



TORIES BRING BACK SLAVERY

**How to
fight
the
SDP**

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**Oppose
Witch-
hunt**

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In temperatures well below freezing last week, 800 people queued all night at the Heinz factory in Wigan for 20 temporary night-shift places.

That's how desperate workers feel today.

Many workers are facing their second or third Christmas on the dole. The TUC calculates the true figure for unemployment is 4½ million.

That means there are well over ten million people in families plunged into the misery of unemployment by the Tories and their system.

A few days ago, the Tory Chancellor, Sir Geoffrey Howe, donned a Santa Claus outfit to hand out Christmas presents. Had this Scrooge government experienced a change of heart?

Not a bit of it!

Just in time for Christmas, Norman Tebbit, Tory Minister for Unemployment and fighter for the "4% norm", announced a new system of slave labour for school leavers.

His proposed Youth Training Scheme is intended to replace YOPS, the existing "Youth Opportunities Programme". The present poverty-level YOPS allowance of £23.50 a week could be cut by as much as £8.50!

Tebbit's Christmas present to youth

INDUSTRIAL CONSCRIPTION

By Willie Griffin

Secretary, YOPS Trade Union Rights Campaign

This is the Tories' Christmas present to Britain's jobless youth!

From September 1983—but with "pilot schemes" starting next September—all school leavers who fail to find jobs will go on 12-month training courses. The allowance "suggested" by Tebbit—on Thatcher's orders—is £15 a week. This will be payable to parents!

School leavers who "unreasonably" refuse a place will lose any eligibility for Supplementary Benefit for a whole year. The scheme is supposed to be "voluntary". In fact it is a form of economic conscription—into slavery.

Tebbit claims this is not a revamped YOPS scheme. "It is real training." This is Tory nonsense!

Training for what? Just like YOPS it takes school leavers off the dole at 16 and dumps them down again at eighteen.

Training for youth is a complete shambles. A few years ago, 25,000 apprentices started work in British industry. Even that was a pitifully small number. But this year only 10,317 started. And another 3,000 apprentices were made redundant.

Tebbit's new scheme is just a cosmetic attempt to try to cover up the appalling youth unemployment.

It is almost as if the Tories are deliberately trying to provoke young people to create more bitterness

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Photo: MILITANT

NO TO WITCH-HUNT

FIGHT TORIES NOT SOCIALISTS

By John Pickard

Last Wednesday (16 December) was a black day for Labour. Right-wing MPs and trade union leaders, with vital help from some who have previously stood on the left, pushed through a far-reaching attack on the Party's recent democratic gains.

The Party's National Executive Committee took a number of disgraceful decisions. It refused, purely on political grounds, to endorse Peter Tatchell as the candidate for Bermondsey, and it agreed to launch an enquiry into the "Militant".

Militant has nothing to hide from an inquiry. But this decision, carried by 19 votes to 10, is the result of intensive lobbying by the right wing of the party. For them, it is clearly a prelude to a purge of all the genuine socialists from the party.

How can it be seen as an

innocent 'inquiry' when, already, right-wing NEC members and Parliamentary leaders are openly calling for expulsions? John Golding, for example, has recently called a meeting in Bristol to organise right-wingers against Tony Benn.

How can it be an inno-

cent 'inquiry' when the right have called for the sacking of left wingers from their jobs at Labour Party headquarters? There is not the slightest doubt that the 'inquiry' is a calculated first

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Right prepare pact with SDP

An 'investigation' of the *Militant* is intended to be the first move in a purge of the left and a right-wing counter-revolution. This has been made brutally clear by a number of right-wing Labour MPs.

Writing in the mass circulation 'Daily Mirror' (10 December) the day after the decision of the National Executive's Organisation Sub-Committee to recommend an investigation, James Callaghan spelt out what the right is after.

Supporters of the 'Militant' should be expelled from the Party, he writes.

The Young Socialists should be disaffiliated. There should be "an improved system for electing the leader and deputy leader." [That is, no doubt, restoring the main say to the Parliamentary Labour Party]

"The Party should introduce a new system for re-selecting MPs..." [undoubtedly a system which would negate effective re-selecting by constituency parties, restoring 'security of tenure' for sitting MPs].

Callaghan also told the 'Mirror's' readers that "some of Labour's present policies still need to be brought in line with public opinion." Conference decisions, he clearly thinks, should be abandoned in favour of policies which the right consider will win more electoral support.

This is the right's recipe for 'saving' Labour—a solution which would reverse all the gains of the last three years, the decisions of three annual conferences and three special conferences.

This has been the attitude of the right all along. However, the position of the National Executive has changed because the right have now been joined by some of the 'left.'

Michael Foot, Neil Kinnock, and other lefts—like the right—have been panicked by the gains of the Social Democrats.

When the SDP was formed, Michael Foot proclaimed that they would not win 'a single seat' in Parliament. 'Militant', on the contrary, warned that unless they were effectively countered by Labour, the SDP, with the backing of big business and the media, could win 30 or 40 or more seats in the next general election, thus blocking the return of a majority Labour government.

Now Foot has swung to the opposite extreme, accepting Healey's idea that the SDP could win 100 seats—unless Labour waters down its policies.

In reality, this is the view of Social Democrats still hiding within the Parliamentary Labour party. In recent weeks, there has been a stream of MPs lobbying Foot in the Commons—threatening to go over to the traitors already in the SDP unless he takes measures against Labour's left wing.

Foot's outburst in Parliament, when he said he would block the endorsement of Peter Tatchell as Bermondsey CLP's candidate, came after repeated threats from Bob Mellish, the sitting MP, that he would resign and cause a by-election.

The 'Financial Times' revealed that "Mr Mellish, a right winger and former Chief Whip, is understood to have had secret talks on his prospective resignation during the summer with Mrs Shirley Williams, who subsequently won Crosby for the SDP."

This is treacherous behaviour. What conclusion can Labour Party members draw but that Mellish is acting as an agent of the SDP?

In bowing to the pressure from Mellish and other potential defectors, Foot has made himself a prisoner of the right wing. He is suffering from a serious delusion, however, if he believes that his efforts to appease the right will prevent more defecting at a later stage.

Why are the right panicking at the apparent success of the SDP? Because they have no political answer to them. How can they fight the SDP when they are peddling the same policies?

Militant EDITORIAL

Politically impotent, they have therefore turned on the 'Militant' as a scapegoat.

At the beginning of his 'Mirror' article, Callaghan claims that "the far left are the true parents of the Social Democrats."

Yet later he admits that the Warrington, Croydon NW and Crosby be-elections have revealed "the depths of dissatisfaction with both the Labour and Conservative Parties."

But why, when workers are suffering under the most unpopular Tory government for decades, has Labour failed to win mass support? It is not because of left-wing Labour governments, because they have all been dominated by the right. Nor is it because of current left-wing policies, which have yet to be seriously campaigned on by Labour.

Labour's poor showing is the result of the disillusionment of millions of workers with the record of previous Labour governments.

In an article in 'New Socialist' (Nov/Dec, 1981), Denis Healey concedes that Labour voters have been deserting the Party "not just in the last six months, but over the last 30 years, ever since we achieved our maximum percentage of the people's vote in 1951."

Yet since 1964 there have been eleven years of right-wing Labour governments! It was especially the disastrous policies followed by the last Labour government, under Wilson, Callaghan, and Healey which undermined working-class support for Labour.

When Labour took office in February 1974, unemployment was half a million. When it left office, in March 1979, it was one and a quarter million.

Under Labour, public ex-

penditure fell by about 2½% in 1976/77 and by approximately 7% in 1977/78.

In 1974 when Labour came to power, the top 1% of the population owned 22.5% of the country's wealth. In 1976, this actually increased to 24.9%.

In the winter of 1978/79 Labour's attempt to impose the 5% pay policy on low-paid workers—already trying to survive on the poverty-line—further undermined Labour's support.

It is Callaghan and Healey who are the 'true parents' of the Social Democrats!

It is noticeable that in his 'New Socialist' article Healey attempts to ridicule and denounce the Social Democrats—without taking up their policies.

Their 'new party,' Healey says, "was designed mainly as a sanctuary for failed Labour MPs." He rightly describes the SDP's "active members" as "above all the non-political professional and managerial middle class."

In his only mention of SDP policies, Healey pours scorn on the Gang of Four's abandonment of such 'radical' policies as the abolition of tax relief on mortgage interest, the abolition of public schools, and opposition to the growth of private medicine.

The answer of Healey and Callaghan is not only to try to appease the prospective SDP traitors still hiding in the wings of the PLP—but also to make overtures to the SDP itself!

If the next general election (writes Callaghan in the 'Mirror') results in a stalemate, Labour "must take an immediate decision whether to stay in opposition or to co-operate with others [who but the SDP and the Liberals?] to remove the Thatcher government and install a Labour government in its place."

The price, Callaghan says, may be agreeing to some form of proportional representation. "Personally, I still prefer our existing system of election. But we ought not to rule out discussion of a change..."

In other words, Callaghan is already holding out the offer of a deal to the SDP/Liberal alliance! How can Labour fight the SDP/Liberals in a general election when—in advance—Labour leaders are trying to negotiate the terms of a coalition?

Healey makes similar hints in the 'New Socialist.'

In his article, in fact, Healey makes it clear that he favours policies which would make an accommodation with the SDP/Liberal alliance possible.

Labour, says Healey, "should seek sufficient consensus on the major issues of economic policies to allow us to move Britain back to full employment when we form a government."

But on what policies will such "consensus" be based? Healey himself almost lets the cat out of the bag.

Other countries like Austria, Norway and Japan, he says, have "achieved sufficient consen-

sus to ensure that reflation produces more jobs rather than higher prices..."

What is this if not a disguised advocacy of a return to incomes restraint, a policy categorically rejected by the last Labour Party conference?

Healey disingenuously argues that Labour's failure to present an alternative to Thatcherism "is due not to any weakness of our policies, but the prolonged internal arguments about personalities and constitutional issues, on which we have been forced to spend so much time."

But who can believe that Denis Healey supports the policies adopted by recent annual conferences? He openly opposes Labour's policy on nuclear weapons. Talk about "hard choices" makes it clear that he has not really changed his views on key economic issues.

The prolonged internal arguments are not about personalities.

The battles has been over policies. The great majority of Labour Party members (over 80% of whom voted for Tony Benn in the deputy-leadership elections), together with millions of active trade unionists, have learned the lesson that the policies followed by previous Labour governments offer no way forward for the working class. They support the radical measures included in 'The Socialist Alternative' adopted by last year's conference. Even Healey now pays lip service to the 'alternative economic strategy.'

But there is a battle in the party because Healey, Callaghan, and the SDP's 'fifth column' in the Parliamentary Labour Party want to jettison the radical policies and democratic Party reforms. They want to "clean up" the Party to appease the Social Democrats.

Labour will regain mass support not by out-SDPping the SDP, but by campaigning for bold socialist policies, presenting a viable alternative to both the Tories and the Tories-in-disguise.

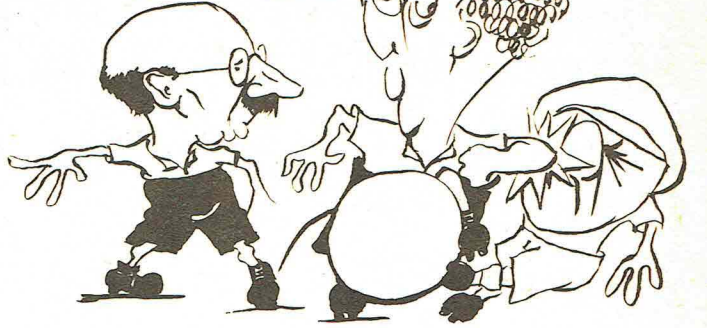
The radical policies of the 'alternative economic strategy' represent a big step forward for Labour. They would win enormous support if they were campaigned for energetically by the labour movement.

But 'Militant' believes that Labour must go further. Urgent reforms—such as the implementation of a 35-hour week, a £90 a week minimum wage, the eradication of unemployment, and the reversal of Tory spending cuts—should be linked to a bold programme for the socialist transformation of society.

A socialist plan of production, with workers' control and management of industry, would rapidly make possible enormous improvements in the living standards of working people.

If this programme was explained, and campaigned for with the mass activity of the whole labour movement, Labour could win overwhelming support and guarantee the return of a majority Labour government.

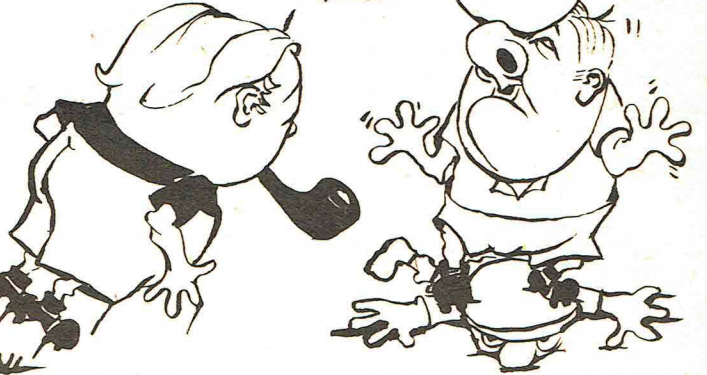
50s... ATTLEE To GAITSKELL...



60s... GAITSKELL To WILSON...



70s... WILSON To CALLAGHAN...



80s... CALLAGHAN To HEAL... No No IT'S A BRILLIANT LEFTWING INTERVENTION



THAT'S IT WE'RE TAKING OUR BALL HOME



NO WITCH-HUNT!

demands Labour's rank and file

There is now a long list of Constituency Labour Parties, trade union branches and other labour movement organisations that have come out firmly against a witch-hunt.

The list given here is incomplete because reports are reaching *Militant* day by day and there are undoubtedly many areas where the issue has been raised and not reported to us. The following Labour Parties have come out against the right-wing witch-hunt over the course of the past year—but mostly in the last two weeks:

Paddington CLP; Hammersmith North CLP; Portsmouth CLP; East Nottingham CLP; North Nottingham CLP; Bedwely CLP (Neil Kinnock's CLP) by 36 votes to 3; East Hull CLP; Ebbw Vale CLP (Michael Foot's CLP); Brighton Pavillion CLP; Brighton Kemptown CLP;

Sunderland North CLP; Sunderland South CLP; Liverpool District LP; Rutherglen CLP; Edinburgh East CLP; Glasgow Central CLP; Edinburgh Central CLP; Salford East CLP; Portlands CLP; Surbiton CLP; Upminster CLP; Peckham CLP; Totnes CLP; Havant and Waterloo CLP; Sheffield Heeley CLP; Louth CLP; Bootle CLP; Birmingham Perry Barr CLP; Crosby CLP; Liverpool Garston CLP; Walton CLP; Toxteth CLP; Wavertree CLP; Newcastle North CLP; Hazelgrove CLP; Kirkdale CLP; Arundel CLP; Bristol West CLP; Cardigan CLP; Hackney Central CLP; Blackpool South CLP; Streatham CLP; Bromsgrove and Redditch CLP; Moss Side CLP; Isle of Wight CLP; Eastbourne CLP; Hastings CLP; Littlehampton CLP; Dulwich CLP; Bristol North East CLP; Caerphilly CLP; Llanelli CLP; Ashton CLP; Blackly CLP; Rochdale CLP; Newcastle Central CLP; Farnworth CLP; Ardwick

CLP; Manchester City LP; Stockport South CLP; Chesterfield CLP (Eric Varley's CLP); Perth CLP; West Stirlingshire CLP; Stafford and Stone CLP; Harlow CLP; Leeds West CLP; Leeds South CLP (formerly Gaitskell's and now Merlyn Rees' CLP); Leeds North CLP; South Herts CLP; Kidderminster CLP; Basildon CLP; Teeside Redcar CLP; Middlesbrough Thornaby CLP; Stockton CLP; Whitby LP; Blyth CLP; Gateshead East CLP; Ellesmere Port CLP; Edgehill CLP; Liverpool Council Labour Group.

In the Northern region, many Labour Parties are also writing to the regional executive to complain about the statements made by the chairman of the Northern group of Labour MPs to the effect that there would be a witch-hunt in the Northern region, if there were not one organised nationally.

In the trade union movement, there has been a

similar response of the rank and file against a purge of the Labour Party. The following are a sample of the organisations that have passed motions to that effect:

Havant and Waterloo Trades Council; Mid and East Lothian TC; Swansea TC; Deeside TC; Uxbridge UCATT; Hillingdon Co-op; Hillingdon Local Authority TGWU; ASTMS No 4 Division; Hull Docks SSC; Three AUEW branches in Swansea; Sussex District TGWU; Avon NUPE branch; POEU P/O Relay & Mech; Manchester Queens Rd TGWU buses; TGWU 7/200; Knowsley NALGO SSC; Bootle EEPTU branch; Liverpool GMWU No. 5; Liverpool mobile TGWU; Liverpool T. Council; ASTMS B & I committee; TGWU 6/612 and 6/522.

