight against pit closures.

Many delegates felt, however, that the Alliance should have been invoked in defence of the "collection and deliver" (C and D) parcels service which has been stopped by BR.

The second really major step forward for the NUR was its decision to back the Wembley Special Conference decision on the 40-30-30 formula for the leader and deputy leader elections in the Labour Party, rejecting the General

Secretary's advice to reaffirm the union's previous support for the 50-25-25 structure, giving half the votes to the Parliamentary Labour Party.

The railwaymen's decision means that the 40-30-30 is now almost certain to be adopted again at Labour Party conference.

Yet ironically, unless the movement is mobilised to defeat it, the NUR could also be responsible for a major setback for the movement. For, as a result of a decision taken at last year's AGM, they have a resolution down at this year's LP conference calling for the re-introduction of a list of "proscribed organisations".

Unfortunately no resolutions were on the agenda which could have reversed last year's decision, and no debate took place on this subject. There was also a scurrilous attack contained in the General Secretary's Political Report, which talked of "infiltrators" etc.

Despite the lack of debate, delegates responded sympathetically to the appeal from *Militant* sup-

STOP PRESS
NUR conference voted to support Healey in deputy leadership elections. Results: Healey 44, Benn 29, Silkin 4.

porters to launch a counter-attack against this scandalous descent to the politics of witch-hunts. Several delegates signed the petition pledging their opposition to an attempt to witch-hunt Marxists from the party, and agreed to take the matter back to their branches and put up resolutions of protest.

It is not too late for railway workers to put pressure on the union leadership demanding they withdraw their motion from the LP conference and reassert the NUR's traditional belief in democratic rights within the labour movement.

By Pat Craven and Martin Elvin

Two mistakes appeared in last week's issue. In the T&G conference report, the votes for Resolution 51 against import controls were 150-200, with the rest of the conference against and the resolution was lost. And in the report on page 7 on DLOs, it should read that Haringey council overspent maintenance revenue by £3.5m, not £135m as printed.

NALGO - SAY YES TO LABOUR

The conference decision of the local government union NALGO to demand, against the advice of the executive, a ballot on the issue of Labour Party affiliation was historic.

It was a culmination of a decisive shift to the left within NALGO as reflected during the conference by the political decision taken to equip the union in its battle against the Tory government.

The Campaign for Nalگو Affiliation to the Labour Party (CNALP) which has been raising this for five years is now set to undertake a massive campaign in the period leading up to the ballot.

Meetings are planned in all districts from which delegates will be nominated to attend a national meeting

in Liverpool on 25 July. Here, the main strategy and tactics for the campaign will be determined.

Already badges and leaflets have been produced and a meeting has been held with Ron Hayward (Labour Party General Secretary) who has pledged the active participation of national executive and Parliamentary Labour leaders.

Some NALGO members say a Yes vote has no chance. A parallel is drawn with the TUC affiliation where a number of ballots were necessary in successive years before a majority of members voted in favour. But today there are different circumstances under which the Labour ballot will be held.

Every section of the NALGO membership is under direct attack from the Tory government, from cuts, redundancies and wage restraint.

In these circumstances NALGO activists have realised that political action is necessary.

But there is a lot of work to be done. It will be the union activists—stewards and branch officials—who will mobilise the 'Yes' vote. It is to them that the campaign must explain the issues and win the arguments against the 'non-politicals' or Tories in the union.

This will be successful if the campaign is not only enthusiastic but above all political.

All Labour members and supporters should understand how important this ballot is in terms of the developments in the trade union and labour movement and get involved as soon as possible at local and national level.

By Danny Purton
(Secretary, CNALP)

Defend dock jobs

Last week saw the massive demonstration by 4,000 Chatham dockyard workers against the closure of this naval dockyard.

Despite instructions of the yard's Action Committee that the march was to be non-political, there were plenty of anti-Tory banners in evidence. The support from the public as we marched through the town was magnificent, with people applauding and shouting encouragement.

Unfortunately the rallies and speeches at the end of the march did not reflect this mood. The speakers, obviously stifled by this non-political rule, failed to capture the mood.

Thankfully though, the local Tory MPs who were

invited to speak failed to turn up!

Many of the dockyard workers along with the local labour movement are still extremely concerned that the local Tories are dominating the Action Committee set up to fight the closure. Tories dominate this committee by at least three to one.

