

Militant

THE MARXIST PAPER FOR LABOUR & YOUTH

ISSUE 574
23 October 1981

20p

£12,274 million

DOWN THE TORY ARMS DRAIN

In schools all round the country there are children without the text books they need for their courses. This is just one result of Tory cuts.

For £300, on typical figures, approximately two average-sized classes could be provided with the books they need.

But £300 is the cost of just one of the new type of NATO rifle now being bought for the British army. If a squad of soldiers fires 2,000 rounds with their new rifles, they will squander another £300.

Under the Tories, the Ministry of Defence will be buying a lot of rifles and ammunition. Meanwhile, the Tories will be depriving thousands of children of books, teachers, buildings and a lot else besides.

£300 for a rifle, however, is nothing. One Challenger battle tank costs £1.5 million. This would pay for the improvement of 300 homes.

One Tornado F2 aircraft costs £14.3 million—the price of about 900

By Ben Eastop
(Peckham Labour Party)

new houses.

Rifles, tanks, bombers, these account for only a fraction of the £5,352 million the Tory government will be squandering on military weapons and equipment under the 1981/82 defence budget.

Use workers' skills for benefit of society!

A lion's share of this spending will go to the most barbarous weapons of destruction—new nuclear missile systems like Trident, which will cost at least £5,000 million.

Altogether, the Tory defence estimates account for £12,273.8 million expenditure. This is more than the total which will be spent on hospitals and community health services.

Arms spending is more

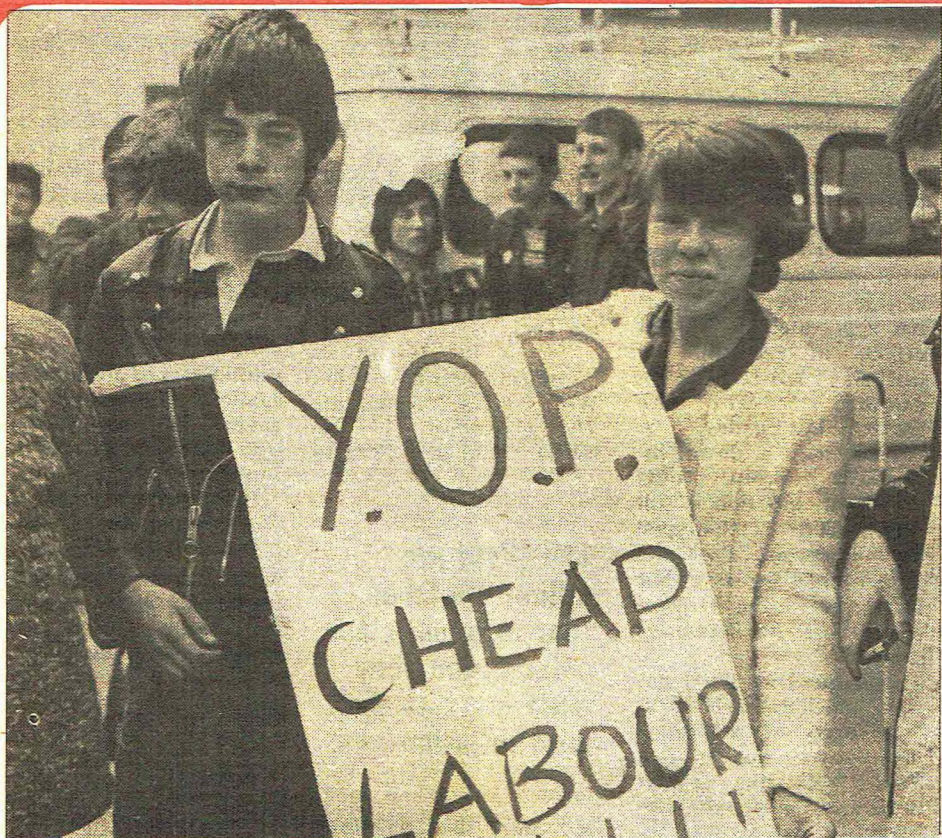
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Tessa Howland/IFL

HOW CAN WE STOP THE HOLOCAUST? See page 4

250,000 demonstrate against nuclear weapons in Bonn (10 October), West Germany's biggest post-war demonstration



YOPs trainees protest in the North East Photo: Denis Doran

ORGANISE YOPs

By Shareen Blackhall
(Liverpool W. Derby LPYS)

'I've been unemployed since May', says Steve Sharp from Liverpool.

"I was only getting £15.25 so I chose to go on a YOP."

But YOP is not much of an improvement, and Steve, a member of the Labour Party Young Socialists, is involved in the YOP Trainees Union Rights Campaign.

"My actual YOP job," Steve explains, "is 41 hours for only £23.50. It takes half an hour travelling each way, and costs me £3.60 a week in bus fares.

"I'm supposed to be training as an Architectural

Technician. But proper training takes seven years. So what good is six months?"

At the end of it, Steve will probably be back on the dole. Eighteen per cent of under 20s are jobless.

The government's Manpower Services Commission predicts that two years from now about 600,000 (a staggering 67%) under-18s on the labour market will have no work.

YOPs is no solution, just a stop-gap, and not a very good one, either.

The proper pay for Architects' Technicians apprentices is bad. "They get £45," says Steve, "but that's nearly double what YOPs get!"

"I think all YOPs have got to join a union, to get organised in the fight for

better pay, training and conditions.

"If YOPs were organised—there's half a million of us—it would make a big impact on the fight against the Tories, who are our main enemy."

Steve Sharp will be going to the YOPs union rights conference on 21 November, which will bring together YOPs from all over the country.

"This can be a real starting point," says Steve. "We will be able to discuss our problems and—more important—the alternatives.

"I'd urge every YOP trainee to come along—and get organised!"

YOPs Conference details, see page 3.

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North Sea Piracy

By Lynn Walsh

The Thatcher government is out to commit an outrageous act of piracy in the North Sea. Last Monday, the Tory Energy Minister, Nigel Lawson, announced the "privatisation" of North Sea oil.

The Tories are to sell off the assets of the British National Oil Corporation (BNOC), worth from £1,500 to £2,000 million, and British Gas NS oil, worth £1,000m, to private so-called "enterprise".

This is all in the name of "free enterprise", but is clearly a move to realise public assets to pay for public expenditure—in a desperate attempt to keep to Howe's sacred monetarist £10½ billion target for the public sector borrowing requirement.

If they get their way, Britain will be the only country apart from the US and Australia (dominated by the big mining corporations) to leave the development of vital oil resources in private hands.

Even before the privatisation, the share of NS oil in the hands of UK companies has been limited. British companies accounted for only 44% of output in 1980, while the US giants controlled 39%.

Even the Tories have increased the tax on fabulous NS oil profits. Nevertheless, a massive share of the profits has been going abroad, mainly to US oil majors, who are allowed to offset most of their investment against tax.

Inevitably, the US giants stand to gain the most from "privatisation". Of the world's 50 or so oil com-

panies 80% are American. Lawson's claim that privatisation will lead to "more competition" is farcical.

Lawson claimed the North Sea success has been due to private enterprise. Perhaps he has forgotten what was left from Burmah Oil (bankrupted by its speculation on super-tankers) after the British government's rescue operation five years ago?

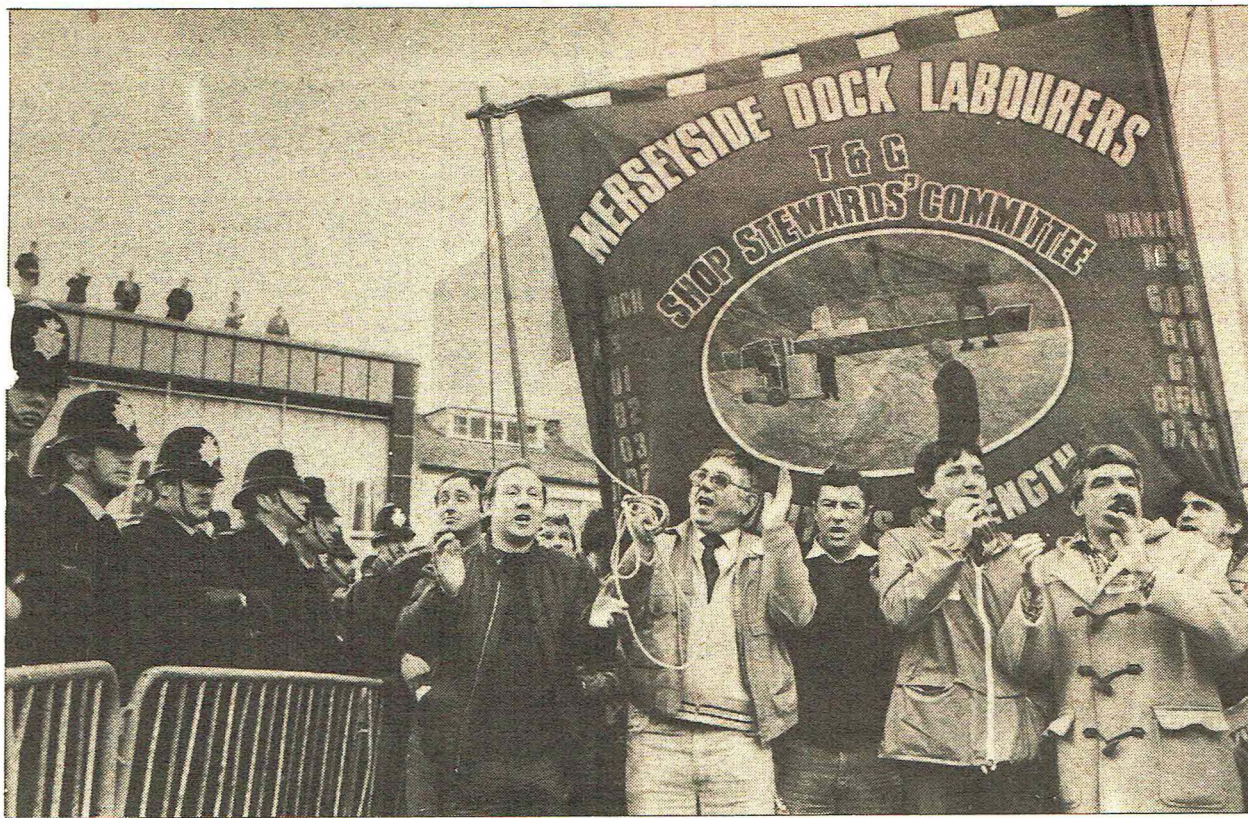
As even *The Times* (20 October) admits, BNOC and BGC have "taken genuine risks in exploration", i.e. they have poured in £ millions of investment, public money—from which private "enterprise" will now reap easy benefits.

Now the oil giants will be free to pump out all the profits they can, and to hell with limited oil reserves!

British Gas will lose control of sales of NS gas. BNOC will keep an option on sales of 51% of NS oil, but this is strictly a "reserve power" and is unlikely to be used much under the Tories.

The Tories should be warned: Labour will renationalise without compensation all BNOC and BGC assets sold off to private firms.

But the next Labour government must go further. All Britain's off-shore oil and gas operations must be nationalised, with minimum compensation, and developed as part of an integrated, socialist energy plan.



Carlos Augusto/IFL

Liverpool dockers, then on strike, picket the Tory conference under heavy police surveillance (on roof), Friday 16 October

Workers protest at Tory conference

They came from Robb Caledon, they came from Staffa, from Lawrence Scott, from the Liverpool docks and Liverpool offices.

Every dispute in the country seemed to be represented outside Tory Party conference on Friday morning, swelled by other workers and trade union activists from the North in particular.

"Don't moirise, pulverise!" This was the

workers' angry response to any idea that the Tory 'Wets', busy hammering the Thatcherites that morning, had anything to offer the working class.

These workers certainly hadn't come to cheer the Tories. Some contingents were there from 9am and were joined during the morning by about 7,000 workers as a "Peoples' March", 'Right to Work' demo, and local activists converged on the Winter

Gardens.

The response from trade unionists showed that the suggestion pushed before about making the Tories 'change course' was dead. Local people responded favourably and many joined the demo as it wound its way through Blackpool.

At the rally, speaker after speaker was cheered when they called for the Tories to be ditched and replaced with a Labour government — a Labour government

looking after workers' interests with the same commitment as Thatcher defended the bosses — but with more success.

The large 2,000 plus police contingent with riot shields showed the bosses' fears about workers' feelings.

The well-disciplined march was not going to attack them physically. But the anger and determination to kick out this disaster of a government has deepened.

Militant

THE TORY CHASM

The Tory Party Conference in Blackpool revealed deep splits in the party of the ruling class—splits unprecedented in recent British history.

Not only did the 'Wets' come out in concerted, open opposition to Thatcher, Howe, Joseph, and their small monetarist Cabal within the Cabinet. But some of their criticisms were echoed by former Thatcher loyalists, like Pym, Nott and Biffen.

Even Heseltine, it seems, has undergone a dramatic conversion, though behind the new, "moist" facade he is still intent on carrying through savage cuts in local authority spending.

Opposition from the Wets is not new. But at Blackpool Gilmour, St John-Stevas and Heath dropped the usual polite "code" and launched blunt, sometimes brutal, attacks on Thatcher and her policies. The 'Dries' used more diplomatic language, but they too attacked Thatcher's "monetarist dogma".

What their appeals to "the tradition of Disraeli" and "one nation" indicate is that, half way through the government's term of office, they have realised that monetarism, or savage

deflation in a new guise, is opening up an unbridgeable social chasm.

Even if Thatcherite economics were producing a 'leaner, fitter economy', which they are not, then the Tories would still have to face the reaction of millions of workers to mass unemployment, savage cuts in the welfare state, and the blatant favouring of the rich minority in society. They also have to face the

From landslide victory to electoral massacre?

alienation even of traditional Tory voters among the middle class.

In short, some of the Dries have concluded that Thatcher is leading the Tories to defeat. "If the Party goes on in this way," commented Patrick Cormack, Tory MP for Staffordshire, "we will go down to the worst defeat in our history—worse even than 1906."

1906, incidentally, was when the Tories were pushed out by the Liberals' landslide victory—a landslide not unlike the Tories' 1979 victory, but a landslide which prepared the way for the demise of the Liberals as a party of government.

Ironically, Mrs Thatcher's new critics are reviving the misgivings voiced by

the strategists of the ruling class when she was first elected Tory leader in 1975.

"It is a gamble," said *The Times* (12 February 1975), "it is a true blue choice designed to reassure the faithful rather than win the doubtful..."

This was brought home in Blackpool last week by the delegates' vicious, hostile reception to Heath, and their frenzied enthusiasm for the "Iron Lady".

"You ought to be in the National Front," one Tory MP told Heath's hecklers: "Oh no, they are too left wing for us," one of the shouting youths replied. According to *The Observer*, this one was typical of the "rat-like youths" applauding Mrs Thatcher.

But big business, who see the Tory Party as the instrument of their political rule do not suppose that such a rabble can win them the next election. Again, they are echoing the fears of 1975.

"She represents, by image, by class, by geography and by attitude, all that is narrowest in modern Conservatism," commented *The Sunday Times* (9 February 1975).

Heath had failed, yes, but they doubted whether Thatcher could "lead the party out of the South-Eastern laager, into which, fatally, it is being driven."

All their worst fears are being borne out.

Thatcher won a landslide victory in 1979—mainly because of the failure of the right-wing Labour government of 1974/79. Making the best of things, Fleet Street sang a "hymn of praise" to Thatcher. Big business convinced itself that monetarist policies would revive profits and restore industry's prosperity.

