



1980 Pages 7, 8 and

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Steel, Rail, Coal cuts mean dole misery for thousands more ... ERS HAVE POWER TO STOP TORIES **BACK THE**



PAPER THAT **BACKS YOU** rush cash in now -£14,000 needed to hit target

'Militant' has made great We are depending on you steps forward during to help us reach our 1980 1980.

It has been a year of £100,000. savage attacks by That- We urge all readers cher's government. But and supporters to ask the last year has also seen everyone sympathetic to more and more workers the labour movement to fighting back.

dockers and firemen have reds each day now, but all given the Tories a still need every effort to bloody nose and shown reach the target. how Thatcher's plans can All raffle ticket stubs be thwarted. 'Militant' and cash must be sent in has reported on all these to reach us by Saturday events and 'Militant' sup- morning but money can porters have been in the be raised for us literally thick of the struggles. at the last hour.

ing the real hunger for year's figure. socialist ideas.

But we want better can be the year which

inside...

Wales

Eight

fighting fund target of

assist us. We've been Gardner's workers, receiving several hund-

So too with the Labour Any donations posted Party, where we have to us over the weekend given detailed coverage of [crossed cheques and all the tremendous dev- Postal Orders payable to elopments of the last 'Militant'] should be twelve months. Our sales "phoned through" before have greatly increased mid-day on Sunday 11th, over the last year, show- to be counted in this

With your help, 1981

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Reinstate Longbridge

Save Normanby Park

coverage as resistance to builds the foundations of the Tories grows. A more a mass circulation Marxregular, up-to-date 'Mili- ist paper leading the fight tant' will be essential. to transform society. For this we need cash.

The working people of Wales have never had much time for Tories. Now Thatcher and her crew are extracting their revenge.

"Britain's worn-out industrial areas will be bypassed," announced Tory energy secretary David Howell, described as one Thatcher's "closest of cabinet allies", last weekend. "More money will go into advanced automated equipment; less into employing people in



manufacturing industry."

Manufacturing industry-steel, coal mining and engineering-is the life-blood of South Wales. The Tories' savage monetarist policies, their 'cure' for the ailing recession-torn capitalist economy, are taking a savage toll.

One in eight Welsh workers are out of work.

In Swansea alone, 7,500 unemployed workers are chasing 100 badly-paid jobs.

The threat of more redundancies at British Steel will bring more misery to steel workers, miners, engineers, even shop and office workers. It is estimated that for every steel job lost, three other workers will be made redundant.

"What 'o we do?" This plea from the wife of a newly-redundant worker [see page 3] is being echoed throughout

Wales. There is no shortage of anger, no lack of fighting tradition -but what hope has the

individual family facing soaring bills, higher school meal and prescription charges and only the dole pittance to live on?

Workers do have real power-in the factories, mines and mills, they produce the real wealth that the employers and their Tory servants rely

CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE



Lessons of H-Block.... **Only Labour can end TECTOR OF CONTROL OF ANDER OF ADDALES AND ADDALES AND**

After 53 days the H-Block hunger strike was called off [on 18 December]. Most workers in Northern Ireland will have greeted the news with considerable relief.

The sectarian up- and the wider issue of heaval and violence repression were to be ignored. H-Block was posed in the which would have fol- most poisonous sectarian lowed the death of a terms in Northern Ireland. prisoner has been The very mention of the issue avoided.

been accompanied by claims of victory from both sides. The government document on prison conditions uses extremely conciliatory language and represents considerable concessions on such issues as clothing and associations.

However, these concessions do not meet the original of anyone, because of the demands of the prisoners. Above all, the demand for government. This victory inpolitical status, despite the side the prisons on the claims of the Provisionals to question of status will help to the contrary, has not been granted. And because this demand was made the focus of the H-Block campaign, the government has been able to disguise its partial retreat on the issue of prison conditions as a total victory. Should the $4\frac{1}{2}$ year old blanket protest end on the basis of the existing offer on work and clothing it will represent a considerable climb down on the part of the prisoners. In this sense, no matter what immediate concessions are given, the immediate effect is one of victory for the government. Understandably, the attitude of many workers inside and outside Northern Ireland will now be to push H-Block to the back of their minds. But it would be a considerable mistake on the part of the labour movement if the lessons of the hunger strike

now carries sectarian connotations. Nevertheless, repres-The settlement terms have sion is a class question, and the chance that all of the methods used by the state to quell para-military opposition today will be used against the labour movement in the future should not be taken.

Relief at the end of the hunger strike should not become euphoria on the part partial victory won by the

ation by the prison authorities further protest and further retaliation, led to the creation of the most barbaric prison conditions in Europe.

Yet the fact that the outside support organisations were connected with the Provisionals prevented them from drawing mass support. The impotence of these organisations, the silence of the labour movement, the determination of the authorities to break the prisoners and the determination of the prisoners not to be broken-these factors produced the 41/2 year H-Block stalemate.

Before the hunger strike began most Catholic workers were sympathetic to the plight of the prisoners, but were held back from openly expressing their sympathy in case it would be interpreted as a gesture of support for the Provos.

Sectarianism must be fought

When the hunger strike began this changed. For a period the reluctance of Catholic workers to be seen in the company of the National H-Block Committees was overcome by their outrage at the stubborn intransigence of the Thatcher government. Overnight, the H-Block demonstrations were transformed from paltry meetings to huge rallies and meetings. Almost 20,000 people twice paraded through West Belfast. Similar crowds, mainly from the North, also marched through the streets of Dublin. In Derry the protest stoppage packed an enormous crowd of 10,000 into Guildhall Square. This mass movement expressed itself through the H-Block Committees only because there was no alternative, particularly from the labour movement. It took this course despite, not because of, the leadership of these committees, and above all despite the association of

'nationalist unity" behind the hunger strikers.

But it was not only Protestant workers who were alienated. Towards the end of the hunger strike there was a distinct drawing back by sections of the Catholic community. It was not that people were any less sympathetic to the plight of the hunger strikers, but rather that they were repelled by the sectarian poison pouring from the platforms. On 10 December the Nat-

ional H-Block Committee called for a general strike in Ireland. Even by their own subsequent claims, the strike was a flop.

In Derry the attendance was only half that of the previous stoppage. It was this failure and the partial ending of the protest movement which permitted the government to limit the concessions.

It was also clear throughout all H-Block activity that the call for "political status" was by no means universally supported, even in former Provisional strongholds. Many statements of support for the prisoners made it clear that this was offered on humanitarian grounds.

The international support

March in support of hunger strikers in Dublin, 12 December 1980

Photo: Derek Spiers (IFL/Report)

class approach, with the labour movement taking up the issue in class terms.

We called for a programme of prison reform to cover all prisoners which would have

included the right to wear their own clothes, to negotiate a choice of work and training and education, access to the media, unrestricted numbers of letters and trade union rates of pay.

We did not support the call that was raised by the Provos and the UDA for political status for all their members. Instead we called for a review by the labour mvoement of the cases of all those convicted on charges arising out of the Northern Ireland troubles, in order to determine who is, in the eyes of the labour movement, a political prison-

Inside H-Block are many people convicted on the basis of frame-ups or torture, or who joined organisations like the Provos in the mistaken belief that they were fighting against the present economic system.

While a great number of such individuals would be regarded as political prisoners, those who consciously set out to divide the working class along sectarian lines and who were responsible for sectarian now clear that only the labour atrocities are clearly not movement can provide a political prioners in any sense challenge to this, and that in in which the labour move- its own class interest it must ment internationally uses the now begin to do so. term.

should still be taken up and the article which first appearcampaigned for by the labour ed in the Janaury 1981 issue movement, irrespective of the of 'Militant Irish Monthly'.]

For regular coverage

immediate H-Block situation. Action on the basis of our programme could have ended the horror of H-Block years ago.

This is the key lesson of the entire episode. Only the labour movement can effectively resist repression. In Northern Ireland this means united and joint action by Protestant and Catholic workers, for which there can be no substitute.

It is not yet clear whether the blanket protest will now end. The immediate response of the ruling class to the prisoners was extremely concessionary, in attempts to get them off the protest. But there are no guarantees that this approach will be made again. The original concessions won in 1972 were unceremoniously removed by the ruling class.

Their approach in Northern Ireland will be in support of repressive government. Changes of prison conditions do not resolve the question of the use of repressive legislation. and the existence of non-jury courts.

The outcome of the hunger strike will ultimately strengthen the government's hand in using its sophisticated apparatus of repression. It is

This class programme [This is a shortened version of

read 'Militant Irish Monthly

reinforce the apparatus of repression outside and this in turn can be used against the struggles of the labour movement in the future.

Leon Trotsky once explained that the false methods of struggle of individual terror was a blind alley which eventually serves to strengthen the hand of the state. Four and a half years of the H-Block protest has underlined this in red.

It was the campaign of the Provisionals which gave the British ruling class the excuse to introduce the elaborate system of judicial frame-up, out of which emerged the H-Block protest. The growing isolation of the Provisionals rendered them incapable of resisting this repression both inside and outside the prisons.

In March 1976 the blanket protest was begun. Retali-

which came from many countries was also expressed in these terms. This was the key factor in permitting the ruling class to adopt a position of total intransigence on the demand for political status.

Against the H-Block protesters imperialism did not have to resort to its favourite weapon of divide and rule. The H-Block Committees did it for them. By their every word they increased sectarianism, and by so doing scared away an ever more hostile Protestant community.

H-Block could have been taken up in a non-sectarian way by the labour movement. Throughout the hunger strike and indeed throughout the course of the H-Block protest, this newspaper has fought against the sectarian manner in which the issues were posed. Instead we fought for a

of the labour movement in Ireland North and South,

Price 10p From Middle Abbey St. **Dublin 1**

London LPYS Weekend School 16-18 January

After last year's successful Roy Hattersley MP and weekend school the London Tony Saunois on 'Socialism-LPYS have organised anoth- the Way Forward.' And in er school in Folkestone the afternoon, the school is 16-18 January. It will have rounded off by a discussion political discussions and started by Andy Bevan, social activities. National Youth Officer on

On Saturday eight seminars have been arranged on: Women, What is Social- including coach fare, meals ism?, 35-Hour Week, USA, and lodgings is only £15. Chile, South Africa, and Anyone interested should Poland. In the evening contact as soon as possible, Folkestone LPYS have or- Linda Reid, Labour Party ganised a dance with live Headquarters, 150 Walgroups playing.

On Sunday morning there 01-703-0833. will be a debate between

'Agitation and Propaganda.' The cost for the weekend,

worth Road, SE17. Tel.

265-WORKERS **GAN STOP THE SACKINGS**

Pit closures -time to fight

The coal industry in South Wales faces its worst crisis since the massive closures of the 1950s.

Coal output is increasing, with an average of 710,000 tonnes per week, but over 50,000 tonnes is being "put to ground" every week.

Pithead prices for coal have fallen drastically since the recession in the steel industry, causing further financial losses for all but six collieries in the area.

Twelve collieries remain on the National Coal Board's hit list, with a possible 21 facing closure by the mid-1980s. In June last year, the South Wales NUM Executive met the coal board and were informed by Phil Weekes, area director, that there were twelve heavy loss pits in the coalfield and that he wanted to close "any six of these" during the current year.

The NCB singled out Tymawr/Lewis Merthyr for immediate review, declaring in a press statement that they intended to close that pit even before meeting the NUM. The South Wales NUM Executive decided straight away that it would withdraw from all review meetings until close threat to the Tymawr/Lewis Merthyr was withdrawn.

The South Wales NUM have not gone back on that decision. Mass pit-head meetings throughout the coalfield overwhelmingly agreed that in view of the Coal Board's attitude, there would be no further participation in review meetings unless the threat to

By Ian Isaac (Secretary, St Johns Lodge, Maesteg)

up with the National Presi-

Other areas are facing similar threats: in Yorkshire, eight collieries may disappear over the next few years. The promised mutual support and other areas have given similar serves exist.

postpone a confrontation. this country.

Since the campaign by the NUM, the Coal Board have retaliated by cutting back recruitment, creating shortages of supplies with no new machinery bought for a while and pits being asked to manage by salvaging materials, and generally becoming belligerent on a local level. They are attempting to cause unrest and uncertainty, to use up the energy of the men and undermine the main impending fight.

The local lodges continue to combat these tactics, demanding new investment and recruitment and standing firm on the need to prepare for the fight against pit closures.

