

# Militant

THE MARXIST PAPER FOR LABOUR & YOUTH

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15p

## SOCIALISM NOT TORY CHAOS

It isn't only at the Olympics that world records have been tumbling! In just fifteen months the Tories have smashed the record for bankruptcies in one year, and topped the post-war unemployment record.

This is how they honour their manifesto commitment to build "a broad framework for the recovery of the country."

It is going to get worse, says the CBI, the bosses' own union. According to their recent survey, 61% of firms will be employing fewer workers over the next few months. Only 3% thought they would be taking anyone on!

The survey also anticipated a 10% drop in manufacturing investment—essential for building factories, buying machinery and employing workers.

The best the CBI can offer is the hope that Tory policies "would work soon." Working people long ago gave up hope that anything the Tories do will work for them. But capitalism is now in such a mess that the employers themselves have no confidence in their own system—or their government.

All the magic Tory answers of the past have disappeared.

North Sea oil was going to make us all oil millionaires. Under capitalism it has become an economic curse: oil revenues are making the pound stronger and British exports dearer.

"The contraction of manufacturing output is the only way the British economy can benefit from North Sea Oil." That's the solution of the Institute for Fiscal Studies, and Sir Geoffrey Howe, Chancellor of the Exchequer, publicly accepts their view.

By  
**Jeremy Birch**

(Birmingham, Selly Oak  
Labour Party)

For years, workers have suffered wage restraint to get rid of a balance of payment deficit. Now we are told more unemployment is essential to solve a payments surplus.

Left unchecked, the Tories will reduce the whole of Britain to an industrial wasteland. To restore profits, Thatcher and Joseph are prepared to watch companies collapse and 'unviable' sectors closed down. In their frantic attempts to restore generalised profit levels, industry is being permanently crippled.

By the time the international recession abates, British industry will be too feeble to benefit. This really is the economics of the madhouse.

Even the most hard-faced Tories have been forced to admit, however, that the monetarist tiger let loose on British industry threatens to devour the lot. So money is once again being poured out: Harland and Wolff, British Steel and Dunlop are to benefit from government aid.

'U-turn' or detour—for working people, these policies offer little hope. Thatcher's Tory opponents demand bigger hand-outs to the bosses and rigid wage controls (continued on back page)

## POLICIES OF THE MAD HOUSE HIT WORKING PEOPLE



Thatcher's reception in Harold Hill

## 'Leftwing' Pensioners Revolt

By **Lee Waker**

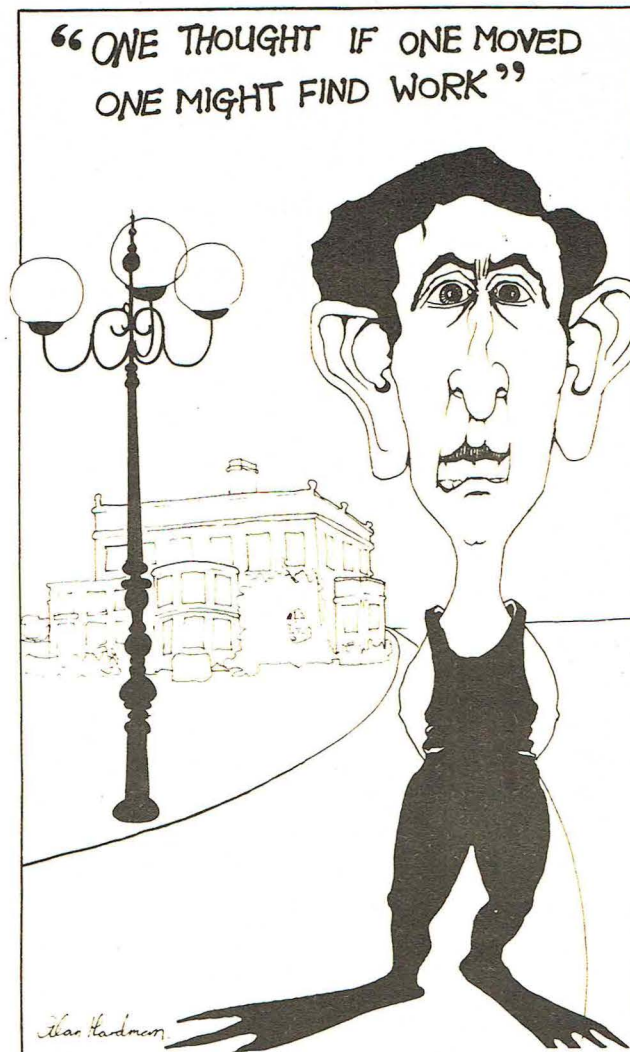
(Dagenham LPYS)