Merseyside FBU Regional Committee is opposing a witch-hunt. On Dec. 15th., the executive of the South Wales NUM

threw its weight against a purge by the right wing.

We also understand that an **ISTC branch in Teeside** has written to Roy Evans, ISTC member on the Party NEC to seek an explanation for his voting for the "enquiry" on the NEC. Workers at the **Chamberlain Phipps** factory in Bishop Auckland have also expressed their opposition to the witch-hunt. **Newcastle number 1 branch of the NUR** has written to the district council to complain about the witch-hunting being undertaken nationally in the name of the NUR.

At a special conference of the London Labour Party last week there was not the two-thirds majority needed to suspend standing orders to discuss the NEC decisions, although some unions were mandated to oppose the suspension of standing orders but to op-

pose the witch-hunt, if it came up.

Nevertheless, the move did at least get a clear simple majority and the mood of the conference was clearly against the decision of the NEC. The **London Regional Executive of the Labour Party** itself came out against the witch-hunt by a clear majority of 20 votes to 4.

These lists are really only the tip of the iceberg. There are many Labour Parties which have not met since the decisions of the NEC to repudiate the adoption of Peter Tatchell and to launch an 'investigation' into *Militant*. There is no doubt that there will be hundreds more meetings the length and breadth of the country in the new year that will come down decisively against the NEC on these questions.

NUR LEADERS SEEK A PURGE

This year's Labour Party Conference demonstrated the real mood and attitude of Labour Party members towards the present witch-hunt being perpetrated by right wing MPs and trade union leaders against the Militant supporters, and others in the Party who are campaigning for socialist policies and democratic reforms.

At that Conference the NUR submitted a resolution calling for a return to bans and proscriptions within the Party. This was amended by the ISTC to include a call for an enquiry into the Labour Party.

Quite correctly, the Labour NEC didn't timetable the resolution for discussion. Furthermore, when the NUR General Secretary Sid Weighell attempted to move reference back in order to get the issue debated he was crushingly and humiliatingly defeated by the almost unanimous vote of conference.

Despite this and the clear opposition of very many NUR members, Sid Weighell and other leading members of the union are pressing on regardless with their undemocratic witch-hunting activities. The latest attack comes in the form of a document that the NUR leadership have submitted to the Labour Party National Executive Committee.

Much of the document is taken up with poisonous in-

By an NUR member

nuendo and smears against sections of the left of the Labour Party. These are coupled with ridiculous and unsubstantiated claims and accusations.

The document claims, "there are wholesale separate political organisations at work within the Labour Party..." "Organisations with their own full time organisers, with their separate cells or units meeting covertly within local Labour Parties, and they appear to be well funded organisations." Reference is made to international links. Militant in particular is singled out for attack as in the past.

It is absolute hypocrisy for Sid Weighell and others to make these allegations given their own political associations. In 1980 Sid Weighell's name appeared on the letterhead of correspondence from the Labour and Trade Union Press Service (LTPS) to the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party.

Also included as associates of LTPS were Bill Rodgers, David Owen, James Wellbeloved and Alan Lee Williams, all of whom have since deserted the Labour Party for the SDP. In the letter to the NEC the LTPS actually admit that they received money from NATO. Their editorial board includes individuals from Italy,

France, Germany and the USA.

Are these perhaps the type of organisations, well-funded and with international links, to which the NUR General Secretary refers?

The letter ends by stating that, "we feel we are in no way answerable to the National Executive Committee for our private affairs." So much for the call made in the NUR's document to the NEC that all groupings in the Labour Party should furnish the NEC with details about themselves!

More recently, the NUR General Secretary, along with a number of other leading trade union officials, have put their names to a pamphlet published by the Labour Committee for Transatlantic Understanding (LCTU) an organisation related to the LTPS. The pamphlet argues the case against the Labour Party policy on unilateral nuclear disarmament.

In all the allegations made by the right wing, no serious attempt is ever made to take up Militant's ideas on a political basis. Instead they attempt to substitute political debate with organisational manoeuvres. This latest attack on the part of leading NUR members will particularly anger many members of the union.

At present railway workers are facing an onslaught from the Tory government's policy and the actions of the British Rail Board.

NUR members facing a

PHOTO: MILITANT



Sid Weighell, General Secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen. The rank and file demand action against the rundown of the railways, not against socialists

threat to their livelihoods and the security of them and their families will demand to know why their General Secretary is pouring resources and time into producing documents such as the one recently submitted to the NEC, rather than leading a fight to stop the rundown of their industry.

Already NUR branches all over the country have sent in letters and resolutions to the union headquarters making clear their opposition to such McCarthyite witch-hunting activities.

Sid Weighell's latest actions will only stiffen the

resolve and opposition of the NUR members. Undoubtedly branches of the union will now redouble their efforts.

The NUR has played a major role in the founding, building and development of the Labour Party over the years. NUR members will not allow this record to be smeared and besmirched by allowing their union to be associated with bans, proscriptions or expulsions.

Whilst launching attacks upon the socialists in the movement, Sid Weighell is full of praise for the chairman of the BRB Sir Peter Parker. This individual who

has presided over the biggest rundown of the railways since Beeching is described by Sid Weighell as "a first class manager."

The opposition within the ranks of the union is shown by the letter to the NUR Journal Transport Review, from two of the union's NEC members Fred Kaler and John Cogger. Many members would agree when they state, "It is our deeply held conviction that differences of opinion, however fierce, can best be resolved by argument. Disciplinary methods are alien to the splendid traditions of our movement."

EXPOSE THE SECOND RANK TORIES!

Talking sense on the doorstep

It was by-election night in Hackney's West Down Ward, where the SDP were hoping to "break the mould" by winning a council seat from Labour.

Outside a polling booth, an SDP helper approached a woman going in to vote, and gave her a leaflet which said "Vote SDP". Just that and nothing else!

Very mould breaking, of course, but the voter wanted a bit more than that. She asked if they had any other leaflets, "You know, ones with policies on it".

"Oh policies" he said weakly, "Oh no we haven't printed any leaflets with policies—yet". "But the election's nearly over" the woman said in amazement. "Yes", he replied brightly, "there's only fifteen minutes left to vote, which is why you should go in now and vote SDP."

No cuts, fight the Tory wreckers!

The SDP's three-card trick wasn't going to work here. Labour won easily taking 53% of the vote, with the SDP getting the demoralised ex-Tory vote.

The local press had looked hopefully to this as an opportunity to break the domination of Labour on the Council in the run up to next year's local elections. An SDP victory, they hoped, would pave the way for a Labour defeat in the Borough, where Labour hold 57 out of 60 seats.

Things, however went rather badly for the SDP. They fielded a black candidate, who they thought would pick up a large ethnic minority vote. His image was ruined though by the fact that he had defected from the Tories only a few weeks earlier, having previously been an ardent Thatcherite. Hardly likely to appeal to black workers or black unemployed!

Labour selected a candidate committed to a position of no cuts, no rate increases, and for a campaign of the local movement against the Tories in defence of living standards.

If Labour is prepared to give a lead to working people, and show that there is a way out of the present impasse facing those living in the decaying inner-cities, by going on the offensive, the SDP can be routed. But the battle must be taken up.

At Liverpool University, members of the SDP debated with Peter Taaffe,

Reports by George Williamson and Gavin O'Toole

Militant's editor. All the students were treated to from the new right wing alliance were cliches and transparent rhetoric.

Red scares and dirty propaganda of the first order was all Chris Renard and Paul Mahon could drum up. It was in the worst traditions of the most undemocratic elements in our society.

Mahon, a Lib/SDP councillor summed up their "arguments". "How often do you hear the Labour Party talk of love, compassion and the brotherhood of man?" he asked flamboyantly, while remaining totally ignorant of Militant's proposals to make these worthy ideas more than just meaningless slogans. He ended with a plea (or warning) to Labour right wingers to join them soon.

Peter Taaffe's reply in a calm factual manner, reduced the Alliance speakers to a state of nervous heckling.

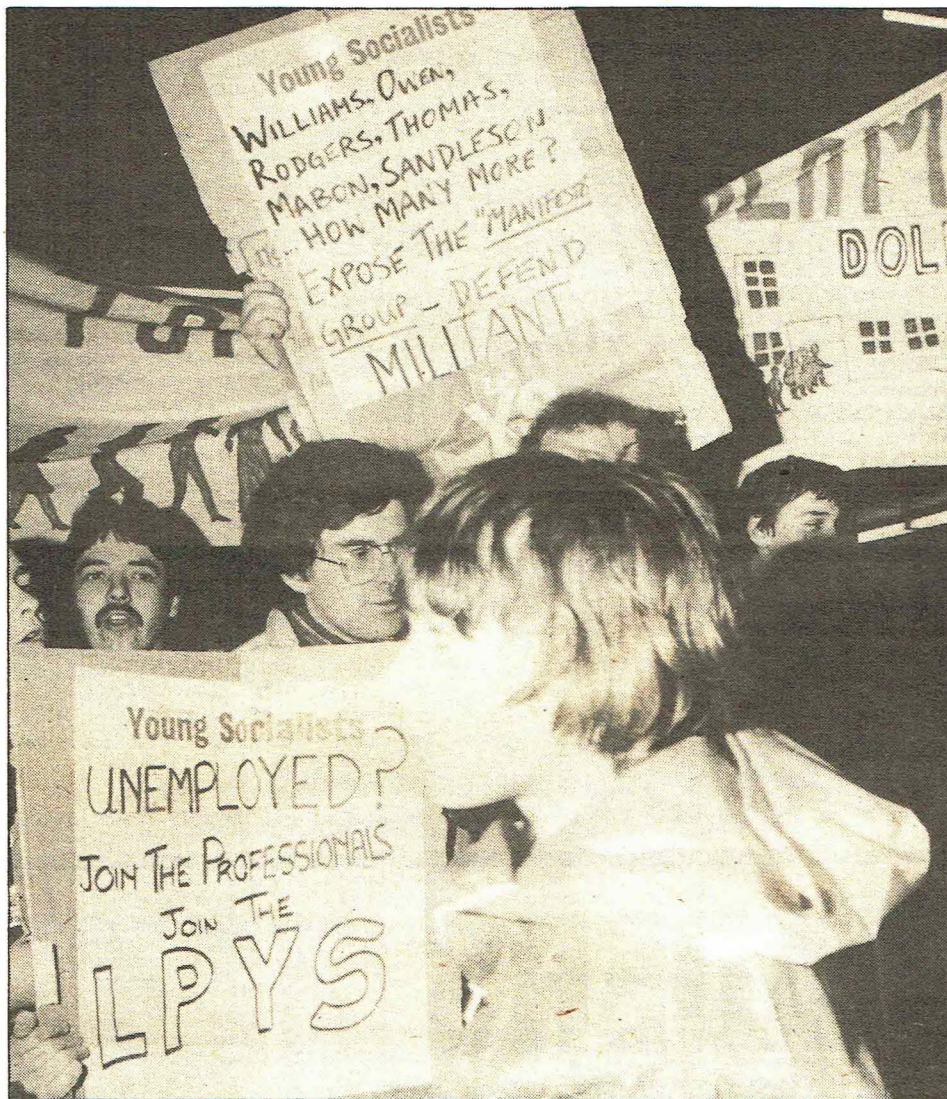
He told the uninformed Mr Mahon what Militant's policies stood for world wide citing Poland, the under-developed world and showing Militant's condemnation of the Stalinist states of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

'Reformism without reforms'

Mahon's sentiments, he said, would be better off in the dusty columns of the Daily Mail and Daily Telegraph. Militant, he showed represented the real origins and traditions of Labour, not the bankrupt 'reformism without reforms' of the SDP, which had been seen in the 17 years of SDP-style Labour governments since 1945.

The debate stimulated a few of the middle class University SDP to make timid comments but the support went mainly to Militant.

On Merseyside the Liberals/SDP dominate the council and have only worsened the capitalist-caused crisis of Liverpool in jobs housing etc. Labour's leadership too often go on the defensive about the SDP. We should go on to the offensive and show them up for the second rank Tories they really are.



Labour Party Young Socialists on the Jobs Express rally in Glasgow. Fight for socialism and show up the Tory SDP

PHOTO: Denis Doran

Armed with YS leaflets, Socialist Youths and Militants, members of Gosforth LPYS set off to canvass Links Green, a small modern council estate in Newcastle where the rents are £30 per week. The absolute hatred of Thatcher and the Tories means that door to door sales are becoming increasingly easy—more than ever working people are looking for a truly socialist alternative to Thatcherism.

One bloke welcomed me like a long lost son when he answered the door and saw me holding a copy of the 'Militant'. Many people we canvassed had watched 'TV Eye' and were wanting to know more about socialist policies and the programme of 'Militant' in particular.

"If you ask me," one woman said, "The Militants spoke the most sense on TV Eye." While the right wing use their capitalist allies in the Tory press in an attempt to discredit the Marxist wing of the Labour Party we can counter their lies by the only way we know. Get out on to the streets and tell the truth.

Door to door canvassing will convince the people that certain right wing parliamentarians are nothing more than careerists who are out of touch with the people they are supposed to represent.

By Jane Harker, Barry McQueen, Mick Lennon (Gosforth LPYS)

'We're with you all the way'

"I've seen old age pensioners enthusiastically applaud Young Socialist speakers. They do this because the Young Socialists speak true socialism" said Tony Benn.

He was speaking to an audience of over 400 people in Woolwich at the annual rally organised by the Royal Arsenal Cooperative Society.

Tony Benn went on to talk about some of the history of the labour movement. Detailing the struggles of the Levellers, the Diggers, the Chartists and the Suffragettes he pointed out that these were all extra-parliamentary activities.

No reform won by the labour movement, he said, has been won simply by debates in the House of Commons.

At the end of the meeting Militant sellers were well received. "We're with you all the way," was a typical comment. Over 50 papers were sold and a number of names and addresses for the LPYS were collected.

A departing comment from an older Labour Party member, angered at the threat of a witch-hunt, was:



Tony Benn speaking at London LPYS conference last February.

PHOTO: MILITANT

"If they throw you lot out of the Party, I'll hand in my card as well!"

The Southern Regional Council of the Labour Party on 5 December passed the following resolution by a large majority. "This Southern Regional Executive Committee endorses fully the statement made in a speech by Michael Foot on Friday 4th December in which he stated we must be a tolerant and compas-

sionate Party, and is therefore opposed to witch-hunts in any shape or form."

With an amendment that Party members believe in parliamentary democracy this resolution was to go to the NEC. Another resolution supporting expulsions was amended to ask the NEC to investigate every faction in the Labour Party and report back.

The majority of members

present seemed to support the view that members of the Party should discuss policies and not personalities and that vicious attacks should be directed at traitors and Tories, and not Party members.

At the ninth regional conference of Labour women in Newcastle, a resolution was moved that any leaflet issued in the name of the Labour Party should be endorsed by the constituency executive committee.

The mover cited the LPYS leaflet delivered around the Toxteth area at the time of the summer disturbances. She said it was an example of "factions", ie Militant supporters, hiding behind the respectability of the Labour Party.

Militant supporter Cath Ross (Newcastle North Labour Party) said that on the contrary, the Labour Party Young Socialists should be congratulated for putting a political alternative to the blind alley of rioting and for introducing the Labour Party as an active body sympathetic to the plight of the Toxteth youth. The resolution was defeated on a card vote.

Reports by Suri Krishnamma and Stan Natrass

MILITANT TELLS WORKERS THE TRUTH

"I believe the case for socialism is overwhelming and unanswerable."

Pat Wall, chosen to represent Bradford North as Labour's candidate (subject to NEC ratification) was speaking at a public meeting on the crisis facing working people and the necessity to struggle for a socialist answer to the misery of capitalism.

The Marxists in the Labour Party and TU Movement are hounded and vilified by the capitalist press and their acolytes in the SDP and Labour's Right Wing precisely because they consistently tell the truth to working people.

The truth is, said Pat, that in modern, decent, democratic, civilised Britain in 1981, young people are in a far worse position than were their counterparts in the 1930s, the last era of generalised slump in Britain.

In the city of Bradford in 1981, for example five times as many young people are looking for work as in the 1930s.

The YOPS scheme, which 'pays' £23.50 a week, sets the yardstick for employees' wages outside the scheme. For example, one young person we know locally went for a job with 40 others, to find a wage of £24 being offered. No-one in the Tory government, SDP or Labour's right wing even remotely believes that mass unemployment can be ended.

A few night before our

By David Robinson
(Bradford North LPYS)

meeting, Roy Hattersley, self-styled 'democratic socialist' had spoken at meetings in Bradford, including one on the theme of Fabianism. Hattersley misused his platform to make a personal attack on Pat Wall and on 'Militant' supporters in the party generally.

Dealing with this attack, Pat Wall explained the historic evolution of the two trends, Marxism and Fabianism, in British labour history.