The NUM have continually pressed the Coal Board for markets for coking coal. Some coal will now be used in where the NUM have long argued South Wales coal can be used. But any South Wales coking coal used in the power station would have to come out of the 75 tonnes the

CEGB have agreed to purchase annually from the NCB. 70% of Britain's coal is now directed to this market. If Llanwern steel plant

closes, it is feared this will mean the end of the Gwent part of the South Wales coalfield. The miners and steelworkers in the plant have already begun a campaign to prevent closure.

It has now been accepted nationally by a special conference, that any pit threatened with closure while workable dent to seek national support. reserves remain will be defended. A big responsibility will lie on the shoulders of any the NCB have indicated that area leadership confronted with an NCB closure notice.

An immediate campaign Yorkshire NUM and the must then be launched, with South Wales NUM have industrial action and an appeal for strike support from all other areas. Such action commitments to oppose pit must be endorsed by the closures where workable re- national leadership, who in turn should lead a fight for Since June, the government survival, for the jobs of mine and the NCB have been workers and the future of forced to 'back off' and indigenous fuel supplies in

Plan for energy

Miners, oil, gas and power workers should form an alliance to campaign to get rid of this reactionary Tory government and establish a socialist plan of production in the energy sector. Such a plan should be co-ordinated, to. directly involve workers in the energy industries through democratic management and control.

The trade unions in these industries have shown their capacities for research, skill and a common sense approach to the needs of their industries: to maintain jobs; the power station market, to aid efficient production and decent living standards. There would be a world of difference between this way of running industry and the present anarchy of competition between energy industries. **By Muriel Browning** (T&GWU, Llanelli)



Welsh workers lobbying Thatcher during her July '80 visit to Swansea-the Tories dismissed them as 'extremists'

steel jobs aren't for sale **Based on an interview** with Velindre workers by Roy Davies

20,000 redundancies Of the announced by the British Steel Corporation, over 1,000 are to be at Velindre tin plate works in Swansea.

The workers have reacted angrily to the lutely shattered by the news. announcements, after They realise most family men being fed the "rosy can look forward to a future future" line for so long. The BSC decision will destroy the lives of hundreds of workers at Velindre. A thousand redundancies will not add very much to the two and a quarter million already unemployed, but the social consequences to these families will be devastating... The Velindre works, they were told, was the jewel of the tin plate industry down here. Twelve to eighteen million pounds has been invested in the No.5 Stand Mill over the past two years, and the mill has been computerised. What of British Steel boss Mr MacGregor's promise, when he first took over, that all viable works would be maintained? Over the past ten years Velindre has always made a profit, but the axe is job? out all the same.

operated with the management and kept the manning levels right down. But now they want more. They will

never be satisfied. This new attack by the BSC is only the start; it can end in the closure of Velindre and a complete carve up of Trostre and Ebbw Vale works. Mac-Gregor has admitted that if plants are not up to standard in six months then they face closure-to hell with the men who work there. It has been a shattering blow, but the men are prepared to fight these measures all the way. There is no alternative. The BSC management have to be forced to back down. It is no good talking about sharing out the redundancies more evenly; the sharing out of misery is a sign of weakness. The workforce is not to blame for the crisis. Action committees must be set up in the tin plate plants, to co-ordinate a campaign to save the jobs:

close Tymawr/Lewis Merthyr colliery was withdrawn; that if the general threat of pit closures was not lifted, consideration would be given to industrial action, preceded by an intensive campaign, and that the issue would be taken

Shopping just before Christmas, I was waiting to be checked out and heard the girl on the next checkout point talking to a friend:

"If I had that Margaret Thatcher, I'd wring her neck. I'd wring her neck for what she is doing to the working people of this country.

"Do you honestly think someone should give a married man with three children the sack just before Christmas?"

"Well," I said, "they are doing it. Anyway who was sacked?"

"My husband," she said. "He worked in a garage near Swansea. He gets no redundancy money, as he only worked there for eight months, and yet a young boy who has been working there for six months has been kept on.

"On top of that, he crashed the car last week and was afraid to tell me. He gave a friend a lift to

work, hit some black ice and skidded into another car. His insurance will only pay third party, as it was an 'act of God'. He won't get a penny from the insurance and no redundancy on top of that.

"My daughter has got chicken pox and my son has broken his arm. It only needs me to go off sick and this will be the end of the line. I don't know what we are going to do.

"What do we do?"

narusmp with a couple of kids will be expected to live on little more than £30 a week.

The workers were abso-

Those visiting the employment centre for the first time will have to fight alongside the other 7,500 unemployed in Swansea for the 100 or so vacancies, with low wages.

Our childrens' jobs

No doubt the carrot of redundancy money will be dangled to soften the blow. But how long would even £4,000 last on the dole? Remember, it is not our jobs we are selling, but our children's too. How do you explain to the unemployed teenager you have just sold his

In Velindre we have co-

* No redundancies-if work is scarce share it out with no loss of pay.

* Sack the managementput BSC under workers' control and management. * A planned socialist economy to really integrate steel and tin plate and guarantee a future for the workforce.

4 MILITANT 9 January 1981

NEWCASTLE-NO AI ROAD TO JOBS Photo: Denis Duran

One year ago, under the headline 'A Job?-Come and get it!' the local Newcastle paper, 'The Journal', announced "an ambitious programme to attract out-of-work Geordies to the country town of Kings Lynn."

Forty workers and their families took Thatcher's advice and left their roots for this 'land of milk and honey.'

But on 9 December the Employment Adviser of Kings Lvnn admitted to 'The Journal' that "if we had owned a crystal ball a year ago, I don't suppose we would have start-

By Chris Edwards (Newcastle Central CLP)

ed this exercise at all."

The 160 skilled vacancies of a year ago have now dwindled to ten.

Seven of the 40 who went society.

south are unemployed and others are on short time; some have taken unskilled jobs, one is working in Holland and others are back on Tyneside. The skilled workers of Tyneside have been turned within a year into milkmen, labourers, unemployed workers, and industrial nomads!

Kings Lynn and West Norfolk Trades Council are now in the process of setting up an Unemployed Workers' Centre—something else that has come from the job-starved North East.

We must make Thatcher realise that the only place that workers are prepared to go to to be rid of the threat of unemployment is to a socialist society, and you don't get there just by moving down the A1, but by strengthening the labour and trade union movement with a programme and policy that gets rid of Thatcher and the bosses'



Youth Campaign Against Unemployment demonstration in Newcastle last autumn

Labour Students look towards Marxism

Resolutions submitted by Labour Clubs for the National Organisation of Labour Students Conference at Easter show both anger against the Tory government and the growth in support for the policies of 'Militant' amongst Labour Students.

Twenty four of the forty four resolutions support the policies of 'Militant' whilst only ten support the political position of the 'Clause 4' group who have a majority on the National Committee.

The anger of Labour Clubs with the work and approach of the NOLS leadership is indicated by the resolution from Durham University Labour Club, traditionally a Club which has supported the 'Clause 4' group. It reads: NOLS leadership has dras-"This Club notes with alarm tically declined. Every Labour

the refusal of the NOLS Club that wants to see a National Committee to campaign amongst NOLS members and the Student Movement for support for the NEC demonstration against unemployment on November 29th 1980. A simple 'call for support' is scandalously insufficient. The model of the LPYS in producing leaflets and raising active support for the demonstration should be noted.

Conference Standing Orders Committee, only one of the four 'Clause 4' supporters turned up. That meeting, and the resolutions submitted to the Conference show that the political support for the

What they don't tell you

change in the NOLS leadership and a leadership committed to Marxist policies and an active NOLS elected at the next Conference at Easter must ensure that their Club is fully represented at the Conference, and comply with all the affiliation procedures.

The closing date for new Clubs to affiliate is January 16th. For existing Clubs to affiliate, and delegation forms to be sent in, the closing date At the meeting of the is February 9th.

> **By Alan Watson** [NOLS NC] and **Rob Hughes** [NOLS **Standing Orders Committee**]

FASCISTS ATTACK EK SELLERS

more than half For a century Chapel Market in Islington has been a sales pitch for left wing paper sellers.

Since 1978 the National Front have been trying to seize the pitch and cn nine separate occasions they have resorted to physical violence.

On the morning of Satur-day 13 December five members of the Socialist Workers Front waded in with boots Party including a young girl, and fists, one SWPer was must themselves mobilise to and a supporter of the kicked in the testicles, anoth- defend their paper sellers, not 'Militant', were selling their er was battered about the only at Chapel Market, but at papers when a dozen National head, and the girl was all sales pitches. We cannot Front supporters, one of them knocked to the ground. The allow supporters of 'Militant' armed with a bicycle chain, 'Militant' supporter was viol- or any other left wing paper came across the road and ently set upon by three NF sellers to be brutally beaten

lined up in front of them. thugs who punched and up by the fascists, for once After a few moments kicked him repeatedly, and fascist violence begins it abusing them the National stole his papers. Somehow the grows rapidly if unchecked.



fascists pose. Socialists everywhere must raise and discuss the issue of fascism in every branch of the labour and trade union move-

ment, to warn and mobilise the movement against this pernicious evil. And 'Militant' supporters

The fact of there being almost two and a quarter million persons 'on the dole,' has a far more serious consequence than just lack of jobs. Social problems faced by the unemployed and their families are all too often

agencies that can help to desperately need is a crime relieve these problems. To against humanity. deliberately create unemployment is in itself horrific and then to so callously take away

By Terry Thomas (T&GWU Shop Steward



knocking down two of the NF thugs and landing a few right handers on some of the others. It was a sickening and

left wingers fought back.

terrifying display of violence by the National Front, out to physically injure and terrorise left wing paper sellers, and it indicates the threat that

little realised or ignored.

Dr Harvey Brenner, an American sociologist reported recently that 'homicides and suicide tend to rise within a year of increased unemployment rates.' Granada Television's World in Action reported the suicides of three workers, whose deaths could be directly attributed to recent redundancies.

The 1979 report of the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children told of the significant increase of violence against children in the homes of unemployed people; and the South Wales Council on Alcoholism has shown a large increase in cases particularly since the closure of many pits and the cutbacks in the steelworks.

Yet the present government propose to make drastic cuts on the very hospitals and

the support that the unemployed and their families so

and Gwent College of Higher Education)



about the dole

The interest in the ideas of contributions there were ur-Marxism continues to grow. gent demands for the setting Recently a number of Labour up of Young Socialists bran-Parties in the Cumbria area ches and for return visits. In invited speakers from the Barrow for example indivi-'Militant'. A week's tour was dual members have decided organised which took in the to organise a day school early major towns of the area. this year. The general res-Amongst the meetings held ponse is indicated by the sale were those of Barrow Con- of 110 papers, £20 worth of stituency Labour Party, the pamphlets and a similar women's section at North amount raised for the fighting Walney in Barrow, Kendal fund. Labour party and a readers' meeting in Carlisle.

In all of these areas we received an enthusiastic response. On the basis of our

By Ed Waugh, **Denis Doran** and Dave Cotterill



Part of National Front march in S London last year

Another bout of infighting The National Front recamongst the fascists has ently lost the right to use years ago the Front proudly resulted in one group of Excalibur House as a fascists smashing up the headquarters on "plannheadquarters to prevent a ing grounds." rival group from having it.

The building was left in the

hands of "NF Properties Ltd" which is run by former National Front member, Paul Kavanagh. Kavanagh was expelled during the latest struggle for power amongst the National Front. So he quickly got a court order to evict the National Front political party.

They responded in their usual calm, rational manner -they smashed the place up breaking windows and defacing walls. When they moved into Excalibur House three proclaimed that they had finally arrived as a major force. Now though their HQ is reported to be "a property in Lambeth.'



Earth goes round sun-official! Yes, Pope John Paul II has just called for a formal reversal of the Church's verdict on Galileo. In 1633 Galileo was condemned by the Inquisition and placed under house arrest for propounding the theory that the earth moves around the sun. The Vatican was the centre of the world and the world the centre of the cosmos. Galileo, of course, has been dead for 300 years. But it's good to see the Church keeping up with important developments in science.

Following the pioneering efforts by Ballymena Council in trying to take science back 200 years by banning the teaching of Darwin's theory of evolution in schools, many schools in the southern states of the USA are now required to allocate equal time to teaching children about the creation as about evolution.