Now, however, they have been forced to accept that what the Marxists predicted is true. "The government has aggravated the baleful effects of recession by policies rooted in a dogma..." said *The Observer* last Sunday.

Production is down, investment is down, profits are down, inflation is still running at over 11% in spite of monetarism. Even the sacred target for the public sector borrowing requirement (PSBR) has been overshoot.

And the Tory Party has been indelibly labelled as "the party of unemployment". No wonder that Tory MPs like Robert Adley, representing Midland constituencies stricken with 15% unemployment, are denouncing Thatcher's BL darling, Michael Edwardes, as a "bully".

Warrington was a warning, and Croydon North-West may prove another. If the Liberals do well, it will mainly be on account of the

SDP with whom they are allied.

Big business backed the launching of the SDP to put a spoke in Labour's wheels. But while the SDP has provided a new and more comfortable niche for Labour's Tories-in-diguiise, it is mainly disaffected Tory voters who have turned to the Social Democrats in recent polls. By boosting the SDP, big business is in danger of wrecking its own traditional party.

But what alternative have the Tory Wets?

"Scour the torrent of documents pouring in from Wet sources," comments *The Economist* (17 October), "and it is hard to

The Wets are telling Thatcher that to avoid class polarisation they must learn to live with inflation

find more than a liturgy wishing the world a better place, plus a few billions on the public borrowing targets through more aid to industry."

The Wets have no alternative. But they are urging more diplomacy, less haughty, class arrogance. They are trying to tell the

Dries that in order to avoid electoral massacre and class polarisation it is necessary to learn to live with inflation.

Cut workers' living standards, undermine trade union rights, yes, but proceed with circumspection, remember the lessons of the past.

Our conclusions should be clear.

The Tories' crisis is rooted in the desperate dilemmas of a capitalist class facing economic catastrophe. Keynesian solutions no longer work, and monetarism provide provides no easy answer either.

How, how, they want to know, can they restore the profitability of an enfeebled capitalist class without provoking head-on collision with an immensely powerful working class?

Politically, they fear an electoral disaster—and the return of a Labour government, which would come under enormous pressure from an angry and radicalised working class to implement the radical policies adopted by Labour's annual conference.

The power of the organised labour movement is an enormous obstacle to the drastic measures big business would like to take to get itself out of the crisis. But to resolve the crisis the mass forces of the labour movement must be mobilised and be given clear socialist aims—for the socialist transformation of society.

Come to YOPS Conference!

Liverpool 21 November

The YOP Trainees Union Rights Campaign to be held on Saturday, 21 November, looks like being a great success.

Coaches are coming from Scotland, Tyneside, and Wales, and another is likely from London.

The conference plans to help the organisation of the half a million YOP workers into trade unions.

The YTURC has met with a tremendous response throughout the country. In every major town where recruitment drives have been launched, trainees have elected representatives which will form the basis of local YOP shop stewards committees.

The YOPs campaign has already had great campaigning successes on Merseyside.

We lobbied Merseyside Council's transport committee on 6 October. About 30-40 YOPs came along. We presented the transport committee with a resolution calling for free travel passes to work.

From there it will go on to a full meeting of the county council on Thursday October 22nd, which we will also be lobbying at 1pm outside Liverpool Town Hall.

All the schemes we've visited have been really interested in the lobby. "What do you want us to do?" is the usual response.

We've only been thrown out of one scheme. Even some of the supervisors on the schemes are joining the union.

YOP trainees union rights conference. Saturday November 21st 11am AUEW Hall, Mount Pleasant, Liverpool.

All YOPs are welcome, and delegates from Trade Union organisations involved in the recruitment of YOPs. Speakers include: Colin Barnet (NW TUC) Laurence Coates (LPYS Representative on LP NEC).

At West Derby Church gardens there should be the basis of a stewards committee. We're trying now to get representatives from all the organised schemes in Liverpool together to form the basis of a City Wide YOPs reps committee.

From there we can really build the fight for free travel and build up for the national 21st conference.

Report by SHAREEN BLACKHALL TGWU 6/612 and West Derby LPYS

New Young Socialist and YOPs literature: ● **BADGES:** "Youth B4 Bombs—LPYS" badge (10 for £1) "End Cheap Labour—full pay on YOPs" (10 for £1) "Save Jobs sack the Tories" (10 for £1) ● **POSTERS:** YOPs conference, 21 November (free) "YOPs get organised—join a union" (16 for £1) ● **LEAFLETS:** "YOPs—pay us a living wage" (£4 per 1000) "End Arms scandal" (£2 per 1000—not £5.50 as previously advertised). ● Order badges from 'YCAU' PO Box 104 London E9 5TP. ● Posters and leaflets from LPYS, Andy Bevan, 150 Walworth Road, London SE17.

Tories plan to cut dole money

By Ray Physick
(Sunderland North CLP)

As if we unemployed have not taken enough, the Tories are now thinking of cutting the real value of unemployment pay.

According to 'The Times' (15 October): "Supporters of the cut in value say it would be wrong to protect those out of work from inflation when those in employment are suffering a drop in living standards."

The Tories have already ensure that earnings-related benefit for the unemployed will disappear altogether from January 1982. Now the new proposals before the Treasury include:

★ Cut children's allowances for the unemployed

★ No uprating of child benefits in line with inflation

★ Reducing the real value of unemployment pay. (Under present rules the government has to keep unemployment pay at least within 5% of inflation. The Tories are considering widening the gap to 7%.)

No luxury!

No doubt the Tory gutter press are at the ready with articles on how people lead a life of luxury on the dole. But just what are the facts?

For a start unemployment benefit has dropped from 51% of the average wage in 1977 to 40% at present.

According to my simple arithmetic if wages are falling and benefit has declined

as a percentage of the average wage then surely it means that those out of work are even worse off now.

Life on the dole is certainly tough. I receive £35.50 per week. Out of this £14.15 goes to pay the rent while another £4-£4.50 goes to pay gas and electricity bills. This leaves about £17 per week to spend on food, clothes and extreme luxuries such as a newspaper.

Unemployment is still officially 2,988,644 compared with 1.3 million when the Tories came into power—and the Tories say their policies work. Work for the bosses maybe!

The leaders of our movement must say: this far and no further. They have a responsibility to unite workers both employed and unemployed, round the banner of socialism. The time for passivity is now surely over.



Marching in the rain: Tower Hamlets and Hackney LP Young Socialists demonstrating against Tory policies, Saturday 17 October (above and below) Photo: J Mckitrick

Jarrow march

Despite freezing weather the LPYS and the Labour Party are now distributing 100,000 leaflets for the Jarrow march on 1 November.

The LPYS in agreement with the Convenor has arranged a factory gate meeting at Reyrolles engineering next week with Kevin Ramage, the LPYS National Chairman speaking.

However factory meetings are only one aspect of our campaign.

On Monday and Tuesday

last week we did a mass canvass of council estates, not just leafleting, but knocking on doors and discussing socialist policies and the need to be active against the Tories.

Out again Thursday, this time to the devastated towns of Consett and Stanley. Consett can 'boast' 25% unemployment, and Stanley suffers the indignity of 3,600 men alone being out of work, with no figures being available for women. 22 papers were sold, and we collected 12 names of young workers who were interested in the LPYS Campaign Against Unemployment.

The 1 November march

has been called by the Northern Regional Labour Party, on the theme of 'Back to Jarrow'. Throughout the week on our factory visits unions have promised to mobilise their members and bring along their banners.

Friday morning was the turn of the shipyards for our regular paper sales, and leafleting. The sign of 2,000 men running towards you for their lunch break can be daunting, but by standing firm we still managed to distribute 600 leaflets and sell eight papers.

Our campaigning work will not end with the demo. Determined to take a lead we will always take our struggle onto the streets, and into the work places. Toryism can never defeat that.



Two weeks ago saw the largest-ever demonstration in W Germany. 250,000 marched against the new 'tactical' nuclear weapons and the arms race. Photo: T Howland (IFL)

HOW CAN WE STOP THE HOLOCAUST?

One year after the atom bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the death toll climbed to over 200,000.

Today there are sufficient nuclear weapons to produce 1¼ million Hiroshimas.

The world's population could be incinerated one thousand times over in a radioactive inferno.

US "MIRVed" missiles carry three warheads, each containing 16 times the explosive force of an Hiroshima bomb.

["MIRVing" is the nuclear strategists' jargon for fitting ICBMs (intercontinental ballistic missiles) with "multiple independently targetted re-entry vehicles"]

The Polaris submarines carry 16 missiles: each one has also three warheads. Just one missile has an explosive power equal to 9,600,000 tons of TNT—more than the total explosive power used in world war two.

The arms race has also been carried into outer space, where by 1979 more than half of the super powers' satellites were used for military purposes.

This horror suspended over the head of mankind, together with increased world tensions, has resulted in growing fears about nuclear war especially amongst the youth.

A recent poll published in *The Times* (9 October) stated that amongst the youth over half (51%) thought that Britain would be involved in a nuclear war

By Rob Sewell

in their lifetime. Since a similar poll in 1979, 22% had swung from 'unlikely' to 'likely'.

Both the TUC and the Labour Party, reflecting this mood, have come out clearly in favour of unilateral nuclear disarmament.

The crazy attempt by the Thatcher government, appealing Reagan, to restore the military power of British imperialism has seen expenditure on arms jump to £12,500 million a year.

The Tories are hell bent on replacing the Polaris submarines with the new Trident at a cost of over £5,000 million, and this at a time of drastic cuts in schools and hospitals!

Despite all the flowery speeches and talks on arms control, particularly in SALT I and SALT II, the arms race continues to spiral. Under the SALT I agreement, the Russian "MIRVING" went ahead, and the total number of warheads was vastly increased! SALT II also

allowed the development of CRUISE and the MX missiles!

The devastating horrors of thermo-nuclear war cannot be fully grasped. So why does the building up of arms go on unceasingly? Are the leaders of American imperialism and Russian Stalinism mad? Are they blind?

Simply to reduce the prospect of nuclear annihilation to the mental make-up of Reagan, Brezhnev or Thatcher is superficial and fails to understand the objective conditions that are the root cause of war.

The famous 19th century military theorist, Clausewitz, correctly stated that "war is the continuation of politics by other (violent) means." Only a class analysis of the causes of war can arm the present generation with a perspective of real peace.

Causes of war

Wars are not caused by the will of madmen.

On the one hand, they arise from contradictions of capitalism, i.e. the conflict of private ownership and the nation state with the development of the productive forces. On the other hand, they arise from the contradiction of capitalism and the totalitarian Stalinist states, based on nationalised, centrally planned economies.

It is these class contradictions which lie behind the 'arms race' and provide its driving force.

Why hasn't there been a

world war in the past 35 years?

It is not due to the rule of sane people or "detente" or any "agreement", but flows from the class balance of forces in society. The second world war could only take place after the complete destruction of the labour organisations in Germany and Italy and the triumph of the fascist reaction.

In this nuclear epoch, in particular, the balance of class forces is absolutely decisive. Due to the strength of Russia in conventional terms, where the Warsaw Pact could sweep through Europe in a few weeks, a new world war could only be a nuclear one.

The capitalist class are not in favour of such a war which would end in "Mutually Assured Destruction" or "MAD" as it is termed. Their own profits, privileges, markets, and not least, their own lives would be lost in a nuclear holocaust.

That is not to say that the capitalist class is pacifist. They have been quite prepared to slaughter the peoples of Africa, Latin America and Asia to maintain their power and influence.

It was recently revealed that Churchill was preparing to use anthrax bombs on German cities in World War II. In such an event, Hamburg, Berlin, etc. would have remained uninhabitable to this day.

With the world economic upswing, capitalism has been able to afford to display its 'liberal' mask over the past 35 years in the advanced industrial countries. With the crisis of

capitalism, the capitalists are preparing to deal with the labour movement.

Over the next decade, as the capitalists attempt to take back the gains of the past, not only living standards but all our democratic rights will be under threat.

If the labour movement fails to come to power over the next ten to fifteen years and put an end to capitalism, then the capitalists will undoubtedly turn to military dictatorships to solve its problems.

The emergence of an American Pinochet, together with the victory of reaction in Europe, would change the balance of class forces in capitalism's favour. This would lay the basis for a third world war.

It was leaked that Admiral Radford, former chief of staff of the American forces in Washington, seriously calculated that there would "only" be one hundred million dead in the USA if a "worthwhile" victorious war was conducted against Russia!

These reactionaries, if they stood at the head of a totalitarian regime from which all democratic restraints were removed, would not hesitate, if they believed there was no other way out, to launch a nuclear war.

Therefore, even if Britain achieves unilateral disarmament and all bases are removed, the nightmare of nuclear holocaust would not be ended.

Only through the socialist transformation of society in Britain, in Europe, and the organisation of a world federation of socialist states, can peace be guaranteed.

It is not the existence of weapons that causes war, but the contradictions of capitalism and its conflict with the Stalinist bloc. Therefore disarmament in and of itself would not solve the contradictions. The superpowers would still have the technical capacity to develop highly sophisticated weapons at short notice.

Those who say we must have "peace" first, then socialism fail to understand the real causes of war. Without the ending of capitalism there can be no lasting peace. There is absolutely no short cut, no "easy" solution, but the socialist transformation of society.

The new generation of youth must learn the lessons of the past. Peace movements existed in the 1930s but failed to prevent the outbreak of the second world war.

No amount of "agreements" and talks can bring peace. Neither the capitalists nor the Stalinists will voluntarily disarm.

Only the overthrow of capitalism in the West and Stalinist dictatorships in the East will enable the weapons of destruction to be scrapped and the resources of society to be used for the benefit of all.

The startling alternative before mankind is: Either socialism and superabundance—or, ultimately, thermo-nuclear holocaust and the destruction of the planet.

There is no short cut, no easy solution, but the socialist transformation of society.



What do you give the man who has everything? Nearly a million dollars to do up the new home. That's what the Reagans were given by friends to spend on redecorating the White House when they moved in this year. This luxurious palace has now been redecorated at a cost of \$822,641, so that the Reagans can enjoy their favourite colour schemes. The bedroom is salmon with peach carpets, the living room yellow with lemon furnishings. Crockery alone cost \$209,508.

And for those special occasions like birthdays, friends arranged a nice surprise. They hired a whole Virginian plantation for Nancy Reagan's birthday party and flew in food from her favourite Beverley Hills restaurant, 2,500 miles away. All this while husband Ronnie was trying to force through Congress the biggest attack on welfare since the Great Depression, slashing social security and education budgets by up to \$90,000 million.

All change on the guru front. This year's Nobel Prize for Economics has gone to leading Keynesian economist Professor Tobin. His views clash with the Nobel prize winner of six years ago, Milton Friedman.

It doesn't matter which capitalist policies the bosses follow, either the Keynesian brew that got them into the present crisis or the Friedmanite remedy that buries them deeper within it. Neither inflation nor monetarism offers any long-term way out for the capitalists.

The Tories have discovered a new definition of unity. When the Tory candidate at this week's bye-election announced that Heath was coming to assist his campaign, he explained, "Mr Heath is coming to show that we are a united party. Of course there are disagreements on some issues but on everything else except the management of the economy I agree with him."

For this would-be MP this "management of the economy", the three million unemployed, the record number of bankruptcies, the continuing inflation is clearly only a minor matter. Not for nothing is the Tory Party known as The Stupid Party.

We all know the answer why the MPs who joined the Social Democrats did not resign their seat and fight again under their new label; they were scared that they would lose. But from Southwark comes another reason; they might not get selected as the SDP candidate in the first place.