The Labour Party in Britain was formed in opposition to the two big capitalist parties that dominated political life, the Liberals and the Tories. This development did not come without struggle and opposition within the labour movement.

Some wanted to restrict Labour struggles to economic issues; others supported the notion of butressing the Liberal Party and 'persuading' it to grant reforms for the working class when in power.

It was Marxists who pushed for an independent party of labour to represent the interests of the working class. One organisation which pressed for this was the Social Democratic Federation which was inspired by Marxist ideas.

Another was the Independent Labour Party, formed in Bradford in 1893, the majority of whose active members owed allegiance to Marxism and who con-



The organised working class are the real basis of the Labour Party. It was the extra-parliamentary activity of the miners in 1972 and 1974 which gave Labour office.

PHOTO: Chris Davies (Report II)



PHOTO: MILITANT

Pat Wall consistently practiced class struggle.

Only when the demand, for a party of labour became irresistible, did the Fabian Society support the move. The fact is, then, that at its very inception the Labour Party was formed with the active support of Marxists, and initially against the 'advice' of the

intellectuals of the Fabian Society.

Roy Hattersley and his friends continually accuse 'Militant' of being undemocratic, supporting 'totalitarianism', and seeking to turn Britain into an East European-style state, counterposing their democratic spirit of Fabianism. But as Pat Wall pointed out, the reverse is true.

Beatrice and Sidney Webb, the two leading lights of Fabianism before the last World War, condemned the Russian Revolution of 1917 and accused the Bolsheviks of 'totalitarianism' of course.

Years later, after a visit to Russia, when it had ceased to be a Workers' democracy, as it was between 1917 and 1923, and when it had become a one-part totalitarian regime, under Stalin, the Webbs proclaimed 'We have seen the vision of the

future!'

This admiration for Stalin was immortalised in Sidney Webb's book, 'Soviet Communism: A New Civilisation?' (published in 1935, with the question mark disappearing in subsequent editions).

They ignored the writings of the Marxists, and Trotsky in particular, which drew attention to the internal reaction which had seen Russia change from a healthy workers' democracy into a monstrous caricature of socialism. They asked workers to believe that the bloody horrors of the Stalinist bureaucracy, the frame-up trials, the extermination of entire national groups, and the historic crimes of the Communist parties around the world were the realities of socialism.

They thus became base, servile apologists for the horrors of Stalinism, at a time when Marxists inside

and outside Russia were perishing for their opposition to Stalinism.

Let Hattersley and his cohorts answer and 'explain' these facts. We challenge him to a debate on the question anytime.

In his conclusion, Pat Wall pointed out that the illusion that capitalism had solved all its problems in the post-war, so carefully nurtured by Labour's right wing and the traitors who have now left to form the SDP, has been completely shattered by the developments in society.

Labour must turn again to its historic roots and seek the answer to mass unemployment, poverty wages and shrinking social services in the ideas of Marxism.

The pioneers who founded the Labour Party, on the basis of unequivocal opposition to capitalism will inspire the workers of today to change society.

SOCIALISM-NOT AN ABSTRACT IDEA

Over 120 people crowded into Birkenhead Labour Club to hear Militant's editor Peter Taaffe (who was born in the town) and Terry Harrison, Labour's prospective candidate for Liverpool Edge Hill.

More than one in five are out of work in the area, so there was nothing academic about the meeting which explained Militant's Marxist policy in the light of attacks by the right wing of the Labour Party and the press.

One of the leaders of these attacks is Birken-

By Steve Callan
(Birkenhead LPYS)

head's MP Frank Field. The meeting was originally to have been a debate between Field and Peter Taaffe but Field refused.

But in the local evening paper, the Liverpool Echo, the same night as the meeting Field described Militant as "a threat to democracy" and accused Militant supporters of infiltration of the Labour Party. But Peter pointed out that the only infiltrators in the party are right-wing careerists.

He explained that when he first joined Birkenhead Labour Party nearly twenty

years ago Militant supporters had then warned of the true nature of the man chosen as Birkenhead's Parliamentary candidate Edmund Dell.

They explained that he and his like would betray the labour movement but were laughed at. But sure enough a few years ago Dell resigned as MP to take over the Chairmanship of a Merchant Bank and has since also become Chairman of TV's new "Fourth Channel" and, of course, joined the SDP!

The right-wing instead of welcoming the departure of Dell and traitors like him try to woo them back while launching frenzied attacks on Militant and others who have helped build the labour

movement. Labour's leadership should unmask the SDP for what they are—a Tory 2nd XI.

It was pointed out that the only way to defeat the SDP and the Tories is by campaigning on clear socialist policies not by "out-moderating" them.

It is the disillusionment with the disastrous "moderate" policies of successive Labour governments (and of course backing by big business and the capitalist media) which has contributed to the successes of the SDP.

Speakers from the floor took up this point. The right-wing were wrong to say that the Left is dividing the Party with "abstract" ideas on policy instead of fighting

the Tories and SDP. But victory over the Tories and the Social Democrats depends on fighting the correct programme; it is the Right who divide the movement by trying to launch witch-hunts against the Left.

Socialism is no abstract theory for 3 million unemployed—it's an urgent necessity!

The right-wing of Birkenhead Labour Party could have had no doubt of the support for Militant's ideas in the Birkenhead area both by the size of this meeting and the mood of anger at any suggestion of a witch-hunt.

These feelings were reinforced afterwards when everyone stayed on to watch the "TV Eye" programme

on Militant where Field yet again demanded a witch-hunt: Several people joined the Labour Party, on the strength of the meeting, to fight for a socialist Labour Party.

And just to emphasise the point, despite a large proportion of unemployed and youth in the meeting over £100 was raised for the Fighting Fund including donations from local branches of NALGO, the FBU, GMWU, T&GWU, workers from the local children's hospital and £10 from Birkenhead LPYS.

It showed to everyone that Militant's ideas are finding mounting support in the labour movement on Merseyside as in the country as a whole.

Left & Right

For the money-bags, it is not only possible to make money out of nothing—it is even normal!

Merchant Bankers Singers and Friedlander have issued figures that show that 1981 will still have been a very good year for the 'stags'. These are a form of social parasite who apply for (and usually acquire) new shares being issued, on the expectation that the share price will rise as soon as real 'trading' begins.

Singers and Friedlander show that only 9 out of 94 new company shares actually failed to show a premium over just the first one day's trading. Workers may sweat to make ends meet; marriages may break up over money pressures and workers commit suicide over unemployment—but for the Stock Exchange Casino, the winning goes on and on.

The commercial employment agency, Brook Street, has spent £1 million on a scheme called OSCAR (opportunity, selection and computer aided recruitment) ('The Times', 19.11.81). OSCAR links 20 London offices to a control computer. Vacancies are fed into the computer together with details of job applicants. The computer then matches applicants to jobs, producing a short-list from which employers can make their final selection—at "competitive" rates of pay, no doubt.

Fed up with shivering in Arctic weather conditions? Then Tjaerborg travel brochure has got just the place for you. "Paradise island in the Indian ocean...palm fringed beaches, sapphire-blue seas, average temperatures in the high seventies. This winter make your dreams come true, come with us to...Sri Lanka. See some of the history of this 2,000 year old civilisation."

But before you pay Tjaerborg their £389 plus then consider what kind of a government Sri Lanka has. Most of the 50,000 workers who participated in the July 1980 general strike have still not been re-instated and are living well below the poverty line. In the Tamil region, there has been vicious repression and murders committed under emergency rule. Don't waste your money on helping a corrupt, evil regime. The Sri Lankan trade union movement are desperate for financial assistance—help them out instead.

Combating Disability

Photo: Militant



Bridget Shaw speaking at the recent disablement conference

In this final part of a two part interview, Bridget Shaw explains what the labour movement should be doing to combat the problems of disability (first part appeared in Militant, 4 December)

The labour movement must act to take the class privilege out of disability.

Central to this would be a National Disability Pension, based solely on the degree of disability, inflation-proofed and linked to a National Minimum Wage of £90 a week.

The present system is riddled with inconsistencies. If like me, you're on long-term benefit, you get a higher rate to help you replace household goods. But then the value of your extra benefits is cut.

I have to have a special diet. The allowance for this is £1.50 a week, but for those on long-term benefit,

it is cut to 70p. That doesn't go a long way, when you've got to avoid ordinary margarine and get the more expensive ones with non-polysaturated fats. Or you're not allowed fatty meats, and there's a big price discrepancy between (cheap) belly-pork and the better, leaner cuts.

I also find that I can't get certain beneficial medicines on the NHS, although they are recommended by the latest research about multiple-sclerosis from Middlesex and Newcastle hospitals.

A National Disability Pension would mean that people currently living on

the very limiting income of supplementary benefit would instead be given a chance to live a life which has some meaning attached to it.

Disabled people are not a very vocal group. For the bosses they are just disposable. You should crawl back into your homes.

The trade unions have an enormous role to play in combatting this. This government is now ending the quota system, whereby disabled people had to comprise at least three per cent of the staff of firms employing more than twenty people. Although this was only partly implemented (1.9% instead of 3%), the new regulations will depend solely on the bosses' good will.

Trade unions must monitor their own firms

and fight for the rights of disabled people. This must be linked to the wider question of a socialist campaign to end unemployment. As part of this campaign, trade unions must ensure that their ranks are open to disabled people, working and unemployed. People should not be thrown on the scrapheap, but be involved.

The last Labour government's record was not bad. It did produce the first Minister for the Disabled and the Chronically Sick and Disabled Act, with its important recommendations for improved access to buildings. Anything at all was an improvement.

But until we have a society where a person is able to give according to their ability, then a disabled person doesn't have a genuine part to play. This denial of the right to contribute is the most fundamentally crippling aspect of disability.

Everybody has something to give and we must organise this society so that everyone can.

That is why I support 'Militant' because I believe society must be transformed. This country has over three million on the dole and until we have those people working we're not operating at maximum efficiency.

It's a terrible waste. And at the same time to say that because someone's legs don't work, we're going to waste them totally, or that although their eyes don't work, we're not going to utilise their other, excellent, heightened senses, is scandalous.

And that's what socialism is all about: to be a human being, no matter what, to your maximum capacity.

Xmas Quiz

Who said....?

1. 'My favourite programme is Mrs Dale's Diary. I try never to miss it because it is the only way of knowing what goes on in a middle-class family.'

2. '...we use nuclear weapons in our defence. That is agreed; the only provision is that the politicians have to be asked first. That might be a bit awkward, of course, and personally I would use the weapon first and ask afterwards.'

3. 'In so far as I can be said to have had a political training at all, it has been in Marxism.'

4. 'The ruling class will go to almost any length to defeat Parliamentary action if the issue is the direct issue as to the continuance of their financial and political control...(if they try a coup) it would probably be better and more conducive to the general peace and welfare of the country for the socialist government to make itself temporarily into a dictatorship until such matters could again be put to the test at the polls.'

5. 'Anyone who votes Labour ought to be locked up.'

6. 'Capitalism has been reformed out of all recognition. Despite occasional minor recessions and balance of payment crises, full employment and at least a tolerable degree of stability are likely to be maintained. Automation can be expected to solve any remaining problems of underproduction.'



PHOTO A: What event, and when?

7. 'Conservatives do not worship democracy. For them majority rule is a device. Majorities do not always see where their interests lie and then act upon their understanding. For Conservatives therefore democracy is a means to an end not an end in itself...'

And if it is leading to an end that is undesirable or is inconsistent with itself, then there is a theoretical case for ending it.'

8. 'Keynesianism is dead.'

9. 'In the long run we are all dead.'

10. 'If I had been an Italian I am sure that I would have been wholeheartedly with you (Mussolini) in your triumphant struggle against the bestial appetites and passions of Leninism.'

11. '(The House of Commons is) an elaborate conspiracy to prevent the real clash of opinions which exists outside from finding an appropriate echo within its walls. It is a shock absorber between privilege and the pressure of popular discontent.'

12. On Bevanism: 'Before it began one could have free speech. Now one can't afford to.'

13. On Labour's leaders attacks on Tribune: 'We cannot allow this to go

on and free controversy and free newspapers to be stamped out of existence...the great men who built this movement would be ashamed of documents such as this.'

14. 'Is it possible that people live in such conditions? I tell you if I had to live in conditions like that I would be a revolutionary myself.'

15. What was Montgomery talking about when he said: 'This sort of thing may be tolerated by the French, but we are British—thank God.'

16. 'You cannot trust the interests of any class to another class; and you cannot trust the interests of any sex entirely to another sex.'

17. '(Hitler is) a bulwark against Bolshevism.'



PHOTO B: Who is the smartly dressed person on the left?

18. '(To save their system the bosses would) use every piece on the board, political and economic—the House of Lords, the Crown, the Press, disaffection in the Army, financial crisis, international difficulties.'

19. 'I have always said that if Britain were defeated in war, I hoped we should find a Hitler to lead us back to our rightful positions among the nations.'

20. 'There are extraordinary parallels between Nye (Bevan) and Adolf Hitler.'

21. 'I am not and never have been a man of the right. My position was on the left and is now in the centre of politics.'

22. 'As far as I am concerned there are only two kinds of people in the world. Those who are kind to their servants and those who are not.'

23. About how socialism could replace capitalism: 'The inevitability of gradualness.'

24. 'The plain fact is that a socialist party cannot hope to make a success of administering the capitalist system because it does not believe in it.'

25. 'We've got to change the House of Commons and the government at the next election...I believe the Labour Party should then form a new National Government and invite others like Churchill and Eden to participate.'



PHOTO C: Who?

26. 'Sinister? Nothing sinister about it. Not really secret—more private than secret.'

27. 'My local party is 100% Trotskyite, Militant Tendency, Communist and IRA supporters.'

28. 'The English gentlemen galloping after a fox—the unspeakable in pursuit of the uneatable.'

29. 'None of us understands what's going on with all these numbers.'

30. '(The workers) battle-cry must be 'the permanent revolution.'''

HEALEY'S BOMB

What the Right really stand for

Even before Reagan, Denis Healey advocated the early resort to tactical nuclear weapons as part of NATO's strategy.

This is revealed in the recent memoirs of Henry Kissinger, former National Security Advisor to Nixon.

While Minister of Defence in the last Labour government, Healey challenged the established theory of the US State Department and Pentagon. This, according to Kissinger, was that deterrence relied on the "mutually assured destruction" guaranteed by the superpowers' huge stockpiles of nuclear weapons.

US defence policy-makers at that time clung to the idea of a "fire-break" between conventional and nuclear weapons. They considered this necessary to delay the decision to resort to any nuclear weapons as long as possible.

Healey urged "early resort to tactical nuclear weapons."

Healey, however, supported the view—then held by only a minority of US defence experts—that "parity" between the US and Russia of strategic nuclear weapons undermined the effectiveness of NATO's deterrent. Healey argued for a strategy based on "a flexible response", urging an "early resort to tactical nuclear weapons."

This was the view Healey put to Nixon when the American president was visiting London in February, 1969. As Nixon's National Security Advisor, Henry Kissinger was involved in these discussions which he describes in his voluminous memoirs, "The White House Years".

"In Healey's judgement," Kissinger writes, "NATO's conventional forces would be able to resist for only a matter of days; hence early use of nuclear weapons was essential. Healey stressed the crucial importance of making the Soviets understand that the West would prefer to escalate to a strategic exchange, rather than surrender."

Kissinger wryly comments that while advocating an early resort to tactical nuclear weapons, Healey, like other European leaders, also called for immunity of their territories from their use. They tried to get round this by proposing the use of "a very small number of tactical weapons as a warning that matters were getting out of hand."

"What Britain," Kissinger goes on, "was urging [through Healey—ed] came to be called the 'demonstrative use' of nuclear weapons. This meant setting off a nuclear weapon on some remote location which did not involve many casualties, in

By Tim Moody

the air of the Mediterranean, for example—as a signal of more drastic use if the warning failed..."

What the people of Malta, Cyprus, Greece or North Africa were meant to think of this strategy is not mentioned.

Later in his lengthy memoirs, Kissinger refers to Healey as "an old friend... Healey and I have known each other since the 1950s..."

It was in the 1950s that Healey was involved in the formation of the secretive Bilderberg Group, a grouping of big businessmen, military representatives and capitalist politicians backed by the US State Department to foster support for the policies of US imperialism.

Through Bilderberg, Healey met Shep Stone, former head of the CIA's "covert operations", who was instrumental in channelling an initial \$150,000 from the Ford Foundation into the Institute of Strategic Studies.

Based in London, this Institute, in which Healey played a key role, involved a number of right-wing academics and politicians. ISS devotes itself to producing research papers and policy statements reinforcing the military strategy, particularly the nuclear strategy, of the United States and NATO.

But in 1968 Healey was going too far even for Kissinger, the architect of Nixon's genocidal policies in Vietnam and Cambodia. "I never had much time for this concept [a 'demonstration bomb']," comments Kissinger.

Healey—Kissinger's "old friend."