Judge Braswell Dean, speaking in Atlanta, Georgia, said that humanistic values were the cause of rising crime rates, abortion, pornography and pollution. Dr Henry Morris, Director of the "Institute for Creation Research", seeks to "reverse the dangerous drift of our country and its educational system into humanism, socialism, amoralism and atheism." To these reactionary supporters of big business in the southern states, it is as immoral to teach the theory of evolution in schools as it is to join a trade union and organise a fight for decent wages and conditions. What do these people say about the "morality" of the petrol-bomb attacks on trade union activists, the deaths of textile mill workers from lung cancer induced by breathing cotton dust, or the violent intimidation of black people?

"Trade unions and all employees should [forego] political interests and get on with the job of making the enterprise for which they work successful." The ranting of a would-be Führer, intent on smashing the labour movement? Not quite. This recipe for the survival of British industry comes from Mr Leslie Tolley, CBE, chairman of Renold Ltd and past chairman of the British Institute of Management. Bosses would be delighted if workers stopped fighting for a better life. If "political interests" were left safely in the bosses' hands, what a paradise it would be for them. Of course, they won't drop their "political interests"—they will continue to defend the capitalist system. But what if the working class steps up the political fight against big business? Will Mr Tolley go one step further and demand the destruction of our democratic rights altogether?

1905 THE FIRST SOVIETS By Derek Macmillan

"The march to the palace was a peaceful one, without songs, banners or speeches. People wore their Sunday clothes. In some parts of the city they carried icons and church banners.

"Everywhere the petitioners encountered troops. They begged to be allowed to pass. They wept, they tried to go around the barrier, they tried to break through it. The soldiers fired all day long.

'The dead were counted in hundreds, the wounded in the thousands. An exact count was impossible since the police carted away and secretly buried the bodies of the dead at night.'

This is how Leon Trotsky, the chairman of the St Petersburgh Soviet, described the horrific events of Bloody Sunday 1905. The twentieth century has produced plenty of atrocities against the working class since then, but the events of 1905 have plenty of lessons for today.

Marxists were alone in recognising the significance of these events. No more than two days before Bloody Sunday, Peter Struve-a Russian Roy Jenkins-had published an article stating that, "There is not yet such a thing as a revolutionary people in Russia.'

Struve was on a par with those academic "Marxists" who, accepting capitalism's post-war boom as an irreversible "accomplished fact", ruled out any revolutionary movement of the working class in Europe-on the eve of the French general strike of 1968!

Bloody Sunday had a decisive impact on the most advanced sections of the Russian working class. They turned their backs on such liberal methods as peaceful petitions and instead built their own organisation—the "Soviet" (a Russian word meaning "committee)-and used their own distinctive methods of struggle.



This month sees the anniversary of the start of the 1905 Russian Revolution. Despite final defeat, workers created new organisations, Soviets, which twelve years later helped bring about the downfall of the Tsar. Above, 1918 Soviet. Right, Trotsky shortly before becoming head of the St Petersburg Soviet in 1905.

by a priest—Father George Gapon. This fact led many liberals to believe that the events were a result of his "personality". They failed to notice the small detail that he had around him several thousand political conscious workers who, as Trotsky explained, "formed an iron ring around him, a ring from which he could not have broken loose even if he had wanted to."

This should be a lesson to those short-sighted "socialists" who have characterised the movement in Poland as "Catholic" and "counter-revolutionary" on the basis of Lech Walesa's interviews with foreign pressmen. The Russian liberals at least had the excuse that they were liberals and couldn't be expected to understand the class struggle!

The events of 1905 proved beyond the shadow of a doubt vided an inspiration to the that the capitalist class in international workers' movebackward countries are in-. ment, reflected in the form-



gressive role and the revolu- in Germany in 1919 and the tion must become "permanent" and place the working class in power. This thesis was dramatically vindicated in 1917.

Perhaps the most important gain of 1905 was the formation of the "Soviet". Even today there are sociologists who prate about the working class being "unable to organise." The Soviet gives the lie to that assertion.

The Russian Soviets pro-The demonstration was led capable of playing any pro- ation of "workers' councils"

"Councils of Action" formed by British workers during the general strike of 1926.

It is important that we should remember the men, women and children who were cruelly murdered on Bloody Sunday. Socialists have no country-they were our brothers and sisters because they fell in the cause we are still fighting for today.

We do not remember them with maudlin sentimentality but with pride. We don't mourn, we organise.



"On the stones" is a

By Chris Edwards

mation.

have written asking for infor- the dole, demonstrations etc. The Newcastle Centre for example obtained 3,000 signatures demanding free bus passes for the unemployed, with free access to council-run sports and social facilities. Two cinemas have just agreed special rates for the unemployed during the day. In many towns and cities unemployed centres already exist, but they are usually 'drop-in Centres'' where you can get tea and sympathy, a game of darts and little more. Newcastle gives the unemployed the opportunity to organise themselves, not just to stand alone but to stand shoulder to shoulder with the thirteen million members of the trade union movement in a struggle to bring down this reactionary government.

When you school students return to school this week, spare a thought for the poor chaps over at Eton. Recently the Sunday Times magazine, in its 'A Life in the Day' series, concentrated on one Duncan Beardsley, who explained just how beastly life is at the bastion of the British Empire. He seemed a bit put out with all the discipline there, having to get up and go to bed at certain times and so on. Food is frightful, although he pointed out how you can buy food from a 'van from Harrods' which calls once a week. However, his miserable sufferings had taken a turn for the better now he had moved into his very own house, which isn't bad going at the age of 18. But then owning homes runs in the family-they have homes in Derby and Portugal. No doubt this pampered specimen will go on to either be an executive, MP, Judge, etc, having gotten himself a decent education, hoarded by the ruling class at Eton for their own exclusive use, and also through the contacts he has made with other bourgeois brats during his initiation into the ruling class of our society.

unique pamphlet. It has been produced by the Newcastle Trades Council Centre for the Unemployed, but it has been written by the unemployed themselves. Hours of conversations

were taped, edited and put together. It describes in great detail the problems that face the unemployed in the North East.

"On the Stones" is not, however, a story of despair. Shining through the horrors of unemployment, it shows the courage of the unemployed, their determination to fight back. It charts the political awakening of the unemployed.

A clear message emerges. The unemployed are not prepared to be used as the (Newcastle Unemployed Centre, personal cap.)

scabs and scapegoats of a society in crisis.

The pamphlet outlines why the unemployed need to link up their struggle to that of other trade unionists, and why they need the backing of the organised trade union movement if they are going to win.

This is just one of the ideas pioneered by the Centre and the Unemployed Workers' Union which has been set up operating from the Centre.

Now similar Centres are being set up all over the North East: Spennymoor, Darlington, Stockton. Outside the North Centres are being established in Kings Lynn and Liverpool.

Thirty-one other trades councils are discussing the idea, and many organisations

The Labour Party Conference backed a call for the setting up of political centres for the unemployed. So too has the TUC General Council.

However, their paper support needs to be turned into concrete support. We need the unemployed to become an integral art of the labour and trade union movement.

The main big general unions should open up their membership to the unemployed, offering them reduced rates, and the backing of their full-time officials and resources, so that unemployed branches can be set up.

Active trade union members still in work should help to integrate these people into the union so that the unemployed don't become an isolated section of the union. In Newcastle positive activity is the key to winning the unemployed; campaigns at

"On the Stones" is available price 50p plus postage from: Trades Council Centre for the Unemployed, Queens Street, Newcastle 1 (Tel 0632 23050).

6 MILITANT 9 January 1981



Boom, slump, barbarism, war?

LIVERPOOL GRAPHICAL SOCIETY



THE TORIES' POLICIES LED TO 800,000 JOBS BEING LOST IN 1980-**LET'S MAKE THEM REDUNDANT IN 1981**

Royton & Wardle Labour Party Women's section Thatcher promised to help the family -whose family?

WOKINGHAM LPYS send New Year greetings to all readers of 'Militant'

PADDINGTON LPYS Workers' unity to oppose repression in **Northern Ireland**

"Catholic Sinn Feiners may learn that love of freedom beats strongly in the hearts of Protestant peasants and workmen, who, because they have approached it from a different historical standpoint, regard the Nationalist conception with suspicion or even hostility." James Connolly

Cathcart LPYS wish comrades and supporters of 'Militant' all the best for the New Year

Make the workers and turkeys happy this year **Stuff the Tories! Tower Hamlets LPYS**

Socialist New Year greetings from the Labour Party in Canvey Island to all Party members

New Year Greetings from Wakefield LPYS Socialist policies for Labour End mass unemployment **Fight the Cuts** No nuclear weapons **Smash capitalism Fight for socialism**

ELLESMERE PORT LPYS send fraternal New Year greetings

Swansea LPYS wishes all comrades

Our new year resolutionto step up the fight for socialism Make it yours Whitehawk Branch Labour Party Brighton



Socialist greetings for the New Year from all comrades at WAVERTREE CLP Support 30% PLP. 30% CLP. 40% unions resolution at the January conference

Socialist greetings for the New Year from all comrades at Valley Ward Labour Party Peace, Jobs, Socialism

Socialist policies now! **Basildon LPYS**

to all comrades in the labour movement

a 'Militant' new year Forward to socialism!

NEW YEAR SOCIALIST GREETINGS FOR 1981 FROM

John Burtenshaw Bob Cheeseman

Anna Bugler

Bill Bugler

Tony Dines

Tim Gibbs

Alan Gray

Paul Holder

Frieda Fenby

Dennis Hosgood Pauline Hosgood Garry Hosgood Norman Knight Mick Lane Alan Lavier John Letissier Christine May Jayne McEwan

Jim McEwan Dolly McGurk Jim Moore Stan Nattrass Graham Norgett Graham Padbury Dennis Sandford Mark Still **Tony Squires**

Wendy Squires Jonathan Tapsell Eric Thresher Gerry Tomlinson Adam Turff Sally Warren Paul Wilmott **Members of Arundel** CLP

ONLY THE UNITED LABOUR & TRADE UNION MOVEMENT PLEDGED TO SOCIALIST POLICIES WILL SMASH THE TORIES

Not even the capitalists themselves believe that they have had a very good year! Their statements confirm the predictions made by the Marxists, that 1980 would mark the beginning of one of the most turbulent decades in the whole of human history.

Writing in the 'Wall

Street Journal' on the threshold of 1980, Irving Kristol, a spokesman for American capitalism, wrote: "This episode [the taking of American hostages in November 1979] is as it were a shocking prologue to an equally tense drama that stands poised to unfold in the decade ahead. It promises to be an absolutely ghastly period." [November 1979]

Two months later into the year, the 'Sunday Times' (17 February) stated: "The world economy is breaking down." And, as the year drew to its close, Robert Beckman, writing in 'The Times' (9 October) commented: "European economies are out of control. Recession is ravaging Western Europe. But, worst of all, at the same time inflation rampages ahead. We live in a period of profound turbulance, disillusionment-a time where even those in power feel powerless.

Not one sector of the world has been free from crisis or the beginning of crisis. The advanced capitalist world has been ravaged by the worst recession since the end of the second world war.

Britain is worse effected than in 1929-31. Then manufacturing production dropped by 11%. Yet in 1980-81 it is expected to drop by more than 14%.

Britain's mass unemployment is paralleled throughout the capitalist world. There are more than 24 million unemployed in the OECD area alone—that is in the advanced capitalist countries. Turkey has stopped supplying figures, such is the scale of mass unemployment in that country!

In the citadel of world capitalism, the USA, more than 8 million are out on the

the 1930s and the Republic."

In 1980 the capitalists as a whole have embraced the policies of deflation. According to Robert Beckman of 'The Times': "We see no evidence that Keynesian economics are capable of preventing devastation." The reversal to the orthodox capitalist measures of the past, particularly those used in the 19th century and the 1930s, has reinforced the world economic recession.

The capitalists have attempted through these measures to cut the living standards of the working class, thereby boosting profitability and, at the same time, have attempted to eliminate the syphillis of inflation from the system. However, they have got the worst of both worlds. Unlike the 1930s, they have at one and the same time deflation and also inflation.

Even those in power feel powerless

The economic recession has led, through increased competition between the monopolies both on the national and world market, to the rate of increase in prices coming down. But no capitalist economist seriously expects that inflation can be completely eradicated from the system.

At the same time, a discussion has raged amongst the strategists of capital internationally as to why the massive rise in unemployment has not provoked social upheaval, "even civil war." Some calculate that the working class have been cowed by the recession and are incapable of fighting back. They point to a drop in the number of strikes in Britain for instance.