The Prime Minister, Mrs Thatcher actually condescended to visit a working-class council estate last week, handing over one of the many GLC council houses sold off by the Tories, to its new owners in Harold Hill, Essex.

It was one of her usual publicity stunts, carried out in the forlorn hope of fostering the image that she is 'a woman of the people'. But while she and other Tory officials carried out the niceties of the ceremony for the benefit of the TV cameras, wasn't that booing and jeering coming from outside the house?

Mrs Thatcher shrugged this off as "just the normal left wing groups who follow me around where ever I go. I'm glad they're not my supporters."

Outside stood hundreds of the 'left wingers' making such revolutionary demands as "No



Due to holidays this week's 'Militant' is again only 8 pages. Back to the full 16 pages next issue.

sale of council's homes," "Playgrounds for our children" and "cut bombs not hospitals." The majority of 'lefties' were cleverly disguised as pensioners, housewives and toddlers.

As Mrs Thatcher passed the demonstrators, one 70 year old great grandmother, wearing the MBE she received for her work with children's playgroups [obviously a hardened left wing agitator!] told Thatcher "It's alright for you living in No. 10. Leave some houses for the working class."

Another obvious 'trouble-maker', in the

shape of a 75 year old grandmother who could only walk with the aid of two sticks and claimed to be a Tory supporter but was disgusted at the sale of council houses, hobbled after Mrs Thatcher, angrily brandishing her walking stick.

The people of Harold Hill made it clear that they don't want the Tories or their policies. If Thatcher wants to dismiss ordinary working people, young and old, as 'left wing groups' then so be it. And as for not wanting them as her supporters—Mrs Thatcher, the feeling's mutual.

# Militant

1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN

## NO SHACKLES ON PICKETS

**Like Heath before, once again a Tory government is attacking the trade unions.**

The crisis of the profit system is driving the Tories to introduce 'economic counter-revolution,' and to completely dismantle the welfare state. But in this they come up against just one major obstacle—the working class and its organisations. If capitalism is to be given free rein, the power of the unions to fight back must be broken.

Under the recently announced Codes of Practice that have been tagged on to the Employment Act, picket

lines are to be limited to six, and "it will be for the police to decide whether the number of pickets on a line is likely to lead to a breach of the peace." Prior will concede any rights, except that of effective picketing. A 'thin red line' of just six spread out around a power station or some giant factory complex, risking life and limb trying to stop some cowboy lorry driver hurtling through, just pays lip service to workers' rights.

While the Code itself may

not be backed by the full force of the law, breaking it could still be unlawful. "It should be clear that if a picket does not leave a picket line when asked to do so by the police he is liable to be arrested for obstruction of the highway or of a police officer." Police at the Adwest picket line, without waiting for the Code's publication have arrested even a solitary picket for trying to convince workers not to cross.

As for sympathetic action only those employed at the site in dispute will be allowed on the picket line. The Tories want to cut across the very basis of trade union principles—solidarity. No more Grunwicks or Sandersons, the badly organised and low paid will be pushed under. Of course sympathetic action by groups like the National Association for Freedom, raising money to help reactionary employers stick it out, or the solidarity of for example the Engineering Employers' Federation in the face of the engineering workers' strike can continue without interference.

The employers' closed

shops [for that is what they are] will also remain unchallenged. But for workers, to insist that in the interests of extracting their demands, full union membership is a necessity, or to compel the wayward individual who wants a free ride to better wages and conditions to pay his dues—that's infringing fundamental human rights.