One of the few politically honest SDP members, Councillor Frank Brean, resigned his council seat when he joined the SDP. But when the local branch came to select their candidate for the vacancy, poor old Frank only came third.

There have been other ructions in the party which gave us the 'smoked salmon express'. Whilst the leaders have been travelling round and round all has not been well back at the "grass roots". In Norfolk the chairperson, Hilda Nickson, talked about a 'coup' and a 'purge' when she was ousted ironically enough by a former member of Norfolk Communist Party.

And what is OMO? Appropriately enough for a party which relies heavily upon the media to package the product it is the main demand of the newly-formed "SDP Co-ordinating Committee": One Member One vote. Already its 'convenor' has been attacked by Shirley Williams on a public platform. It seems that some things never change. But if there are any people who have drifted into the SDP because they thought it offers something new, then they will quickly discover that is just another undemocratic form of Conservatism.



Sam Brown speaking at protest meeting against Tories' Nationality Act in Brixton, April 1981.

SPIRITED DEFENCE WON COURT CASE

With the increase in harassment of political activists by the police, my recent experiences may prove helpful to others finding themselves up in court.

In November last year, during a British Movement demonstration in Paddington, I was, for no apparent reason, arrested by a group of police and subsequently charged with assaulting the Chief Superintendent in charge of policing the counter-demonstration.

When I eventually appeared in court, not only was the Chief Superintendent claiming that I had hit him, but he had also brought along two of his Constables who went on to testify in great detail my precise movements in the two or three minutes leading up to the alleged assault—which they, of course, said they witnessed.

So detailed were their statements that one even claimed to remember the precise moment that I clenched my fist. It therefore came as some surprise to the court that he couldn't recall the fact that I was wearing gloves and carrying a bag at the time.

The eventual outcome was that I was found 'not guilty', and the magistrate dismissed the case.

Obviously, one can never know why he preferred my evidence as opposed to the police's story.

In recent events, many people have been arbitrarily picked up by the police, and then charged with various offences. Many of them have been pressurised to plead "guilty", with the promise that they will get a light sentence. They have been through the courts in five minutes—some of them ending up with heavy sentences, in spite of police promises.

My case shows that if you have been arbitrarily picked on, you should certainly

plead "not guilty", and prepare a vigorous defence.

It was fortunate that I have a job, and could bring witnesses who also had "respectable" jobs, and were (what the courts call) "of good character".

At all my court appearances, comrades and friends were mobilised to provide a presence, to give moral support, which is very important in the alien and intimidating atmosphere of the court.

Perhaps the most important reason for my acquittal, though, was that after discussion with a solicitor, who briefed a good barrister, a spirited defence was put up.

At the time of the incident names and addresses were taken of witnesses who were subsequently followed up by my solicitors to ensure attendance at court. As soon as possible after my arrest I made sure to write everything down that had happened, so that when my case eventually came up in court (which could have

been anything up to a year or more afterwards) I was still perfectly clear in my own mind as to what had happened.

In court, I went into the witness box and stated clearly what happened and expressed my surprise that I should have been charged with such an offence. My evidence was confirmed by other witnesses, and a "character witness" made it clear that the alleged offence were completely contrary to my character and my political ideas.

The police evidence was challenged in detail, and I made sure that all the points came out (whether I was asked by the barrister or not).

Eventually, in the magistrate's own words, he was "left with no alternative but to dismiss the case".

By Sam Brown
(Streatham LPYS)

Police ignore fascist attack

Recently two young Asian girls who live on Kingsmead council estate in Hackney, East London were subjected to a vicious racist attack. Living alone with their mother, they were terrified to find that a neighbour had been writing 'British Movement' and 'Pakis Out' on their washroom door. When they challenged the young thug responsible, he pulled a knife on them and threatened to 'cut them up'.

Despite the fact that they made a 999 call at 9pm, the police didn't turn up until 3

hours later, with the excuse that there were only two of them on duty and that they had been too busy to come any earlier. As if that wasn't bad enough they then said that they couldn't do anything, even though the girls knew their attacker because, the police said, it was a case of their word against his!

By this time some of the girls' relatives and friends had arrived, and they told the police that if they weren't prepared to do anything to protect the girls, then they would take the law into their own hands. This made the police see things in a different light

and the attacker was arrested the next day for his own safety.

Although the girls are now 'safe', they are still too scared to go out alone or to leave their mother in the house. The police are too busy to protect them, but there's no shortage of police to protect the rich, or to harass LPYS members when we're out trying to recruit young people to the banner of socialism.

It therefore falls on the shoulders of the labour movement to protect those most vulnerable to racist attacks. But more importantly it is up to the labour movement to change society and sweep away the conditions of poverty, bad housing and unemployment which create the monster of racism.



British Movement last year

Working Without Pride



Building ships in a British Shipbuilder's yard

Photo: MILITANT

Although it is against my principles to work in an industry which is used ultimately for war, I have to hang on to my job as there is no other work available.

I work for British Shipbuilders in the south of England. We manufacture warships, frigates, minesweepers, etc. Due to the defence cuts many jobs are on the line. The sales for ships are going down and my firm have resorted to the 'second hand' market, such as HMS Norfolk, a guided missile destroyer. This vessel was axed in the latest round of defence cuts and was subsequently sold to the Chilean Navy, who will take delivery in the future after a possible re-fit.

The ships I work on now have facilities for 'containment' in the event of a nuclear war. They are ostensibly ship to ship destroyers but could be adapted to carry nuclear weapons. The workforce could and would if given the opportunity change into other areas of heavy industry. Management have said they cannot do this as there is too much competition and costs are too high.

The main reason for the high costs are top heavy

management (1 foreman to 9 workers) who use outdated and obsolete work management.

Also there have been frequent demarcation disputes which have in some cases worsened the conditions of the union membership. What is needed is unity within the yards to fight the common enemy—management—not each other. Management rubs its hands with glee each time a demarcation dispute arises. They do not have to divide and rule; some trade union leaderships are doing a good job in fermenting trade bigotry, instead of fighting management.

One dispute about pipe clipping between EETPU and AUEW members is still not resolved after 4-5 years! Management have of course fuelled the fires—Lord McCarthy recommended (after one year's investigation) that AUEW fitters have 85% of the work and EETPU plumbers 15%—management have told the plumbers that they will do this work.

Ever increasingly the percentage of tradesmen are not time served tradesmen. They have come from skill centres etc. While we must fight for every worker to be able to get decent work, management are using the situation to cut the cost of wage bills. Tradesmen will be made redundant in the future. The yard will become made up of semi-skilled and ancillary

workmen.

The next step will be to reduce wages by one ploy or another. We have already seen the beginning of this by the introduction of British Shipbuilders' scheme on flexibility, in which the emphasis is on ancillary workers taking over tradesmen's jobs. For example, scaffolders look after their own gear, they stack it into the rack on the jetty after use; management want ancillary staff to do this. On the safety aspect alone this is wrong. Scaffolders check their own equipment (which guarantees a thorough check) and that it is stacked safely.

Most workers feel a pride in a job well done. In Vospers it is difficult to get job satisfaction. After a couple of weeks work in a compartment making sure that all the fittings are accurate and positioned correctly, the job is passed by the foreman, only to find that the designers have changed their plans for this compartment, two days after the job is completed! So this means your work is all ripped out and re-done.

After this has happened a few times, it's easy to lose enthusiasm for the work.

By a shipyard worker

From Dawn till Dusk

Would you be prepared to work from dawn until dusk, seven days a week, 51 weeks a year, for a mere pittance and no overtime?

Thousands of agricultural workers have to. While on holiday recently in the Cheviots (for the benefit of you southerners the Cheviots are on the borders of Northumberland, England, and Roxburgh, Scotland) we met a young shepherd's wife.

She lived in a remote valley with just half a dozen other farms in the valley. She had to walk half a mile to collect her milk and post. Her nearest neighbour was a couple of miles away.

The whole valley (and others) was owned by the Duke of Roxburgh. She and her husband had two children and lived in a tied cottage.

She was furious with the Tories for putting up the price of petrol because she could only afford to shop once a fortnight now—the nearest shop is about 15 miles away. This shopping expedition was something to look forward to, to have the chance to meet and talk to other people. Fancy only

By Heather Rawling
(Leicester West CLP)

being able to afford that once a fortnight! Yet Princess Anne can afford a helicopter for a night out.

But there are some 'perks' to being a shepherd's wife. The right to have a vegetable plot, keep two cows and a few chickens on the Duke of Roxburgh's land. Oh, and about two tons of potatoes a year! Unlike the perks given to business executives, these 'perks' all involve extra work!

This young wife had also been waiting for years to her the cottage painted.

She has been trying to get her husband to join a union to improve conditions. However although she didn't approve of these social injustices, she did think "the rich will always be rich and the poor will always be poor."

But I'm convinced that given a lead from the workers in factories, in the



Photo: Denis Doran

Agricultural workers work from morning till night, for most of the year

towns and the cities, this woman and others like her could be mobilised to fight

for the socialist transformation of society. By the way, she also

bought a copy of the *Militant*, which will help her on her way. It just goes to

show, you should never go anywhere without your *Militant*, even on holiday!

Tumbling profits Crumbling industry

By Andrew Glyn

New figures for the rate of profit published by the Department of Industry ('British Business', 18 September 1981, page 111) confirm the dire situation faced by the British capitalists.

In 1980 their rate of profit was 4.9%, compared to an average of 11.6% in the years 1960-65.

But the 1980 figure itself is heavily influenced by the profits from North Sea Oil. These are of temporary duration. A large part of them go to the American oil companies, and in any case they have no bearing on the profitability of the rest of British industry.

Excluding these returns from the North Sea, the rate of profit for the rest of industry and commerce was 3.0%, barely a quarter of the level of the early sixties. The manufacturing sector, hardest hit by the cuts in production and the high exchange rate last year, was receiving only 2% on its capital employed.

The situation has deteriorated further this year. Figures are only available for the first quarter, but they indicate a further fall, perhaps to 1½% or less for manufacturing. Whilst profitability has fallen else-

where, the decline has been sharpest in Britain. Latest figures (for 1979) show rates of 14% for USA, 10% for France and 14% for Japan (British Business, 4 September 81).

The Bank of England has just reported that manufacturing productivity rose by 3% to 4% between the end of 1980 and the middle of 1981. But as the Bank wryly comments, part of this is probably a statistical mirage.

If a number of the least productive plants are shut, the average productivity level automatically rises, without signifying any genuine gain. Indeed if the workers thrown on the dole were counted, their productivity having fallen to zero, the average would certainly have declined!

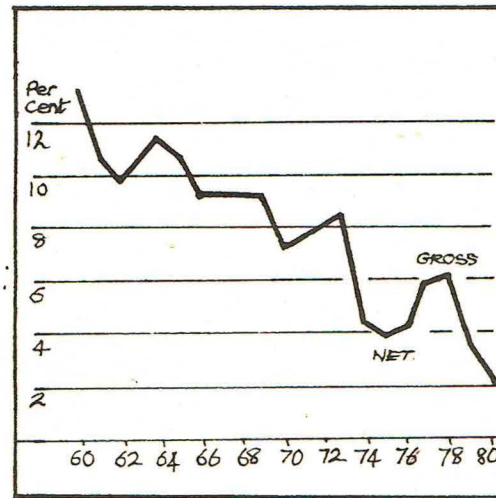
The only real improvement in competitiveness

While closing loss-making plants does improve profits the only real improvement in competitiveness occurs through genuine productivity in the more efficient plants. How much management has achieved in this

Net rate of return at current replacement cost

	All industrial/ commercial companies %	Industrial & commercial companies excluding North Sea %	Manufacturing companies %
1960	13.3	13.3	13.3
1961	11.4	11.4	11.0
1962	10.4	10.4	9.9
1963	11.4	11.4	10.6
1964	12.0	12.0	11.3
1965	11.3	11.3	10.6
1966	10.0	10.0	9.2
1967	10.0	10.0	9.2
1968	10.1	10.1	9.2
1969	9.8	9.9	9.1
1970	8.7	8.7	7.5
1971	8.8	8.9	7.7
1972	9.3	9.3	8.1
1973	8.9	9.0	8.1
1974	5.8	6.0	4.3
1975	4.9	5.2	3.9
1976	5.4	5.6	4.1
1977	7.1	6.7	5.8
1978	7.2	6.7	6.0
1979	6.3	5.0	3.6
1980	4.9	3.0	2.0

NOTE: Figures show net rate of return on capital employed. Net return means gross operating surplus (i.e. gross trading profits) less stock appreciation plus rent received) less capital consumption (i.e. depreciation) at current replacement cost. Net rates of return have fallen more than gross rates. Net rates were above gross rates in the 1960s, but since 1974 have been well below them, reflecting the increased share of capital consumption as profits have fallen. Excluding North Sea activities, capital consumption has increased from 20% of gross operating surplus in 1960 to 28% in 1970 and 56% in 1980.



Net rate of return manufacturing firms

respect is an unknown quantity.

The drastic state of profitability has important implications for the Labour Party's expansionary "Alternative Economic Strategy".

Many supporters of the AES admit that to secure an improvement in investment the capitalists would require an increase in profitability. But they often overlook the extent of this increase.

To return the rate of profit of industrial and commercial companies (excluding North Sea Oil) to the level of the early 1960s would require an increase in profits of nearly £21,000 million (1979 prices). This represents 25% of what companies are currently producing. It would therefore take 25% expansion of their output, all of which would go to profits, to return the profit rate to its earlier level.

Probably there is spare capacity to increase output by a bit more than this. Nevertheless, the restoration of profitability would take the lion's share of the extra production.

Whether or not even this would be sufficient to secure a radical improvement in investment is dubious enough in the context of anti-capitalist measures of the AES (nationalisation of profitable firms, planning agreements, etc.) But there would be huge pressure on a Labour government to secure such a boost to profits by holding down on any growth of living standards.

The contradictions of trying to secure production for need in an economy based on profit would face the government with a stark choice: Either abandon its objectives or move more decisively against the profit system.

WORKERS' NOTEBOOK

Redundancy payments were the sweetener introduced more than a decade ago to soften the impact of unemployment and also to try to forestall workers' occupations against closures. In reality very few workers get big redundancy payments. The Employment Gazette (Vol 89 No 8 from HMSO) summarises a survey showing that about one third failed to qualify for any payment because they had not been in a job for two years or were under 20 years old.

For those eligible the average payment was £1,050, though half got less than £500. Only 40% of employers made any extra payment on top of the statutory minimum, usually averaging about 50% of the redundancy pay. Overall only 4 per cent got more than £5,000. The bulk of the unemployed have been school leavers, over 60s, unskilled workers and very

low paid who got nothing or next to nothing.

Compare this to the golden handshakes given to those leaving the 'service' of the bosses. Last month, Jack Gill of Lord Grade's Associated Communications Corporation got a £500,000 pay-off. When Dalgety were taken over by Spillers this year nine directors got £1.7 million between them.

Usefulness to society hardly came into it. Among individuals to get over £200,000 each were luminaries of Consolidated Goldfields whose profits come from super-exploitation of black workers in South Africa, gaming giants Coral, the ailing shipyards of Harland and Wolff in the middle of poverty stricken Belfast and the food firm FMC who managed to lose £1 million this year.

Over the past twelve months, employment in the building industry has shrunk to a new low. 130,000 down to 1.1 million. In the public sector 36,000 starts are estimated this year after Heseltine's moratorium and only just over 100,000 in the private sector. The only statistic to rise is that for accidents. For the first time fatal accidents in this industry are at a higher level than for the rest of manufacturing industry put together.