But the working class does not easily tolerate the present worsening of their conditions. The employed workers are

By Peter Taaffe

A young Sandanista during the fight against Nicaragua's Samosa dictatorship



stones. In Germany it is seeing the seemingly neveralmost a million. In France ending rise in unemployment the official figure for unemand, fearing that they could ployment is one million six be next, are held back from hundred thousand.

In Southern Europe a picture of absolute catastrophe is revealed in the unemployment figures. In Spain, for instance, 1,494,000 are unemployed out of a workforce of just over 12 million, which is 11.6% of the total labour force. Moreover, behind these bare statistics is a picture of utter deprivation and misery for working people.

In Andalusia, for instance, as the 'Observer' magazine recently demonstrated, real hunger exists in the villages. One labourer declared to the Observer's correspondent: "We're not prepared any longer to die of hunger. We'd rather die fighting...I haven't known anything as bad since

But once unemployment stops rising, and particularly if there is another upswing, with increased profits for the capitalists in 1981 or 1982, then a huge movement of the working class for "their share" will be unleashed.

1980 has demonstrated the enormous simmering discontent within the ranks of the working class.

The conditions have been created for social revolution in a number of countries in Western Europe, particularly in Southern Europe. But if revolution is the locomotive of history as Marx pointed out, then faulty leadership is an

CONTINUED

nn a



Sri Lanka 1980: A nightmare of poverty and hunger

CONTINUED FROM 7

enormous brake.

The last year has underlined the fact that the leaders of the mass organisations of the working class of Western Europe are incapable of understanding the changed character of the period we are passing through.

Capitalism in general is no longer capable of taking society forward. It is demanding-to a greater or lesser extent, depending upon the stage of development of different countries-"sacrifices" from the masses as a pre-condition of the continuation of the system.

At the same time, the colossal power of the working class which has been built up over the post war period is demonstrated again and again. Yet the leaders of the mass organisations are precisely afraid of the power which stands behind them.

Developments in Italy demonstrate this point clearly. Marxism has maintained that for more than ten years Italy has been in the grip of a "pre-revolutionary" crisis. The strategists of capital have now confirmed that this is the state of affairs in Italy.

A protracted pre-revolutionary crisis in Italy

ghout the past year, evidence piles up which further discredits Italian capitalism and its direct political representatives, the Christian Democrats. The latest scandal resulting from the earthquake in Southern Italy has aroused widespread indignation against the Christian Democrats. The corruption, nepotism and the rottenness which permeates the Christian Democrats and the state machine has resulted in enormous delays in helping the earthquake victims.

Moreover, it is not the first time this has happened. The victims of former natural calamities are still waiting for the aid and help promised by the Christian Democrats and the state. Even an issue like this, which lays bare the rotten essence of capitalism and its parties, could have resulted in the beginning of a social revolution in Italy.

On the other side, is the colossal power of the Italian working class and its organisations. Again in 1980 this has been underlined in a series of movements of the Italian working class involving actions of a general strike character throughout the year.

However, this power of the Italian workers has been frittered away again and again by their leaders, particularly the Communist Party leaders.

This

leave its mark. During the strike, 40,000 marched in favour "of a return to work." The Italian Communist Party leaders were shown that the working class is not a tap to be turned on and off at their whim.

The newly developed confidence of the Italian capitalists, however, is entirely misplaced. Their belief that the Italian working class have become reconciled to the increasingly worsening situation will be shattered in the coming period.

In the aftermath of the earthquake, the Italian CP came out in favour-or at least hinted at-a left alternative- a Socialist Party/Communist Party government, as an alternative to the discredited Christian Democrats. This appeared to represent a departure from the policies consistently pursued of the "historic compromise," that is, a government including the workers' parties and the Christian Democrats.

A nightmare crisis for the underdeveloped world

However, it is clear the Italian Communist Party leaders are not seriously agitating or preparing their ranks for such an alternative. It is seen merely as a means of frightening the Christian Democrats into allowing the CP leaders into the government at a certain stage.

One thing is certain

to indict the system have been ation of the terrifying debt furnished by the spokesmen of world capitalism themselves in the form of the Brandt commission.

The figures which they give are enough to numb the mind. There are eight hundred million destitute in this area, 17 million children die below the age of five, while thirty to forty million are affected by blindness. At least 80% of the population is illiterate.

At the same time, the yearly total world expenditure on arms at the time the report was published, was 450 thousand million dollars. Eighty million scientists, who could be employed to free mankind from these devastating conditions, are involved in the production of useless weapons of destruction.

One jet fighter would be sufficient to build 40,000 village pharmacies.

And yet there is no possibility, despite the ap-peals of the Brandt Commission, of this situation being fundamentally changed on the basis of cpaitalism.

Aid from the capitalist West to these areas is similar to a thimble being used to try and bale out the ocean. The miserable target of 0.7% of the rich countries' income going in aid to the backward countries has no hope of being realised this year, or for this decade. At the moment, no more than 0.3% is given as aid. Moreover, most aid goes to service the debt of these countries owed the advanced capitalist world itself. Ths debt now stands at a total of 20% of the combined **Turmoil** in the gross national products of these countries. At the beginning of 1980, the backward countries owed the advanced capitalist world a total of 384,000 million dollars. A quarter of this total is owed to the privately owned banks in the capitalist West. The nightmare prospect that these countries, or at least some of them, could default on their debts to the West haunt the spokesmen of capitalism. Thus, Robert Beckman has written in 'The Times': "The most frightening feature of the situation is that our global financial system is so unstable that such a default could occur at any time, without the slightest warning from one of several sources. We have the combin-

structure of the third world countries, the illiquidity of the corporate sector throughout Western Europe, and the consumer debt mountain which has been growing inexorably for decades."

This spokesman of capitalism does not discount a crash similar to 1929 at a certain stage. This is unlikely in the next period.

It is most likely that the present slump will give way to an upswing in 1981/2, but one that will be based on far shakier foundations than in the past. This moreover, would then give way to another recession, or small slump in the middle of the decade, of a far deeper and of a more protracted character than the one we have just passed through.

In other words, capitalism has now left behind the period of enormous economic upswing of the 1950s, 1960s and the early 1970s. We are now in a period of booms and slumps, of instability economically which will in turn produce enormous turmoil socially throughout the world.

Developments in the backward countries anticipate the upheavals that are coming the capitalist west. Throughout the last 30 years, Africa, Asia and Latin America have been faced with the greatest upheavals in the whole of its history. And yet this has taken place in a period of world capitalist upswing, in the most favourable period for these countries.

Caribbean and

Central America

revolution. But as the experience of Chile demonstrated, this will always be paid for with counter-revolution.

Backed by the CIA, buttressed by a terrorism campaign against Peoples National Party militants, and with the support of the press the right-wing, pro-capitalist Jamaican Labour Party led by Seaga has just been returned back to power. They have a massive parliamentary majority, but not an enormous lead in the popular vote over the PNP.

However, as events will demonstrate, there is no way forward on the basis of capitalism in Jamaica. Indeed the whole of the Caribbean and Central America has been in turmoil for the past year. The movement of the masses has been met by the bullets and jackboots of the military dictatorships which dominate Central America.

1980 saw the complete defeat of the Somossa dictatorship in Nicaragua. Moreover it appears increasingly as if the Sandinista regime must tread the same path as Castro before. The devastated Nicaraguan economy and society will not be rescued by ailing landlordism and capitalism, nor by the hand-outs of American imperialism.

It is therefore likely that it will move in the direction of establishing a deformed workers' state. It appears that only the lack of enthusiasm for such a development on the part of Castro and the Russian bureaucracy has prevented such a movement up to now.

Writing in the journal Republica,' the former President of the Senate says:

"Italy is in a dangerous slalom towards an obscure destination riding on skis of terrorism and corruption. It is a phase which would normally be described as 'pre-revolutionary'." Such a protracted pre-

revolutionary period was never envisaged by the great teachers of Marxism. By its very nature a pre-revolutionary situation leads either to a revolution or a counterrevolution in a very short time.

The reason why such developments have dragged on in Italy is, on the one side, because of the extreme crisis and discrediting of the Italian capitalists. Each month, indeed, almost every day thro-

developments within Italy's major firm, Fiat. In the past the CP leaders opposed the demand for the nationalisation of Fiat and have supported management's call for "sacrifices" in an attempt to rescue the firm.

But in September Fiat proposed to reduce the labour force by at least 15,000. The pressure of the workers forced the Italian Communist Party leaders and the unions under their control into opposition. This resulted in a month-long strike, during which Berlinguer, the leader of the Italian CP, even hinted to the workers that should they occupy the factories, they would receive the support of the CP leaders!

However, the years during which the CP played the role of fire hose has not failed to

drawn-out agonies of Italy, of mass unemployment, the terrible poverty of the big cities, and the endemic terrorism, typified by the fascist crime in Bologna where 80 people at least were murdered, will worsen unless the working class transform society.

It is within the ranks of the workers' parties, the Socialist Party and Italian CP, that such a force will emerge.

If 1980 has been a bad year for the advanced capitalist world it has been a nightmare for the "under-developed" world.

In Africa, Asia and Latin America, where the majority of mankind is to be found, landlordism and capitalism has demonstrated its utter incapacity to satisfy even the most elementary demands of the masses. All the figures

The present world economic crisis has had a devastating effect on the under-developed world. This is perhaps best typified by the developments within Jamaica. The left wing Manley government which swept to power in two elections on the basis of massive popular backing, was incapable of satisfying the demands of the Jamaican masses on the basis of capitalism. The Manley government, as with all reformists, attempted to carry through a quarter of a

Castro, as we have pointed out before, is attempting to come to a diplomatic agreement with American imperialism, even with the Reagan administration. If this means the delay of the revolution in Latin America and all that means for the peoples of this area, then-reasons the Cuban bureaucracy-so be it. However, the virus is con-

tagious. Nicaragua seems to be lost to capitalism and could be followed by El Salvador. Already over 30,000 workers and peasants have been massacred by the right wing military dictatorship in El Salvador.

However, if the El Salvador military junta is threatened it is now clear that the new Reagan administration in America, in contradistinction to previous presidents follow-

80 ng opening **lecade** of utionary losions



Workers in Warsaw waiting to join the newly formed independent trade union, Solidarity

ing the Vietnam war, is now prepared to intervene, even militarily in Central and Latin America.

The American capitalists obviously calculate that the prevailing political mood in America will allow them the possibility of even direct military intervention where this is required. They already have a "task force" of 100,000 ready to intervene in the Caribbean and in Latin America. However, if Reagan should be tempted to move down this road, then will learn the lessons painfully acquired by Johnson, Nixon and other presidents who received a bloody nose in Vietnam.

It is possible, through a "police action," temporarily to de-rail a revolution. However, it is not possible to hold a whole people in chains. Large-scale military intervention will eventually have the same political and economical repercussions on America as the intervention in Vietnam.

Reagan, another one-term president

Latin America is, it is true, a decisive area as far as American imperialism is concerned. Most of its imported raw materials comes from Latin America. It therefore will be determined to crush revolution in blood where this is possible.

However, the events in Central America are a mere election, 54.3% of the total electorate turned out, while in 1980 it dropped to 52%. This was despite the fact that 10 million 18-21 year olds were voting for the first time.

Moreover, even the capitalist experts hold out little hope for Reagan being able to measure up to his lofty promises. The 'Economist' writes: "The odds are that he will be judged by 1984 to have failed-such are the odds against America re-discovering itself and its place in the world." (14 November) It goes on to speak of "another one-term failure."

Thus, even these spokesmen of capitalism have recognised the inherent instability which besets even the strongest capitalist power. As with Britain which is now in the pattern of no more than one-term governments, America is faced with one-term presidents. The disillusionment with Carter and with Reagan will lay the ground for the development of a mass Labour Party in America in the course of the next decade. The national conference of socialists in the United States held in early December 1980 is a pointer to the way events will develop in the USA. More than two thousand five hundred trade unionists gathered at what the New York 'Herald Tribune' called: "One of the largest socialist gatherings in the United States in decades," to hear Tony Benn and other leaders of the European

labour movement. Calls were made for the trade unions to take the initiative in forming a mass

workers who were fooled into voting for him at the last election.