So every closed shop under the Code is up for "periodic review." This is to be conducted by secret ballot of the employees with an 80% majority in favour, if it is to continue. That is almost twice the percentage required by the Tories to be elected to office.

The Codes of Practice if they continue to be implemented add up to a "scabs' charter". Blacklegs and non-unionists will be given every protection to undermine union strength. The trade union movement must be united in outright opposition to all the industrial relations proposals of the government.

Writing in the 'Sunday Times', TUC General Secretary Len Murray spelt out his opposition to these proposals. But rather than outlin-

ing the TUC's commitment to defend the right to organise against legal restrictions if needs be, he seemed more concerned to convince the government that their measures are unnecessary.

The TUC has its own guidelines on industrial action, he explains, introduced "partly to prevent unruly behaviour." Prior's measures will apparently preoccupy the TUC on "legal actions instead of on enforcing our guidelines."

Len Murray hopes to appeal to the common sense of the Cabinet and of the CBI. Make them see reason, see that their proposals have "already soured industrial relations." But what is unreasonable to the TUC is the utmost good sense to this government. Destroying the power base of the shop stewards in the closed shop and preventing them properly conducting an industrial dispute is an essential part of Tory strategy.

Force of argument and the restarting of talks with the Tories, will not convince them to ease off. It was not words that forced Heath to

place the Industrial Relations Act on ice, but the militant action of millions of engineers and transport workers.

It will be the coming industrial battles that working people will have to fight to defend their jobs and living standards that will expose again the hollowness of Tory law once the unions are mobilised. Who would have dared try to impose a limit of six pickets at Saltley Gates?

Once roused to action ordinary trade unionists will not brook any tampering with their long-established rights. What has been written by the history of working class organisations cannot be unwritten by the stroke of a parliamentary pen. But trade unionists have the right to expect from the TUC tops a firm lead to defeat the government's union plans. Indeed to defeat the government itself and return Labour with a commitment to repeal all anti-union legislation, as part of its socialist programme.

# 'Mirror' readers reject Labour Party 'Gang of Three'

**'Daily Mirror' readers seem to be far more in favour of forthright socialist policies, than the paper's owners [IPC].**

When the 'Mirror' published the open letter from right-wing Labour politicians, Williams, Rodgers and Owen, its approving editorial stated that this was the way forward for Labour:

"They know that the recent policies of Labour's National Executive Committee 'are deeply unattractive to the very voters we need to win, and to win back.'" (1 August)

But six days later they reported "we have been bombarded with readers letters...more than twice as many letters were opposed to the three as supported them."

That balance was not reflected in the letters they published. But some of the excerpts showed the feeling of many Labour Party supporters:

"Working-class people have, during the last period of Labour government felt a sense of betrayal. Over the years the party has had an influx of careerists who are anything but socialists."

"I fought in the 1945 election and remember two posters—Socialism in our Time and Work Towards the Light at the End of the Tunnel. We are a damn sight further away from socialism now than ever we were. It would be very nice if we could find the entrance to the tunnel."

That was the comment from a Party activist, WH Pinnions, Chairman, Bruton Labour Party. But his call for real socialist policies is not



Photo: MILITANT

confined to activists.

'Militant' has often pointed out that the Labour right wing's pro-capitalist policies drive people towards the Tories. It is not an echo workers want, but an alternative. If a clear socialist alternative was campaigned for, it would not only win over people who voted Tory last time, but those such as T Perkins who wrote:

"After many years of becoming more dissatisfied as a Labour voter, I have decided that at the next election I shall vote Conservative. There would be only one reason for me to vote Labour, and that would be if the party adopts a true socialist policy."

Others put their dissatisfaction with Williams etc. more bluntly. Perhaps recalling the public support they gave to Reg Prentice in his fight against the left in the Labour Party, WA Barnes commented:

"The Gang of Three have

no need to form another party. The Tory Party awaits them."