The figures were falling after the introduction of the Health and Safety at Work Act but fatalities went up last year from 120 to 128. The Health and Safety Executive (in Construction Health and Safety 1979-80 HMSO £2) blame this on employers cutting corners to save money and get contracts.

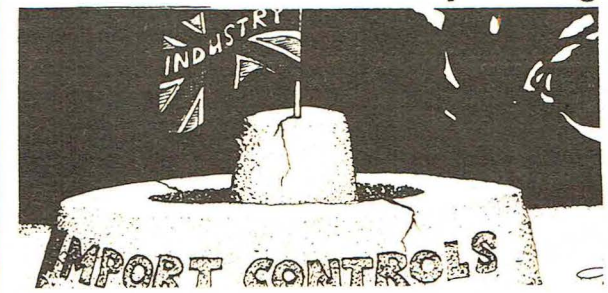
Roofers, scaffolders and painters in small firms are at risk as employers ignore

legislation which in any case, only obliges employers to comply "so far as is reasonably practicable" and gives time for bosses to modify unsafe apparatus.

Less than 4% of workers found to be unfairly dismissed after appearing before an industrial tribunal return to the employer who sacked them. In about 40% of cases, bosses refused to reinstate workers. Many of those who did return were reinstated in lower paid and lower status jobs.

Many more do not even attempt to return—the most common reason being fear of victimisation. Judging by the fate of those who do try to return, their fears are justified.

A 'Militant' pamphlet 'Import controls? —or socialist planning'



This vital pamphlet discusses the alternatives to the devastating Tory policies of mass unemployment and the dangers of the policy of import controls.

Price 25p (+ 15p post & packing)
from World Books, 1 Mentmore Terrace
London E8 3PN

CORRECTION

There were regrettably two printing errors last week on the growth of the world monopolies:

(1) In the Table showing the nationality of the world's largest firms, "1962" was transposed with "1977". This made it look as though the top US firms are becoming more important. If the dates are put in the right places, the US share of the top 50 firms has declined from 38% to

21%, and so on with the other figures.

(2) In the fourth from last paragraph, "unlikely" was incorrectly printed for "likely". It should have read, "...it is likely that in 1981 more than half the production of the biggest British firms is taking place outside the UK."

Apologies to Andrew Glyn and any confused readers.

1956

HUNGARIAN
REVOLUTION

Twenty-five years ago this month, the revolution of the Hungarian workers for a brief period ended the rule of the Stalinist bureaucracy and began to shape the foundations of democratic workers' rule.

Although the revolution was soon crushed by Russian tanks, it added an heroic chapter to the history of international working-class struggle and shed brilliant light on the tasks of the workers' movement in Eastern Europe.

Today, with Poland in ferment and signs of gathering crisis in other countries of Eastern Europe, it is vital that the lessons of the Hungarian political revolution be learned by working-class activists in every country.

Piling up social tensions

The Stalinist regime had been established in Hungary following the collapse of the fascist dictatorship and the defeat of the Nazi armies at the end of World War II. The Russian Red Army, heading off the independent movement of the workers, was in control of Hungary. On this basis a new regime was constructed, headed by the Communist Party.

With the collapse of the capitalist class, the economy was brought under state ownership and a plan of production established, making possible considerable economic progress. But from the start all power was in the hands of the Stalinist bureaucracy, leading to increasing mismanagement and police state conditions, piling up the social tensions that were to explode in 1956.

After the rising of the East Berlin workers and similar disturbances in Czechoslovakia, the summer of 1953 saw the first significant strikes in Hungary for over 7 years. Discontent was widespread, fuelled by low living standards, impossible factory norms, shortages and all aspects of a bureaucratically mis-managed economy.

As a worker from the main industrial centre of Csepel in the south of Budapest explained: "The communists nationalised all the factories and similar enterprises, proclaiming the slogan, 'The factory is yours—you work for yourself'. Exactly the opposite of this was true. They promised us everything, at the same time subjugating

By Magda Szabo
and Ewa Piatkowska

us and pulling us down to the greatest misery conceivable."

Opposition to the Stalinist regime came from other quarters too. Artists, writers, students and intellectuals gave more articulate expression to their ideas. It was fast becoming obvious to the Hungarian Stalinists and their Moscow masters that, as in Poland, certain reforms from above were needed to forestall the explosion from below.

Liberalisation had become the key word in the summer of 1953. Matyas Rakosi, 'Stalin's greatest Hungarian pupil', was removed from the position of Prime Minister and replaced by Imre Nagy, a liberal bureaucrat, who put a so-called 'New Course' into effect. This included certain economic and social reforms as well as political liberalisation.

Repression— and new upheavals

But, as it is very often the case, liberalisation had exactly the opposite effect to that intended. Instead of quelling discontent, it fuelled it by making the people realise that concessions could be won. Inevitably the clamp-down came. In early 1955 Imre Nagy was removed from his position and later expelled from the Party. A new wave of oppression followed.

The next upheavals came after Khrushchev denounced the crimes of Stalin during the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in February 1956. The Petofi Circle, the unofficial discussion circle of the writers, started up public meetings. Pressure on the regime intensified.

In response to the Polish uprising in June, demonstrations and strikes flared up. The bureaucracy responded by removing Rakosi again, this time for good. His place was taken by Erno Gero, known for his intransigent Stalinist views. But some previously imprisoned, more liberal Stalinists were included in the Politbureau, Janos Kadar amongst them.

On 14 October Imre Nagy was readmitted to the Party, which rather than placating the masses gave them new hope. On Gomulka's succession to power in Poland the students of Budapest called a demonstration and open-air meeting for 23 October to show solidarity with their Polish brothers and sisters. It was this peaceful demonstration which signalled the first mass movement of people in their thousands on the streets of Budapest.

Concrete demands

The movement itself was spontaneous. The mood was happy, the demands confused, no plans were laid. Even so the issue of solidarity with Poland quickly spilled over to concrete demands.

The points drawn up by the Writers' Union were read to the people in Bem Square and were received with great enthusiasm.

Point 1 declared "We want an independent national policy based on the principle of socialism." Point 3 reflected the pressure of the workers for democratic control and management of the planned economy: "We shall not be able to emerge from the crisis unless all workers, peasants and intellectuals can play their proper part in the political, social and economic administration of the country." Finally, point 7 concluded: "The people must elect their representatives in parliament, in the Council, and in all autonomous organs of administration, freely and by secret ballot."

Imbued with the above ideas, the crowds at the Bem statue did not want to go home. Some moved onto Parliament Square and stood in silent menacing numbers.

By then workers on their way home had joined them and swelled their numbers to several hundreds of thousands. Some went to the statue of Stalin in City Park and unceremoniously pulled it down.



A sizeable crowd had gathered in front of the Radio Building with the idea of demanding the right to broadcast their demands. It was here that the first shots of the revolution were fired. The secret police, panic stricken by the numbers, fired on unarmed men, women and youngsters.

First shots of the Revolution

The crowd had been unarmed up to this stage, but not for long. Workers from the outlying industrial districts especially those working in armament factories, went back to their workplaces and lorryloads of arms appeared as if from nowhere.

Such was the mood that soldiers and even some police were handing their arms to the people, joining them in many cases.

In the meantime the rigid Stalinist leaders, like Hegedus, Gero and their followers, quickly disappeared from scene. Like in Poland, though with less tact and considerably later, the bureaucracy tried to placate the masses with a change of personnel at the top and some promise of reform.

Imre Nagy, a more 'liberal' Stalinist, who in the eyes of the majority of the people had suffered from Stalinism and stood for progress, was made Prime Minister and Jajos Kadar, also tortured under Rakosi, was in the government. These measures,

although supported by the masses, seemed just the beginning of the changes for which tens of thousands were now clamouring in the streets.

The major galvanising force during the early days of the revolution was the entry into Budapest of Russian troops, called in to cool the situation. The bureaucracy had no intention of bloodshed at this stage. It was hoped that a show of force would be enough.

But they underestimated the mood of the workers and especially the youth. The aroused youth of Budapest, especially the young workers, took on the Russian tanks with little more than their hands in some cases. 'Molotov cocktails' were useful supplements to arms and ammunition, which were never in plentiful supply.

In some cases serious fraternisation went on between the 'freedom fighters', as they were by now called, and the Russian troops. Instinctively the common class interests and natural bonds of the Hungarian workers and Russian soldiers came to the fore.

As one young fighter recalled: "I found myself shooting at bewildered Ukrainian peasant boys who had as much reason to hate what we fought as we had."

It was this magnificent struggle, as well as the danger of mass desertions to the side of the Revolution by Russian units, which made the Russian High Command withdraw its troops from Budapest on 28 October.

It may have seemed a ma-

major victory to the majority of people, but it was not to last long. It was more a regrouping exercise than a genuine withdrawal. For the final attack the Russian bureaucracy brought in troops from backward Central Asia, indoctrinated with stories of a fascist uprising in Berlin which they would be fighting, or that the Danube was the Suez Canal where they would be fighting British imperialist troops.

Workers' Councils

What made the bureaucrats in Moscow prepare with such determination to crush the Hungarian revolution, when in Poland the bureaucracy had been saved without an invasion?

The answer lies in the development of the Workers' Councils. These bodies, which had sprung up from the very first day of the revolution, were to all intents and purposes Soviets as in Russia in 1917—created by the working class as its own instruments of power.

The Hungarian Workers' Councils—unlike their Polish counterparts—did present a serious threat to the rule of the bureaucracy. Trotsky's programme of political revolution to overthrow the bureaucracy and establish democratic workers' rule on the basis of the planned economy was being made a reality by the heroic struggles of the Hungarian working class.

On 31 October, within a week of their formation, representatives of approx-

RRIAN TION



TOP: Workers' militias on Budapest streets

BELOW: The hated secret police, one of the few sections not to be affected by the revolution, were executed by the workers.



imately 25 of the largest factories in Budapest drew up a statement outlining the basic rights and duties of the Workers' Councils:

1. The factory belongs to the workers. The latter should pay to the state a levy calculated on the basis of the output and a portion of the profits.

2. The supreme controlling body of the factory is the Workers' Council democratically elected by the workers.

3. The Workers' Councils elects its own executive committee composed of 3-9 members, which acts as the executive body of the Workers' Council, carrying out the decisions and tasks laid down by it.

4. The director is employed by the factory. The director and the highest employees are to be elected by the Workers' Council. This election will take place after a public general meeting called by the executive committee.

5. The director is responsible to the Workers' Council in every matter which concerns the factory.

6. The Workers' Council itself reserves all right to: (a) Approve and ratify all projects concerning the enterprise; (b) Decide basic wage levels and the methods by which these are to be assessed. (c) Decide on all matters concerning foreign contracts; (d) Decide on the conduct of all operations involving credit.

7. In the same way, the Workers' Council resolves any conflicts concerning the hiring and firing of all workers employed in the enterprise.

Basis for a new society

Revolutionary councils sprang up in all spheres of life. Most representatives usually came from the nearest Workers' Council, but also other sections of people were involved. These councils, combined with the Workers' Councils, were the only bodies commanding the support of the masses.

In the meantime there were frequent changes in the government, representing desperate measures by the new, liberalised bureaucracy to contain the situation. But these manoeuvres were quickly superseded by events.

It was the existence of these Councils and the threat they posed to the power of the bureaucracy that made it necessary to drown the Revolution in blood.

When the fighting died down, in the days between 28 October and 4 November, the Workers' Councils and the Revolutionary councils set about laying the basis for a new society—which in reality, represented a return to the early days of the Russian Workers' State created by the Revolution in 1917 under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky.

Lenin's demands for a healthy workers' state, if not word for word, were instinctively adopted in practice by the Hungarian workers:

1. All representatives of the workers to be elected and subject to instant recall. (This point was vividly put into practice, when the Central Workers' Council of

Csepel changed leadership in the middle of the worst fighting because the existing leaders wanted a return to work against the overwhelming wishes of the workers.)

2. No official to receive more than the wage of a skilled worker.

3. No standing army but an armed people.

4. Rotation of duties: when everybody is a bureaucrat, nobody is a bureaucrat.

To this the Hungarian workers have added a fifth demand: for a plurality of political parties; never again a totalitarian one-party state.

With the achievements of a nationalised economy and central planning coupled with workers' democracy, no real danger can come even from pro-capitalist parties.

No demand for a return to capitalism

October 1956 proved this in practice. All the old parties of the immediate post-war era were resurrected. Fiery political debate took place everywhere and newspapers of differing opinions were printed. **But nowhere in the demands of any organisation of the intellectuals, students or workers was the demand for a return to capitalism put forward. Allegations of 'counter-revolutionary elements' at work in the Workers' Councils were so much slander manufactured by the Stalinist propaganda machine.**

In reality the demands of the newly-formed National

Council of Free Trade Unions, published on 26 October, formed the basis of the demands of all the workers' organisations.

1. Constitution of Workers' Councils in all the factories, to establish (a) workers' management and (b) a radical transformation of the system of central planning and direction of the economy by the state.

2. Readjustment of wages: immediate rise of 15% in monthly wages less than 800 forints (appr. £12) and of 10% in wages less than 1,500 forints (appr. £20). Maximum monthly wages to be fixed at 3,500 forints.

3. Abolition of production norms except in factories where the workers' councils elect to keep them.

4. Abolition of the 4% tax paid by unmarried people and childless families.

5. The lowest pensions to be increased.

6. Family allowances to be increased.

7. Speeded up house-building by the State.

Do these sound like the demands of reactionary capitalists and landowners?

Second Russian invasion

Having repelled the first attack of the Russian tanks, the workers started preparations for the election of a Central Workers' Council. A resumption of work was agreed for Monday 5 November. These plans were rudely interrupted by the second intervention of Russian troops on 4 November.

Bitter fighting took place

all over the country and especially in Budapest. The working class districts put up the most implacable fight, with Red Csepel falling last. It took an incredible ten days for 6,000 tanks to crush the revolution.

Three days before the second intervention Kadar and other pro-Moscow bureaucrats mysteriously disappeared. Now they reappeared at the head of the mis-named "Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government"—in reality, puppets of the Russian bureaucracy.

The Communist Party received a new name: 'Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party'. Its rule now depended on Russian tanks.

But in spite of the crushing military defeat and tremendous loss of life, the workers were not easily trampled into the ground. Immediately after 4 November a second general strike was called and adhered to even more solidly than the first one.

The Workers' Councils carried on functioning. They remained the only organisations commanding the support of the workers, and even under ever growing intimidation and persecution from the secret police they organised District Workers' Councils, set up the Central Workers' Council and even managed to establish a National Workers' Council with representatives from all over the country.

Only barbaric repression, intimidation and persecution eventually wore down the power of the Workers' Councils. It was on 8 January 1957 that the

Csepel Workers' Council announced its resignation, declaring: "Under the presently prevailing circumstances, we are no longer able to carry out our obligations....and for this reason, we are returning our mandate into the hands of the workers."

Hundreds of workers tortured and murdered

Sporadic demonstrations, unrest and even strikes continued well into 1957 and 1958. Imre Nagy and other prominent figures of the revolution were eventually executed in the summer of 1958. They followed hundreds of workers tortured and executed by Kadar's henchmen.

Lenin said in October 1917: "We may not be able to hold out for long, so let us do such things during our brief tenure of power that the working classes of the world will remember them forever."

Without a doubt the Hungarian workers did just that. This first, albeit unsuccessful, attempt at the political revolution will serve as a guiding beacon to the workers of Eastern Europe or anywhere else in the world struggling against Stalinist oppression.