The end of the "Affluent Society"

A similar process has developed in Britain, amongst workers who were tricked into voting for Thatcher eighteen months ago. The development of a mass Labour Party in America would mark an enormous step forward both for the American and the international working class. Starting off as a Labour Party with a reformist programme, it could develop very rapidly towards a socialist and a Marxist position. The American workers have great traditions of struggle, and can develop with lightning speed, as the events which led to the creation of the CIO/AFL in the 1930s demonstrated.

The more far-sighted representatives of capitalism have understood that the period of the last thirty years of economic upswing and rising living standards have disappeared for ever.

This is what Irving Kristol wrote in the 'Wall Street Journal': "The cast of mind shaped in the 1960s-one which perceived the United States as a 'affluent society' whose major challenges were achieving a better 'quality of life' and 'fairer' (i.e. more equal) distribution of entitlements to wealth, income and

is a crucial precondition for the survival of any modern democracy, the American included.

"For over two thousand years, the consensus amongst political philosophers was that democracy, the rule of the majority, was an appar-ently unstable and therefore undesirable form of government. The reason that they came to this conclusion was not because they were snobs or disliked the ordinary people, because common people were then inferior to the people today. It was because they believed on the basis of experience (in the ancient Greek city states especially) that in a democracy, the majority, being poor, would always use its power to expropriate the wealth of the more affluent minority and that this would lead (as it always had) to economic chaos, followed by political chaos, followed by the restoration of order by a dictator."

Stalinist bureaucracy, now an absolute fetter

In other words, argues our worthy Wall Street commentator, the inability of American capitalism to deliver the goods is bound to lead to enormous discontent by the majority (being poor), who will seek to use their power to expropriate the capitalists. Kristol hints tht the answer to this danger is the establishment of military police dictatorships!

American foreign policy, in which power and the readiness to use it boldly, will play a far more central role than has ever been the case in our history.'

In other words, the naked use of American military power at home and abroad is likely to be the policy of the capitalists in this period of upheaval and turbulence.

In the Stalinist world as well, we are likely to see tremendous upheavals as the developments in Poland show. The Stalinist bureaucracy, with the help of the Solidarity leaders, the dissidents and the Catholic church, seem to have been enabled to temporarily hold the movement in check. However, the event sin Poland are merely an anticipation of colossal upheavals which loom in Russia itself.

Karl Marx pointed out that the viability of a system was ultimately dependent on its ability to develop the productive forces. In the past, Stalinism-that is, one-party totalitarian dictatorship based upon the planned economy -was able at enormous overheads, two or three times the cost of capitalism, to develop Eastern Europe and Russia.

In the 1950s, Russia and Eastern Europe enjoyed growth rates averaging 10%. In the 1960s it slowed down to 6%. But in the 1970s the crisis of Stalinism was reflected in a complete slow down in the development of the economies.

Thus even in the 1970s,

ism in the West have begun to reappear in these societiesalcoholism, drug abuse, vandalism, etc.

Widespread disenchantment and disillusionment with the rule of the bureaucracy pervades the whole society.

Thus in all the three different sectors of the world, in the advanced capitalist world, in the Stalinist states and in the under-developed world, crises are developing simultaneously. The conditions have therefore been created for a world movement of the working class which will dwarf even the movements of 1848 and the events which followed the 1917 Russian revolution.

1980 has been a fitting year to open a decade which will be marked both by revolutionary explosions in the different areas of the world and also by attempts on the part of the capitalists to resort to counter-revolution in order to crush these movements.

Through victories and defeats the working class will find their way to the ideas of Marxism, which is the only weapon capable of ending the nightmare of capitalism and Stalinism and ushering in the rational organisation of the planet on a socialist basis.



dress rehearsal for the convulsions throughout the continent in the next decade. It is possible perhaps, temporarily, to hold in check movements in small countries such as El Salvador. But such a strategy will be shattered once the Chilean, Argentinian and Brazilian workers throw off the shackles of the military dictatorships in their countries.

Reagan obviously calculates that his "massive mandate" will be sufficient insurance against domestic opposition to these policies. However, the results of the presidential election show conclusively that wide-spread disillusionment and even cynicism affects the bigger section, perhaps even a majority, of the American population. In the 1976 presidential

labour party. The absence of many leading trade unionists from the conference provoked William Winpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists, to comment, "We can only advise our missing friends: either lead or follow, but get the hell out of the way.'

It is clear that the actions at home and abroad by the Reagan administration will create a favourable soil upon which an American Labour Party will grow. While it is possible that Reagan will not go as far as Thatcher, nevertheless, a brand of Thatcherism, in the form of cuts in state expenditure and attempts to hold down living standards, will be attempted by his administration. This can lead to rapid disillusionment amongst precisely those

opportunity was quite unfit to cope with the bleaker realities of the 1970s and we were very slow getting on a new learning curve."

At the same time, Kristol goes on to argue that calling for "sacrifices" from American workers is not likely to go down too well:

"There is far too much easy and glib talk these days about the need for Americans to tighten their belts, accept a reduction in living standards, even resign themselves to an economic philosophy of no growth. It is dangerous and irresponsible talk. Yes of course the American democracy can cope with a temporary cessation of economic growth, as it has done in war time. But only if it is perceived to be temporary. But few seem to realise that a prospect of economic growth

This has been the solution embraced by the landlords and capitalists backed by imperialism, in the colonial and the semi-colonial world. The advanced capitalist world

is likely to face problems on a similar scale in the next decade. Therefore the capitalists are preparing for civil war against the working class and the labour movement.

In a brutal fashion, Kristol states, that in a new situation, "SALT (that is, Strategic Arms Limitation Talks) between the super powers becomes irrelevant. The United Nations becomes irrelevant. Foreign aid becomes irrelevant. Sermons on human rights become irrelevant. What will be relevant is an

capitalist Japan, growing at 10% and more, exceeded the growth rate of Russia last year had dropped to about 3%. Under the new five year

plan, industrial production is likely to grow at no more than 2% or 3% a year. In Poland the economy actually dropped by 2% in 1979.

This slow down in the evelopment of the economy is not due to the contradictions which beset capitalism in the West, but from the complete snarling up of production because of bureaucratic mismanagement and waste.

Russian society. All the sicknesses which afflicted capital-

The bureaucracy, from being a relative fetter on the development of production in the past, has now become an absolute impediment to the further development of





The national stadium in Santiago-used to hold political prisoners after the military junta seized power. British capitalists regard Chile as a good place to invest

British bosses boost dictatorship

The Thatcher government is trying to implement the same monetarist economic policies in Britain which have been applied in Chile.

No, these sentiments did not come from a 'left-wing extremist', but from Cecil Parkinson, Thatcher's Minister of Trade.

Former businessman Parkinson explained in an interview with the Chilean newspaper 'El Mercurio', 2 November, that Chile's economic experience "is very similar to that which we are trying to develop here in Great Britain.

"We, for example, don't believe in high tariff barriers and we are trying to reduce them. We are trying to reduce public spending, the state bureaucracy and taxes on profits. We are removing controls and restrictions on prices and salaries and exchange controls and regulations restricting foreign investment.

"We are looking for ways to break up state monopolies. We have already sold some to policy and regulate its implethe private sector, and have

laws



petition. As you can see, the situation is similar to that which was created by Chilean economic policy. Our fundamental belief is that it is necessary to re-establish the role of the private sector and reduce that of the public sector."

There is of course the 'slight' difference that in Chile they had to ruthlessly crush the organisations of the labour movement in order to implement their policy. But for Parkinson this is of only minor account.

"Our experience has been in a democratic context and that of Chile has taken place under an authoritarian regime. In the case of Chile it was possible to impose a mentation, but this isn't

we have to work with the consent of the majority so we have to proceed with more caution and convince people of the benefits of our policies."

This contempt for the labour movement is in for a rude awakening. The democratic rights won by ordinary working people over centuries stand in the way of the Tories. The right to organise, to strike and vote were hard-won rights.

It is now more than ever vital that the links of the international labour movement are strengthened. Big business certainly sees how to strengthen its class. In his interview, Parkinson explained:

'A good place to invest capital'

"In the year and a half of the Conservative government led by Margaret Thatcher we have reduced tariffs against Chile, renewed credit cover, lifted embargoes in some areas and re-established diplomatic relations. We hope that the future will bring

between us. My own visit to Chile two months ago is a demonstration of the interest we have in increasing our bilateral trade.

"The first thing is to re-establish trade. We have calculated that we lost exports to Chile worth between £70m and £80m a year when we mixed politics with commerce. Now both trade and investment are increasing. There are British firms which are increasing their operations in Chile such as the Tobacco Company and the cement company, Blue Circle, and this trend should continue.

"I can now say that the majority of British businessmen are interested in investing abroad, and the majority of the investors I have spoken to with respect to Chile think that it is a good place to invest capital because of its political stability and favourable economic programme."

Labour must build its own links. In the last year the LPYS has launched the Chile Socialist Defence Campaign. To date this has raised nearly £2,000 for socialists in Chile. In 1981 it is vital that this and other solidarity action is continued within the British labour movement to give assistance to those struggling

CONFESSING THE PAST -WHITEWASHING THE PRESENT

The shock of the growth of independent trade unions in such a way as to make the Poland has acted as a prisoners' case worse, and in warning to the bur- the secret trials confessions eaucrats in the USSR made under torture were the and other East European countries who ers including the present see the need to be ruler Kadar and finally more 'responsive' to the complaints of workers.

In Hungary the official political journal of the Communist Party, 'Magyafuller details than ever 'show trials' of the late 'forties and early 'fifties in an attempt to distance the present leadership from the 'mistakes' of the old party bosses.

The journal describes how under the pretext of an nature of Stalinism. "ever sharpening class struggle" Stalinist leaders insisted that "class enemthe Communist Party in Hungary.

A period of terror ensued from 1949 with mass arrests, show trials and executions. Laszlo Rajk, the buro member, was put on trial in September of that year.

According to a fellow defendant, Milan Ognenovic, quoted in the Party journal, "It was a veritable phere of all-pervading fear" theatrical performance.

"We received the trial's complete scenario in advance. We knew the sen-

was next to be attacked. reckoning for the bureau-Leaders of the armed forces cracy when the working who fought in the com- class itself demands control munist resistance to Nazi of Hungarian society. occupation were tried and executed. "The show trials continued as if on a conveyor belt," claims 'Magyaroszag.'

In the public trials defence lawyers were allowed but made their speeches in

The trials hit party leadextended down to shop floor level where engineers, foremen and workers were arrested in any factory where production dropped below the pre-1948 level.

Although the bare bones roszag', has been giving far of the show trials were first made public at the time of before about the Stalinist Khruschev's secret speech in 1956, this is the first time full details have been forthcoming. But no more than Khruschev's speech does the Kadar regime's airing of skeletons in the cupbourd show a real change in the

The present leaders blame the 'excesses' on the Stalinist leaders' "establishies" were to be found within ment of personal power, to which they clung in an unprincipled and desperate fashion." The fight though was not one of isolated 'mistaken' individuals but of a small bureaucratic caste Foreign Minister and Polit- gaining a privileged position within Hungarian society.

That caste is still in power throughout Eastern Europe. Without a doubt their methods are less drastic than the arbitrary "atmosdescribed by 'Magyaroszag' in the '50s.

The bureaucrats still fear the power of the working tences: five of us were to be class in whose name they executed, two faced life supposedly rule. Protestasentences, and I was to be tions that things have imprisoned for nine years." changed will not put off for The new People's Army very long the day of

By Roger Shrives

Workers protest at

repressive

Last month saw a huge demonstration in Bangalore in India against the Gandhi government's 'National Security Ordinance' (NSO).

Like the notorious Maintenance of Internal Security Act, this legislation is used to clamp down on democratic rights, particularly against the working class and minorities in India.

The walls of the city were covered with slogans attacking the NSO, showing a growing awareness of the need to fight repressive legislation.

But as a Marxist writer K.P. Vasudevan told a public meeting in Bangalore

organised by the People's Right Committee, on the day of the demonstration, laws like the MISA and NSO are tools in the hands of the ruling class which had been unable to solve India's dreadful problems in any other way.

Other speakers showed how the MISA of emergency days had reappeared as the NSO without even a comma of the provisions being changed.

The President of the trade union federation CITU in Karnataka state said that various trade union forums had come out against the NSO.

The meeting passed a resolution condemning the police firing on striking

workers at Khoday Distilleries in which a Binny Mill worker's son died. They demanded a judicial probe and adequate compensation for the family.

As K.P. Vasudevan pointed out though "the only way for the toiling millions of the country is the path of socialist revolution."