Today, however, the US government supports a strategy based on the use of tactical nuclear weapons in a limited "theatre" such as Europe. Reagan is committed to the introduction of the neutron bomb, theoretically the ideal capitalist weapon, which destroys people but not property.

They are apparently not perturbed by the fact that they have not answered Kissinger's fundamental objection: that the "limited" use of nuclear weapons would itself be catastrophic, and would not stop escalation to a world-wide nuclear holocaust.

But this is not only the policy of Reagan—it is the policy advocated by Denis Healey since at least 1969.

Healey not only opposes the Labour Party's commitment to unilateral nuclear disarmament and opposition to the siting of US cruise missiles in Britain; he supports the insane "strategy" of the most right-wing representatives of Western imperialism.

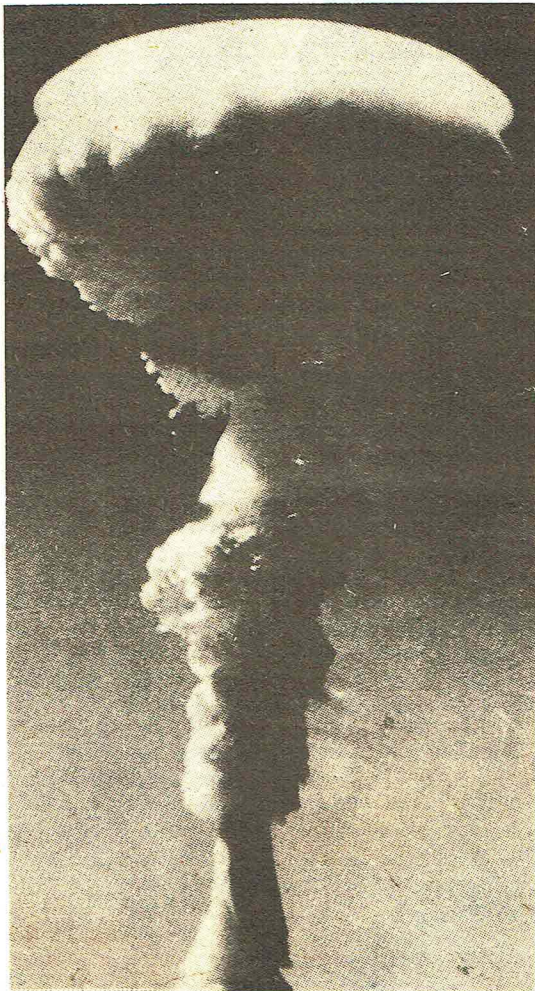


PHOTO: MILITANT

Denis Healey: a 'demonstration' bomb over the Mediterranean?

Labour MP in league with bosses

Rob Jones reports on Sheffield's 'Watergate'

The Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions (CSEU) in Sheffield are instructing their members to cut off all links with Labour MP, Pat Duffy, who represents the Sheffield Attercliffe constituency.

The unions are now in possession of tapes that appear to show that Duffy, a GMWU sponsored MP and a former Junior Minister, has been in cahoots with top management against both local shop stewards and fellow Labour MPs.

The publication of the contents of the tape has provoked much anger and indignation in the Sheffield labour movement, not least in Attercliffe constituency, where Duffy has just been re-elected from a one-man short-list.

The tape records a telephone conversation between the MP and Mr Brian McAteer, managing director of a local company, Davy Instruments, who had just declared 80 redundancies in October. Workers occupied the factory for ten days.

Parts of a tape recording of this alleged telephone conversation were published on 15 December in the Sheffield 'Morning Telegraph'.

Davy Instruments is part of the Davy Loewy Group, the largest factory in the constituency.

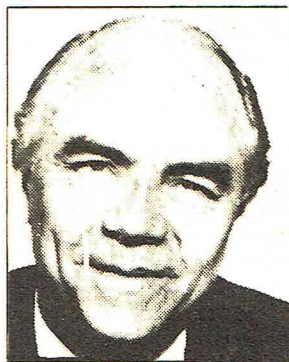
The Confed believes that Duffy betrayed the union strategy for fighting the closure of Davy In-

struments. He appears to have been helping to stiffen management in implementing the company's decision to close down production at the plant.

Duffy's main theme in the conversation with the top management was that they could be successful if left-wing shop stewards and Labour MPs could be isolated from the dispute.

A few extracts, which are allegedly Duffy's own words, give a flavour of the conversation.

"My problem is trying to get through to some of the shop stewards at Prince of Wales Road [site of the main Sheffield plants] who are frankly more interested in confrontations than co-operation."



Pat Duffy

Duffy then refers to Labour MPs:

"There are about eight MPs in the locality, two or three of whom, certainly two of whom, one has got to watch, who will go along with the shop stewards. The shop stewards at Prince of Wales Road, unlike shop stewards anywhere else in my Attercliffe constituency, write around to members of Parliament and will try if they can to by-pass me.

They are the only shop stewards now who I haven't succeeded in establishing a proper working relationship with, but I have worked on the members so that most of the MPs locally now will leave Davy's to me.

"Now that's what I want from them. But there are a couple you see, the member for Brightside, Joan Maynard, and the member for Hillsborough, Martin Flannery, who I can't depend upon, and I can't be sure that they might not go along with some confrontational policy that would not achieve anything, but give rise to maximum embarrassment all round and unfavourable publicity..."

"You're the only one I still can't get a grip on because I can't get a grip on people like Keys [the Convenor, Davy Loewy shop stewards] and some of his colleagues there so I can't tell you what the outcome will be on our side, Mr McAteer."

Duffy goes on to claim to McAteer, the managing director, that he had given Joan Maynard and Martin Flannery "hell" in the past and would do so again if they "undertake any independent initiative in compliance with Keys and Co. Davy Instrument workers have been told to write to their MPs; that's the last thing I want."

Mr Duffy then allegedly says: "But that's to let them think there is some advantage in that. I have thrown the ball into Mr Keys' lap, I don't know how he is going to field it..."

"These men [full-time trade union officials] have very little control over the

shop stewards such as you've got at the Prince of Wales Road, and their regional, still less the national officials, have scarcely any control...I can only say to my Parliamentary colleagues, most of whom are sensible—and by God, they had better be sensible—because if they are not taking note of what is happening all around them, especially politically, but also industrially, they are living in a world of illusion, but most of them are sensible and they will accept this assurance of mine, if I can say, 'look I am in touch with Mr McAteer and I'm getting a picture from him'."

Such a conversation between a Labour MP and senior management raises many important issues for the labour movement, and no doubt the CLP will set up its own committee of enquiry on the matter.

As one official said at the Confed meeting over the weekend, confronting Duffy with the evidence, "he is a fifth columnist".

This tape was found by complete accident. What relationship do other right-wing Labour MPs have with big business? Are other right wingers, too, actively working against trade unionists and against the interests of the labour movement?

Coming at a time of threatened witch-hunts against the left in the party, particularly 'Militant', it again emphasises the vital lesson: the real threat to Labour's interests comes from right-wing parliamentarians, and not from genuine socialists.



Roy Jenkins

The Social Democratic Party is the most important new feature to arrive on the political landscape in 1981. If the opinion polls are to be believed, then they would get between 40 and 45% of the popular vote at the next general election.

Due entirely to the defection of Labour MPs, they have already become the third largest group in Parliament, and again largely because of the defection of Labour councillors, they have made inroads at local level and in fact are now in a position to control the Islington Borough in North East London.

Labour Party activists have to seriously discuss and understand what exactly the Social Democratic Party represents. What are the policies of the SDP? What is its class composition? And above all, what are its prospects at the next general election?

The capitalist class through their control of the press and the media, have always tried to build up the so-called 'middle' parties as an alternative to the Tory Party when they are in government. They have tried to use the middle parties to provide a 'safety net' to prevent the disenfranchised Tory voters swinging across to the Labour Party.

1962 Liberal 'revival'

That was the case, for example, in the early 1960s, when the Press shouted loud and long about the so-called 'Liberal revival', after the Liberal victory at Orpington in 1962. That was also the case in the period of the Heath government between 1970 and 1974, when the capitalist press built up the Liberal Party (and in the case of Scotland, the Scottish National Party) as an alternative to the Labour Party given the enormous disenchantment with the Tory Party policies at that time.

Between 1972 and 1974 the Liberals won five by-elections, in Berwick upon Tweed, the Isle of Ely, Ripon, Rochdale, Sutton and Cheam, and the Liberals' support in the polls touched 29% to 30%.

Similarly, today the capitalist press use the Liberals, and especially the SDP as a 'safety net' to catch disenfranchised Tory voters, millions of whom are completely alienated by the policies of the Thatcher government.

But it would also be a mistake to see the SDP simply as only a re-run of the Liberal Party between 1972 and 1974. The rise of the SDP, which has as its parallel the huge swing to the left inside the Labour

By John Pickard

Party, is a reflection of the deepening crisis within capitalist society.

The capitalist class quite clearly are now horrified at the possibility of the election of a left wing Labour government in the near future—a government that may threaten the privileges and the position of capitalism itself.

That fear is especially strong because of the collapse of the traditional Tory vote. The rise of the SDP is above all else a reflection of the far greater volatility that now exists within British politics and especially within the middle class.

In the welter of press propaganda, it would be easy to get the impression that the votes of the SDP have come entirely from the Labour Party, but in fact the majority have come from the Tory Party. The results of the three by-elections at Warrington, Croydon and Crosby easily show that the swing from the Tories to the SDP has in each case been greater than the swing from the Labour Party.

Compared to the last General Election the Tories lost 22% of their share of the votes in Warrington, where the Labour Party only lost 13%; the equivalent figures for Croydon were 19% and 14% respectively and for Crosby 17% and 16% respectively.

The Tories have always relied on the votes of middle class, professional, skilled and white-collar workers. But now white-collar and professional workers have been devastated by the policies of the Tory government.

Not only do manual workers face redundancies, but so also do white-collar workers. The closure of industries and the cuts in public expenditure have meant far fewer opportunities for skilled workers, for graduates, and for white collar workers generally, than was the case only a few years ago.

Workers are also far more heavily taxed now than they were two years ago. Even highly paid workers will find themselves paying far more taxes than they did before Thatcher's victory in 1979. In addition, workers have been affected by the enormous increase in local authority rates, due to the cutbacks of the Tory government and home owners who have always constituted a large section of the Tory vote have been

SDP

staggered by the increase in the mortgage rate in the last two years.

It is clear by an examination of the Social Democratic Party itself that its 70,000 membership has been based almost wholly upon the middle class. In other words, it has been based upon the collapse of support among traditional Tory voters.

A recent poll commissioned by London Weekend Television shows that 57% of SDP members were professional or managerial workers although these represent only 16% of the general population. On the other hand, only 7% had 'working class' jobs, compared to 53% within the whole population.



Even discounting the gross exaggeration of television computer forecasts it is nevertheless true that the Tory Party is facing a disaster at the next general election.

Yet if the SDP membership reflects the middle class electoral base which formally supported the Tory Party, their policies would be in no way representative of the interests of the middle class. The SDP have attracted votes by their allusions to 'radicalism' but in fact they are a party of big business and in office would represent those who exploit both the middle class and the working class.

In October 1980, long before the actual launching of the SDP, it was reported that a consortium of business men had offered up to £15 million for the launching of a new 'moderate' party and it seems that they are quite prepared to live up to their promises.

The SDP financial advisory committee is chaired by none other than Mr David Sainsbury of the supermarket family. One of the other SDP fund raisers, Sir Leslie Murphy, former chairman of the National Enterprise Board reported "I've had a friendly reaction from a lot of businessmen...they are very warm to the SDP and I have been given a number of individual donations by Tory Party supporters and others who will not join the SDP but are in sympathy with our ideals."

The SDP at this time already claims active supporters on the boards of important companies like Unilever, North East Industries and GEC and it is reported that their fund

raising from business will bring in £1 million this year.

Like Reg Prentice before them, Shirley Williams, David Owen, Bill Rodgers, Roy Jenkins and so on have moved rapidly to the right since defecting, and now advocate policies which are fundamentally the same as those of the Tory Party, their main aim being the defence of the 'mixed economy' ie capitalism.

According to 'The Times' for example, Roy Jenkins suggested penalising strikers with the loss of benefits in order to have wage moderation.

Shirley Williams' own record as Minister of Education was a record of cuts, cuts and more cuts. She was the first Education Secretary since the second world war to preside over a decline in education spending.

It is already obvious at a local level that the SDP are even far to the right of the Liberals. In London for example, the Liberals on the GLC were opposed and angry at the decision of Denning over London Transport fares whereas the SDP councillors applauded the judgement.

The SDP are not 'social democrats' but in reality Conservative Democrats.

They differ from the Tories however in one important respect, and that is that they and the Liberals are both campaigning for the introduction of Proportional Representation. The SDP/Liberal Alliance is reflecting a section of big business which wants to introduce Proportional Representation to stop a leftward Labour Government. They calculate that PR would be a more or less permanent obstacle to winning a majority Labour Government, in view of the fact that in recent years the Labour Party has only achieved between 35% and 40% of the popular vote.

But in the long run, PR would not stop a Labour victory, no more than in France and Greece it stopped the election of socialist governments.

Class lines are drawn

What then are the chances of the SDP winning an overall majority? The by-election results of Warrington, Croydon and Crosby will not be simply reproduced in a general election. It would not be possible in a general election for the capitalist press to focus its attention on one single constituency and on one single 'show-biz' SDP candidate.

In a general election the class lines are much more clearly drawn than in a by-election. It is still a possibility that between now and the next general election the Tory Party will ditch Thatcher and attempt

by an adjustment of their policies to refurbish their image in order to win back some of the support that they have lost.

It is likely that the Tories, in the run-up to a general election, would introduce tax cuts and perhaps a decrease in interest rates, in order to win back some of the middle-class votes. It is almost certain that the press would give far more favour to the Tories, and consequently far less favour and far less attention to the SDP and the Liberals, in the run-up to a general election.

Trade union struggles

Trade union struggles and industrial battles that will take place between now and the next general election will inevitably affect the outlook of thousands of workers and bring class issues to the fore.

The vote for the Liberals in 1973-74 largely collapsed in the election of 1974. It is likely that the 40% support that the SDP now apparently commands will be considerably reduced at the time of a general election, and even despite the campaign of the press now and the wailing of the Right of the Labour Party, it still remains most likely that the SDP will be the third party after the next general election.

The ruling class no doubt hope that the SDP will have sufficient number of seats, perhaps between thirty and fifty, to create a 'hung' parliament, so the SDP could be a 'moderating' influence on a Tory/SDP Government.

Shirley Williams, has made it perfectly clear that she is prepared to work with the Tories after the next general election. Ted Heath also said that he and a section of the Tory party would be willing to work with the SDP.

But ironically, even if the SDP were to come to power, either as a majority government or as part of an SDP/Tory/Liberal coalition it would mean their eventual destruction. With the policies of the SDP tested in government inevitably the party would begin to split. Most of the party would be absorbed into the ranks of the Tory Party, in the same way that Prentice was comfortably absorbed in the Tory ranks.

Ronald Butt, in his assessment of the Crosby by-election in the 'Sunday Times', said, "If the SDP held the parliamentary balance, the Alliance could hardly join with Labour and must surely coalesce with the Tories, albeit without Mrs Thatcher. Assuming the Alliance were the smaller partner, it would find it hard to avoid absorption into the Conservative Party (even allowing for proportional representa-

What and to fight



In 1979 the Press overwhelmed the Labour Party by its defect to the SDP.

tion) as after 1931.

"But if, as a result of a flight to the centre, the Alliance outnumbered the Tories, then it is inevitable that from the swollen ranks of the new party, a new Tory party would emerge. Either way, there will remain a Tory party."



The crisis of British capitalism is such that there is no long-term future for any so-called 'middle' party. Society is more and more polarised between, on the one hand, the labour movement and the Labour Party that represents the aspirations and interests of workers, and on the other hand the political representatives of big business, whether that be the Tory Party or, to a secondary extent, the Social Democratic or Liberal parties. Both of these minor parties are really no more than small versions of the Tory Party.

The rise of the SDP, nevertheless, is an indication of the crisis that faces the representatives of British capitalism. They are on the horns of a vicious dilemma. They are determined above all else to stop the election of a left Labour government and so they have encouraged and fostered the SDP.

But the danger that faces the capitalists is that, given

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Shirley Williams, new SDP MP for Crosby. Formerly an ex-wielding "Labour" Education Minister.

ly supported the Tories. Now they are trying to
porting a witch-hunt and by urging Labour voters to

the collapse of the Tories' own votes, the SDP is in danger of destroying not Labour but the Tory Party. That would mean the replacement of one capitalist party, which has been tried and tested, over many many decades, with another far more volatile and likely to split and break up in the future.

Sections of the ruling class are worried that if the SDP breaks up in the future, the middle class, professional and white-collar workers that now support the SDP would not return to the ashes of the Tory Party, but on the contrary, would move across to support a left-wing Labour party.