The magnificent struggle of the Polish workers now gives new opportunities to the oppressed masses of Eastern Europe to throw off the yoke of their bureaucracies. Their fight is admirable, their achievements more than they themselves have dreamt of.

But nothing is safe and permanent under a Stalinist dictatorship. No other way, but to rise and end the political power of the bureaucracy, can guarantee the gains so far achieved and open the door to the building of workers' democracy.

No bogey of Russian intervention should deter the Polish workers from moving in this direction.

A bold internationalist appeal to the Russian troops can and will produce the results the bureaucracy themselves fear: the union of the proletariat of Russia and Eastern Europe against their bureaucracies. If they cannot trust their own troops now to put down the political revolution in Eastern Europe, who and what will save them in Russia itself?

The world will shake when mighty Russian working class move against their oppressors. That will be the death knell of Stalinism in the East and capitalism in the West.

●
For a full analysis of the Stalinist states read 'Bureaucratism or Workers' Power' by Silverman & Grant Price 45p including post and packing and 'Marxist Theory of the State' by Ted Grant Price 65p including post and packing

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19 September: Workers flock into the Mall in front of Washington's Capitol. More than half a million showed their feelings about Reagan's monetarist policies.

THE DAY THE WORKERS TOOK WASHINGTON D.C.

19 September 1981 will go down in history as the day when Washington DC, normally the stomping ground for big business and its lobbyists, belonged to the workers of this country.

More than half a million people from all over America—the labour unions and their allies—arrived on Solidarity Day to protest the acts of a President who has declared war on labour and the common man in America, and to take the first step towards getting their country back to its people.

One woman auto worker, part of a huge contingent from Flint, Michigan, reflected this mood: "This is our day, and that's for sure."

There was a spirit of optimism in the air in Washington that Saturday, a feeling that the people had the numbers and the power to turn the government's anti-labour policies around.

There was an optimism based on the knowledge that here was America's multi-racial, multi-national working class engaged in common effort against its common enemies.

"The workers, united, will never be divided," chanted 800 people in English and Spanish, marching under the banner of the National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights, capturing the theme of the day.

Reagan had told the American working class that their labour leaders did not represent them, only he represented them because of the mandate given him in his election. But the workers replied by uniting behind their own movement.

"You are the people that do the work of America," declared AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland over the loudspeakers to the huge throng packed over the one mile length of the great Mall below the Capitol building.

"If you do not embrace the proposition that this President has a mandate to destroy the programmes that feed the roots of a decent society, look about you. *You are not alone.*"

"If you believe that governments are raised by the people not as their enemies, but as their instruments, to promote the general welfare, look about you. *You are not alone.*"

"We have not forgotten how to fight"

"Those who have risen to power in this city have set out to strip your government to any capacity to serve your needs and aspirations.

"Their tax cuts—transferring resources from the common good to the private purses of the rich—are proving the most irresponsible fiscal act in our time..."

"They are hostile to social justice, threaten voting rights, women's rights, and human rights..."

"We have come too far, struggled too long, sacrificed too much, and have too much left to do to allow all that we have achieved for the good of all to be swept away without a fight. *And we have not forgotten how to fight.*"

This keynote address set the tone for the speeches that followed.

Report from Betty Traun in New York

OVERTURN the Reagan Program of cutbacks, racism & war

THE PEOPLE WILL DO IT

Join the movement to end the budget cuts, military build-up, unemployment, racist violence and anti-Semitism. Stop attacks on women's rights, lesbian and gay rights, disabled and seniors rights.

by organizing thousands from every city, state, and territory, from the workplaces to the neighborhoods and communities to come to an

ALL-PEOPLES CONGRESS
At Cobo Hall • Detroit • October 16-18 • to build nationwide
A National Day of Resistance
demonstrations in major cities and in Washington D.C.

Hundreds of organizations are supporting this activity.

Partial list of endorsers:

American Labor Education Fund American Labor Union American Society of Newspaper Editors American Union of Teachers Association of American Physicians and Surgeons Association of American Universities Association of Black Journalists Association of Black Women Association of Black Women in Business Association of Black Women in Government Association of Black Women in Industry Association of Black Women in Law Association of Black Women in Medicine Association of Black Women in the Arts Association of Black Women in the Sciences Association of Black Women in the Social Services Association of Black Women in the Trades Association of Black Women in the Professions Association of Black Women in the Public Sector Association of Black Women in the Private Sector Association of Black Women in the Non-Profit Sector Association of Black Women in the Community Association of Black Women in the Church Association of Black Women in the Home Association of Black Women in the Workplace Association of Black Women in the Neighborhood Association of Black Women in the City Association of Black Women in the State Association of Black Women in the Nation Association of Black Women in the World	Association of Black Men Association of Black Men in Business Association of Black Men in Government Association of Black Men in Industry Association of Black Men in Law Association of Black Men in Medicine Association of Black Men in the Arts Association of Black Men in the Sciences Association of Black Men in the Social Services Association of Black Men in the Trades Association of Black Men in the Professions Association of Black Men in the Public Sector Association of Black Men in the Private Sector Association of Black Men in the Non-Profit Sector Association of Black Men in the Community Association of Black Men in the Church Association of Black Men in the Home Association of Black Men in the Workplace Association of Black Men in the Neighborhood Association of Black Men in the City Association of Black Men in the State Association of Black Men in the Nation Association of Black Men in the World	Association of Black Women and Men Association of Black Women and Men in Business Association of Black Women and Men in Government Association of Black Women and Men in Industry Association of Black Women and Men in Law Association of Black Women and Men in Medicine Association of Black Women and Men in the Arts Association of Black Women and Men in the Sciences Association of Black Women and Men in the Social Services Association of Black Women and Men in the Trades Association of Black Women and Men in the Professions Association of Black Women and Men in the Public Sector Association of Black Women and Men in the Private Sector Association of Black Women and Men in the Non-Profit Sector Association of Black Women and Men in the Community Association of Black Women and Men in the Church Association of Black Women and Men in the Home Association of Black Women and Men in the Workplace Association of Black Women and Men in the Neighborhood Association of Black Women and Men in the City Association of Black Women and Men in the State Association of Black Women and Men in the Nation Association of Black Women and Men in the World
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The Communications Workers of America (CWA) brought the largest contingent of union workers to Washington, 77,000 strong. Next in size was the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), then the machinists' union contingent of 50,000 plus gathered under the largest banner in the march, with the slogan "Jobs, not bombs."

The huge contingent of union men and women from the Amalgamated

Clothing and Textile Workers Union walked with their banners demanding "People Before Profits".

Under a clause in their union contract, the United Mine Workers had demanded a two-day holiday from the coal and oil barons to be able to come to Washington without loss of pay, bringing the retired members of the union with them as well as their families.

Every union in the United States was there with their banners. "Defend Civil Rights", "Unemployment isn't working", "Peace,

"We would like to see labour move in the direction of independent political action from the two old parties. The outlook should be a working people's party with a broad labour citizen coalition at its base. It will be a party that fights for the needs and aspirations of working people on the question of the economy and on peace." **BORIS BLOCK** (Treasurer, United Electrical, Radio and Machine workers).

"We are sending people from Tennessee to Solidarity day. If this action is not successful in turning around the big corporations that control this country, I would favour a national work stoppage—by the whole country". **CARL SCARBOROUGH** (President, United Furniture Workers of America—AFL-CIO, Nashville, Tennessee).

Justice, Equality, Jobs," and "Pass the ERA" (Equal Rights Amendment). Thus the demonstration at once became one of the largest ever for jobs, equality for black and other minority peoples, peace, and women's equality.

Demand for alternative policies

run things, and let him stay up there."

Even after the speeches were over, late in the afternoon, buses delayed in transit were still arriving in Washington. As evening came on, the report was that 30,000 more people had arrived late when it was all over.

At 3 pm, the chief of police at Washington stated that 500,000 people had been counted, and at 4 pm he stated that buses continued to pour in.

Yet the media had the gall to chop police figures in half for TV and the newspapers. Nevertheless, they used the word "stunning" to describe the turnout.

GEORGE PEAKE

A dedicated class fighter against Apartheid and Capitalism



George Peake speaking at LPYS Summer Camp, August 1981

George Peake's premature death has left a gap in the ranks of the labour and trade union movement in Britain as well as the South African liberation struggle.

For over thirty years George was a class fighter. His wealth of experience and his intimate knowledge of the South African liberation movement, its background and its leadership, were matched only by his readiness always to share what he knew with younger comrades.

But above all, with the modesty and humility which is the hallmark of a true

revolutionary, George retained an openness to new ideas and thirst for knowledge right to the end of his life. He forgot nothing, and was constantly learning.

Although he only made contact with the ideas of Marxism comparatively late, he recognised in these ideas the conscious expression of the aims he had been fighting for all his life, and unreservedly made them his own.

Typical of George's quiet determination to develop his own capacities was his custom of using the early morning hours to read the

writings of the great Marxist teachers (since his days in prison he had the habit of waking up at 5 am). All these qualities made him a tower of strength.

Founding member of the SA Coloured People's Organisation

George Peake reflected in his own life the finest traditions of working-class internationalism. Born in South Africa in 1921, he started

work as a bricklayer. After World War II he became an active member of the Western Province Building Workers' Union and took a leading part in the struggle against a corrupt union leadership.

In 1953 George was a founding member of the SA Coloured People's Organisation (later known as the Coloured People's Congress, allied to the African National Congress) and soon became its national President.

He was marked by the South African regime as one of its leading opponents

He was a delegate to the Congress of the People in 1955 where the Freedom Charter, today the programme of the ANC, was adopted. For part of the Congress he was in the Chair.

By this time George had been identified by the SA regime as one of its leading opponents. From 1956 to 1958 he was a defendant in the 'Treason Trial', one of 156 black and white leaders charged with high treason for their part in developing the Freedom Charter.

In 1956 and again in 1961 he was placed under 'banning orders', and during the Emergency of 1960 he was imprisoned without trial for five months.

In March 1961 George was elected to the Cape Town City Council to represent the black ward of 'District Six' (at that time 'coloured' South Africans could still vote in local government elections).

The first black political prisoner this century on the notorious Robben Island prison

By this stage the ANC and other black nationalist organisations had been declared illegal and gone over to a policy of 'armed struggle', i.e. acts of sabotage. George was one of those who immediately volunteered for *Umkhonto we Sizwe* ('Spear of the Nation'), the ANC's military arm)

In 1962 he was arrested for sabotage activities and became the first black political prisoner this century on the notorious Robben Island prison. On his release he was placed under house arrest until he left

South Africa, coming to Britain in 1968.

He became active in the Anti-Apartheid Movement, and more recently helped to launch the SA Labour Education Project, where he served as a co-ordinator.

In this country as in South Africa, George unreservedly threw himself into the struggle of the working people.

He quickly gained tremendous respect both at work on building sites in West London and on his council estate in Slough. After serving as a shop steward for some years he became a full-time UCATT convenor and was also elected as Labour councillor for the Britwell Estate in Slough.

Working-class people everywhere felt free to come to George with their problems and often he was faced with a deluge of callers. But whenever he had time, George loved to speak at meetings of trade unionists, the Labour Party and the LPYS from the wealth of his experience.

He always went back from such meetings with renewed enthusiasm, despite the enormous personal pressure he was under and the deterioration of his health as a result of the cruel methods of his former jailers.

As an honest and conscientious socialist, George matched his life-long fight against the exploitation and oppression of his class with equally stubborn opposition to ideas and methods on the part of the leadership which he found to be damaging to the struggle.

His outspoken criticism of bureaucratic middle-class tendencies in the SA libera-

tion movement, for example, earned him the bitter hostility of right-wing elements in the ANC leadership as well as the SA Communist Party.

In particular, George's own experience had convinced him of the incorrectness of guerrillaism as a substitute for mass working-class organisation in an industrialised country such as South Africa.

His support for the Marxist position of carrying through the socialist transformation of society as the only basis for the national liberation of the black oppressed masses brought him into further conflict with the exile leadership of the ANC and the SACP, whose programme stops short of calling for the overthrow of capitalism as a concrete objective.

As an irrepressible activist, George was always taking on more and more work. In the end, tragically, the accumulated burdens and strains proved too much even for his giant energies and courage. No doubt in a momentary mood of despair, he took his own life.

But up to the last, George never lost his fresh optimism in the future of the struggle. In every conversation his irrepressible spirit would invigorate those who worked with him.

As a working man fighting with complete selflessness for the upliftment of his class, George Peake was a shining example to others and has earned an honourable place in the annals of the workers' movement both in South Africa and Britain.

PASOK Victory

The Greek Socialist Party PASOK has won a landslide victory, after an election campaign which generated enormous enthusiasm throughout Greece.

On a programme of radical reforms, such as improved health, education and insurance schemes, 'socialisation' of important sections of industry, and withdrawal from NATO and the EEC, PASOK has become Greece's first left-wing government. PASOK took 48% of the votes and together with the Communist Party the left has gained nearly 60% support.

The right-wing New Democracy, in office since the overthrow of the colonels regime in 1974,

has been decisively rejected, despite their claims that Greece was a 'conservative country'.

Worried capitalist spokesmen in the USA and Europe have already started to pressurise the new government against leaving the EEC and particularly NATO. The leader of PASOK, Andreas Papan-dreou, has cautiously stated that he will "not lead the country into any political mis-adventures."

But the size of the majority in parliament [PASOK has 174 out of 300 seats] and the enthusiasm generated by the election will add extra pressure from the working class for implementing PASOK's programme.

Continued from page ten

Solidarity Day has come and gone but the workers who were there will never forget the day when Washington DC was theirs.

The march went beyond criticism of Reagan's policies. It was an angry demand for alternative policies. Clearly apparent to all was the display of power by labour and its allies, and this will remain an inspiration to labour for some time to come.

But labour's power also gives it the ability to

mobilise and to influence broad circles outside its own ranks.

The participation of civil rights, women, environmentalists, peace, youth, community and other groups was remarkable, especially in its organisation and discipline. The participation of black people was impressive and the unity of white and black was a high point.

19 September has furnished a base from which to continue the struggle. The Washington march demanded a redress of

grievances. Labour has taken an independent stand that can become effective only if it is backed by independent political action — independence from the two party system, with a genuine labour party in view.

The independence displayed by labour and its supporters already has the politicians scrambling and Reagan in retreat. The problem now is how to maintain the pressure. Solidarity Day marchers did a lot of singing about "Solidarity forever, for the union makes us strong." That

rhythm must be kept going.

On 1 October Reagan's budget cuts for 1982 came into effect and hit the people of this country like a sledgehammer. Hundreds of thousands have been cut off from food stamps, CETA jobs and other health and social services. People will find themselves unable to pay their food and rent bills. More children will be crowded into fewer classrooms, and be served less nutritious lunches.

To make up for the cuts, state and city governments

will jack up local taxes and slash even more programmes.

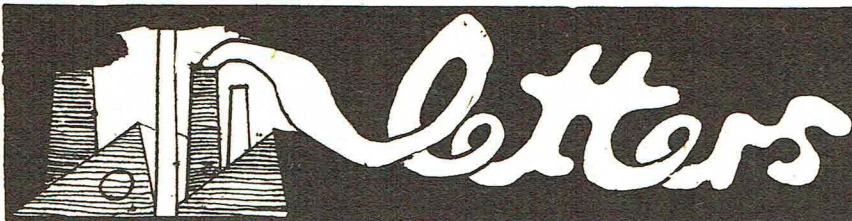
Defence and mobilisation network

The labour movement and people's groups will have their work cut out for them. Their first task is to aid the budget cut victims by showing them how to defend themselves.