Tracing the developments of India since independence, he showed how capitalism had faced a permanent crisis since the mid-sixties. The switches from preemergency Congress rule to the period of emergency to Janata government back to Gandhi were signs of this instability.

Now the ruling class had

reduced democracy to an absolute minimum. He warned that the ruling class were prepared to push the system towards a succession of barbaric repressive regimes. Only the working class can stop them. The left parties must give proper leadership to the Indian masses before it is too late.

Bya correspondent in **Bangalore**



12 MILITANT 9 January 1981



KEYNES: yesterday's guru

Dear Comrades

I was a little surprised to read Comrade Philip Jones' letter. I was under the impression that Keynes had been well and truly buried: do we really want to dig him up again?

The Tories, comrade Jones, are quite right (for once!) in that printing of money without a corresponding increase in production would be disastrous for the economy.

This idea is not original to the Tories: comrade Jones may have heard of an economist who lived in the last century called Karl Marx. It was he who pointed out that a country's wealth relies on its . productive capacity and that the circulation of paper money is just representative of this real wealth.

For example, if we have one million units of production and one million pound notes in the economy, then each pound represents one unit of production. If, however, we increase the money supply to two million then each pound note now only represents half a unit of production, ie. 100% inflation has taken place.

Thus, as Marx pointed out, the only way to increase society's wealth is to increase production. At the moment. British industry is working at under 80% capacity so, obviously, the utilisation of that extra 20% is the key to the restoration of Britain's wealth.

However, the present system of capitalism is unable to increase industrial production. In fact, the present policies of the Tories, the representatives of the ruling class, are having the opposite effect!

'Militant' has consistently pointed out that the only way industrial production can be increased and wealth used for the good of all is by a planned economy. Thus the demand for the nationalisation under workers' control of the top two hundred monopolies.

Comrade Jones would do better to propagate these views than to continue his vain attempts to resuscita. John Maynard Keyne:1

Yours fraternally John Rubinstein Sheffield Hallam LPYS

Comrades

It's not often that Thatcher's speeches confeirm the correctness of the programme advocated by 'Militant'. Yet she refuted the policies of Keynesianism, as supported by Heath and Philip Jones (Letters page, issue 532) quite well.

Keynes considered that if there was unemployment it was because not enough goods were being 'demanded'. Thus, by putting more money into everyone's pockets, more goods would be demanded and the bosses would invest in increased production to satisfy it, employing more workers. The supporters of Tony Benn echo Keynes' theory with their talk of 'reflation'.

Heath resorted to such policies during his infamous rule in the early 1970s. As Thatcher recently pointed out, "we got an artificial boom, and do you know where the money went? It did not go into investment or expansion, it went into the biggest property boom we've ever seen."

The extra money in the economy was not backed by extra production; inflation resulted. After all, the bosses could make more profit by buying office blocks and acres of land than factories and machines.

The Tories, it appears. have learnt the lessons of the Heath government. They accept their need to restore the rate of profit in manufacturing industry by driving down the standards of living of workers.

We are said to be returning to the 1930s, the era in which Keynesianism began. Keynes didn't restore bosses' profits then. Only a decade of mass unemployment ending in the waste and destruction of world war achieved that, at the expense of the ill-led international working class.

Only 'Militant' has learnt these lessons of history. Only 'Miltiant' has the programme to lead the working class to victory, to socialism, in the 1980s.

Yours fraternally Andy Zaple E Nottingham LPYS

A friend of mine wrote the following short story for his 9-year-old daughter. Even fairy tales these days can't escape the misery caused by the Tories:-

morning of Friday 24th October, Vanessa leapt out of bed singing 'Happy Birthday to me, Happy Birthday to me,' only to find that nobody else seemed to share her sense of occasion!

'What, no presents?' she yelled. 'Where are my cards,

Widening the gap

Dear Sir

Attending a Labour Party mass public meeting at Maestag on December 5, I purchased a copy of 'Militant'. Glancing through, my interest was arrested at the article, 'Why did the miners accept?'.

No, I already realized why the miners, as all other workers will accept Tory

The bosses' future

Dear Comrades

"There is no guaranteed future for a damned soul in this business anywhere-not even my job.'

So announced new British Steel whizz kid, Mr Ian MacGregor as he outlined his plans for 20,000 more steel reundancies and the start of the rundown of the steel industry iteslf. For once the bosses are truthfully telling us they have no confidence in themselves or their system to solve Britain's economic and inustrial problems.

While industry is run for profit and constantly shackled by the interests of the banks and finance companies-BSC pays £200 million annually in interest rates-there is no way forward for the British workers, except onto the ever-lengthening dole que-

MacGregor is absolutely right: there is no future for Britain while industry is in the hands of parasites,

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

MILITANT, 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN

things?' 'Oh! Is it your birthday or is it Christmas?' her mummy asked.

'You know it's my birthday. Have you forgotten?' wailed Vanessa.

'That was last year, you turnip. You can't have one every year!' said her daddy. 'Hurry up or you'll be late for school.

'It's not fair!' she bleated, Everybody gets one each year, why not me as well?' 'Only people who were

born on earth get a birthday every year,' her mother answered, 'and you weren't.' 'It's not my fault,' she wailed,' 'that you decided to

dictates as to pay rises. My interest was aroused at the expression "In the region of £15 across the board.' Yes, across the board. Who were the fools who ever

grafter (and there'd be no need for chiefs without



incompetents and 'upperclass twits of the year' like himself. Sir Michael Edwardes and the rest.

Only under a socialist plan of production with workers' control and management of industry can the survival of Britain's industry and jobs be guaranteed. If Mr MacGregor is so worried about his own job. perhaps he should join the LPYS and support the 'Militant' in its fight for full employment. Fraternally Stephen Wright

East Kilbride LPYS

go to a Saturnian maternity hospital to have me, is it?'

'If Magic Hatchet hadn't made it virtually impossible to get into Earth hospitals you would have been born

here'. While typing this I heard a news item on the radio. Apparently Debenhams of Nottingham are having to take extra security precautions in Santa's grotto because children are stealing the toys.

Children aren't daft. They know that with their mothers and fathers out of work or on low pay, as a result of the Tories' economic policies,

injuns).

So why do we, with percentage rises, make the gaps in wages even wider, merely adding insult to injury?

I will vote for a party who will start thinking along these lines.

A mere housewife: now unemployable.

Yours sincerely C Pryme

Maestag Mid-Glamorgan

Double standards

Dear Comrade

A glaring example of the double standards in society appeared in the Hull Daily Mail the other day.

A 17 year old waiter was tound guilty of stealing £27 from a fruit machine where he worked. He was fined £30.

Nothing remarkable about that. However, it was pointed out that he worked from 7.30 am to 11.30 am and from 6 pm to 1.30 am, 6 days a week. For working nearly 70 hours this lad was paid the princely sum of £29 per week.

Needless to say the emplovers were not fined anything for robbery. It would appear that robbery is alright in the eyes of the law as long as it takes the form of unpaid wages.

P Boland West Hull Labour Party

No help, no job, no money

they won't be able to afford all those exciting toys advertised on the TV.,

The labour movement should carry the actions of these children further, to prevent them from turning to crime. They should expropriate the bosses and claim for the working class what is rightfully theirs--the means of production and wealth created by sweated labour.

Seasonal greetings Heather Rawling Leicester

Life in their hands

Dear Comrades

What price safety! I teach in a school in Wigan and, several weeks ago, I had to travel to school on the school bus.

I was appalled to find that it was a one-man bus. As it was a double decker I decided to go upstairs to see what the kids were up tothey were completely unsupervised.

There were children of nursery age and upwards to 11, wandering about from seat to seat. Others were swinging on the rails both upstairs and down ('till they saw Miss!).

I dread to think of the consequences should the bus have made an emergency stop.

That night I phone the Greater Manchester Transport and explained that in my opinion, as a teacher and a parent, (as they themselves have managed to blot out childhood completely from their minds), it is extremely dangerous for children to travel on these one man buses and it must be nerve-racking for the driver!

I was told that this would be looked into and I left it in the hands of the nice patronising complaints offi-

Several weeks later we had a phone call at school. The Transport Department had decided that the twoman bus we normally had in the afternoons would be replaced by a one-man bus! It is illegal for a one-man

bus to be reversed. Therefore it cannot enter the tiny school yard so we now have to take over forty children across the busy road every

thought up percentage rises? Isn't it time we went back to 'across the board' rises? After all, the man in 'charge', already has a higher rate of pay than the



"Quite early on the

my cake and trifle and

but Friedman's no answer either

Dear Comrade

Mr Philip Jones appears to regard J M Keynes as a great socialist and fighter for the working class. I would like to point out that Keynes was, in fact, procapitalist till the day of his death.

I was surprised to learn that Keynes advocated incomes policies; I have always understood he advised capitalists to boost profits by attacking real wages, not the pay-packet. However, he may well have contradicted himself!

Keynes advocated a number of 'cures' for unemployment, his favourite being increased investment to fight slump. He seemed to overlook two facts: that



A new labour exchange in 1910-but under capitalism, the dole queue is still not eradicated

capitalists cannot be forced to invest if they don't want. to-and they won't want to in the middle of a slump!; and that even if such

investment did take place, it would merely intensify the contradiction between the restricted purchasing power of the masses and the

increasing output of goods; more goods would be thrown on to an already saturated market.

Keynes has, of course, always been the idol of those who advocate the 'mixed economy', those who preach that capitalism can be 'controlled', so that it won't create any more crises!

They have been proved wrong, because you can't control what you don't own. The theory is that government organisations can control private enterprise; the reality is that the policies of government organisations are dictated by the most powerful sections of private enterprise, and by the crises which the system generates.

Neither Friedman nor Keynes, but socialism! Yours fraternally **Jim Parkes** Walsall

Dear 'Militant'

I have been out of a job for so long I have forgotten how to work. I do go out and look for work and all I get is bull shit. No help at all.

My motor bike has been put off the road by an old banger of a car. I got £195—my bike was worth £400. The police did nothing to help.

I am helping out a mate in Coventry for nothing, to keep from going mad sitting about. I've got no help, no job or money coming in.

I just want to work. I must get back on a motor bike before the new law comes in so I can pass my test. How the hell can I, if no one will give me a job!

Yours John A Sheasby A worker, Coventry evening.

The department have certainly looked into my query. I don't know if I should blame myself. Did I suggest (albeit inadvertantly) a wonderful way to save even more money?

Fraternally Jean Leigh Wigan, Lancs

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DEBATE **The Future of The Labour Party**

Militant/CLV/Tribune

Jeremy Birch/Clive Wilkinson/Audrey Wise Friday, 9th January, 7.45pm. Wednesbury Labour Club, Church Hill, Wednesbury

All Party and trade union members welcome. Contact Rob Steventon, 021-556 8311, West Bromwich West CLP

Build 周日

Area	Received	% of target achieved	Target for year
Eastern	4,535		5,000
East Midlands	4.084		3,800
Hants & IOW	4,689		4,600
Humberside	1,854		2,500
London East	6,016		6,200
London West	3,660		4,700
London South	5,266		4,700
Manchester & Lancs			5,100
Merseyside	4,126		6,000
Northern	4,883		7,300
Scotland East	2,541		3,200
Scotland West	4,407		5,000
Southern	5,305		5,900
South West	2,425		3,200
Wales East	2,190		2,800
Wales West	3,127		3,100
West Midlands	7,313		9,000
Yorkshire	5,101		7,300
Others	10,389	•	10,600
Total received	85,169		100,000

TARGET FOR YEAR-£100,000

At the time of writing this column there was just a week to go before the deadline for our 1980 fighting fund. With money pouring in there was still a good chance of reaching the £100,000 target.

But, if you're reading this before midday on Sunday 11th, you can help make absolutely sure we succeedby sending or phoning a bumper last-minute donation!

Here's how your area stood with just one week 'til the deadline:-

Supporters in the Eastern region had £465 to raise to reach their target. Special thanks to S Turner (AUEW Fords) for his fiver, sellers in Chelmsford, Bury St Edmunds and Haverhill, and three school students from Ware (Herts).



Special thanks to B Owen, D Martin (Hull T&GWU), three Hull students (£18) and K Williamson (Cleethorpes LP). Another £646 was needed in a week!

East London supporters had only £184 to get to hit their target. Thanks for tenners to R Crawford (SPOE) and C Stone (NAL GO), also to J Jones (Tower Hamlets LPYS), P Marsh, R Barker (EETPU) and all who assisted with the bazaar.