This danger was expressed in the same article, quoted above, by Ronald Butt. "The real danger is that if the next government is dominated by the Alliance and if it has nothing more to offer than the generalised and unimaginative and soft centre attitudes now on show it will fail the nation just as Labour did in the '60s. The nation would then have no other party than the harder tighter Bennite Labour Party to turn to and the result could be irreversible socialism."

But the possibilities of the SDP at the next general election largely depend on the type of campaign conducted by the Labour Party itself. It is in the hands of the Labour Party to decide whether the SDP is swept away sooner or whether it is an obstacle to Labour, at least for a period of time.

The right wing of the Labour Party have interpreted the results of the SDP vote as a move to the right within society as a whole and have used this to press for so-called 'moderate' policies inside the Labour Party. Indeed,

the whole orientation of the right wing of the Labour Party in campaigning against Labour Party policies and in campaigning for the purge inside the Labour Party has been that the policies of the left are 'electorally unpopular.'

Other Commentators have pointed out that the percentage of the working class involved in manual labour has declined from 75% in 1911 to less than 50% today and have used this to explain what they see as an historic decline in the Labour Party. It has also been pointed out that the Labour vote has declined from 48.8% in 1951 to 37.8% in 1979.

What these commentators do not point out is that the Tory Party vote collapsed to an even greater extent in a shorter period of time—from 49.9% in 1959 to 35.8% in October 1974, before rising again in 1979.

What these facts show is not that the Labour Party is in a period of chronic decline but rather that the Labour Party and the Tory Party have both been affected by the enormous volatility newly injected into British politics.

No future for 'middle' party

Nor is it true to say that the decline in manual work and the increase in white-collar work has been to the detriment of the labour movement. The 1970s have seen many sections of white-collar workers brought into the ranks of the labour movement for the first time, Teachers, doctors, nurses, ambulance-men, civil servants, all kinds of white-collar workers are now actively involved in the labour movement on an unprecedented scale.

During the period when the proportion of white-collar workers increased and that of blue-collar workers declined, the number of strikes actually



increased. In the 1960s the average number of days lost through strikes was 3.9 million a year while the average for the 1970s was 12.6 million. These figures alone are enough to refute the idea that the development of white collar jobs and office jobs has actually caused a decline in the activity, organisation and strength of the labour movement.

The real reason for the electoral support for the SDP is that it is an expression of a genuine desire for change on the part of workers generally, some of whom, particularly middle class and professional workers, are swinging away from Toryism.

The real right wing policies of the SDP are kept well hidden while the media enthuses about 'breaking the mould,' 'time for change' and so on. It is the vague idea of a new, radical change that has attracted voters to the SDP.

But why do workers not look to Labour for radical change? —Because in the last 35 post-war years there have been 17 years of Labour Government and the policies of the right wing dominated those Labour governments, leading to the discrediting of the Labour Party.

Workers remember the fact that the last Labour Government doubled unemployment, increased taxes and cut public expenditure. Workers remember that in 1978-79 Callaghan insisted on trying to carry through an incomes policy which restricted workers' wages to 5% when inflation was running at the level of about 13%.

The SDP leaders who themselves were all members of right wing Labour governments are actually feeding on the disillusionment that they themselves helped to create.

When the ranks of the labour movement demanded greater accountability of members of parliament and a move towards socialist policies, the right wing were not prepared to accept it. In their view, the Labour Party has 'taken leave of its senses.'

A section of the right wing have split off to form the SDP. But the right wing who remain in the Labour Party find it impossible to fight the SDP in by-elections.

As the 'Economist' says "many (right wingers —ED) are in despair, not so much over the state of the party as over their own decision to stick with it... they have the prospect of being opposed at the election and possibly defeated by SDP candidates with whom they are in almost total political agreement. This is a wretched prospect for all of them."

The 'Economist' explains

quite clearly here why the right wing cannot defeat the SDP—because they agree with the policies of the SDP! To fight the SDP they would have to repudiate all of the policies and the orientation of previous right-wing governments and right-wing cabinets. They would be fighting their own past.

Like the social democrats who have left the party, many social democrats who still remain would rather destroy the Labour Party than see it move to the left. There is no doubt that some right wingers are only staying in the Labour Party now in order to betray the Labour Party in the future. They are a Trojan horse inside the ranks of the Labour Party and they will easily move over to the Social Democrats in the course of the next two or three years. Some are already advocating a coalition with the SDP after the next election.

It has been the disillusionment in right wing policies in the past and the continued right wing campaigns of the present which have led to the abstentions and led to the confusion in the minds of many Labour voters at by-elections.

Left candidates have increased Labour's vote

The right wing appeal for unity within the Labour Party but they use 90% of their time and publicity in attacking the left within their own party.

Where the Left and 'Militant' supporters have stood as candidates the vote of the Labour Party has actually increased and where the Left controls the Labour Party invariably the Labour Party membership has increased.

In Bermondsey the control of the Labour Party by the left resulted in the doubling of membership to 800. In Brighton where the prospective Parliamentary candidate is a 'Militant' supporter there has been an increase in Party membership of something like 500.

In the May elections this year there was a swing to Labour of 14% in Brighton Kemptown and in other places where left wing candidates stood there was a similar swing. For example, there was a swing of nearly 13% in Hackney Central, and 10% in Liverpool Wavertree. On the other hand there was a swing away from the Labour Party of more than 5% in Cardiff South East which is the Constituency of James Callaghan.

If the Labour Party were to campaign nationally on the basis of conference policies then there is no doubt that the support for the SDP would be undermined. Workers want change. Workers want a break from the policies of the past which have meant cuts in living standards, increases in unemployment and greater insecurity for themselves and their families.

If the Labour party were to campaign on the basis of policies of change then inevitably that would find an echo among the mass of workers including professional and middle class workers.

To undercut the support for the SDP the Labour Party would have to

repudiate the policies of former right wing governments. It would have to explain quite clearly and quite honestly that capitalism is in an irreversible crisis. The Labour Party also at the local level would have to put itself at the head of the fight against rent and rate rises, public expenditure cuts, against the cuts in the programme of council house building and so on.

The Labour Party would have to make a break from the corruption, nepotism and the Freemasonry that riddled many local Labour Parties in the past. But above all, Labour will have to fight on policies that really strike a chord as far as workers are concerned.



Our Party would have to inscribe on its banner the demand for a national minimum wage of at least £90 per week, a £35-hour working week, a programme of useful public works in order to soak up the unemployed and in order that there could be new schools, new hospitals, new homes provided for workers.

The Labour Party would also have to explain that these policies would have to be based upon the public ownership of the commanding heights of the economy: upon the nationalisation of the 200 monopolies that dominate the economy including the finance houses, the banks and the insurance companies, for the establishment of a democratic socialist plan of production. Labour must demand the resources and wealth of the country be used for the benefit of the whole society.

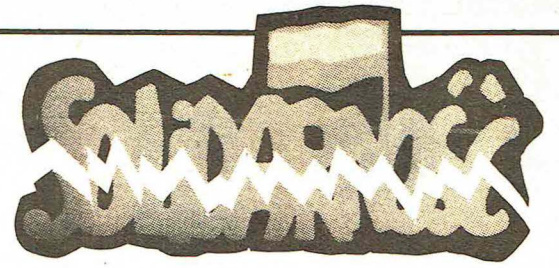
Socialist policies to beat SDP

A socialist government would not 'expropriate' the interests and the savings of workers: the insurance policies, assets, and the modest savings of the working population would be guaranteed or adequately compensated by a Labour government. Small businesses would not be nationalised, but would be in a far better position under the organisation of a socialist plan of production with the introduction of low rates of interest and so on.

Capitalism is in a headlong rush to disaster. Social and economic decay are evident at every turn. The Tory Party and their partners the SDP and Liberals represent only big business who have no confidence even in their own system.

The Labour Party must now begin to use Clause 4 part IV as a real programme for action. Capitalism means unending problems and insecurity. Socialism means a future. Labour must use the strength of real socialist ideas to bulldoze the SDP and the Tories to one side.

POLAND



Military crush workers rights

Last weekend (12/13 December) the army moved to establish martial law throughout Poland.

The government of General Jaruzelski has arrested Solidarity leaders, "suspended" Solidarity itself, declared strikes illegal "for the time being," and in effect clawed back for the bureaucracy all the democratic gains of the last 17 months.

Undoubtedly, Jaruzelski's action has the warm-hearted approval of the Russian bureaucracy, who have long been pressing for a clamp-down on the Polish workers.

The intervention of the army has provoked a mood of anger and indignation amongst Polish workers, though perhaps also a mood of despair among some sections of workers and peasants.

The response of the workers in action is not yet clear. The regime has sealed Poland's borders, imposed rigid censorship of press and television, and cut all telecommunications links. Even the radio communications of foreign embassies have been jammed in an effort to prevent news leaking out.

However, it is clear that millions of workers stayed at home on Monday and have not yet returned to work. Some factories have been occupied. Some of the big factories and shipyards, the bastions of Solidarity, have been surrounded by troops. Some of them, it seems, have been emptied by the threat of force, but others remain occupied.

There have also been reports of shootings in Warsaw and Gdansk and other industrial centres.

The majority of Solidarity leaders have been arrested, although the regime claims they have only been "temporarily detained". Walesa was reportedly allowed to go free, though he was urged to enter negotiations with Jaruzelski's officials. Whether this was voluntary or not, is still unclear.

It is likely that Jaruzelski has attempted to split the Solidarity leaders, relying on the 'moderates' around Walesa to try to pacify the workers and curb action against military rule. Jaruzelski will also be relying on the leaders of the Catholic church and the intellectuals associated with Walesa to play a pacifying role in the interests of the bureaucracy.

Shootings, clashes between workers and troops and other incidents, however, could still flare up and produce a major conflict, which could develop into civil war. If events moved in that direction, military invasion by the Russian bureaucracy is still not ruled out, though they would still prefer to rely on the Polish leadership to maintain control if they can.

The bureaucrats no doubt calculate that the Polish workers will be reluctant to take on the Polish army, but Russian forces would undoubtedly be met with bitter, armed resistance, with sections of the Polish army and police going over to the workers.

Jaruzelski has moved cautiously. Army units were sent around the country several weeks ago, supposedly to "help overcome production difficulties." Although there has been a big display of force, with armoured vehicles etc, army commanders appear to have tried to avoid provoking conflicts.

Whatever the tactics of the bureaucracy, however, they have only one motive: to restore their undivided rule over society.

The only effective answer is for the workers' leaders to call a general strike. This would have of necessity to aim at the overthrow of the bureaucracy. Democratic rights can only be restored through power being placed in the hands of workers' and peasants' councils.

To ensure success, the workers must appeal to the ranks of the army, taking them out of the hands of the officer caste. And it is fundamentally important for the Polish workers, who will not find a solution within the confines of their national boundaries, to appeal to the workers of both Eastern Europe and the West.

The regime's latest move had an air almost of inevitability. "Only a few people felt things would end peacefully," commented one woman who left Poland on Sunday.

From the beginning of the Gdansk general strike, Militant has itself warned that unless Solidarity led a movement to destroy the bureaucracy and establish workers' democracy, then the bureaucracy would inevitably re-establish itself and reimpose its rigid dictatorship.

As a result of that general strike, the regime was suspended in mid-air. Its mismanagement had produced an economic shambles, and

the grotesque corruption of the top bureaucrats had built up enormous anger amongst the workers. Within a few months Solidarity had recruited over ten million workers. Meanwhile, since last August the Communist Party lost 244,000 members through resignations and expelled another 180,000.

The bureaucracy could not move without the consent of the workers. Real power was in the hands of the workers—if only the Solidarity leaders had carried through the struggle to its necessary conclusion.

Hard-line die-hards within the bureaucracy favoured immediate moves against the workers. The more far-sighted leaders of the bureaucracy, like Jaruzelski himself, realised that brutal repression would provoke civil war, with a dangerously uncertain outcome.

Jaruzelski favoured a temporary retreat—in order to restore the power of the bureaucracy later. They had to bide their time. But the use of the riot police to evict striking fire cadets from their academy two weeks ago was a crucial test. The reaction was an indication of the way the workers would react to repression on a bigger scale.

In the event, Solidarity's response was indecisive. There was some protest action, and the Solidarity national committee, against Walesa's advice, called for a protest general strike which was due to have taken place this week.

By Lynn Walsh

The proposed general strike was brutally preempted by Jaruzelski's imposition of martial law. The bureaucracy evidently felt that a certain weariness and exhaustion had set in amongst the mass of workers. As we warned, the mass activity of the workers could not be sustained indefinitely at such a high level of intensity. Unless there is a decisive change, there is inevitably an ebbing of the workers' energy and activity.

The overwhelming majority of Poles welcomed the democratic gains achieved by the workers' struggle. For the first time—apart from previous, brief, mass strike movements—they have been able to breathe freely.

Yet because the trade union rights gained through the mass movement only checked the bureaucracy and not replaced it, the economic problems remained unresolved.

These problems arise from the mismanagement of the bureaucracy, not the strike movement, as the Stalinists claim. But without a democratic plan of production under the control of the workers, the economic crisis has inevitably deepened.

Workers have been exhausted by the long periods of queueing for necessities. Food and clothing is in short supply. Fuel shortages have

meant cuts in communal and individual heating. Most importantly, disillusionment had begun to affect many workers, with some sections despairing of achieving a permanent, fundamental change.

Recent reports indicate that attendance at Solidarity meetings has tended to fall off, with participation in the elections of workers' representatives down. Support for repeated protest strikes, and general strikes, has become less enthusiastic.

Jaruzelski and his bureaucratic cohorts clearly judged that the time was right to move to restore their position.

The bureaucracy, moreover, has recently been given more urgent reasons to move. At their recent national committee meeting just over a week ago, Solidarity leaders formulated a number of demands which struck at the heart of the bureaucracy: for free parliamentary elections this May (officially elections are not due until 1984); a national referendum on the future form of government, posing a clear choice between the continuation of the present regime and Solidarity's proposals; and demands for much more democratic access to the newspapers, radio, and television.

In the national committee discussions, some of the leaders posed the need for Solidarity to take power, with the setting up of a 'provisional government' based on the working class. There were also demands for "workers' militia groups" to defend their gains.

Solidarity leaders threatened that if the government went ahead with its 'Special Measures' law in parliament, which 'guaranteed the right to strike,' but effectively suspended trade union rights and banned strike action 'for the time being,' they would call another general strike.

Even Walesa, who originally argued that Solidarity should be limited to a trade union role, and who, by his own admission, acted as a 'fireman' dampening down struggles, admitted that confrontation with the regime had become inevitable. Reflecting the enormous pressure of the workers, he apparently confessed that his "moderate approach" had led nowhere.

In an effort to frighten doubtful sections of workers—and perhaps frighten Walesa himself—the government broadcast excerpts from tapes of Solidarity's discussions which had fallen into their hands.

Clearly, for Jaruzelski it was the signal that the time had come for a demonstration of force.

The unprecedented situation that has developed in Poland over the last 17 mon-

ths is a testimony both to the enormous energy and combativity of the working class—and to the Solidarity leadership's lack of clear direction.

The movement, largely as a result of the constantly renewed spontaneous initiative of the workers, has in practice raised all the main demands of the political revolution. These were formulated theoretically by Leon Trotsky in the struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy in the 1930s. They have now been brilliantly confirmed by the spontaneous action of the Polish workers.

The organisation of Solidarity put into practice the demand for independent trade unions under the control of the workers. The ban on Communist Party officials taking positions in Solidarity confirmed Trotsky's prediction that the workers would exclude the bureaucracy and its agents.

The workers have demanded the right to elect factory managers, and in some cases put this into effect. They have denounced the privileges of the bureaucrats, frequently forcing their removal by direct action. They have demanded access to the media, setting up their own local and national papers.

The demand has even been raised for a trade union for the police. Instinctively, too, the Polish workers have adopted an internationalist stand, appealing to the dissidents and workers of Russia and Eastern Europe.

While all these demands have been raised, however, the workers have lacked a leadership with a clear programme and perspective capable of carrying them through. There has been strike after strike in defence of all the gains wrested from the bureaucracy—but they have often been sporadic and unco-ordinated.

The Solidarity leadership has lacked the political understanding and coherence to organise the great majority of workers around a clear programme, and to co-ordinate and direct the tremendous struggles of the workers as they felt their way towards the overthrow of the bureaucracy.

Some of the Solidarity leaders have undoubtedly been trying to work out a pathway to the political revolution. But the the Solidarity leaders around Walesa, supported by the dissident intellectuals, have been an obstacle. Although attacked, and in some cases arrested and jailed by the bureaucracy, the intellectuals are in reality a liberal opposition to the bureaucracy, who believe that the regime can be reformed from within.

They have opposed an all-out struggle to overthrow the

bureaucracy on the grounds that it could provoke repression, and possibly Russian military intervention. But the price of avoiding all-out conflict was compromise with the regime—which allowed the bureaucracy to remain on the workers' backs.