To do that, the national and local alliances that were formed to build the 19

September protest must be kept together as a defence and mobilisation network for the struggles ahead. What labour has toiled to build should not be permitted to be dismantled.

Lastly, the power exhibited on 19 September can be multiplied still further by a national drive to "organise the unorganised". When America's figure of a 20% organised workforce reaches towards the level of Britain's, there will be a different tale to tell.



**VIEWS? COMMENTS? EXPERIENCES?
CRITICISM? WRITE ABOUT THEM TO:**

MILITANT, 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN

Good riddance to bad rubbish

Dear Comrades

One of the recent defectors to the SDP, Dr. J Dickson Mabon, stabbed his fellow party members in the back on 1st October, during this year's Labour Party conference.

The "Guardian" on the following day quoted Dr. Mabon as saying "Trotskysts and other extremists" controlled "all but a great mass of Labour MPs" and that a "significant part" of the Labour Party was no longer committed to Parliamentary democracy. This may be true in a sense, but in saying it, Dr. Mabon unfortunately implies that these "extremists" (obviously referring to supporters of the 'Militant') are opposed to any form of democracy.

Later, in another attempt to defend our false democracy (that the ruling class is proud of), Dr. Mabon says that "people should be under no illusion that...extremists hostile...to the very notion of democracy, have penetrated to the core of the party". Again, if Dr. Mabon is referring here to our present democratic system, he is probably right. If, on the other hand, he is referring to a true and fair democracy where the system is run by councils of delegates, each representing a number of workers, he may be referring to Healy and Co. in their "Solidarity" group!

Dr. Mabon came out with: "MPs are to be reduced to the role of puppets...this is a result of the takeover of a majority of CLPs by members of the Militant Tendency..." Well of course, one can imagine the revulsion and sheer horror that people like Mr. Mabon must face when thinking about MPs actually representing the people who elected them to parliament.

As members of the labour movement, we should be saying "good riddance" to Dr. Mabon and his fellow defectors. After all, if they want to 'mobilise' against left wing activists in the movement, the least effective way of going about it is by joining the SDP which is crumbling at the foundations before its first birthday.

Yours
Jeremy Barnett
Paddington LPYS

PS I enclose £1 for the fighting fund.

Hypocrisy of Thatcher

Dear Comrades

"The most cold, callous, brutal and sub-human thing I have ever seen". These words were reported to have been spoken by the Iron Lady herself upon inspecting the damage wrought by the IRA bombing of Chelsea barracks.

What absolute hypocrisy! Cold and callous? I'll tell her what's 'cold and callous'. That animal, Thatcher, presides over the most brutal, anti-working class, "sub-human" government Britain has ever seen. Three

million are idle, young kids commit suicide because they can't find a job, thousands remain homeless and hundreds more die needlessly because of health service cuts.

"There is no alternative", we are told. The truth of it is that she and her rich, big business pals couldn't care less about the suffering of ordinary working people! Profit comes first!

Of course we must condemn the IRA's bombing of Chelsea barracks. The tactics of individual terrorism serve only to play into the hands of people like Thatcher—it detracts the atten-

tion of working people away from the real villains, away from the mass murder and terrible bloodshed that the rotten capitalist system has been responsible for. Two world wars, for a start! How many bombs went off then! How many millions of old people and innocent children were slaughtered then, eh, Thatcher!

"Her fury mixed with horror as she fingered out the lethal nails", reported the Tory 'Sun'. My fury mixed with horror when I saw in the pages of the 'Militant' last year, pictures of old people being forcibly evicted from their hospital beds because of the cuts.

When I heard that 2 young boys had committed suicide because they couldn't find a job. When I read of the Tory's plan to sell the warship 'HMS Norfolk' (see page 6) to the butcher generals in Chile (maybe they'll use it as a torture ship, like the last one we sold them!) And I see Reagan's henchmen plan to spend £100 billion on the new MX missile system, amongst other things. So much for crocodile tears of these people over the deaths of innocent people!

There's only one thing for it. Sell the 'Militant'—step up the fight for socialism. We can't afford

their rotten system any longer. One more drop of workers' blood spilled is one drop too much!

There's only one war I'm ever going to fight, and that's the class war. Let's abolish the cold, callous, brutal and sub-human capitalist system on a world scale once and for all. Perhaps then we can all live in peace!

Chris Grace
Norwich CLP

Time for change

Dear Comrades

Radical change in Britain today is of the utmost importance. If the transformation from capitalist society to a socialist one is not achieved within the near future we won't have a future. The present ruling class is hell-bent on nuclear war! If we don't act soon it will be too late. Full blooded socialism is the only alternative and there are 3 major steps to be taken before a transformation can be achieved.

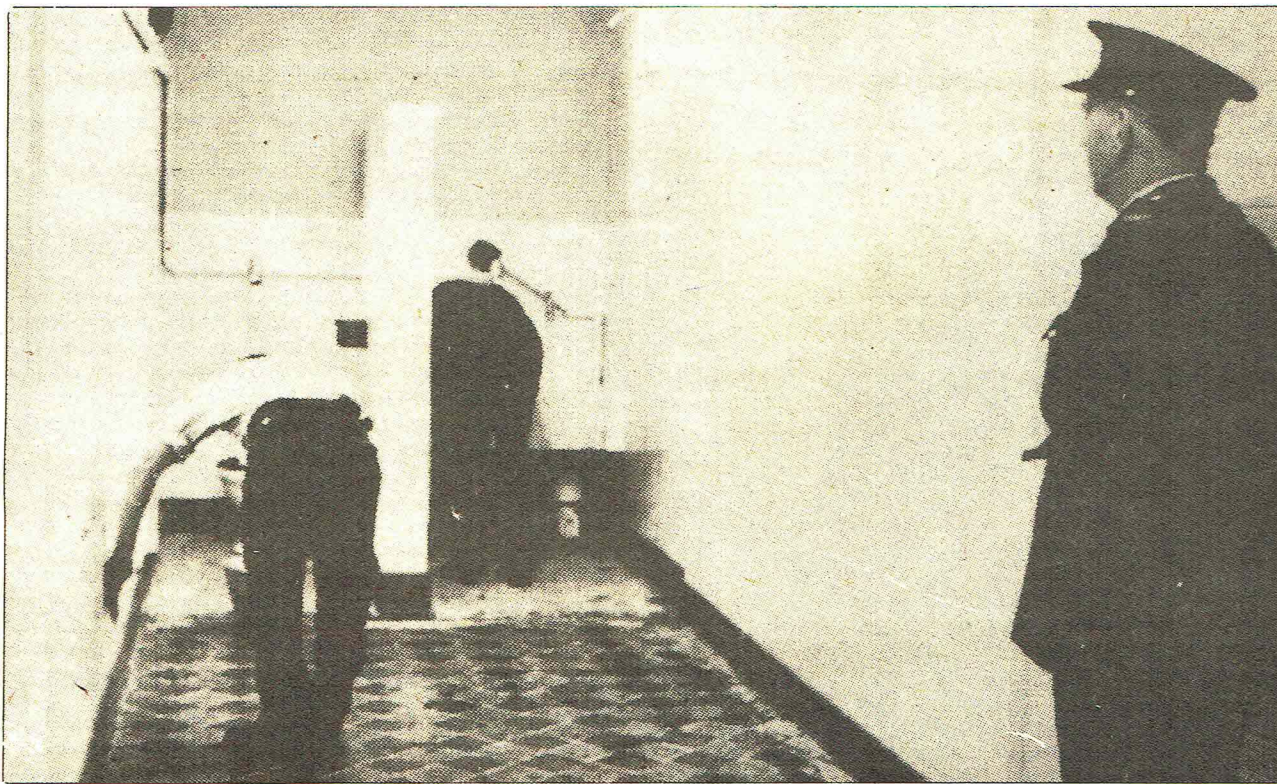
Firstly and most important of all the banks, building societies, insurance companies and all other financial institutions must be nationalised.

Secondly the House of Lords must be abolished. And last but not least we must leave the Common Market.

If one of these major steps is not achieved a transformation to a socialist society is only a dream. If on the other hand we do achieve these three major steps we will be on the road towards a true, just and fair society which at present is far far away from the present unjust society we live in.

So I finally call on all socialists, muster all your strength, go out show the people that their is cause for great change because then and only then with the nation behind us we can achieve socialism in our time because if we don't there won't be another chance.

Yours fraternally
C Homer
London



Prisons—no 'solution' to crime

The only way to stop 'crime'

Dear Editor

Listening to the Tory Conference speeches is enough to make one sick. On the subject of 'Law and Order' little Hitlers came to the stand, time after time to give their view. In their opinion, every person in the country wants to see corporal punishment and the death penalty brought back, and longer prison sentences.

I think they rated their opinions wrongly, it is probably their wish, and make believe, that every one should want this. It just shows how ignorant and small-minded they are, cocooned by their comfortable middle-class environment.

Whitelaw's reply is very weak (not surprising) saying that the short, sharp shock treatment is actually working (another fantasy) and that they are building more prisons.

He states that long-term prison sentences are no

Why Ted Heath is upset

Dear Comrades

Ted Heath blasts Mrs. Thatcher's policies, October 6th 1981. The first reaction to the news that Tories are fighting for the fall of Maggie Thatcher is that Heath is wanting Thatcher out for the benefit of the workers.

No, the reason that

more effective than short ones (true) but his reason for saying that is probably because the prisons are so overcrowded. They have to have a reasonable turnover.

Prisons do not solve the problems of our offenders or rehabilitate them, or why

else do they re-offend? The problem lies at the root of society, the unemployment, low wages and class system. How many middle-class are in the clink compared to the working-class?

Yours
L Harvey

robbed from the workers. What's up Ted, not getting your share?

Yours fraternally
John Darcy
Bootle CLP

Heath squeals are so loud is that Maggie is actually squeezing Heath's wallet and those of his mates and he does not like it!

No way is Ted worried on behalf of the workers being unemployed. He is concerned only for his cronies. Workers have always suffered, whether it be under a Wilson or a Thatcher government. When Tories fall out you can bet it's over the spoils that they have

LPYS fights for its rights

Dear Comrades

Blyth and Cramlington LPYS regularly man a stall in Blyth Market on a Saturday. However, on receipt of one complaint which was made on the basis that the LPYS is a political organisation and not a commercial one, a local council sub-committee is to discuss whether to allow the LPYS to keep the stall.

The local press have written articles to the fact that a political organisation is be-

ing allowed to promote its literature in Blyth Market. Because of that publicity the New NF from Gateshead (they only have members 15 miles away from Blyth) have applied for a stall, saying if the LPYS can have one so can they.

But the underlying reason for the press coverage is that the local Tory Press Barons do not want the LPYS to carry its message to the people of Blyth. The local press barons realise that the local people do not want any fascists on the streets and that the New NF are unlikely to get council

permission for a stall. What the press really want to do is by showing the local council have a "bias" against the New NF, they can campaign against the LPYS.

However, this is not the attitude of Blyth CLP. On Saturday October 10 the LPYS were successful at the GMC in passing a motion calling for full support for the LPYS to have a market stall, but also that the local council give no support for such a stall for the New NF. The GMC came down firmly against giving fascists any platform. Blyth Trades Council have also backed the LPYS. The message to

the local Labour council is very clear—that the LPYS should be free to campaign in Blyth Market as it has done for the past six months, and that the rantings of the local press should be ignored.

Yours fraternally
Joe Cox
Cramlington LPYS

Who needs golf courses?

Dear Militant

Whilst our council wonder whether to build a

municipal golf course in Grimsby or Cleethorpes, our citizens are being thrown onto the streets, because there are no council house programmes planned for the future.

Our local right-wing Labour council take it for granted golf courses are the answer to lengthening dole queues and homelessness in this country. How the hell will municipal golf courses alleviate the problems of the homeless, the helpless and the hopeless?

If I had £50 in my pocket, I'd not waste it in a sports shop buying golf clubs, etc. Winter time is coming and I

have nothing in my dole cheques to cover the basic necessities of living in Thatcher's Britain. My £19.20 dole is supposed to cover clothing, food and shelter in the winter time, while the powers that be build municipal golf courses for their friends. Besides, those of us unemployed don't have any money in our worn-out clothes for this stupid scheme!

Yours fraternally
Stephen Draper
Grimsby

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 for year
Eastern	4188		7100
East Midlands	3345		5500
Hants & Dorset	2427		5200
Humberside	1590		3500
London East	4393		7600
London West	2532		4800
London South	3744		5500
Manchester & Lancs	2488		5800
Merseyside	3220		6600
Northern	3912		8600
Scotland East	1965		4400
Scotland West	3615		7500
Southern	4877		7100
South West	1998		3500
Wales East	1323		2600
Wales West	2673		4600
West Midlands	4587		8600
Yorkshire	4368		9000
Others	15248		12500
Total received	72,493		120,000

TARGET FOR YEAR-£120,000

PUT YOUR MONEY WITH THE MILITANT!

THIS WEEK: £5129

Letter from a contributor

Dear Comrades

I recently 'came into' some money. I was advised —by family, friends, even socialists—to keep it 'for a rainy day,' as a 'cushion', 'something to fall back on' etc.

But I reckoned that 'something to fall back on' could easily get spent before a really rainy day arrived and anyway, what 'cushion' do millions of workers have against the awful prospects ahead for themselves and their families? The only way they can secure a decent future, or even the bare necessities these days is through fighting.

Since Militant arms workers with the ideas and policies capable of assuring victory in those battles and transforming society along

socialist lines, it seemed to me that the place for any socialists' money is 'with the Militant' rather than with any building society.

What finally made up my mind not to leave it any longer was last week's headline in the Fighting Fund column—'£4,000 needed each week!' Here's my £4,000 for this week. I sincerely hope it will provide something much-needed by Militant—a deposit for new premises, a new machine, computer...?

I also hope this will spur any other reader with a 'nest egg' of any size to part with it for Militant. Building Militant gives the best prospect of ridding future society of capitalism and all its evils.

comes in from Leicester reader B Reilly, one of the three million plus unemployed. Other regular readers include S Kendall (Hull), F Coghill (Basildon CLP), D Moss (Brixham), and Cllr P Bahia (Southampton).

T Tant (Witham, Essex) collected £2.85 in 'extras' and M Sewell (Largs) and P Trump (Croydon) rounded up their subscriptions. NUR Newcastle Metro member B Dodds sent us £1.50, and £7.50 came from John Bull country's sponsored walk.

Thanks to Gosport, Swindon, Stockton and Tower Hamlets readers, and finally to an SDP member in Basildon for £1 (No, it wasn't collected under false pretences: how many of our readers have met people reeling under a propaganda

barrage who intend voting for Williams, Rodgers, Owen etc on the grounds that the last Labour government didn't act enough in the interests of working people!

Finally, socials in Coventry, Leeds, a children's disco in Llanelli, TV fees from Tyneside, a FunRun round Scarborough, food, drink and badges from Sittingbourne and district, and a swim at Yarmouth all combined to give us another £128. And there's more sponsor cash to come as well.

Workers in Thatcher's Britain have not got much left to lose. Send a donation to Militant. The working class has a world to win—your finance can aid that victory!

'We have nothing to lose.' That has been the comment of so many workers about the strike at Leyland that even the bosses' tame media have been unable to claim workers have been 'brow beaten' into action.

And it's not just at BL. Many other workers are now feeling the need to fight after years of wages control and job losses. What a circulation there could be for a 'Daily Militant' if we had the resources of the Fleet Street giants!