The West London line is moving more quickly now, helped by Brent & Barnet readers' £80, Ealing readers' £75, a fellow travellers' £5. R Da Silva (Hounslow). Hillingdon Parks Dept. supporters, J Waterhouse (re car repair) and a supporter's mother for 210 1/2ps. Still £1,040 to the target (or nearly 1/4 million in 1/2ps)!

£100 donation -excellent! Special thanks to a GMWU steward for donating expenses and to another Liverpool reader for £25 'catalogue monev'. All stops needed to be pulled out to raise another £1,874 in a week!

Northern readers raised over £103 at a Tyneside bazaar. This was supplemented by a £20 interview fee from the TV programme, 'Friday Live,' a meeting in Blackhall, £8.85 from Tyneside ISTC member, a collection at Blyth LPYS and a donation from the vicechairman of Redcar LPYS. The area was nevertheless still £2,147 short!

East Scotland supporters sent a donation from the surplus made from transport to the Liverpool demo. Dunfermline LPYS members sent us £12. Special thanks to R Taylor (ASTMS Edinburgh) and R Clifton (E Edinburgh LPYS). Another £659 still outstanding!

Readers in West Scotland were within reach of the target, with a final push, being £593 short by 3rd January. Special thanks to M MacDonald (Glasgow), D Miller (E Kilbride LPYS), L McKelvie (Glasgow NAL GO), and regular contributors G&E Scott (Cumbernauld).

Supporters in Folkestone, Camberley, Littlehampton, Brighton, Reading, Canterbury and Gravesend all showed they are determined to reach the £5,900 target for Southern (and at £595 there was only a few hunded to go!).

Only £610 more required! . Readers in West Wales had reached their target but special thanks this week go to those in Llanelli who contributed £41 and in Swansea for their £58.

West Midlands supporters were within sight of their target if there was an all-out last minute effort! Mrs Foster (Birmingham) sent us a tenner ("I wish I could sent you a lot more"). Another tenner came from D Patchett of Coventry. A social in Oxford netted £80, and one in Birmingham over £65. As well as profits from a jumble sale, there were a number of individual contributions inc .ding those of S O'Neil (AUEW) and G Gordon (T&GWU). Shortfall to the target: £1,687.

In Yorkshire almost £90 from Leeds included £30 TU expenses. Donations also came from Barnsley and Wakefield readers. £52 was raised at a Sheffield 'Bazaar and Folk Night'.

Shipley shows the way!

Shipley supporters sent 'Militant' appeal sheet round International Harvester workers and thanks go to T Miller, I Dyson, C Norton, Heffrey, A Dignam, R Binks and J Moffat among others for their contributions. Together with back pay and some other donations this came to £131! Yorkshire readers were aiming to raise another £2,199 to pass the target figure. The 'Others' figure includes donations received at the Fire Brigade Union Special Conference-thanks to brothers J Gregory, J Allington and S Parry. We've also had a Christmas card from Australia with a £20 donation from M Holt. a regular reader. The 'Militant' is a vital weapon in the struggles of the working class-against the bosses, against the Tories and for socialist policies, nationally and internationally.

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East Midlands supporters had reached their targetbut they are still collecting. Their total was boosted by over £75 collected at a Leicester Readers' Meeting, a tenner from Leicester students, discussion group collections at Gedling & Matlock, and donations from J Stewart and G Naylor amongst others.

A magnificent £202.30 came from the Poole 'Militant' Bazaar in Hants & IOW area, and this together with £110 from Gosport supporters made sure of the Hants target. Special thanks to Andover readers for £45! In Humberside, however, they still had a long way to go! Grimsby/Cleethorpes readers collected over £60 since our last issue, and Hull supporters over £100.

South London readers are already well over their target. But special thanks to individual contributors-G Reynolds (Greenwich), M Barley (Battersea T&GWU) and C Peckham (Dulwich LPYS).

Manchester & Lancs supporters have cashed in on seasonal goodwill. £97 was raised at a bazaar and £36 from sale of "Jewellery and toys" in Rochdale. Special thanks to Altrincham & Sale LPYS and M Valchero (Stockport) for their contributions. Many more needed with £1,811 to raise!

Merseyside's contributions included an anonymous

South West's line was £775 short but a lot of money had come in from Bristol, including £25 from J Kelly (Patchway LPYS), tenners from V Kaufmann and I Gailey, and other sums from R Hartill and W Coombes. And there was still "more to come!"

East Wales supporters are certainly finishing the year in much better style than they started! They raised nearly £100 from a Christmas Fayre and had £50 from Gwent readers, £25 from a Folk Night, £16 from Caerphilly readers and a number of individual donations including those from M Davies (AUEW Branch Secretary) and C Jones (unemployed) both of Cardiff.

If you support our paper, show us in the best possible way! Help us build it!

nstrial

brief

The inaugural meeting of the East End News Cooperative Society Limited will meet this Saturday in East London at the Half Moon Theatre, 27 Alie Street, E.1. The East End News, which is aimed to be a pro-labour movement local paper and a pilot project of the Campaign for Press Freedom, will be launched itself on 13 March.

A recent pamphlet published by the NUM shows the decline of the mining industry. Titled, 'The Miners and the Battle for Britain,' it shows how the number of collieries has declined from 840 in 1956 to 259 [1974 figure]. Manpower has been slashed from 697,400 to 252,000. It also explains how nuclear power stations will over the next five years take the place of 8-10m tonnes of coal.

In the week after the magnificent demonstration on 29 November in Liverpool, workers at Ross Foods, Liverpool, voted to accept redundancies. "I feel sick as a pig," said convenor Tommy Roberts. "The workers have the support of the Hull and Grimsby site stewards. The stewards' committee is willing to occupy. However, many of the workforce are not convinced that a sit-in will be successful." The lessons must be drawn out to the rest of the Ross co. 'ine. A campaign on the shop floor is needed fully airing views and misgivings.

COHSE has slammed a conference of gambling bosses who met recently with hospital administrators to discuss ways of running lotteries to fund the health service. General Secretary Albert Spanswick said, "Nothing could be more offensive that the introduction of lotteries into the care of the sick." He added, "Those who remember the recent case in which the Liverpool surgeon drew lots to see which women could have operations in his hospital will think it enough of a gamble already whether one gets into hospital." The union is calling for 'progressive direct taxation' to provide funds.

Mosedale *there's no* going back'

Attempts by management to break the union at the Mosedale brick works in Flixton near Manchester have only succeeded in strengthening it.

When the workers went on strike, after they discovered non-union members were being paid more (see issue 532), they were sacked.

But as a shop steward explained to 'Militant' reporter Margaret Creear, morale of the fifty workers who are picketing the site is high.

6 If we win this disputewhich we should do with the backing we're getting from the labour movement -there'll be an incredible change in atmosphere at the works.

For a start off we're talking of a closed shop agreement, time off for union activities and a proper office; at the moment we have part of a switch room and the union material has to be stored in a biscuit tin!

This will be achieved because of the change that's taken place in the lads while we've been out. Most of the members have gone along with the stewards' recommendations in the past, but as a result of the dispute everyone has become committed trade unionists.

We're in a position which is irreversible and all the safety valves have been removed. All their real opinions about the bosses have come out. We're just economic units in Mosedale's game. We're of no con-

The dispute is now backed officially by the T&GWU. But help is still needed. Send donations to: Mosedale lock-out fund, J Brown, 216 Irlan Road, Flixton, Urmston, Manchester

By Margaret Creear

sequence as human beings. But some of the older workers have worked hard here for a long time, one of them since 1936 with only a break for the war, and he's one they've sacked without a farewell note or anything!

One of the older workers spoke for us all when he said he was prepared to fight them all the way down the line and reject all forms of redundancy or compensation.

The dispute is definitely developing a political awareness, including amongst some of the younger element. We took a few of them down to Liverpool on the 29th, and that definitely increased their political awareness.

One thing that is really helping is the fact that so many trade unionists and political activists are coming down to the picket line. We're beginning to realise the full influence of the labour movement, that it's not just restricted to this branch or TGWU headquarters in Salford. This is one of the things that has made us really determined.

From the stewards' point of view, we've been thinking of joining the Labour Party. We want to be sure of what we're doing before we get involved as we did before we set up the union here.

Nobody will have the same views as they had before the dispute and the opinion has definitely moved to the left. 9



Fort Dunlop-workers faced with redundancies

Dunlop workers must fight

Factories like Fort Dunlop in the Erdington area of Birmingham used to be regarded as the jewels in the crown of West Midlands industry.

But this is 1981, and 1,000 redundancies are threatened here with more at other Dunlop plants. The company have given the required 90 day notice to the unions. If there were any hopes that these job losses would be a one-off, they are futile hopes.

It seems they intend to close the apprentice school, which is part of the site, and reduce the numbers of workers in vital trades, such as tinsmiths, drastically. Not surprisingly the workers do not accept the redundancies. The convenor of the majority union, Noel **By Pete McNally** (Ladywood CLP)

Johnson of the GMWU, told 'Militant' that a failure to agree had been reached.

In fighting the threat of the sack workers will want to weigh carefully all the factors. It will be crucial to fully explain the position to the whole membership.

Co-operation between the unions on the site has never been so important. An early start to full joint trade union meetings will tell the management that the workers have united to defend their jobs. It is now also clearly necessary for the workers at Dunlop's UK plants to be united in a combine-wide shop stewards' committee to prevent factories being played off against each other.

There are stark examples of victory and defeat in the recent past for Dunlop

workers to take note of. At Birmetals the prospects of saving any jobs are bleak. At Gardners in Manchester compulsory redundancies have been avoided.

Now, at Dunlop, a decisive struggle must be waged to protect jobs. A determined battle and a clear victory at Fort Dunlop oculd turn the tide against the bosses over the whole country.

The immediate task is a bold fight to save jobs, but the wider questions still remain to be answered. Why cannot the skills of these workers be put to producing socially necessary goods? Where is Dunlop investing its money? Why should we tolerate decisions about our lives being made by people we never even see, never mind control? One thing is for sure: if factories like Dunlop are in trouble then the whole system is a mess.

Members of the National Union of Seamen took industrial action on a Sealink car ferry last week sailing from Weymouth to the Channel Islands, after management offered only a 10% wage rise. The ship was stopped for six hours. In Tilbury, a cruise liner was stopped from sailing through industrial action. As we go to press, the crew of P & O Ferries, the Ulster Queen, are still occupying the vessel in protest over the sudden closure of the Belfast-Liverpool service. Last year the ferry carried 350,000 passengers and 45,000 cars-P & O have said they will not re-open the route even if offered government aid.

BOSSES FORCED

Workers at Collins, the multinational printers based in Glasgow, have won a significant victory against threatened redun-

dancies.

They have shown that determined, decisive action can halt the bosses' conveyor belt to the dole queue.

The latest round in the war of attrition between the employers and workers began early in December. The management team declared that twenty-six redundanccies, split evenly between the printers and assistants, were necessary to ensure the future of the company.

As if 26 wage packets could make the difference between life and death for a company with a turnover of £60 million and subsidiaries in Africa, Australia, Canada, Jamaica and New Zealand! This move was compounded by the insistence that management should have the right to name who was to go!

The Joint Shop Stewards' Committee embracing assistants and printers took a determined stand against the sackings.

A policy of non-co-operation was introduced combined with two one-day strikes on the 9 and 6 December. This caused the company to withdraw the redundancies threatened for assistants, but they continued to insist that 13 printers, whom they picked, must go.

On Thursday 18 December, a factory meeting decided by a two to one majority to implement an indefinite strike if the sackings went ahead.

The employers had ob-

viously counted on their concessions on the assistant sackings and the Christmas bells ringing in everyone's ears to prevent a fight to save the printers' jobs. They were wrong.

The threat of such action concentrated their minds wonderfully and on Friday 19 December after negotiations with full-time officials they withdrew the naming of compulsory redundancies. Instead a package with improved terms is to be offered for voluntary redundancies.

It seems that jobs will be lost through voluntary redundancy but the leading shop stewards are clear about the importance of the

struggle.

ers.

Jimmy Criel, the FOC in the machine chapel, told 'Militant': "As far as we are concerned this is a victory for the workers. We have established the principle that management cannot dictate hiring and firing in this factory."