Their motives are obvious. By aligning themselves with the campaign they hope to save their skins at the next election. And their vague promises can only raise false hopes amongst the workers, thus defusing a firm stand by the workforce.

For these reasons, campaigns have been started by dockyard workers together with the local labour groups. We are calling ourselves the Dockyard Defence Campaign. It has already attracted support and spon-

sorship of three local constituency Labour Parties, the local trades council, many local union branches, with messages of support coming in from all over the country.

Our aims are to organise, through the local unions and Labour Parties, the massive and vigorous campaign needed to save the 7,000 jobs threatened at Chatham.

We are to set up a committee inside the dockyard for the trade unions to plan for alternative, socially useful products. This would provide jobs and security for the workers. We plan to call a conference of Medway trades unions so we can involve all the workers in Medway area to fight the closures.

Support and donations to: E. Pynn, 7 Haig Ave., Gillingham, Kent ME 72 JJ.

COHSE

The first day of the conference of the health service union COHSE opened on an optimistic note.

The President, Eric Wilson, attacked Thatcher and her policies and the run down in the health service in general.

But frustration set in among many delegates when many important subjects were brushed over, with many resolutions not given adequate time for proper discussions. Half way through conference 65 resolutions had still not been taken.

As a consequence of this, a group of delegates decided to start a 'broad left' campaign and try to turn COHSE into a fighting

union.

Calling itself Group '81, it decided to campaign for;

- ★ Establishing democratic delegate control of conference.
- ★ Accountability and democracy within COHSE.
- ★ For a minimum wage of £100 per week, linked to a 35 hour week.
- ★ Full employment.
- ★ Increased public spending, in health, education and housing.
- ★ Unilateral disarmament.
- ★ Equality of all races, creeds, colours and sex.

Already there has been great support for these policies. Each region has its Group '81 organisers, who will be co-ordinating the campaign in their regions. This new mood was shown at conference when the Campaign for Labour Party Democracy held a meeting addressed by Joan Maynard and Stuart Holland (standing in for Tony Benn), with 40 delegates attending. At a fringe meeting addressed by

Denis Healey, only 30 attended—20 of which were hostile to him!

At the conference itself, during a discussion on hospital occupations, it was announced that St. Mary's hospital had been occupied, and a resounding cheer went up! Conference was in a fighting mood.

The anger of the ambulance men at the Tories miserly pay offer showed itself in that section of debate. Yet they were told by the leadership to 'toe the line', and attacks were made on NUPE officers dealing with the strike action.

However, the end of the conference saw COHSE against private medical care, the Nationality Bill, nuclear weapons. It came out for centres for the unemployed, a more comprehensive service for the patients, and was committed to total opposition to the vicious cuts being made in the NHS.

Portsmouth

Out of 11,500 civilian jobs in Portsmouth Dockyard, 6,000 are to go. That is the conclusion of the Tory government in their Defence Review. This is a disaster for the Portsmouth area with over 9% unemployment at present. This will particularly pose a problem for youth as the dockyard has been the major source of apprenticeships in the area. Determined opposition to the run-down and fighting job losses by the dockyard

Lawrence Scott

The workers at the Lawrence Scott plant near Manchester have stepped up their battle against closure this week by holding a mass picket outside the parent Mining Supply Company on Monday. They succeeded in turning back lorries from

unions can beat the Tories, but no trust should be placed in the local Tory opposition to the run down. The statements by the Tories in the past that a vote for Labour would mean that the yard would close, and that only the Tories would defend the dockyard, have now been shown to be hollow lies.

It is significant that with the closure announcement come proposals for a new set of Byelaws for the naval base which includes: "No person shall distribute or display

British Oxygen.

Mining Supplies chairman Arthur Snipe has named Friday 10 July as the closure date for the 650 workers—and sent them eight days severance pay.

But convenor Bob Penchion said, "This makes no difference to us. If need be we'll stay in occupation forever and £2½ millions worth of unfinished orders

any handbill, leaflet, sign, advertisement, circular poster, bill, or notice within the prohibited area [the dockyard and its main entrance] without authority...."

It will be vital for the unions to campaign vigorously by all forms of industrial action despite all legal obstacles placed in their way. More importantly still, will be the need for solidarity with the workers in Chatham dockyard who face entire closure with certain of their functions coming to Portsmouth.

will rot away. I would say to other trade unionists this is Lawrence Scott's fight today but it could be yours tomorrow.