If you were thinking of making your donation to Militant next week, next month or even next year, think! Can we afford to wait that long? Every week sees new struggles growing.

The comrade in the letter above has no doubts about the urgency of sending a donation now. Nor do the LPYS branches in Neath, Reading, Stockton and Bootle who between them collected nearly £30 including £21.50 from Reading.

£53 came from meetings in Newcastle and Chester-le-Street, and £12 from Merseyside NGA supporters.

By Alison Rudd

Individual sums ranged from £25 from E&G Gamwell (Eastbourne) and a S London GMWU member, and £20 from CEast (Thorn-ton Heath), to the odd 5p change from young unemployed readers. Each week the 'odd coppers' come to hundreds of pounds—they are really vital!

Thanks for tenners to W Coombes (Bristol), S Evered (Bath AUEW in instalments), M Schreder (Hull student) and a PASOK member living in Scotland. Are there any more students whose bank balance and wallets are (temporarily) bulging or any other PAS-OK members in Britain who want to celebrate with finance for a socialist future?

Donations of £5 included C Clover and T Hughes (both Bootle), S Fricker (Southampton), W Cunningham (Hull TGWU), K Derrick (CPSA Bristol), L Waker (Dagenham), and N Hanney and M Bounds (both Leicestershire).

Donations of between £1 and £5 were too numerous to mention all of them, but we really would like as many of our regular readers as possible to make a weekly commitment to our funds. For example, £1 every week

COVENTRY Militant Party (within a party). Saturday 24 October. Meet in the Coundon pub, up to closing time, then to 16 Smith Street. All welcome, ring 0203 89235 for accommodation. Rock on, Tommy.

OXFORD Militant Supporters Tote results: Week 11—No 65, Julie Mitchell. Week 12—No 40, unsold. Week 13—No 46, unsold. Week 14—No 35, Vernon Jacobs. Week 15—No 44, unsold. Week 16—No 77, Pat Coleman, Oxford; Week 17—No 78, John Hicks, Oxford; Week 18—No 73, unsold; Week 19—No 72, unsold.

ORDER FOR CHRISTMAS Karl Marx T-shirts and sweatshirts. LAST DATE FOR ORDERS to ensure delivery by Christmas—6 November. Sizes and colours for both. Small—32-34; medium—34-36; large—38-40; extra large—42-44. Red motif on white, yellow, sky blue, bottle green, navy black (+ for sweatshirt grey and mid-blue). Cost: T-shirts £3.25; sweatshirts £6.75 (both prices include postage and packing). Plain T-shirts and sweatshirts also available—deduct 25p from price. Send cheques and postal orders to R Harris, 35 Westminster Court, Blackburn, Lancashire BB1 1UR.

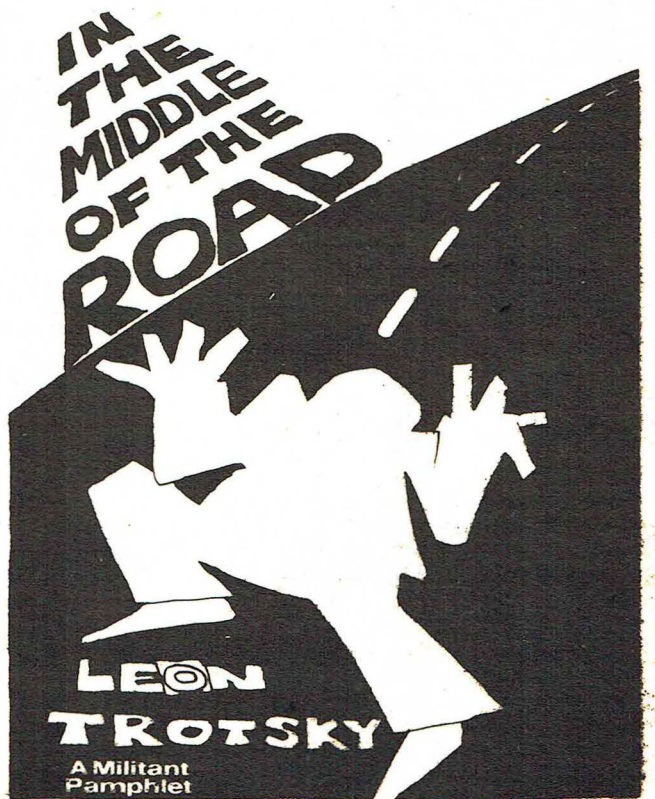
BRAND NEW

Set of 3 original Xmas cards (featuring Alan Hardman cartoons). Price of set (inc postage) 40p + 14p p&P. Bulk orders 5 sets or more. £1.25 + 25p postage. Orders for delivery beginning of November to Eddie McParland, 81 Troughton Road, Charlton London SE7. All proceeds to Militant Fighting Fund.

NEW MILITANT PAMPHLET

Available from Militant, 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8

3PN. Price 65p including postage and packing.



EAST LONDON Militant Readers' Meeting. Thursday 22 October, 8.00 pm in the Lister Room, East Ham Town Hall (corner of Barking Road and High Street). 'After Labour Party Conference—what next?' Speaker: Laurence Coates (LPYS rep. on Labour Party NEC).

OXFORD Readers' Meeting. 'After the Labour Party Conference, which way forward for the Left?' Speaker: Terry Pearce (Wokingham LP Conference Delegate). Tuesday 27 October, 8 pm, EOCC Princes St., off Cowley Rd.

BLYTH

Wed 4 November—'Southern Ireland and the way forward for Labour'.

Wed 18 November—'Trade Unions and the fight against the Tory government'.

Venue: Miners Arms, Plessey Road (Upstairs), Blyth. Time: 7.30 pm. For further details contact: Peter D Marsden, 148 Disraeli Street, Blyth. All welcome.

MILITANT Marxist Discussion Group. 'Socialism or Nuclear Annihilation?' Thursday 29 October, 8.00 pm. 181 Bournemouth Road, Parkstone, Poole. Speaker: Dave Backwith.

LPYS Trade Union Day School Sunday 25 October. 'Solidarity with S African Workers'. Retreat Hotel, Ashley Road, Parkstone, Poole. 11-1: Film, 'Generations of Resistance'. 2-4: Speaker from SALEP. Admission free.

GOSPORT LPYS Public Meeting. Thursday 29 October, 8 pm. 'Peace, Detente and Disarmament'. 145 Brockhurst Road, Gosport.

PORTSMOUTH YCAU Public Meeting. Thursday 29 October, 7.30 pm. 'Peace, Detente and Disarmament'. TGWU Offices, 303 Arundel Street, Portsmouth.

Industrial Reports

STAFFA STAYS!

By Janice Dale (Leyton Labour Party)

After two and a half weeks of occupying the Staffa factory in East London to save their jobs, the workers were evicted this Saturday, just three days after the AUEW made the dispute official.

The workers occupying at the time were not evicted by bailiffs but by 300 police, which massively outnumbered the workers present. 150 police climbed over and cut down fences to occupy the building on behalf of management, whilst coach loads of police sat outside.

This dawn sloop, which came at 5.15am has shocked many workers because of the numbers of police



A mass meeting of the Staffa workers outside the factory gates on Monday 19 October. Photo: Militant

involved. This action was taken after 1½ weeks of management using the courts to repossess the factory. The occupation was ended, but the battle continues, with pickets immediately set up outside.

Late on Saturday evening five artics and a covered wagon sped through the gates and loading of finished motors began. 12 loads in all came out during the night and were taken to Hallum containers in Brentwood, Essex.

The 390 workforce are picketing and a number of

delegations for financial support go out daily. Morale is high and grim determination began to set in as the workforce arrived for a mass meeting on Monday morning, having received dismissal notices from management for being "in breach of contract."

NUM members are being asked to black new installations of Staffa motors, and unions are being asked to black the scab transport firms of Truckbond Forwarding, Tarraline, Armstrong [The Flooring Specialists] and Bow Freight.

The dockers, who have indicated their support for the dispute, must now officially black the handling of Staffa goods. This must also be given from the NUR members at the Harwich container depot. This blacking is crucial as ¾ of Staffa motors are exported. But to ensure that these motors do not move out of the country, the dockers and the NUR must black the handling of all containers from Hallums in Brentwood.

The workers in the National Coal Board who are Staffa's biggest British cus-

tomers must black not just new installations of Staffa motors, but refuse to work on them in the maintenance workshops.

A call for solidarity must be made to the Brown and Sharpe American workforce, asking them not to go over to producing the motors that the Leyton factory make, as a way of preventing B&S fulfilling their orders.

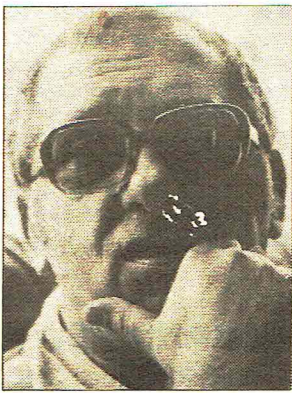
Brown and Sharpe, the American owned parent company must be stopped in their attempt to shift the operation to Plymouth.

These bounty hunters are prepared to slash a viable concern and with it a proud and skilled workforce, in order to grab fatter dividends for the top directors and shareholders, who they calculate will benefit by an extra £1½ million profits a year. The only benefits the Leyton workforce will get is dole benefit. So much for the claim that 'profits mean more jobs'!

Donations and messages of support should be sent to:— Chris Newson, 37 Somers Road, London E17.

Defend Union Rights

The union organisation at Milton Keynes Development Corporation is under attack. NUPE convenor and branch secretary Derek Newland has been sacked by the Milton Keynes DC for his trade union activity—he has been charged with 'gross misconduct' for representing a member who was to be disciplined. This is a clear attack on the trade union organisation of the corporation workers, in preparation for job cuts. Management want to shed 118 jobs during the period of 'switchover', when work is transferred from the corporation to the local authority. But the union is demanding the same jobs and conditions are carried over. In addition to the sacking of Derek, the NUPE deputy convenor,



Derek Newland

Ray Rees, has also been charged with misconduct. His 'crime' was to transport a young member to see Derek—during his lunch hour! It is clear that management are lashing out in all directions. The workers are fighting the sacking. The stewards are following a policy of non-cooperation with all levels of management, and withdrawing from all negotiations. Also, all members have been advised to strictly adhere to safety policies at work.

By Tony Creek (Deputy Convenor NUPE)

Liverpool Typists

At a mass meeting on Monday, Liverpool typists voted in favour of seeking arbitration in order to resolve the 18-week dispute.

Many of the typists recognise that arbitration is no way forward, but with the distinct possibility of the NALGO National Executive stopping strike pay, many saw no other way forward.

The typists have until two

weeks ago been receiving £20 a week strike pay and as a result many are enduring great financial hardship. On Wednesday the City Council will meet to discuss industrial relations in the city, a meeting called for by the Labour group in view of the typists' dispute and the recent 2-week strike by parks and gardens workers.

The Labour group will be requested by NALGO to put forward arbitration as a way of resolving the typists' dispute. The Tories have tabled a resolution calling for the typists to be sacked. As yet it is unclear as to what the Liberals will do

given that they have already rejected any idea of arbitration and previous calls to sack the typists.

The Liberals have not been afraid to intimidate other NALGO members. During the last week, over 200 have been suspended for refusing to scab on the typists. This has not proved successful though, as each suspension has been followed by walk-outs, mass meetings and sympathy strikes.

By Andy Pink (Liverpool NALGO, persona' capacity)

LUCAS

1,200 workers from Lucas Aerospace in Birmingham have now been on strike for six days over a management decision not to give any extra payments to workers over the implementation of new technology.

For the first time in the history of the plant blue and white collar workers are out and determined not to back down. This strike is not just

about money but the fact that Lucas is ignoring a properly negotiated agreement over new technology which the company can afford. Already this year the company has tried to impose wage restraint, and here again it is trying to deprive the union of the right to negotiate.

The main unions involved are TGWU, AUEW TASS and APEX. 95% of the membership have responded to the strike call. A

meeting organised by the Confed unions took place on Tuesday with the expected outcome of the shop stewards recommending continuation of the strike. A victory at this plant will strengthen ties between blue and white collar workers.

Adrian Turland and Ruth Hargreaves talked to Brian Salisbury (press officer, Lucas strike committee)

Laurence Scott

For the first time in the 27-week long dispute at Laurence Scott, meaningful negotiations are on the agenda.

On Friday 16 October, management made an offer to reopen the factory with a workforce of 150 to be picked from the 650 employed at Scotts at the start of the dispute.

This proposal was totally unacceptable to the 230 workers now involved in the dispute, and later management changed their stance and offered to take on 150 of the workers still in dispute. The strike commit-

tee are adamant that all the 230 workers in dispute must be taken on.

Management's return to the negotiating table is thought to be prompted by the fact that the new owners are having great difficulty in producing flame proof motors, which the Manchester factory specialised in.

Another boost for the Scotts workers was the unanimous decision of the AUEW final appeals court to place Scotts appeal for the restoration of AUEW official backing for the dispute on its agenda. However, it now appears this is to be deferred to the union's national committee.

But if such a decision does go through, it would in itself be a victory for the

Scotts workers, and all AUEW workers faced with the threats of redundancy. There is an air of optimism that a satisfactory settlement will be reached.

Tower Power!

Total rejection of Tory policies. That is the message from Tower Hamlets NALGO, in London's East End.

No job losses; no redeployment; no casuals to replace permanent posts; blacking of work previously done by voluntary agencies affected by cuts; no work experience or MSC placements except where

These events totally justify the workers' determination to continue the dispute, particularly over the past 13 weeks when they have been without the of-

departments are fully staffed; blacking of any work left by redundancies or redeployment.

This is a taste of the fighting policies overwhelmingly adopted at our meeting last week.

We are calling on the Labour Council to mount a campaign of resistance to the Tory cuts, with other authorities. The decision of NALGO Conference to back any branch taking action, including breaking the law, in support of their employer's resistance to

official national backing of the AUEW and the other Confed unions.

By John Byrne (Manchester North AUEW District Committee, personal capacity)

government, gives this a real cutting edge.

If the Council try to impose Tory redundancies, however, industrial action is on the cards.

This determination to fight was taken a step further with a vote to support NALGO affiliation to the Labour Party and to launch a local campaign to win support in the coming ballot.

By Bob Mennear (Assistant Branch Secretary, Tower Hamlets NALGO)

P & O Ferries

Last January P&O decided to pull the plug out on the Liverpool-Belfast ferry service.

This would mean the loss of at least 400 jobs in Merseyside and Northern Ireland, two of the worst unemployment blackspots in Europe. The reason? They closed the service because they had lost £600,000 in 1980.

The crews of the Ulster Queen and the Ulster Prince decided to fight the closure by staging a sit-in. They won and the service was reopened, with the understanding that management and unions would negotiate new agreements.

Why are they losing £600,000? The reason is that they will not invest in bigger and more modern ships to carry freight and road haulage. We told them give us the bigger ships and we will make you a profit. We had no response to that.

So we set about the task of saving them money, a hard task. We alone, the seamen, saved them £200,000, and the other unions involved saved them some more, approximately £600,000.

No use, they said, with the usual crocodile tears, we are going to lose more this year. So they informed us—through the media that is—that the service would finish on 12 October. Since then we have persuaded P&O to give us a reprieve of a month, so that we can gather support from both sides of the Irish sea (it is the only ferry link between the North and the mainland) and from local MPs to persuade the Thatcher government to subsidise the service.

If this fails? Then we fight! We fight to save our jobs.

By Jo Anderson (NUS, Liverpool)

Industrial Reports

“Speak up to Edwardes, he can't send you to Coventry, he's already closed it!”