In the end, compromise has not avoided a confrontation.

The advanced workers will have also concluded that the leadership of the Catholic church in Poland also aims to uphold the status quo. The Polish primate has urged the bureaucracy to make concessions and avoid bloody repression—but it has also continually urged the workers not to go "too far". Despite the traditional role of Catholicism, and its connections with Polish nationalism, workers will be drawing their own conclusions from recent events.

Jaruzelski has been anxious to emphasise that the military rule is only "temporary". Trade union and other democratic rights are only "suspended", not illegalised. His regime may well attempt to maintain, and even extend, economic concessions to the workers, although this will be limited by Poland's acute economic situation, particularly with a £13,000 million foreign debt.

But Jaruzelski will not allow the restoration of democratic rights to the workers. His aim is to restore the power of the bureaucracy, the privileged, parasitic ruling caste which has usurped the workers' political control over the nationalised, planned economy. Workers who attempt to resist will undoubtedly be met with savage repression.

Whether Jaruzelski can stabilise the situation for the bureaucracy remains to be seen. His calculation of the exhausted and despairing mood of the workers may be correct. On the other hand, incidents and clashes—the submerged anger and frustration of the workers—may yet provoke all-out conflict.

Even if Jaruzelski re-establishes the bureaucracy's control, however, he will have only won a temporary reprieve. The underlying crisis in Stalinism, in Poland, Russia and the rest of Eastern Europe, with the enormous power of the working class today and the explosive world situation, makes this inevitable.

Even if temporarily defeated, the Polish workers will have gained enormous experience from the last period. A new movement—which will inevitably come—will start on a higher level.

The bureaucracy cannot for very long remove the political revolution from the agenda of the Polish working class.

Fight for workers' democracy must be linked to overthrow of bureaucracy

NAMIBIA - 'TO BE BORN A NATION'

Under pressure from America, new negotiations are under way to bring about Namibian independence on the basis of securing big business interests in the region.

These negotiations are going hand in hand with savage attacks by the South African military on Angola to destroy the bases of the Namibian guerrilla movement, SWAPO. The South Africans' aim is to negotiate from a position of military strength.

The present negotiations are part of a long line of manoeuvres by the capitalist class against the working people of Namibia who overwhelmingly support SWAPO.

To the more far-sighted strategists of capitalism it has become clear that the liberation struggle cannot be defeated by military means alone. If allowed to drag on, the guerrilla war can escalate into an all-out conflagration threatening the

future of capitalism in Namibia.

Such a development would have an inevitable effect on the powerful black working class in South Africa. As a leading 'left-liberal' South Africa commentator put it, "South Africa would find itself fighting on a number of fronts at once. On the home front, the chance would be seized by subversive elements to foment labour troubles and unrest." (*Cape Times*, 26 September)

Coming to power after a struggle of this nature, a SWAPO government would be under enormous pressure to carry through radical policies against the interests of the mining monopolies which dominate the Namibian economy. The South African workers would be inspired by what would be seen as a revolutionary victory against the apartheid regime.

That is why the US and the other powers of the



SWAPO Youth League rally, Windhoek, 1974.

Against the background of the new negotiations on Namibian independence, Harry Thompson looks at a recent publication by the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO), 'To be born a nation' (Zed Press, £4-95).

'Western Five' (West Germany, France, Britain and Canada, with major interests in Namibian mining), want to reach a settlement before the struggle passes a point of no return.

The first phase of the negotiations has now been completed and a list of guarantees of capitalist property rights, to be written into the proposed constitution, has been drawn up.

Against this background SWAPO has produced a book on Namibia and the liberation struggle, 'To be born a nation' (Zed Press, £4.95).

It provides much background information which has previously been the preserve of United Nations specialists or lost in academic studies. The history of SWAPO is traced from its origins among the tiny Namibian petty bourgeois to its develop-

ment as a mass movement gathering support among the oppressed contract workers in the mines, railways and fish factories.

From this basis, SWAPO's leaders have chosen the road of guerrilla warfare rather than mobilising the workers' movement for eventual mass insurrection on the basis of a programme for the socialist transformation of society.

But as Marxism explains, guerrilla warfare in itself cannot lead to workers' rule and socialism. Power needs to be wrenched from the hands of the South African ruling class and their pathetic local representatives. The vigorous struggle of the SWAPO guerrillas can only succeed if it is linked to the mobilisation of the workers.

Under any form of open elections, a SWAPO government would un-

doubtedly be returned. But a SWAPO government holding power on the terms laid down by imperialism will find itself tied hand and foot by the monopolies and their barbaric representative, the apartheid regime.

In particular, the capitalists will undoubtedly try to maintain the 'South West African Defence Force' which the South Africans are setting up. As in Zimbabwe, the aim will be to prevent the SWAPO guerrillas from forming the basis of state power after independence, and integrate them into the existing state machinery.

On this basis the key elements of SWAPO's 1976 programme, calling for the public ownership of the means of production, cannot be realised. As 'To be born a nation' shows, even a living wage for Namibian workers is out of the ques-

tion under capitalism.

Even if the existing wages at the better-paying company (Consolidated Diamond Mines) were enforced nationally, this would throw other mining companies, fish factories and white farming into crisis. As the authors conclude: "Even the base mineral mines, faced with low market prices, and the fish-processing companies, with ruined fishing grounds, would see their profits disappear if forced to pay a living wage!" (page 142).

Unfortunately the SWAPO leadership have not drawn the practical conclusions of these stark facts or indeed of their own programme. Under pressure from the governments of the African 'front-line' states who want to see an early end to the war, SWAPO's leaders are bending over backwards to meet the conditions of the 'Western Five'.

As SWAPO's Secretary-General, Moses Garoeb, now puts it, "It would be a very naive for anyone to expect us to march in and nationalise Rio Tinto Zinc (with a major share in the Rossing uranium mine—Editor) and other big multinationals overnight. To claim that we would do so is an exercise aimed at giving SWAPO a bad name."

Garoeb stresses that the SWAPO leaders want friendly relations with the apartheid regime, saying, "South Africa does not have anything to fear from an independent Namibia under a SWAPO government."

But the workers and peasants, suffering the brunt of exploitation by the multi-nationals, will find no solution to their problems on this basis and the struggle to complete the social revolution will remain on the agenda. In the next crucial period support for SWAPO to carry out its programme spelling an end to capitalism and national oppression is more necessary than ever. This book can help bring the issues to the fore in the labour movement internationally.

GHANA

From a correspondent in Accra

Population: 11 million. Main export: cocoa (60% of total). Only 11% of arable land is under cultivation. Industry is working at 30% capacity.

Whether or not the Peoples National Party government in Ghana (which claims its inspiration from the late President Kwame Nkrumah) is doing well, depends on the angle one judges it from.

In the eyes of the capitalist class, the answer is 'yes'; but to workers and socialists the answer is quite different.

Not long after taking power, the PNP government introduced a 'trade liberalisation policy' which claimed to make goods easily available to workers. This policy has turned out to be an instrument of exploitation.

Prices have risen astronomically, bribery and corruption is rife and 'get rich quick' attitude is encouraged. Trade has become very lucrative and many businessmen prefer to enter the distributive sector rather than the productive sector.

Thus while there are only a few hands producing, a great many are distributing, so that goods pass through the hands of a lot of middlemen before reaching the consumer. The rich get richer each day, the poor get poorer and the gap between them continues to widen.

Our economy has been tied to the apron strings of Western capitalism, so that the economic crisis in the West has been wholly imported to us.

There is also a new investment code which opens up our natural resources to exploitation by Western governments and multinationals. A 'favourable investment climate' is said to

have been created for investors to help reconstruct the economy. But experience has shown that investors always take from third world countries 250% of what they put in. Could this mean reconstruction?

Since the PNP government took over, a lot of its decisions have been made under the influence of America. For instance, Reagan wants other African states to have nothing to do with Libya and promises to give them aid on this condition. A lot of African states have acted to please America and Ghana is one of these.

Many people in Ghana are desperate. The most unfortunate so far has been the cocoa farmer. He produces the greatest proportion of the country's income, yet he receives the smallest share. Cocoa prices have been kept to the minimum; only a minute fraction of the world market price for this product is paid to him.

The majority of Ghanaians despise the capitalist system they live under. We need a political leadership that is dedicated to social and economic justice, with socialism as its ideology.

Long live the social revolution!

Canadian workers demonstrate

By Bill Hopwood

On 21 November the Canadian Labour Congress organised probably the largest demonstration in the history of Ottawa against the Trudeau government.

An estimated 100,000 took part in a protest against high interest rates and unemployment.

This provoked the Conservative Party leader Clark

to complain to the Liberal government that the demonstration was "something new and dangerous. Once you start this kind of tradition, you change the tradition of government."

For once Joe Clark has got it right. The labour movement will push the Liberals and Tories together and open up the possibility for the New Democratic Party to become the major party representing the interests of the working class of Canada.

POLAND LPYS statement

"We condemn the military takeover in Poland, and the mass arrests which include hundreds of Solidarity members. We call on all working people and especially trade unionists in Britain to express their total opposition to the coup, and demand the immediate release of all who have been arrested, the withdrawal of martial law, and the ending of bans on meetings.

"The imposition of military rule shows the complete antagonism of the Stalinist bureaucracy in

Poland, as in other East European states, to any lasting democratic rights.

"A return to capitalism has never been suggested by Solidarity, which shows the support of workers for a planned economy. It is only workers' democracy that can solve the problems of the Polish economy.

"The only road to lasting democracy lies in the struggle to overthrow the Stalinist regime, and the establishment of workers' democracy based on:

"1. Free elections and the

right of recall over all officials.

"2. No officials to receive more than a skilled worker's wage.

"3. No separate army controlled by the bureaucracy, but an armed working class.

"4. No bureaucratic elite. All positions to be rotated amongst the people.

"5. The right to strike, a free press, and the right to vote freely.

"FOR WORKERS' DEMOCRACY AND A SOCIALIST POLAND."

Letters

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

MILITANT, 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN



Women workers demonstrate in Cardiff on 4 July

Photo: Militant

Trade unions must fight to win women

Dear Comrades

Just to emphasise the need for working women, organising them and bringing them into the ranks of the labour movement, I would like to recount my own personal experiences recently.

My mother had been an active shop steward in a hosiery factory which, due to the decline in the hosiery trade, went bankrupt, putting her and about 100 other women on the dole.

Undeterred my mother took a TOPS retraining course, being paid a pittance of about £25. She wanted to get a job as a clerk. Now due to the 'last

in—first out' system she has been made redundant again.

But the twist in the story is that it appears primarily trade unionists who have been laid off first—all the redundancy notices were being given out and she didn't see a union official anywhere. She has now become cynical saying, if she does get another job she's not joining a union as it has done nothing for her!

This emphasises to me that unions and the labour movement should make far more of an effort to bring women into the ranks of the labour and trade union movement and help them to fight against the common enemy of us all—capitalism.

Yours fraternally
Lorraine Pitt
Bradford West CLP
and Women's Section

Why 'Militant' demands compensation based on proven need

Dear Comrades,

I see that blackguard Tony Benn has the unbridled effrontery to espouse Labour Party Policy from the Front Bench of the House of Commons instead of the PLP, or Shadow Cabinet, policy. How silly to attack the Tories when we know it only upsets them!

Seriously, Tony Benn's call to take back into public ownership assets (in this case North Sea Oil) without compensation is flawed. This is not his fault—it is the fault of Party Conference for agreeing to that

1,000 at risk from rickets in Sheffield

Dear Comrades

A recent report in the local press quoted the assistant director of family and community services in Sheffield explaining how social workers were meeting a dramatic increase in abject poverty among families in our area. Cases were quoted of families having to feed their children and themselves on less than £15 per week.

This news came the same week as the announcement of the launch of the "Stop Rickets Campaign" in Sheffield. Apparently over 1,000 people are at risk in our city from a disease which results

in deformity because of inadequate diet!

Absolute poverty and diseases are a reality in today's Britain. Yet the Tories have made it clear that it is their intention to cut unemployment and social security benefits in real terms even further.

Trade unionists and socialists cannot stand back and let this go unanswered. The labour movement must launch a campaign now to bring down the Tories. The days of parliamentary niceties are over. We should be fighting for a leadership willing to mobilise support for a 24-hour general strike as a first step to bring down this reactionary government!

Yours fraternally
Dave Milsom
Sheffield Attercliffe
LPYS

I've changed from Reagan to socialism

Dear Comrades

At a rally in Boston in October in support of PATCO, the air traffic controllers' union which the Reagan administration is trying to bust, the explosive potential of the American workers revealed itself.

A PATCO member, James Waddell of Rockport, Massachusetts, a Vietnam veteran and previously a staunch Democrat, explained to me that he had voted for Reagan "because he promised to do something for PATCO. Now all this. We went on strike, he sacked us all, cut off social security, deregistered the union.

"The last straw was, I was down to 23 dollars of savings and he cut off Veterans Assistance. I wasn't active in the union, but I will be now. And I see the rich getting richer, with the millionaires having their taxes cut—now I'm for a Socialist Party in America."

Events, the attacks of the two capitalist parties on the workers, will produce these changes among millions. But the AFL-CIO leadership, represented at the rally by a Massachusetts spokesman, still cling to the tired old methods of "pressurising" the Congressional representatives of the capitalist parties. With a fighting lead from the AFL-CIO, a union based party of labour could, in the present climate of dwindling support for Reagan and memories of Carter's wetness, sign up a million members overnight!

Fraternally
A recent visitor to the US

'I know this is a free country but...'

Dear Comrades

Recently on my usual Saturday paper sale in Hyson Green I was told by a police officer, "You won't sell any of those here." A few minutes later this worker in uniform returned and informed me that: 'complaint' had been made against me by a person who didn't agree with the views of 'Militant'. He asked me for my name, address, date and place of birth, occupation, colour of socks, etc.

I asked him why he wanted this information since I was only selling 'Militant'; "Well I've got to make a report about this complaint and I know this is a free democracy but you might be obstructing the pavement" (which was after all only 20 feet wide).

After going round the other sellers to get their names, no doubt for his Christmas card list, he left.

This clearly demonstrates the need for democratic control of the police through trade unionisation of their ranks as a way of preventing state oppression. Forward to socialism and free speech!

Yours fraternally
Berni Klose
North Nottingham LPYS

What the Brandt Report ignores

Dear Comrades

Jeremy Birch's article on the Third World ('Militant' 576) explained the catastrophic situation developing in this area.

This crisis is one of the best arguments for socialism there is, since the responsibility for the situation rests on capitalism. Evidence for this came out earlier this year, in a report

from the International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis. The out-going chairman explained that: "Hunger in the world could be eradicated with not too much effort, at least from a production point of view. But we don't know how to get the food to the people."

The precise meaning of this terrible statement was spelled out in this report. They estimate that it would take the extra production of 30 million tonnes of grain a year to end world hunger.

But under capitalism this would depress prices to 75% of their current level for a protracted period.

The multi-national food companies would respond by stockpiling. Why sell the stuff if profits are not high enough? Production would also quickly fall. Wheat production in America, for example, would fall from 78 million tonnes to 73 million.

This contradiction would only be resolved when multi-national food companies are nationalised and

prices are regulated by the state.

The Brandt report and the international summits organised by the ruling class issue a lot of facts about world poverty. But it is their system which stands in the way of a solution and which must be overthrown.

Yours fraternally
Dennis Tourish
Belfast Young Socialists

'Militant' scares the bosses

Dear comrades,

I find it very heartening to see how frightened the bosses actually are of "Militant" and the LPYS.

One day last week myself and some other YS members visited a YOP scheme and handed out leaflets etc. That evening I had to go to work, so I went to the Hotel where I was working and also staying.

As I entered the hotel I still had with me several copies of "Militant" "Get Organised", and a number of leaflets.

The manager saw these and turned several different colours—(except red of course). He then stormed off saying nothing.

The following morning I received a letter saying that my services were no longer required, but giving no reason. To me the reason is quite obvious.

Yours fraternally
Danny O'Donnell
(Now Luton LPYS, previously Leyton LPYS, previously Clydebank LPYS... the bosses keep moving me along!)