"There's only one Arthur Snipe, but there's lots of little Snipes all over the country." Support to Lawrence Scott's shop stewards committee, c/o George Fryer, 20 Roundcroft, Romiley, Cheshire.

CIVIL SERVICE

Time is running out

At their meeting on July 2, the Council of Civil Service Unions rejected a motion from the CPSA for all-out strike action.

By 42 votes to 20 the Council supported a motion from the IR SF which included; Acknowledgement of "the possibility that to bring about a responsible approach from the employer an all-out strike may well come to be seen as the only response if the government persists in refusing 'negotiations and arbitration' for much longer:

Recognition that for the present a majority of members had indicated their confidence in continuing the selective action: Agreement to maintain the campaign of selective action, intensified as appropriate for July 1981 and to meet again before the end of the month to review progress.

This decision will be seen by many civil servants as the latest in a long line of missed opportunities to give them a bold lead.

Despite the pressure from the selective strikes, the government are still trying to stick it out as long as possible. Only all-out strike action by civil servants, with all this would mean for the administration of society, is likely to move the government to improving its present 7% offer.

The council (CCSU) next meets on July 14, by which time the lesson that selective action is not likely to win the dispute will be further brought home to the eight unions who voted against all-out action. It is not a question of securing the sufficient increases in the levy to pay for the continued selective action. It is rather a question of which strategy is now needed to win this dispute.

CPSA members, however, cannot afford to drop their pressure on the right wing majority leadership of its executive. Demands for all-out strike action, preferably on a CCSU basis, or "a union coalition basis," must flood into CPSA head office for July 13, when the executive next meets to consider its attitude.

The action of the right wing on the CPSA executive meetings on July 1 and July 3 are a clear warning to CPSA members to be on the offensive.

On July 1 when the executive met to discuss its position for the CCSU meeting the following day, the CPSA general secretary, Ken Thomas, recommended

By Brian Ingham
(Industrial Correspondent)

that at the meeting the CPSA should continue its policy determined on the 17 June on a unanimous basis in favour of all out strike action.

The majority responded however, by proposing that the CPSA's all-out strike policy be left on the table at the CCSU meeting for seven days until the levy picture clarified.

As a result of pressure during the debate, the right wing eventually capitulated. But not before pushing through a separate motion against unilateral action, and any all-out action by a minority of CCSU constituent unions.

When the CPSA executive resumed on July 3, after the CCSU meeting, the general secretary reported on the decision of the council to continue the selective action.

The right wing leader Charlie Elliot called for an adjournment. This was amazing, because as a member of the union's Post and Telecomms group, Mr Elliot is not even a member of the executive, attending such meetings only as an observer!

That having been pointed out, an adjournment was duly called and carried by the right wing, despite protests by the left.

In an amazing spectacle the right wing majority trooped out of the boardroom and held an impromptu meeting on a lawn outside the building, under the chairmanship of Mr Elliot. Eventually they returned clasping a motion which was submitted to Mrs Losinska.

Mrs Losinska however, moved on to other unrelated items of business on the executive's two-day agenda rather than continuing the pay debate.

A challenge to her ruling was made but voted down by the right wing majority.

Eventually the pay debate resumed with extra time being found. Instead of the executive moving to discuss strategy and the way forward for the dispute, Mrs Losinska amazingly called for a motion from the right wing executive member, Mr Gillespie seeking disciplinary action against any member calling for all-out strike action. Mr Gillespie's target was his own union branch; DHSS Newcastle Central Office! Next business was successfully moved—even some of the right wing realised the consequences for them if such action were attempted.

The executive eventually got down to discussing the way forward. Mrs Losinska then called the right-wing

motion in the name of Mr Charlie Elliot. This "oversight" was quickly grasped and the seconder, Mr A Carr, moved the motion;

"This executive committee, noting the decision of the CCSU on July 2 1981, now determines to seek a new mandate for all-out strike action on a unilateral basis without firm recommendation, but clearly explaining that the alternative to unilateral all-out action is settlement."

In the face of a right-wing line up with an inbuilt 15 to 5 majority vote at this meeting, the left, in arguing against the motion, proposed an amendment which would have meant that if a consultative exercise was to go ahead anyway, then it would be with a firm recommendation for an all-out unilateral action.