This was the message on just one of the many placards which highlighted the militant mood of BL workers at the Longbridge mass meeting last week. It called for strike action in support of a £20 per week wage claim.

There were jubilant shouts from the workers as the result of the Cowley workers' decision to strike was broadcast over the PA system.

At the meeting, Longbridge convenor Jack Adams commented on BL's attitude to the preceding wage discussions, “If we accept this blackmail and threats, it will become a substitute for negotiations.” He told of the shame he felt when confronted by BL workers' wives who asked how they were supposed to survive on their husbands' wage packets.

The meeting finished with a bold appeal to workers, to take strike action in support of the claim. Workers responded magnificently as a mass of arms were thrust into the air in support.

The overwhelming majority voting for strike action, despite Edwardes' threat to close it, must have shocked the BL chairman. Edwardes' letter, claiming that any strikers' “employment would subsequently be terminated and in these circumstances striking employees would not be entitled to any redundancy payments” had this time backfired on him. Many workers who had previously treated the threat of strike action reluctantly, have been enraged by Edwardes' bullying tactics and voted to go out.

As one worker said, “none here (on his section) was even talking about a strike at the beginning of the week, but when the letter came out, it was like pouring petrol on the flames.”

Workers reacted to Edwardes' letter

It was the reaction of BL workers to the letter that swung what looked like a close vote to a massive majority. Even shop stewards and officials were surprised by the workers' response.

Edwardes had not only provoked employees, but also (under pressure of the rank and file) the so-called ‘moderate’ trade union leaders, like Terry Duffy of the AUEW. It is vital that statements of support for the strike from the AUEW hierarchy are turned into constructive action, unlike the AUEW's scandalous role in the past.

As the local press blatantly commented, “in previous pay rounds the union (the AUEW) intervention on Sir Michael's side has been vital in splitting and weakening the workforce.” This must

Whilst there is natural worry about loss of jobs, many workers feel Edwardes is bluffing, and that the union leadership may work out some compromise

to avoid the strike. But as one worker commented, if Edwardes did carry out his threat to close the plant, then “we should take them over and run them

ourselves.” Amongst office staff, who have yet to vote, there is much more hostility to Edwardes than in previous years. This time he has to be taken on. Oxford

LP has voted unanimously to support the workers' struggle.

By Barry Shillingford
(AUEW TASS, body plant, Cowley, personal capacity)

The threat of Michael Edwardes to BL workers either to accept 3.8% or plant liquidation and dismissal has infuriated the workers. Edwardes' policy is being gleefully supported by Tory ministers. He is carrying out Thatcher's policies. Since he became chairman he has brought low wages and reduced the carworkers' status to casual labourers. The TGWU have calculated that production workers need an extra £20.39 just to make up for inflation since January 1978. To restore wages in real terms to the level of April 1973, it would need an increase of £55 a week—the kind of pay increase Edwardes awards himself!

By Sam Segerran
(TGWU assembly plant, Cowley, personal capacity)

Ever since the implementation of the ‘Document’ after our strike crumbled in April 1980, there has been a feeling of uncertainty amongst many of the workforce here on Land Rover. Having previously had false belief that, as opposed to cars, Land Rover was something more special, the truth started to dawn on them that under the ‘Edwardes Plan’ nothing is sacred.

On Friday morning, out of 3,500 workers, at the most only 200 voted against strike action from 1 November. This I believe is the turning point, and the start of a fight back by Leyland workers.

By PJ Carolan
(Land Rover shop steward)



Leyland workers demonstrate against Edwardes' redundancy plans Photo: Militant

BRITISH LEYLAND Workers ready to fight

not happen again.

No way can the Longbridge vote be seen by management as an isolated freak result. Many other plants voted by large margins for strike action, including the Oxford based Cowley plant. Workers there had been out on strike only weeks before the wages decision.

However, despite the clear will of BL workers to strike, from past experience it is not beyond Edwardes to interpret the result as ‘close’, and therefore in his eyes see the justification for a secret ballot. No such desperate tactics will deceive BL workers this time.

Edwardes' threats to close BL have been treated with scorn, since it appears to most workers that he is doing that anyway! During negotiations, one negotiator asked, “If there is no dispute will the redundancies and sackings stop?” BL's answer was crisp and clear, “No.” Since taking office four years ago, Edwardes has lost 70,000 jobs, while pay increases have

been dismally low. Some ‘recovery’ plan!

In just two years the Tories have relegated the relatively prosperous West Midlands to the same levels of unemployment as the traditional blackspots.

Should Edwardes and the Tories be so stupid as to liquidate BL the consequences would be unimaginable. In the words of one Longbridge worker, “By closing BL, Thatcher would be inviting civil war in the West Midlands.” One million workers would join the dole queue overnight. It would cost the Chancellor £1 billion per annum in loss of taxes and dole money for BL workers alone.

The Tories on coming to office, considered themselves to have a mandate to close the ‘lame ducks’ (as a result of previous neglect) like British Steel, and British Leyland. But when hard man Joseph weighed up the consequences of closing BL he turned on the spot and instead offered £1 billion as part of the so-called

recovery plan.

In January 1980 ‘The Times’ pointed out, “18 months ago it would have been serious, but not devastating, to let BL go into receivership. Now it would turn the West Midlands into an industrial disaster area and push unemployment to 3 million overnight.” One does not need much of an imagination to translate this warning into today's economic catastrophe.

Tories can't get away with closure

In the situation where one side or the other must really back down, despite threatening noises from some Tory MPs, Thatcher may find closing BL unpalatable. It is this paradox, in view of car workers' weak bargaining position in terms of excess world car production, that could well determine the outcome of the confrontation.

Potentially BL workers' decision to strike could

mark the beginning of an inevitable explosion on the industrial front, resulting in trouble for the government. This is recognised by many BL workers.

What is now vital is that the trade union leadership mobilise the workforce through leaflets and plant-level strike committees for the successful outcome of the strike. It would be criminal if the leadership just went into secret conclaves with management and left all the propaganda to the Tory media.

‘Militant’ supporters have constantly called for democratic control over all BL trade union and management negotiation. This means that no deal should be concluded, the strike not called off until the membership has had the last say at future mass meetings.

Whatever the outcome of the confrontation with management, there can be no doubt that the workers have given union leaders every mandate possible to fight Edwardes. If union chiefs will be half as strong

to do battle with Edwardes as that of the workers, then the long awaited scent of victory will fill the nostrils of car workers once again.

★ Strike for the full pay

★ No deal, no return to work without the vote of a mass meeting.

★ Kick out Edwardes and his management clique—workers' control and management of British Leyland.

By Les Kuriata
(Longbridge worker, and LPYS National Committee)

Robb Caledon

STAND FIRM FOR JOBS

By Ewan
 Duncan
 (EETPU Robb Caledon,
 personal capacity)

Chamberlain
 Phipps

The fight to save shipbuilding at Dundee's Robb Caledon yard goes on. The occupation continues 24 hours a day, seven days a week.

This is despite the suspension of the solidarity action of one-day strikes and overtime bans in all British Shipbuilders' yards.

This national action was called off by union leaders after British Shipbuilders agreed to hold talks with the unions through the Advisory Conciliation and Arbitration Service (ACAS). The talks are due on Monday 26th.

Meanwhile British Shipbuilders have applied to the Dundee Port Authority, who own 21 acres of land on which the yard is situated, to have their lease reassigned to the Scottish Development Agency, a government body.

No decision on this has yet been taken by the Dundee port authority.

The implications for the workers are serious. If British Shipbuilders no longer lease the land, they could relinquish any responsibility for the yard's future.

The Scottish Development Agency could then sub-let the land to Kestrel Marine, the firm on an adjoining site, or divide it into smaller units. Either way, the future for the

Caledon workforce would be grim.

Neither Kestrel, nor any other company is likely to offer permanent employment. If British Shipbuilders get away with their tactics, it would be a precedent for taking similar action when they decide to close other yards.

On Saturday the National Shipbuilding Combine Committee met in the Robb Caledon board room, and expressed their continued support for the fight.

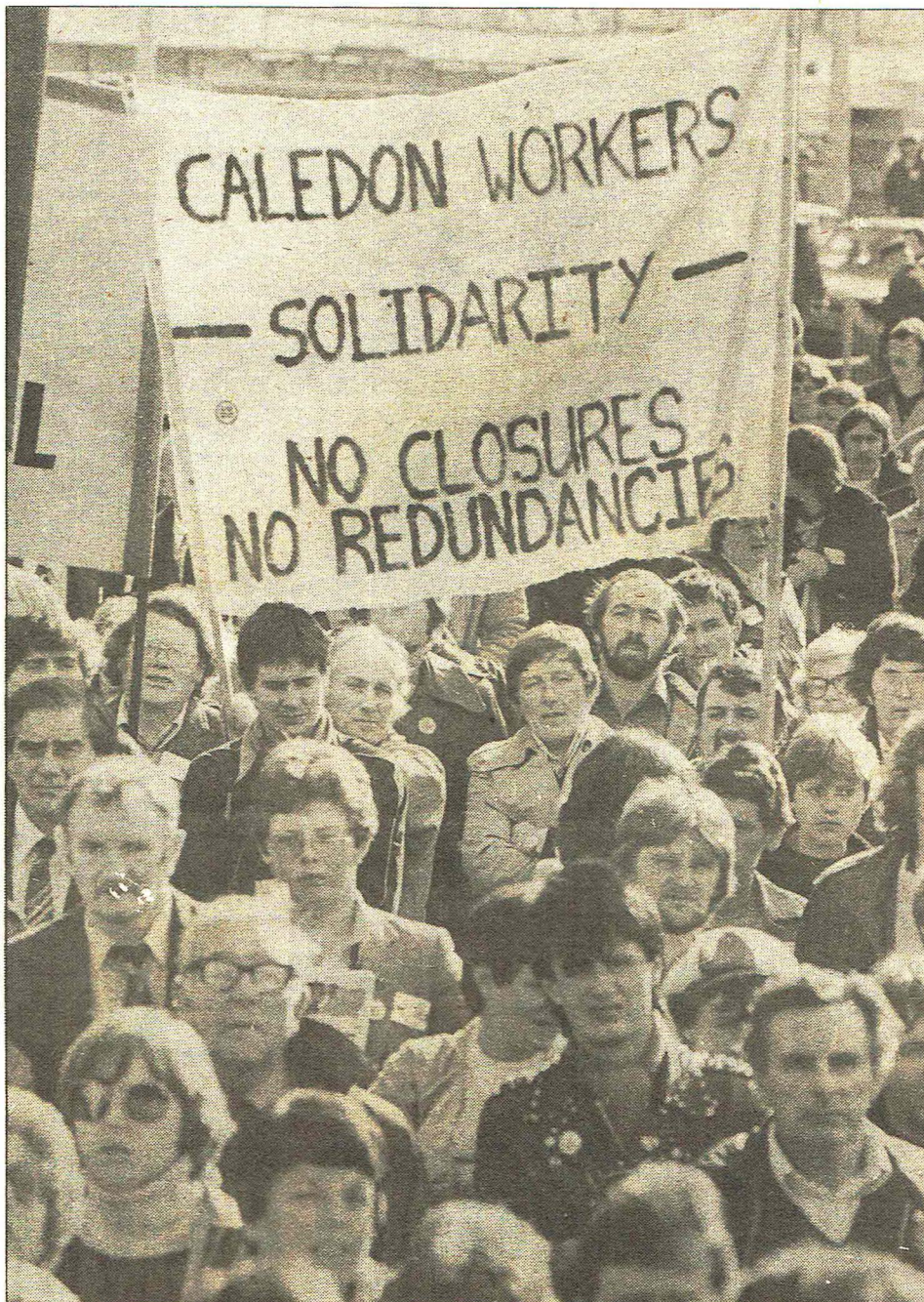
It is now more vital than ever that the union leaders stand firm on the demand for the retention of Robb Caledon as a shipyard.

If British Shipbuilders abandon their lease to the Scottish Development Agency, then the campaign will need to be redirected towards what was always the main enemy, the Tory government.

That will make the need for national support within the industry and local support from the Dundee labour movement all the more crucial, if these jobs are to be saved.

Send messages of support and financial donations to: The Robb Caledon Combine Committee, Robb Caledon Shipyard, Stannergate, Dundee (Tel. 0382 459066).

Caledon workers protest outside Tory conference,
 16 October Photo: Carlos Augusto (IFL)



When bosses at Chamberlain Phipps Coatings Ltd offered the 60 workers at the Bishop Auckland factory a 7.5% wage rise, they tried to take it back—and more!

They changed the bonus system so that take home wages would be reduced in total by an average of £10 per man. The workers, members of National Union of Footwear, Leather and Allied Trades, gave the scheme a 6 week trial but finding themselves worse off, after a supposed wage rise, imposed an overtime ban.

The company then ordered that everyone going in to work on the 23rd September would be deemed to have accepted the bonus scheme. These Edwardes type tactics were opposed by the entire workforce in a vote to call a one day strike for that day.

The company locked the workforce out the following day and sent out dismissal notices to all those who had taken part in the strike, the first in 8 years since it opened. Since then the sacked workforce has been solid in continuing the pressure on the company by picketing in all weathers.

Despite having been given notice the workers are still assumed to be in dispute which means the men have no benefits for themselves. This leaves a family like Chris Jackman's, with 6 children only, £22 per week to live on.

Rush donations and messages of support to Mattie Smith, 26 Howard Close, Woodhouse Close, Bishop Auckland, Co. Durham.

DOWN THE DRAIN

CONTINUED FROM
 PAGE ONE

even than the PSBR, the amount the public sector has to borrow to pay for its spending. The Tory monetarists want to keep this down to £10,500 million in 1981/82, but Thatcher & Co are likely to be overspending.

A drastic cut in arms spending could almost wipe out the PSBR. But the Tories would prefer to wipe out the NHS or cut unemployment benefit and pensions.

Some of their big-business friends, of course, are making massive profits from arms.

Eight contractors, including private companies like GEC and Plesseys, were paid over

£100 million each for MoD equipment last year. Another group, including EMI and Ferranti, were paid between £50 and £100 million each.

In the 12 months after the Tories' election in May 1979, Britain's spending went up by 23.2%. In 1980/1 they put it up another 25.1%. With this year's increase, defence spending by next summer will be 75% higher than in the summer of 1979.

This grotesque waste is a diabolical scandal. One of the top priorities of the next Labour government must be to put an end to the upward spiral of arms spending.

This will not mean the loss of jobs for defence industry workers. The labour movement must make sure that these are protected.

Trade unionists in armaments firms, like the

shop stewards at Lucas Aerospace and at Vickers, have themselves drawn up detailed, alternative plans of the way technological resources and manpower skills of their industries could be used for socially useful projects.

They have shown how the technology and skills could be used to lighten labour and shorten hours of work. To produce equipment for the sick and handicapped, and to produce things which would improve the lives of working people.

They have spelt it out in many plans and reports. But the bosses and the Tories are not interested. They only want weapons of destruction—and the profits and power that go with them.

The labour movement must put an end to this. As a first step, all

private firms producing weapons and military equipment must be nationalised, with minimum compensation on the basis of proven need.

The whole armaments industry must be brought under democratic workers' control and management. Only with this control will the workers' skills and the technical resources be used for the benefit of society.

CND Demo

Labour Party Young Socialists and 'Militant' supporters assemble at 9.30 am on Saturday at Cleopatra's Needle, Victoria Embankment. Tube: Embankment. Supplies of 'Militant' available outside Embankment Station.

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