It was the right-wing policies of the last Labour government which lost the support of many workers and the election. As Irving Nichol pointed out:

"Readers should remember that Shirley Williams was one of the very few Labour politicians about whom the Tory press made some favourable comments in the last election. This did not prevent her from losing her seat at Stevenage. So much for the appeal of 'Our Way'."

In its editorial on August 1, the 'Mirror' had tried to dismiss the demands within the Labour Party for more democracy as an irrelevance: "Instead of being united in fighting the government it was disunited and fighting itself."

But the demand for greater internal Party democracy has arisen because many workers

Low-paid workers had to fight for a decent standard of living against the last Labour government

By Jim Chrystie

## SEEING 'MILITANT' IN GERMANY

German viewers got a good indication of the alternative directions before the British labour movement in a recent TV documentary [21 July].

By Colin Barber

Entitled 'Callaghan's heirs' the programme featured a meeting of the 'Militant' Editorial Board, LPYS activities and interviews with right-wingers Sandelson and Healey and left-wingers Benn and Scargill.

The programme, which could also be picked up in parts of East Germany, Holland and Denmark showed how Marxists were trying to put into force the Labour Party's commitment to the socialism of Clause 4 in the Party's constitution.

Ted Grant and Peter Taaffe explained that a democratic and peaceful transformation of society could take place, but only if the working-class used its power. Without the support of the workers and trade union leaders capitalism couldn't last six weeks.

But this confidence in a socialist future was not shared by Dennis Healey. He stated that capitalism was here for

ever. "I regard the mixed economy (ie. capitalism—M) as a permanent system."

Far from developing the power of the labour movement, Healey wants to cut down the link between the trade unions and the Party if things don't go his way. "It is definitely a disadvantage that the trade unions have too much power in the party in relation to the Labour voters in the country. But so far they have used their power moderately," he explained.

This view was not shared by Arthur Scargill and Tony Benn, who spoke of how the labour movement is "rediscovering its historic mission and role" to bring about socialist change. Despite the expected biased comments on the side of the right by the interviewer, this programme gave many German workers a reasonable reflection of the struggle for socialist ideas within the British labour movement.

### Militant International Review

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NEXT ISSUE: AUGUST 29

Due to the August Bank Holiday there will be no issue next week. The 16 page paper will return on August 29.

# Join the PNP at Notting Hill

Over the past ten years, the Notting Hill Carnival has grown from being a local affair to an international event, an important cultural event of the West Indian community.

Colourful floats, bands, and an abundance of stalls selling West Indian delicacies

and Afro-Caribbean goods, line the streets over the Bank Holiday Weekend.

By  
Kevin Fernandes

(PNP Youth)

But over the years, the festive atmosphere has been marred by the overwhelming presence of the police.

The 1976 and '77 Carnivals ended in violence, including the use of the SPG, and riot-shields. In 1978, it was peaceful 'till the very end, when the police decided to have a show of strength.

The police presence at last year's Carnival was minimal compared to previous occasions. There was very little 'unruly behaviour', and fewer arrests, showing that the provocative overmanning of previous Carnivals by the police, was the crucial factor in the outbreak of violence. Last year, police waited until the very end, before the customary drawing of riot-shields.

Tensions are high between

blacks and the police. A single provocation (one of many) in Bristol, gave rise to running battles in the streets.

The same happened recently in Leicester, when police picked up a black youth in a pub. Their police car was turned over, and re-inforcements with dogs and shields were called in. The recent deployment of the SPG in Brixton is not exactly going to reduce these tensions.