A number of inconsequential amendments were also mentioned. After a brief debate, during which full-time official Terry Adams strongly pointed out the deficiencies of the selective strike strategy, the votes were taken.

The left amendment ended in a 10-10 tie, with Mrs Losinska casting her chairman's vote against. Then to everyone's amazement the original motion, submitted by the right-wing majority, was actually lost by 10 votes to 8!

All hell broke loose, as Mr Elliot began hysterically abusing members of the right wing majority for dividing over the amendment and for voting down their own motion!

With two minutes of the meeting to go, the executive turned to the alternative strategy, proposed by full time official John Macreadie;

"This executive regrets the decision of the CCSU to reject all-out strike action in favour of continuing with selective action. If constituent unions do not agree to all strike action when they next meet on July 14, the executive agrees to call out CPSA members on all out strike."

Despite ironic goading of the right-wing by Mr Elliot to support the motion, it was defeated by 13 votes to 6. The motion on the enquiry was held over pending circulation of a letter from CCSU to the government, apparently rejecting the committee of enquiry and refusing to co-operate with it.

When the executive meets again on July 13 the leadership should have before it a motion calling for all-out strike action, either by CCSU, by key unions like the CPSA, IRSF, CSU and SCPS, or, if necessary, by the CPSA initially acting alone.

It is quite possible that the July 14 CCSU will be the last opportunity during the dispute to take the decision for all-out strike action. If the opportunity is lost, it is possible that despair may follow in the hearts and minds of thousands of civil servants.

The critical hour is now with us. Only a decisive "all out" call stands any chance of victory.

Joy Manufacturing

"In the fixing of piece-work prices, it is essential that virtual agreement should be established between workmen and the representative of the management."

This ruling from the shop stewards manual of the engineers union, the AUEW, is a closed book as far as management at Joy Manufacturing in East Kilbride are concerned. They recently blatantly broke a six-year agreement on piece-work rate fixing, provoking strike action by the workers of that factory.

Calum Shaw, the convenor of the factory, states his case in plain terms:

"Before we took strike action to defend our conditions we had four or five meetings with the management. But their attitude are typical of those around at present, typical of the government and typical of the CBI—'while the workers are down put the boot in.'"

He continued "We are sick and tired of getting kicked around, getting threats and intimidation from our management. A lot of men have had it up to here."

"Some people may have described this factory as having a 'willing workforce'. That may be true but when your back is pushed to the

wall you have no choice but to retaliate." Firm words from Calum Shaw, typical of the workers he represents.

A victory in this dispute is essential. It will strengthen the union in the factory and demonstrate to management that their days of dictatorship are over.

Calum Shaw spoke to a 'Militant' industrial correspondent

Support to: Robert Gannon, 25 Belmont Drive, East Kilbride. Cheques and P/Os to 'Joint Shop Stewards Fund'.

Raine rolling mills



Workers on the picket line at Raine rolling mills. Photo: Dennis Doran

The strike by ISTC members at Raine Rolling Mills steel plant on the Tyne has now been made official.

The dispute over redundancies (see last week's 'Militant') concerns the union's right to challenge who is named for redundancies by the management. Workers at Raines recognise that management are using redundancies as a way of clearing out trade union activists.

Already a branch chairman and now a shop steward have been made redundant. Now the Independent Steel Employers Association (ISEA) has stepped into the dispute saying that they are not prepared to accept the trade unions interfering with their 'right' as employer to select who they like. But the strikers at Raines Rolling and the ISTC nationally recognise that this is a vital

dispute to win and that if they allow it to happen here, the employers will have a national campaign against union activists.

Support and donations to: Jimmy Reilly, 94 Heath Crescent, Scotswood, Newcastle NE15 6BJ.

By Jeff Price

Renolds

A one-hour strike was held throughout the Renolds group combine on Monday.

This started at the Bradford site of this engineering multi-national, where the gear works' AUEW members recently rejected a miserly pay offer of 3% which would have given skilled engineers a rise of £2.70.

After exhausting procedure it was decided to implement various forms of non-co-operation with management. Inevitably suspensions followed and the workforce decided that rather than be picked off

one by one, an all out strike would begin on 2 July.

The joint union committee supported the strike and called for a mass sympathy picket on Monday. Seven hundred pickets came out on the Bradford site, with 100% support from Charter Hydraulics and large scale support from Homecraft castings, the other two Renolds subsidiaries on site.