By Bob Wylie

There has been a tremendous reaction in the factory with the workers now confident to face future battles. Trade union organisation has emerged strengthened also, as it seems likely that a factory chapel will be formed from the experience to prevent further attempts by the management to divide skilled and unskilled work-

LONCBRIDCE



STEWARDS COMMITT

Force BL to **RE-INSTATE LONGBRIDGE LONGBRIDGE LONGBRIDGE LONGBRIDGE LONGBRIDGE**

The striking British Leyland Mini Metro workers decided to suspend their strike action at a mass meeting on Sunday in Birmingham.

The strike followed the sacking of eight workers, four of them shop stewards, after the so-called 'rampage' on November 21 [see 'Militant' 530].

An inquiry will now take place with a committee made up of two union representatives and two management with an ACAS official presiding. The mass meeting eventually agreed to a resolution, moved by the works committee chairman to suspend the strike until the inquiry reached a decision.

The 'riot' was a spontaneous event which was sparked off by yet another round of lay-offs without notice or pay.

As sacked shop steward Jim Denham told the 'Sunday Times' (January 4); "What changes a workforce of men praised by management for producing 5,000 cars into what they call an unruly mob in a matter of weeks?"

None of those sacked have even been accused of any vandalism. This is because

By Richard Lewis (T&G shop steward, BL Longbridge) and 'Militant' reporters

there is not a shred of evidence to connect them with it, otherwise management would have used it.

So the impression which the media have tried to convey, that the sacked workers were in some way ring-leaders, is completely false. Management clearly still labour under the misapprehension that they can sack who they like, at any time they like, for any old trumped-up reason.

When the sackings were announced nearly 1,000 Longbridge workers in that section immediately walked out. As the 'Financial Times' (Janaury 3) pointed out; "One reason advanced for the militant stance is the fact that many of the 1,500 (workers on that section) realised they could just as easily have been singled out for punishment as the eight dismissed." But although the rank and file of the shop floor took immediate action

in the face of management attacks, as they have done on several other occasions, it should not be surprising that they have now suspended their action.

Edwardes used his typical bullying tactics of threatening the workers with the sack en-masse, and the Fleet Street Tory propaganda machine went into full swing. They gave much space to horror stories of how BL was on the brink and how Thatcher would with-hold a government subsidy if the strike went ahead.

But besides all the scare stories and Edwardes' threats, the lack of leadership from the main union involved, the T&G, can take a major part of the responsibility for the meeting's decision. Not giving a recommendation in the midst of a major struggle, and leaving the workers to 'decide for themselves,' is not leadership.

However, now the decision has been taken the workers must now remain vigilant to make sure the management do not attempt a re-run of the Derek Robinson incident. As soon as the result of the inquiry is known a mass meeting must be held to discuss the next steps to be taken. At all times it must be

LUNIDATION

A.E.U.

E.T.U.

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BEM.S.M.W.S

JOINT

and an times it must be made clear that only pressure from the shop floor will get the men their jobs back.

It is abundantly clear that the sackings are based not on evidence but on an attempt to intensify the pressure on BL workers as a whole, and the plant producing this year's saviour model in particular.

Such is the viciousness of the threats from BL that even the well-known 'moderate' Terry Duffy has called Edwarde's idea of filling strikers' jobs from other parts of the plant or even from the dole queues, what it is—blacklegging.

BL bosses were probably only testing the reaction to

Teachers

this kind of suggestion, reminiscent of the 'thirties. But this very fact should serve as a warning to the trade union movement about the real plans of the boss class.

The present dispute is by no means an isolated incident. There have been a series of attempts to play off one section of the workforce against another.

In particular, lay-offs at very short notice have been used to try to split workers and get them to blame each other. It is quite normal during a dispute in a part of the factory to receive 3 or 4 letters from management during a single shift.

The works committee, as the leading trade union body in the plant, must be just as quick to send out its own propaganda. This has been sadly lacking in the present dispute, with many workers outside of the 'trouble spot' left uninformed by the unions and having to rely on the capitalist media.

This latest issue is part of a pattern which is becoming more and more familiar. First, a provocative action by the bosses. The workers react angrily, and apply sanctions up to and sometimes including strike action. Management threaten to sack everyone on strike, close the factories or part of factories affected, and ultimately cease production of models

If jobs are to be saved, and the workers leaders are not to be picked off one by one, then the unions must fight back in defence of union rights with the same ferocity the bosses are using to try to take them away.

By Ian Sugarman

Teachers in the state sector have been given advanced warning of their pay offer for 1981-4%!

When local authorities met together last week there were

have budget limits for only 6%—the government cash limit—and that a 7.5% award to council manual workers mean that teachers therefore should expect to receive correspondingly less.

Such an award would tinuing capitalist crisis. seriously erode both the real

Between now and Spring, when pay negotiations begin, the union's national executive must prepare a fight for a salary rise capable of resisting the huge erosion of teachers' wages, inflicted by the continuing capitalist crisis.

Normanby Park



TRENGT

Derek Robinson marches with his supporters during the unsuccessful campaign to get him reinstated. The trade union leaders must not repeat the failings of this campaign if the Longbridge eight are to get their jobs back.

The BSC management have been sending out propaganda in preparation for a ballot of their survival plan, or as they call it, "a vote for the future."

What MacGregor is doing is asking the 20,000 steel workers who are losing their jobs for a vote of confidence in his corporate plan! He wants them to accept the closures which will have a devastating effect on the steel workers and their families in the immediate future, and turn Scunthorpe into a ghost town.

Scunthorpe steel workers haven't taken these cuts in the steel industry lying down. The Steel Action Committee has been set up

By Bill McCoid (Normanby Park ISTC)

composed mainly of trade unionists determined to safeguard the future, not only of Scunthorpe, but of the working class as a whole.

The town has been flooded with leaflets from the committee and a rally has been organised, where the speakers will include Tony Saunois, Joan Maynard MP, Euro MP Richard Caborn, Mike Skelton from Corby, John Lee, leader of the Consett struggle, an NUM speaker, an NUR speaker, hopefully Sandy Feather from the ISTC and a delegation from Scotland. A resolution has been passed by Normanby Park No.2 branch for a fight. The resolution consists mainly of a ban on overtime, withdrawal of co-operation with management, mass meetings to be called and a mass rally to give full support to the Scunthorpe Steel Action Committee.

Although some of the leaders from Normanby Park have seemed a bit reluctant to fight, the rank and file must take up the cudgel. As one branch secretary at the Scunthorpe work committee stated: "These jobs aren't ours to sell. They belong to the community and to the future. It's your kids' future they are talking about."

This is the right kind of attitude and if we can channel it then Scunthorpe can be saved as a steel town. even some who pressed for no offer at all on account of the so-called 'Clegg error' in the last pay award, a matter already settled by arbitration! Local authorities claim they

value of teachers' pay and undermine their relative position, determined by the comparability exercise in the Clegg award. It would be a step back to square one.

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DELCO

Management at Delco's in Merseyside seem to be attempting to run the plant down.

They have already made some workers redundant, and have said even if business picks up again, these people will not be taken on.

In true 'Scrooge' style management paid the office workers only 75% of their Christmas bonus. Now they are offering the skilled workers an 8% pay rise and the rest about a 3% rise. The management even docked 20 minutes' pay from the workers' wages after the workers attended a meeting management themselves had called!

Sections of the workforce have been put on short time, leaving many of those on full time with not enough work because the parts they need are not being made.

Workers also believe work is being sent outside, when it could be done in the factory.

A joint campaign to

involve all of the unions, TASS, AUEW, EETPU, and T&GWU is needed. Even sections which at the moment are not affected must be involved, as they will be next in line for management attacks.

Joint meetings on the shop floor will be essential. And if Delco, a subsidiary of General Motors, is 'unviable', as management claim, then let the firm open the books and prove to the unions that this is the case.



THE MARXIST PAPER FOR LABOUR AND YOUTH Editor: Peter Taaffe. Published by Militant, 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN. Telephone: 01-986 3828 Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office **ISSN 0144-9257** Printed by Cambridge Heath Press Ltd [TU]

Demo-Friday 9 January, 9.30 am **LUCAS GIRLING:** assembling at the Girling factory, Thermal Road, Bromborough, Merseyside **Millions for bosses**

Another multi-national giant has decided to murder Merseyside jobs.

The directors of Lucas Girling have explained that the 920 workers in Bromborough are to face redundancy because the plant is a "sacrificial lamb" needed to balance the company books.

This butchery comes after massive concessions by trade unions in the plant over the past two years which the company promised would guarantee these 920 jobs.

Jeff Gore, and Jack Jamieson, secretary and joint chairman respectively of the Action Committee explained the background to me. "The factory was opened in 1960. In 1978, another new management team arrived and announced their so-called 'plan of action.'

"This meant 700 jobs lost in the last two years, plus greater flexibility, more mobility, demarcation being removed, etc. In return, the company guaranteed security for the remaining 920 workers, but on November 4th they announced complete closure by July 1981.

"The directors admitted they had had complete cooperation from the workforce since 1978 with the quantity and quality of work required -management have doublecrossed us.

"We produce 50% of British Rail's braking equipment. The company intend to transfer this work to Tisley in the Midlands but they haven't got the plant to cope with the big demand there, and they haven't got the skills eitherthey don't pay enough.

ONAL



"They have invested £7 million in Bromborough in the last five years, but they would need another £5 million at least to make it viable. Two thirds of the plant is virtually written off.

"Some was twenty to thirty years old, the last plant was introduced four years ago. It is obviously Lucas policy to move out of the United Kingdom.

"For example eight years ago, Bromborough was the only disc brake producer in Britain. After government investigation and criticism of the company, Lucas opened a factory in a depressed rural area of France, where they are weekly factory collection.

not trade unionised. Workers there hadn't even got canteen site have organised a joint facilities.

"In the French plant, they can produce 60,000 car brakes in four days per week where we can only produce 12,000 in five days.

"The company still gets 20% investment grants per year, they propose to move the car brake production to Pontypool where they will get even bigger grants.

'We are determined to save this factory, we have been to Lucas sites and we have been promised support. The workforce is determined and united, and paying to the

"All six trade unions on the action committee.

'We are hoping for a massive turn-out on the demonstration on Friday 9th in Bromborough.

"Coaches are coming from South Wales and the Midlands, and a one-hour stoppage is called for throughout the Lucas factories. We need national action to save this factory. The unions nationally have got the power to do it.' This struggle deserves and needs the support of all sections of the trade unions

and labour movement. Multinational monopolies like Lu-

biggest profits and highest control and management. government grants are available regardless of the misery caused.

The trade unions nationally should fight for opening up of the company books to trade union inspection to see where years of profits and grants have gone. They certainly don't seem to have been reinvested.

Lucas made £51.3 million profit in 1980 and over £70 million in 1979.

In order that these profits produced by the workforce can be used for the benefit of the workers and society as a whole, Lucas should be cas will move to wherever the nationalised under workers'

In this way jobs could be guaranteed, plant modernised, hours cut without loss of pay, and schemes of useful work implemented such as those produced by the shop stewards at Lucas Aerospace. The workers at Bromborough must rely on the strength of the trade union movement, and not on any joint approach with the company.

MILITANT

By Richard Venton

'ROL AND MANAGEN

CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE

on.

In 1972, the miners used that power and Heath's hated Tory government was brought to its knees.

An alliance of miners, rail and steel workers has already been proposed, to defend every pit, mill and rail line against closure. The combined power of the trade union movement must be dancy, to demand shorter

with no cut in pay, sharing out the available work and insisting that firms that won't comply are taken into public ownership.

Such a campaign would arouse mass confidence and support, sweeping the Tories and their Iron Maiden aside. Determined action is need-

ed. That requires determined leadership. In the trade unions and in the Labour Party, workers are demanding firm socialist policiesand a socialist leadership capable and willing to put

them into practice. The Tories must be replaced with a Labour government armed with policies that used to fight every redun- meet the needs of all working people-taking over the 200 hours and longer holidays giant monopolies that run the

economy, introducing an £80 minimum wage, a 35-hour week, a planned programme of house, school and hospital building and other useful public works schemes, socialist planning to guarantee jobs

for all. This is what we are fighting for. Wales faces devastation under the Tories, but the thirst for a socialist lead is growing.

We want every worker, every trade unionist, shop steward and Labour Party member to join us in that fight. We want to get our paper out to every street, every factory, every worker. Help us to sell our paperhelp us kick out the Tories and the system that destroys our lives.

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