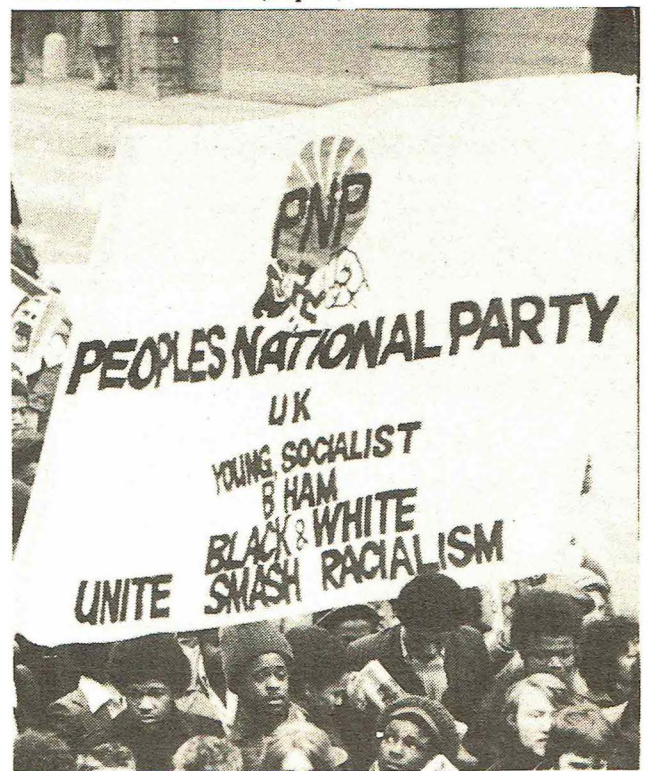
As usual, at this year's Carnival, in between the steel and reggae bands we'll hear the whirring of a police helicopter overhead.

While carnival-goers take snap-shots of the floats and costumes, to record the beauty of the event, there'll be police photographers and cameramen, taking shots of other things, for other reasons.

Hopefully, the Carnival will be a success—if it is, it will be due to black youth demonstrating time and again that they'll not be intimidated or provoked.

The PNP Youth Movement, and the LPYS, will be there, selling our papers, and

Photo: Andrew Wiard (Report)



PNP and LPYS members march against racism in Birmingham

giving out leaflets,—to draw black youth into the political struggle to stop police harassment, drive out racialism,

and end the situation in which thousands of black youth have no chance of getting a job.

# Prisons—overcrowded, Victorian relics

By  
Tony Cross

Two sentenced prisoners committed suicide in 1970; this year so far there have been twenty. More than three million doses of anti-depressants, tranquillisers and hypnotic drugs were given to prisoners last year.

In an account written on lavatory paper and smuggled out, Doug Wakefield, a life prisoner describes the "strong box" cell he has been serving time in, sound proofed, without windows. "It is stripped bare and has no furniture inside at all. The bed consists of a wooden boarding that is encased within the concrete floor."

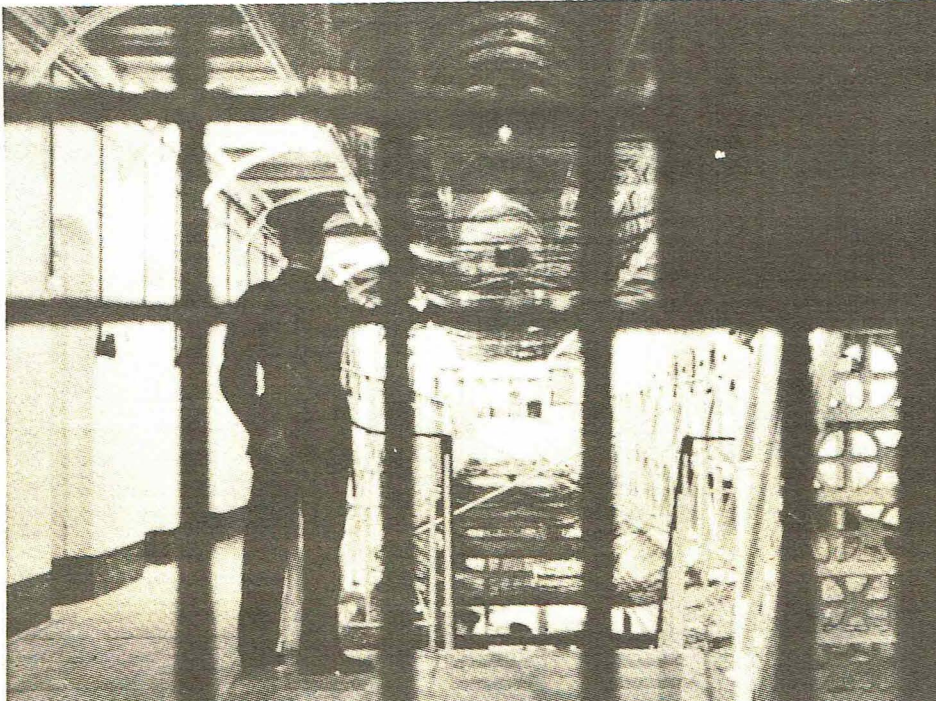
He claims to have been locked in it for 156 days and to have spent 1,200 days of his six years in prison in solitary confinement. These 'Control Units', as the Home Office euphemistically calls them, are reserved for 'troublesome' prisoners, allegations of suicide and brutality are now