Also significant was the number of staff, members of APEX, who came out in support, but undoubtedly the biggest achievement was the commitment of nine factories in the combine to

By Keith Narey
personal capacity

come out in support.

This action raised the foundations for unified struggle around a common claim with unity of manual workers and staff a possibility for the first time. As Dave Connell, AUEW Charters, said, "What we need now is a single claim backed up by a group-wide one-day strike to warn management we mean business."

Support and donations to Renolds Bradford Site Strike Committee, Bradford North Liberal Club, Planetrees Road, Leeds Road, Bradford.

USDAW

A general meeting of the Broad Left of the shopworkers' union USDAW was held in South Wales, where all members were invited to attend.

However, the right wing were so petrified of the growth of the Broad Left, that they sent along 3 Divisional Officers and 2 Area Organisers to 'take us on.'

Dave Thomas, shop steward for Woolworth's, pointed out the incapacity of the right wing leadership to

fight for the interests of USDAW members, clearly shown by the fact that 20,000 in the union had lost their jobs over the past 12 months!

Successive conferences had called for £70/£80 minimum wage, tied to a 35-hour week; "Words are nothing, its action that the members want—united action."

After failing to get any support in the meeting, the right wing eventually walked out with their tails between

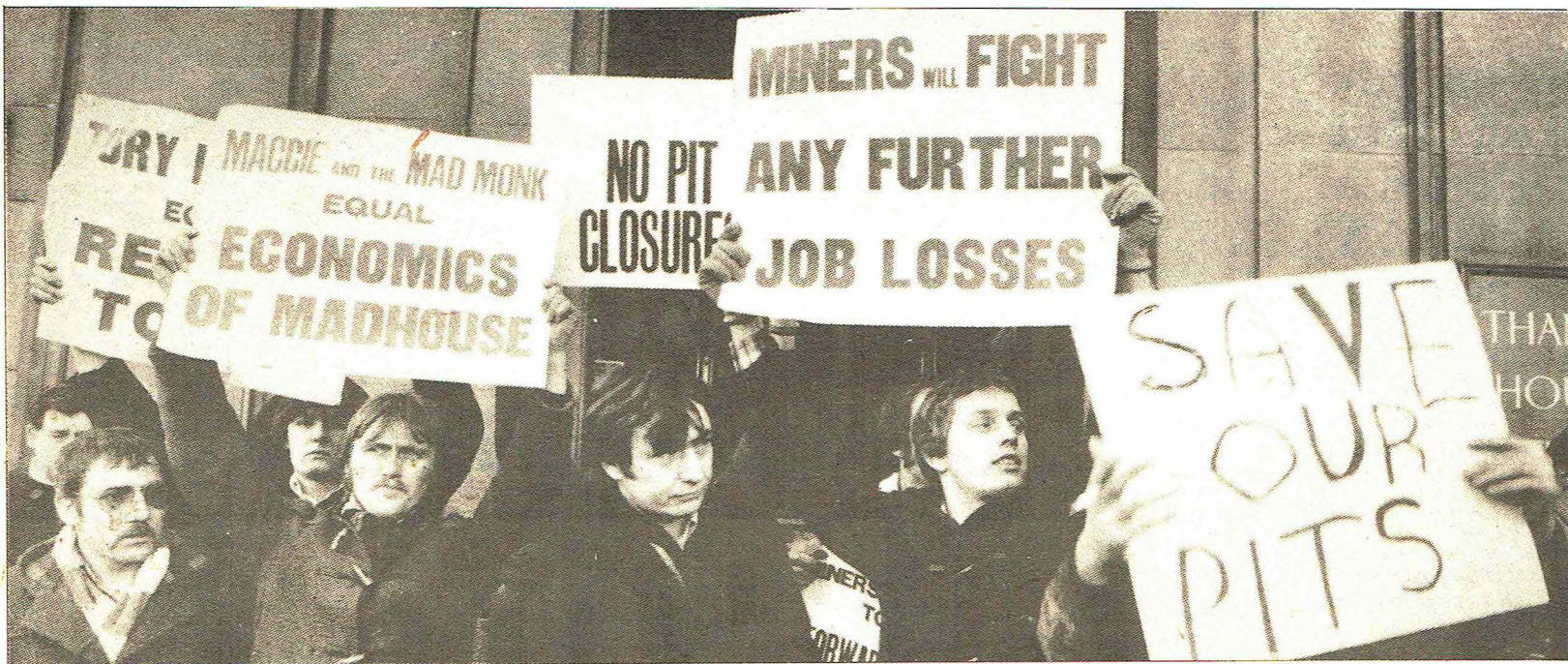
their legs. Out of the meeting, 5 new members joined the Broad Left and promised to get their mates at work to join also.