ANSWERS TO CHRISTMAS QUIZ

1. The Queen Mother.
2. Lord Montgomery, November 1956.
3. Aneurin Bevan in 'In Place of Fear'.
4. Prominent Labour MP Stafford Cripps in a 1930's pamphlet 'Can socialism come by constitutional means'.
5. Montgomery, speech at Woodford, 1956.
6. Main 'theoretician' of Labour's right-wing, Antony Crosland in his 1950s book 'The future of socialism'.
7. Sir Ian Gilmour, from the so-called soft, wet wing of the Tory Party, in his 1978 book, 'Inside Right—a study in Conservatism'.
8. Jim Callaghan, Labour Party Con-

- ference 1976.
9. Keynes.
10. Sir Winston Churchill, speech in Rome 20 January 1927.
11. Bevan in his book 'In Place of Fear'.
12. Roy Jenkins in the mid 1950's.
13. Michael Foot 1954.
14. George V after hearing of the life of John Wheatley, a Labour Cabinet Minister in 1924.
15. Homosexuality.
16. Former Liberal leader Lloyd George, 1911.
17. Lloyd George in the 1930's.
18. Leading Labour politician, Harold Laski, in 'The choice before the Labour Party,' 1932.
19. Churchill in his book 'Great Contemporaries',

- 1939 edition.
20. Right wing Labour leader Hugh Gaitskell, 1954.
21. Britain's would-be Fascist dictator, Oswald Mosley, 1968.
22. Duke of Argyll.
23. One of the main guiding lights of the Fabians, Sidney Webb, 1923.
24. Clement Attlee, later to become Labour's first post-war Prime Minister in the 1930's in 'The Labour Party in Perspective'.
25. Election leaflet of the London District Committee of the Communist Party, 1945.
26. Lord Home about the highly secret Bilderberg group of prominent international businessmen, military leaders, civil servants,

- capitalist politicians and right wing Labour leaders.
27. Arthur Lewis, Labour MP for Newham North West.
28. Oscar Wilde.
29. Reagan's Budget Director, David Stockman in 'The Atlantic Monthly'.
30. Marx and Engels in 'Neue Rheinische Zeitung, 1848.

PHOTOS:

- A. The Jarrow hunger march, 1936
- B. Roy Jenkins, now in the Smartly Dressed Party and certainly not on the left.
- C. Ramsay MacDonald.

Build Militant

Area	Received	% of target achieved	Target for year
Eastern	5273		7100
East Midlands	3872		5500
Hants & Dorset	3064		5200
Humberside	2076		3500
London East	5997		7600
London West	3130		4800
London South	4959		5500
Manchester & Lancs	3215		5800
Merseyside	4224		6600
Northern	4787		8600
Scotland East	2533		4400
Scotland West	4465		7500
Southern	5622		7100
South West	2326		3500
Wales East	1384		2600
Wales West	2925		4600
West Midlands	5367		8600
Yorkshire	5172		9000
Others	19789		12500
Total received	90,180		120,000

TARGET FOR YEAR-£120,000

This Week
£2 953

GIVE MILITANT A HAPPY NEW YEAR

In Britain workers are being threatened by the worst crisis since the war. The Tories 'Christmas presents' in the budget endanger the very lives of the poorest in the country.

In Poland meanwhile, a Stalinist bureaucracy move to crush free trade unions. Yet read the papers and watch television and who are the bogeymen threatening to destroy 'all we hold dear'? 'Militant'!

The Tories and the Stalinists are 'only' endangering the working class. 'Militant's' ideas threaten the power of the ruling class and the bureaucratic elites of the Warsaw Pact.

Give us a hand this Christmas. Support the fight against the Tories and the bosses. Help the area you live in reach its target by 10 January.

Eastern have £1,807 to reach their target—thanks this week for 'tea and coffee money'. Cambridge social, Peterborough jumble sale, and £10 rent passed on from St Clements LP, Ipswich. East Midlands are £1,628 short. Donations from M Bounds, Blaby LPYS, M Ritchie, Leicester, AUEW members (Wigston no.2), curry evening, R Hardy NUPE, members of the Derbyshire NUM including J Proffitt, and collection at ASTMS Divisional Council.

Hants & Dorset need £2,136. Thanks for Tolpudle walk money (extra Parliamentary activity?) combined with fivers from R Phillips (NUAAW) and R Crewe, and donations from Cllr P Bahia and B van der Beck. Humberside's target is another £1,424. A trade unionist passed on £30 expenses, and socials were held in Hull and other towns.

East London requires £1,602 to pass this target. Included this week £63 from East Ham meeting, £50 from Hilda Wobey (sale of John's van), and Xmas card profit. West London are £1,770 behind. Thanks to video evening surplus, sale of pamphlets (£150), collections at LP meetings, B Wright (NW London), R McRae and others.

South London lead the table, but they should really raise at least double the £541 difference in the next week! Thanks to bazaar (£192), PASOK night with Greek food/music, £20 bet from CPSA NEC member Wandsworth meeting (£65). Manchester & Lancs need £2,585, but anything's possible under the present conditions! Thanks to Ardwick supporters, £30 TU expenses, Blackley student (£20), Karl Marx T-shirts (£30), Wigan meeting, I Caveney (Rochdale), L Barratt (Macclesfield) and £72 from a jumble sale.

Merseyside's present figure is £2,376 behind their target. Again, if all our supporters in Liverpool are ap-

proached, we are confident this figure will be exceeded. In this week over £100 from a meeting in Birkenhead (including YS £5, Brit Leather GMWU £5, Cammell Laird workers £5) plus £42 from a pre-Christmas party, added to £15 from supporters 'on the buses' with B Brown (Chester) and £3.75 from Ellesmere Port LPYS. Northern want £3,813. However, at least one supporter has donated £40, "Scam's bad bet £10," Bazaar £91, and Stockton LPYS are some of the other sources.

East Scotland are £1,867 short: this week's total includes 'extras' from Kirkcaldy, 'sponsored skittles' and R Taylor (Edinburgh), Falkirk Catalogue and response to 'Children in Need' appeal, STUC Youth Delegates watching Bob Wylie on TV, and Newtongrange Lokomotiv FC.

West Scotland lack £3,035. Pontoon tickets, sale of cigars and copper jars contributed. Thanks also to CPSA supporters and N Johnston (Erskine). Southern is another area that should go over the £1,478 difference at present. Thanks to Brighton bazaar stall, H Atkins (Sompting), D&S McMillan (E Grinstead) and Canterbury reader.

South West's target is another £1,174. Thanks this week to S Sweeney (Bath), W Coombes (Bristol), and D Moss (Brixham) and S&D Heffernan (Paignton). East Wales still has £1,216 to go: and from West Wales nearly £50 towards their target means another £1,675 is wanted. Thanks to purchasers of tapes and donations from Llanelli meeting.

West Midlands readers have now £3,233 left to raise, but Stoke South LPYS sent us £15, and another Stoke supporter £80 in pension fund returns after being made redundant. Thanks also to Coventry readers, and Birmingham jumble sale organisers.

Yorkshire with £3,828 to get to their target have had a boost from Leeds marathon runner, Shipley rock and sweets, and a Doncaster supporter stopping smoking and drinking. Widespread abstinence is too much to hope for over the holiday, but any strong-willed comrades prepared to give us money in this way deserve a mention in our next issue!

Lastly, Others includes a £200 'windfall' donation from a member of the LPYS National Committee on hearing the moves by the right-wing to trample over, as they think, the ideas and hopes of the youth section of the Labour Party.

All our readers are urged to assist us, to take us well over the £30,000 we need by the next issue of 'Militant', out on 8th January. Think back to a previous Christmas, that of 1973. If it wasn't for the 'extra-Parliamentary' action by hundreds of thousands of workers that time, none of the characters who are now attacking us would have been in a position to be Ministers in 1974 at all!

In 1982 as in 1973-74 we will support the miners, and the Ford workers, as in 1978-79. But the more you support us now, the better the coverage we will be able to give. It's up to you.

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

ads

Essential for all supporters. 1982 'Militant' Year Planner, 60p each; 50p 10 and over. Orders M Tansey, 10 Westbourne Gardens, Folkestone, Kent. Phone 0303 55514

Militant Children's Party

Saturday 2 January, 2-6 pm. John Marshall Hall, Colombo Street, Blackfriars Road, London SE1. All welcome but contact C Doyle c/o Militant in advance.

NEW MILITANT LEAFLET now available. 'What we stand for' leaflet. Size A5 (13cm x 20cm). Duplicate details of your local Militant Public Meeting on the back. Phone orders to Circulation Dept. 01-986 3828.

BERMONDSEY Militant Readers Meeting. 'What we stand for'. Speakers: Bob Labi (Greater London Labour Party Executive); Bernie O'Connor (Bermondsey LPYS). Tuesday 22 December, 7.30 pm, at Rotherhithe Civic Centre (small hall), Albion Street, London SE16 (near Rotherhithe tunnel).

Militant Club Night

Political panto, food, drink, music, etc. Admission £1. Saturday 2 January, 7.30 pm, also at John Marshall Hall, Colombo Street, Blackfriars Road, London SE1

London LPYS Weekend School. Friday 15th January 1982-Sunday 17th January in Canterbury. Lots of discussion around topics like the development of mankind and Marxist economics. Club night, excellent food, total cost £12 includes a meal on Friday night and all meals and transport (from London) for the weekend. For more details, send deposit of £2 to Anne Beales, Chairman London LPYS, c/o 150 Walworth Rd., London SE 17.

New Years Greetings in MILITANT

Get your LPYS, Labour Party or trade union branch to put New Years greetings in Militant. Greet the labour movement and help to build Militant at the same time! But hurry—closing date for copy is Saturday 19th December.

Rates:
SEMI DISPLAY: 3col cms (up to 15 words) £3
6 col cms (up to 25 words) £6
DISPLAY: 1/16th page £10

Send greetings or write for forms to Militant, 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN

SOCIALIST XMAS CARDS. Set of 4 original Hardman cartoons. 60p per set (inc. envelopes) + 14p post & packing. 5 sets—£2 + 30p post & packing 10 sets—£3.50 + 60p post & packing. Order bulk sets and boost your area's fighting fund. All proceeds to Militant Fighting Fund. Send cash with order to Eddie McParland, 81 Troughton Road, Charlton, London SE7.

Build Militant Winter Draw

(Promoter: D Smith, 73 Armond Road, Witham, Essex)
1st Prize Video System (including camera, etc) or £1,000. 2nd Prize Portable TV/Radio/Cassette (or £100) Plus 8 other prizes!! To be drawn 9th January, 1982. Get your tickets now from your Militant seller! Don't miss out!

KARL MARX T-SHIRTS AND SWEATSHIRTS. Sizes and colours for small—32-34; medium—34-36; large—38-40; extra large—42-44. Red motif on white, yellow, sky blue, bottle green, navy, black (+ 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.

WEST MIDLANDS Winter 400-club draw. 1. £150—Lesley Hughes; 2. £20—D Cozens. 3. £10—W Millchip. 4th prizes. £5—P Rogan, K Parslow, R Hunter, S Millington.

The complete Alan Hardman! All three books of Alan Hardman cartoons, 'Need not profit', 'More', and 'Plunder



Christmas cards from Lambeth Central CLP. £1 for 8 or £7.50 for 100 from Cath Tate, 39 Kingswood Road, London SW2 (671 2166)

Woman must go' for £1.50 (+ 50p post and package) from Militant, 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN.

Looking for a gift for the socialist with everything? Give the ideal Christmas present...A SUBSCRIPTION TO 'MILITANT'!
£4 for 13 weeks, £8 for 26 weeks, £16 for 52 weeks. Take one out now as the rates go up in February.

Industrial Reports

Reprieve for Robb Caledon?

An end to the Robb Caledon shipyard occupation in Dundee may be near. According to unconfirmed reports, British Shipbuilders have agreed to sell the yard to Kestrel Marine, the firm which manufactures oil rig modules on a neighbouring site.

A settlement has been held up because of negotiations between Kestrel and the Dundee Port Authority who own the land and want to use part of it for a new container base.

If these talks can be successfully concluded, the workers will call off their three month occupation, since they have already agreed in principle to the Kestrel takeover. The Caledon yard would remain a separate subsidiary company, to be known as 'Kestrel Robb Caledon'.

Further talks will be held to agree the numbers of workers to be employed in the new subsidiary.

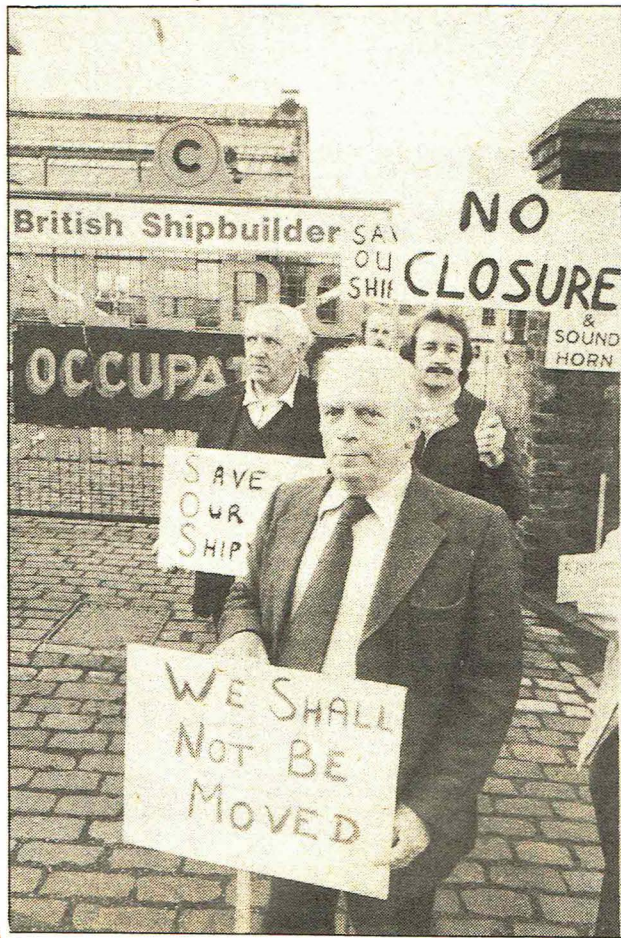
Although such a settlement would fall short of the

workers' original demand for the reinstatement of the yard as an integral part of British shipbuilding, it would still mean a victory for the workers. It has proved that if you sit and fight you will win.

All the same, such a settlement would still be a step backwards for the workers in the industry nationally, since it is an act of "privatisation", which could well be the thin end of the wedge. Nationalised shipbuilding must not be allowed to be slowly nibbled away by private concerns, which in no way can guarantee secure employment prospects. Other shipyard workers will have to ask, "who's next?"

Meanwhile the occupation is continuing and support should be kept up to the last. Coventry District Labour Party recently passed a resolution in support and raised £34 for the occupation. Send to: the Secretary, Robb Caledon Combined Shop Stewards Committee, Robb Caledon Shipyard, Stannergate, Dundee.

By Pat Craven



Workers occupying the Robb Caledon shipyard in Dundee. Although they have scored a victory on saving jobs, it has now been privatised and jobs cannot be safe. Photo: Militant

British Rail—

The battles to come in '82

The Tories are still waiting with axe poised to carve up Britain's rail industry.

At a recent Joint Committee meeting of the Nottingham and District rail branch of the NUR, the main topic was an up to date position regarding the continuing talks on all aspects relating to productivity. The speaker was Tommy Ham, President of the NUR.

Part of this year's pay deal was newer working practices. One of the ideas for an increase in productivity was the 'open station concept', or OSC. BR last year lost £28 million by fare evasion. The unions are prepared to accept the open station concept, but with the understanding that no jobs are lost.

The existing station staff should go on to the trains. The union has agreed to two pilot schemes, one in the north of Scotland and one in the South Wales area on the Western Region.

The people involved in the two schemes will not lose any rates of pay which will be backdated to the implementation date of the two schemes. The Scottish scheme which has now started will go on for six months. The Western Region scheme is to start in

By Malcolm Bryan
(NUR personal capacity)

January 1982, and will last for nine months.

The next productivity item explained was the trainmen's concept. A guard, if he wishes, will be given the opportunity to transfer to the footplate.

At this stage ASLEF will not agree to guards who transfer to driving being allowed to keep their seniority.

There will be three grades of guard but the rates of pay have still not been agreed. All of these ideas have to be agreed by the Federation of Railway Unions (NUR/ASLEF).

The electric units which have been built for the St Pancras to Bedford electrification scheme have been designed for driver only operation. At this stage the NUR will not agree to this. These trains are due to start running from May 1982, and Mr Ham said that some blood will flow between now and then.

Investigations are also taking place to see if certain fully fitted freight trains can be run without a guard. No agreement has yet been reached on this.

Mr Ham stated that

sooner or later some form of political action has got to be taken. However, he did not explain what he meant by this remark.

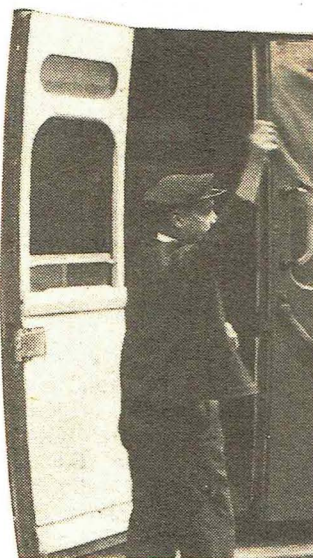
He stressed the urgent need to invest far more than in the past. If the constraints on investment continue BR might as well shut up shop. BR Engineering Ltd may well be the next section of BR to be sold to the capitalists.