almost everyday occurrences. The authorities expect things to get worse—symptoms of a crisis in the prison system itself.

Willie Whitelaw himself has called for shorter sentences for minor offences. No one could suspect the Tory Home Secretary of a sudden outburst of compassion; it's just that there's nowhere to put them all! At one point this year, the prison population reached 45,000.

Packed into nineteenth century buildings, erected when the population of Britain and its prisons was a fraction of its present size, prisoners' conditions have worsened, not because their crimes are more serious, but because money isn't being spent on them. Numbers sharing cells with one other have risen to 11,752; 4,833 share cells—usually built for one inmate—with two others.

The chairman of the Prison Officers' Association has told Whitelaw that his pet scheme, the "short, sharp shock" detention centres, are not working—due to overcrowd-



Under the present prison regime, what chance do offenders have of being 'prepared for a useful role in society'?

ing. The Home Office itself says, "inevitably conditions of overcrowding and poor physical facilities do not help those with a tendency towards psychological disorder." The Department has a talent for understatement, if nothing else!

Yet the prison authorities still maintain the fiction that offenders serving prison sentences are receiving 'corrective treatment', preparing them to play a useful role in society! Packed into overcrowded cells, broken by a few hours sewing mail-bags, brutalisation and a closer acquaintance with the criminal fraternity are the only training most prisoners get.

Why should the labour

movement care about all this? Not out of any wish to justify crime. Robbery, rape and murder are not in the interests of the working class. But nor are the workers responsible for the brutal social conditions which give rise to many crimes.

Here, however, is one reason why we should be concerned: "Work camps for unemployed 'workshy' offenders, bigger fines related to an offender's wage, are two proposals published yesterday by the Magistrates' Association" ('The Times', 24 July, 1980).

What are these rabid reactionaries—responsible for the 'administration' of 'justice'—going to do when

confronted with workers arrested on the picket line?

They, the judges and the top policemen, are the legal shock troops of the capitalist class. Along with the rest of their class, they are preparing an offensive on the working class; the law will be one of their weapons.

It's in the labour movement's own interests that it fights for basic rights for prisoners. The deterioration of prison conditions does nothing to prevent crime, but it does provide another weapon in the bosses' armoury, to be used when necessary against the labour movement.

# THE HAPPY DAYS ARE OVER

By  
Bob Wade  
(Brentwood & Ongar LPYS)

The South East of England has traditionally been an affluent area, with most workers having well paid and secure jobs. But with the capitalist system going deeper into crisis all this has changed.

My home town of Brentwood is a typical case—the wealth of London's middle class suburbia in the past rubbed off onto the workers; if the wages at the small manufacturing industries weren't enough, you could always get a part time job in the many squash clubs, pubs and restaurants to help make ends meet. Life was fairly comfortable.

Not any more. The town's

major employer, SELO (which produces Ilford films) has announced it's closing down. Brentwood's four major hospitals are continually cutting back on staff—the maternity hospital closed down years ago.

And the major employer for the area—the mighty Ford motor company with its sites in Dagenham, Basildon and Brentwood—has even begun

discussing redundancies.

Brentwood now has an unprecedented 1,500 unemployed. I was in my local recently when I met 'one of the many.' His situation was desperate. An ex-soldier, he had to leave his last job in the Post Office through back trouble. While off sick for a long period he had used up all his 'earnings related' payments, and was now given the grand sum of £14.50 dole money to survive on!