The meeting was summed up in the words of one labourer in Smiths Crisps factory—"The Broad Left are all for the working class—I'm 100% with you."

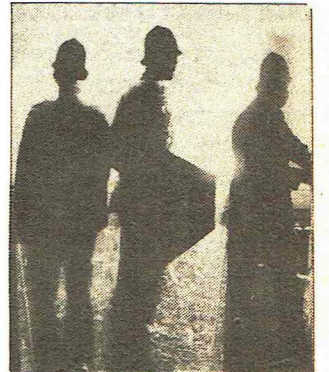
By Brian Lewis
(USDAW Swansea
Private Trade)

Militant

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TORIES TO BLAME



CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE

MINERS READY FOR BATTLE

Report by Rob Sewell

Despite opposition from the right wing of the union, the National Union of Mineworkers have passed a resolution demanding a £100 minimum wage for all mineworkers.

Des Dufield, South Wales Vice-President, in a thrusting contribution at the NUM conference stressed that there must not be the fiasco of last year when the National Coal Board got away with the argument that lower

wages would save pits.

The Tories have openly stated they want a 5% wages norm. "We must take up the gauntlet and apply our industrial might if necessary to protect our members' standards."

The right had claimed that some NUM areas wanted "disruption at all costs" but Brother Dufield pointed out "No-one sensible wants to apply indus-

trial action.

"But our history has forced us to do this. Let us be clear. It was the action and not talking that stopped the attacks on us last February."

In seconding the motion, Arthur Scargill, Yorkshire, described the NUM as a vanguard union. "Last year we accepted an increase that cut our living standards. The demand for £100 is completely reasonable. MPs have awarded themselves an increase of more than 18% and substantial fringe benefits. Then those who work in the bowels of the earth are entitled to a decent wage."

The resolution was overwhelmingly carried and with a new wage agreement due on the 1st November 1981, the scene has been set for a fight with the Tories.

The only 'victories' the

right wing could claim were through blocking tactics. An emergency resolution supporting Tony Benn for deputy leader of the Labour Party was blocked by the right wing dominated Business Arrangements Committee.

Moving reference back Jack Taylor, Yorkshire, said that to ditch the resolution was "a negation of democracy and a betrayal of our constitution."

Despite the strong support for putting the 240,000 block vote behind Benn, the emergency resolution from Yorkshire was defeated on a card vote—137 votes to 125. However, splits were visible in the delegations, and protests surfaced openly in the Durham delegation as the leaders voted to ditch the emergency motion.

The leadership excluded

two resolutions on trade union democracy by Kent and group number 2 area demanding the election of full time area officials every five years. Almost foaming at the mouth, Sid Vincent, NEC member, stated he had been a full time official for 19 years, and castigated the motion as a "sacking resolution."

But the overall mood was of total determination to fight the Tory government. As one delegate stated, "It was the wages battle that brought down the Heath government."

"This wages struggle is the cutting edge that can drive this government from office and put into power a Labour government that stops talking of social contracts and starts talking about socialism."

pretend that today's social problems are due to immigration. Before the majority of black workers arrived in Britain, the bosses tried to blame the Jewish, Irish and Scottish workers for mass unemployment—anything but their own lousy system.

The black population in Liverpool have been here for many generations.

In Liverpool it has been the Liberal Party who have presided over cuts in workers' living standards: they are the main 'Tory Party' in this city. They, not the workers, are responsible for the social problems.

The labour movement must not wilt under the press barrage against youth and black workers. The Labour Party must organise the disenchanted and despairing youth; they must organise the redundant workers; they must organise the workers running hard to stand still.

The Labour Party, in a word, must lead the fight against the economic and social hooliganism of the Tories.

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Join the Labour Party Young Socialists and come to the LPYS summer camp (see page 4).

Come along to 'Militant's' rally and see and hear what we stand for (see page 3 for details).

And give your support financially. Help to build for a bigger and better 'Militant'. 'Militant's' fighting fund half year deadline arrives on Sunday so rush through your donations—now. (See page 13).

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