Railway workers in general have survived so far, but this will not continue. Industries like British Leyland or the British Steel Corporation have been cut to ribbons as a result of measures taken by this reactionary right-wing government. British Rail will be next for the chop.

More than ever private wagons are playing a major part in the BR freight division. These wagons are built and maintained by private wagon companies. At the same time BREL workshops are crying out for work.

This is one of the reasons why the Ashford Works has been run down and now Shildon may soon find itself in the same position. All because of a shortage of work.

When the St Pancras to Bedford electrification scheme is completed in May 1982, no more work will be available for the specialist electrification team; 200 highly skilled people are to join the ever increasing dole queue. Yet the London to Norwich electrification



Is BR next for the Tory chop?

scheme has been waiting for a decision for the past 18 months.

The last Minister of Transport, Mr Norman Folwer, had promised to keep the system at the same size at least. He also tried to press for extra investment for large scale electrification. He may have become too 'railway minded' and perhaps this was one of the reasons why he has been replaced!

The present Transport Minister wasted no time in agreeing to heavier lorries going onto our inadequate roads. He also seems to be far more hostile towards railways.

As can be seen from the battles to come, 1982 will be a crucial year for the rail unions in the fight to save our industry from decimation.

Rugby Union

Recent events in the world of Rugby League have led to the formation of a Professional Rugby League Players' Association, the first of its kind.

It will be run in conjunction with the white-collar union APEX who will provide a full-time secretary. The aim is to give the part-time professionals more say in rule changes and look at insurance and benevolent schemes.

Insurance against injury is of special interest due to the nature of being part time, because players receiving injuries during a game can lose pay from his full time employment so adequate insurance is a necessity. After all, it's the clubs who benefit from success on the field by way of increased lucrative sponsorship in both cup and league matches.

Rugby League was born from Rugby Union over the point of broken time payment. The upper and middle classes played the game for fun. Of course, so did the working classes; the difference was that in the 19th century workers who wished to play couldn't afford to take time off work like their middle class counter-

parts. It wasn't payment they sought, but compensation for time lost playing matches. Of course, the RU couldn't countenance that, and so the split took place.

Rugby League, as it became, is steeped in the rich working class traditions of Yorkshire, Lancashire and Cumbria, embracing such small mining communities as Leatherstone and Castleford in Yorkshire, and the Lancashire mill towns of Leigh and Wigan.

Although players are paid a wage now, suggestions that they are in it for the money would be wrong. Playing for a successful club such as Hull or Widnes can earn a player a good wage, but many play for the poorer clubs and risk a great deal for little more than expenses.

I wonder how many 'amateur' RU players can say the same. Such is the emnity from RU that an amateur RL player cannot play RU. It is about time that the very real class bias shown by the RU hierarchy was exposed and 'sport for all' meant what it said.

By F Kennett
(Wakefield CLP)

A winter's tale

The bout of freezing winter weather appears to have scrambled the brains of management at Rolls Royce in Bristol.

Engineering workers there are fighting for a 39 hour week. Since November the AUEW membership had decided to take an hour off every Friday afternoon as their way of implementing a 39 hour week. But the management decided the way that they wanted to implement it was by taking 12 minutes off each day, which is hardly a big gain for the workforce.

Finally on Friday December 11 the engineers were told not to report to work unless they worked normally. Despite the weather conditions, thousands of Rolls Royce workers braved blizzard and gales to defy a company

order to stay away.

In driving snow the men began arriving at Rolls Royce at their normal time of 7.30am, in conditions where most traffic was actually off the road; in fact it appeared that there was a bigger turn out than if the membership had not been in dispute!

Undoubtedly this was a victory for the solidarity of the union. But what spurred the men on was management's decision to tell other staff not involved directly in the dispute, that they were to have a day off with pay; if they DID go in to work they wouldn't get paid! This lunatic situation shows how determined RR management are to make the shorter working week agreement suit their own ends.

NALGO news

A very successful rally was recently held in Newcastle in favour of NALGO's affiliation to the Labour Party, organised by CNALP.

The rally was addressed by Malcolm Dunn (Chairman, District Local Government Committee), Alex Kitson (Deputy General Secretary, TGWU), Derek Hatton (Liverpool councillor and chairman, CNALP), Peter Doyle (full time NUPE organiser) and chaired by Ian Daley (convenor for CNALP NE).

Alex Kitson stated it was a nonsense for NALGO representing over three-quarters of a million members, not to be affiliated to the party. He explained that although NALGO played a vital role in the TUC, when it came to "political" issues they were left in the cold because they were not affiliated.

Derek Hatton stressed the need for this campaign to be taken into every office and work-place because it was only there that the campaign could be won.

At the end of the rally, over £50 was collected for the CNALP campaign and a number of copies of Militant were sold.

The seven month long Liverpool typists' dispute is now over. At a mass meeting on Monday it was agreed to return to work. This followed the withdrawal of the demand made by the city council that anyone who had resigned from NALGO during the dispute could rejoin and that NALGO should not expel any members for scabbing. A full report will appear at a later date.

Industrial Reports

FORDS Ready to strike

With the beginning of December, the Ford Motor Company were confident that their 54,000 workforce were in favour of acceptance of their 'final' pay offer.

Yet their confidence turned to annoyance when on December 5 workers at the Halewood plant voted overwhelmingly to flatly reject the offer.

By David Llewlyn-Davis (T&G, Fords Swansea, personal capacity)

last few years. Short time working in various plants, new technology and rumours of redundancies, and with 'Japan-programme' efficiency moves, it has brought in record profits for Fords.

Yet despite this, the company is not prepared to improve the present offer of 7.4% with strings attached, which if accepted could undermine the authority of local trade union organisation.

We are also determined to win the 35 hour week now, not in January 1983, in order to save jobs at the present time.

The Times (December 10) reported that Fords' labour relations director, Paul Rootes, was reported to have told Ron Todd, T&G Chairman of the negotiating committee that the bosses were prepared to sit out a long strike. If that was the case, Ford workers are quite prepared to do the same.

Winter is with us, and also Christmas; the new year brings nothing new, only the memory and with it the experiences of the 10 week Fords strike in 1978.



The picket line at Kirkstall Forge GKN, Leeds. On the right is Joe Dean, the AUEW sponsored MP for West Leeds, on an early morning visit.

KIRKSTALL FORGE

While workers are locked in battle with the bosses at Kirkstall Forge GKN Leeds, they nearly had the rug pulled from under their feet by their own leadership.

Over the heads of the shop stewards, the right wing executive of the AUEW instructed the local district secretary to call a mass meeting to allow members to discuss "a reduced offer".

The district secretary, who looked to the EC instead of the membership who elected him, called a mass meeting for December 11 in the Town Hall. Significantly, to convene

By John Ingham (Leeds No. 6 AUEW, personal capacity)

the meeting he had to rely on the local newspaper and scandalously the management, who worked to build the meeting. Supervision and office staff spent all the previous day phoning workers who they felt would vote for a return to work; no workers with a record of militancy received a call.

This move by the EC followed 'informal talks' in London with management. The mass meeting was called supposedly to put the new 'offer' to workers. Yet

while two of the local shop stewards who attended the talks were on their way back to Leeds, the EC sent an official letter in the post recommending acceptance of this deal, that is now worth £30 less than when the strike began!

Workers at the Forge however, have seen through all these manoeuvres, and at the mass meeting of over 500, a majority vote was taken to continue the strike.

Engineers nationally should take note of the actions of the Duffy leadership of the AUEW. Only weeks beforehand, they had accepted a mere 5% increase in the national wage rates, with Duffy arguing on television that this figure could be topped up at 'local level'! Yet with every letter

of procedure having been followed by the shop stewards, the workers at the Forge are being stabbed in the back.

What has been the key strength in engineering industry over the past decades, has been the growth in the shop stewards movement. If the right wing were to undermine the shop stewards, then every worker will be exposed to direct attacks by the employers, with no collective strength.

The events of this dispute underlines the need for a fighting leadership.

A victory for the workers at Kirkstall Forge will now not only be a blow to the employers, but will also demonstrate the bankruptcy of the executive of the AUEW.

'ADOLF' EDWARDES' TRACK RECORD

In the war, in occupied Europe, it was an offence to listen to the BBC. In British Leyland, "Adolf" Edwardes has also decreed it an offence.

Maureen Kelly who works on Rover car tracks at BL in Solihull—due to close—told a very revealing story about the bosses' attitude to their workers.

In the recent wages strike, Rover Cars were exempt by the union leadership from participating in the strike. Nevertheless Rover Car workers enthusiastically supported the first total BL strike. But as everyone now knows, the union leadership swiftly backed down to Edwardes, and asked the workers to go back. The sell-out was met with incredulity by BL workers including the Rover workers.

The mass meetings in Cowley and Longbridge took place on a Tuesday morning. On Maureen's section a worker brought in a radio to listen to the results. The first result came from Cowley, who voted to continue the strike. This

By Bill Mullins

news was met with cheers up and down the track.

"What's this? Workers have something to cheer about? Investigate the cause and stop it," must have been the thoughts of the management.

Down the track stalked the production manager. Like a scene from Oliver Twist he lets out a bellow, "Who owns this radio?" When the worker "owned up", he was told that it was a "discipline offence" to have unauthorised equipment on the company's premises, particularly if it was powered by their electricity (it wasn't, it was battery powered).

Of course, what really annoyed management was the idea that workers could get news which wasn't directly under the control of BL's own propaganda department. Edwardes' offensive against BL workers is probably without parallel in the post-war period. These "victories" have been goad-

ed on by a gloating press—"It (BL) has now established, perhaps once and for all, that it is master in its own house," *The Times* haughtily declared on 4 November when the BL workers went back, although two days later Longbridge track workers were out on strike.

The press has also continually pumped out vicious propaganda about 'lazy' workers etc. at BL. But nothing could be further from the truth. "Even people in their 20s now find it difficult to keep up with the track," said Maureen, "they just keep piling on extra work any time they like. I can't wait to get out," she went on. "I get home and can hardly find the energy to make the tea, most of us are in bed by 9 pm, too tired to do anything else."

This super-exploitation would, under any other circumstances, lead to an explosion, but "they threaten to cut our redundancy pay if we try to do anything about it." In Longbridge, though, this level of exploitation has indeed led to a fight back.

A few years ago the amount of work as

measured in time for each "piece" of work was subject to "mutuality", i.e. agreement between the shop steward and the foreman. Since 1979 this element of workers' control has been eroded enabling a general speed-up to take place.

"The foremen keep at you all the time and the cars keep coming down the track. People don't understand the pressure we are under," a 40-year-old Metro worker told the *Sunday Times* (29 November).

The same article went on to say, "BL admits that the work is tough on what must be the first British assembly line to match the best of Europe, namely the Volkswagen. Harsh conditions, however, have often forced French and German car firms to employ foreign workers to do jobs their own nationals shun." *The Times* (2 November) put it more clearly: "Competitive capitalism means to tackle slack working arrangements or as put more brutally by a German businessman, 'to treat workmen like dirt.'" The recent battle at Longbridge against this attempt to turn back the clock will be the first of many.

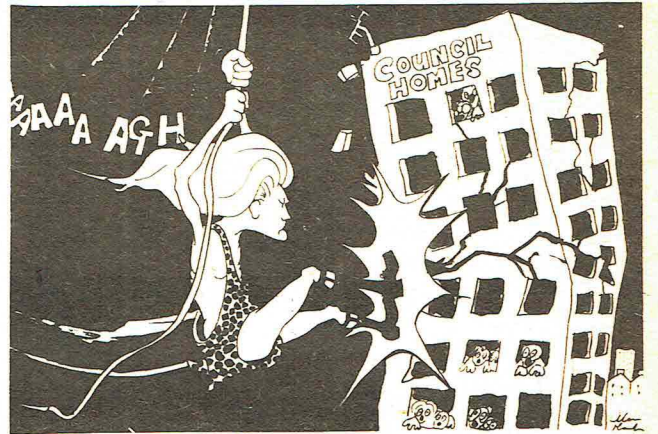


On the track at a British Leyland car plant.

Militant

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STOP HESELTINE



The Greater London Labour Party did not have the power to organise such a strike.
 Another resolution, however, from NUPE called for a series of mass demonstrations against the cuts. As an LPYS delegate from Dulwich, Theresa Wrack, asked, "How does the organisation of this differ from a one-day general strike?"

Despite the contradictory decisions, the special conference showed the desire to fight Heseltine's cuts. The motion passed calling for mass demonstrations, while not based on a perspective for a continuing struggle, could be an important stepping stone towards building a mass opposition to the Tories.

The conference passed a long executive statement calling for determined opposition to Heseltine. It calls on councils not to implement cuts and to refuse to draw up budgets on the terms laid down by Heseltine.

Unfortunately, the impact of this decision was greatly reduced by an amendment from Edmon-ton Labour Party and the EETPU. This said that councils should not be expected to break the law.

This resolution no doubt aims at providing an excuse for Labour councils to implement the cuts when they come up against the new legal powers Heseltine is arming himself with.

Very few delegates voted for this amendment on a show of hands. But when it came to a card vote the amendment was narrowly carried.

An amendment from Ux-bridge LP seconded by the LPYS calling for all-out opposition to Heseltine, with a 24-hour general strike to centralise the campaign, was defeated. It was argued

Over 15,000 LT jobs could be threatened. The proposal for industrial action by LT unions must be supported and linked to a continuing campaign.

Labour Parties and trade unions should make it clear that the GLC Labour group should not back down in the face of an attack from the courts—or from new emergency legislation which the Tories intend to bring in immediately if the Lords overrule Denning.

It was argued that the London Labour Party did not have the power to organise such a strike.

Militant will not be published on Friday 25 December or Friday 1 January. The next issue will be available on Friday 8 January. We wish all our readers a happy New Year.

TORIES BRING BACK SLAVERY

CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE

and hostility than ever before. It's as if the Tories want more riots. The proposals must be vigorously opposed by the labour movement.

of YOP workers' minimum rate of pay, £37 at 16, £44 at 17 and the full adult rate at 18.

The idea of cutting the £23.50 will be met by a wave of disbelief and anger by YOP workers. Up until now we have argued YOP workers must get organised and fight to improve their conditions. Now we must join a union and fight to stop any cut in their allowance.

The new scheme can only work with trade union co-operation. Pressure must now be put on the TUC by all rank-and-file trade unionists totally to reject any cut in the present £23.50 allowance.

The Labour movement must demand an absolute minimum the local authori-



Photo: MILITANT

FORD STRIKE FOR DECENT WAGE

Ford workers on strike in 1978. Now by a large majority they will be fighting for a decent wage from 4 January. See page 15

NO WITCH-HUNT

CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE

step in a witch-hunt.

The right-wing have lost any faith in winning the policy debate inside the party. So they are turning instead to bureaucratic measures.

Labour Party members may not be completely surprised at the action of right-wingers, but they will be especially angered at the fact that the NEC decision was supported by some of the lefts. Not only did Michael Foot vote for the enquiry, but so too did Judith Hart, Neil Kinnock, Doug Hoyle and Alex Kitson.

been opposed by the executive of the South Wales Miners and by the national executive of the Fire Brigades Union.

Party members will not accept the hounding and expulsion of Militant supporters. They will not accept a return to the witch-hunting of the Gaitskellite era.

Ironically, the Labour Party General Secretary Designate, Jim Mortimer, chosen by the NEC on Tuesday, was himself expelled from the Labour Party in the 1950s. That was for his association with the 'Anglo-Chinese Friendship Society'.

A return to bans and prescriptions in the Party now would wreck it at local, regional and national level.

Labour Party members must oppose the plans of the right-wing to wreck the Party. Demands must be made to investigate the many business links that the right-wing MPs have, their connections with NATO-funded and CIA-funded organisations.

There must be no concessions made to those seeking to purge the Labour Party of its genuine socialist activists. The Labour Party has a future only if it becomes a democratic, mass based Party committed to a fundamental, socialist change of society.

Right plan to wreck Labour Party

Neil Kinnock, we understand, referred to Militant supporters in the constituencies as "parasites".

This NEC decision is flying in the face of the opinions of the vast majority of Party members. Already about 100 Constituency Labour Parties have come out against a witch-hunt (see page 3).

Trade union branches all over the country are also opposing a purge. The NEC decision, following a recommendation of its organisation sub-committee, has already

HELP 'MILITANT'

The witch-hunt by the press has brought in donations to our fighting fund from individuals and organisations who have never been in touch with us before... They want to see Militant carry on its struggle for a socialist society.

Finance is essential to make sure 'Militant' can become a bigger, better and more regular paper. We aim to reach our

£120,000 target by 10 January. That means £30,000 in three weeks.

We are sure you can do it. Use the appeal sheets, sell the raffle tickets to collect money for Militant. Ask everyone who reads and supports Militant to give a donation.

Help give Thatcher and her system the push in 1982. Donate to Militant.

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