This middle-aged man had no choice but to move back with his pensioner mother—but by doing so he could not claim any lodgings payment, even though he gave his mother £10 a week.

If he was given it he was told, it would be 'taken into consideration' when his mother's pension payments were calculated. It was Catch-22—they both lost out.

And he told how his brother, also unemployed, had returned home that day fuming after a visit to the local job centre. On one of his many visits he quickly spotted a new card advertising a job as a grave digger. 'Just the job' thought his brother.

He took the card to the counter and waited expectantly while the smiling receptionist sorted out the details. Then came the question, "What qualifications do you have, please?"

"What...do you mean?"

"Qualifications," came the reply, "when you were at school, did you get any CSEs or 'O' levels?"

"But surely I don't need any certificates to dig holes in the ground?" The apologetic look on the receptionist's face told him that in these days of mass unemployment, he did. Understandably, the man's brother blew his top and stormed out.

The ghoul of mass unemployment has come to the South East. Workers here have been living on borrowed time—the days of affluence are now gone.

# CHILE

The Chile Solidarity Campaign have decided not to call a demonstration against the Junta this year. London LPYS members are requested to support a picket of the Chilean Embassy on September 11th—the anniversary of the coming to power of the military dictatorship.

The LPYS National Committee call on all LPYS branches to arrange public meetings and activities to condemn the regime and secure aid for the Chilean Socialist Party in the interior.

By  
Nick Toms

(Vice-Chairman, LPYS National Committee)

# YCAU

The Youth Campaign Against Unemployment is supporting the Labour Party's national demonstration on unemployment in Liverpool on November 29th.

It has therefore been necessary to postpone the previously announced YCAU national conference of November 15th.

Militant pamphlet  
"The 35-hour week  
and the fight against  
unemployment"  
By Brian Ingham  
Price 40p (+ 10p p&p)  
from World Books,  
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## FORTY YEARS SINCE THE ASSASSINATION

# TROTSKY'S IDEAS ARE VITAL FOR MARXISTS TO

**Forty years ago this month, Leon Trotsky, the co-leader of the October revolution and organiser of the Soviet Red Army, was murdered by Stalin's hired assassin.**

On 29th August, 1940, Ramond Mercader, an agent of the GPU, buried an ice pick in Trotsky's skull. The murder was the culmination of a long, bloody campaign by Stalin's regime to eliminate a whole generation of genuine Bolshevik-Leninists of the Left Opposition, both in Russia and internationally.

The terror was intended to assure the security and permanence of Russia's ruling bureaucracy—and to bury forever the genuine Marxist ideas of socialist internationalism and workers' democracy upheld by Trotsky.

Yet never have Trotsky's ideas had such a relevance as they have today, or such an influence among the younger generation of working-class activists.

Once "Trotskyist" was used by both the capitalists and the right in the labour movement almost as a profane oath—"Trotskyist" was even more terrible than "communist." While vehemently denouncing Stalinism, attempting to use the crimes of the bureaucratic dictatorship to discredit the very idea of a genuine socialist society, the enemies of socialism have always been ready to borrow the distortions and slanders hurled against Trotsky by the Stalinist leaders.

Yet today, even the capitalist commentators and academics are forced to pay grudging tribute to Trotsky's revolutionary role and ideas—while trying to blunt their contemporary relevance.

The mountain of lies and historical falsifications built by the Stalinists has eroded and crumbled. This process, of course, is not unconnected with the sharpening of the crisis in the Stalinist states and the reformist degeneration of the western Communist parties. Even amongst those who do not fully understand or support Trotsky's ideas, there is widespread recognition of his magnificent role in the Russian revolution—and

**By Lynn  
Walsh**

as leader of the only real opposition to Stalin's leadership.

The historian E.H. Carr, for instance, while distancing himself from Trotsky's ideas, writes "that on one point his credentials are beyond cavil or challenge. From the moment of Stalin's rise to power to the moment of his own assassination...one theme, one obsession, pervaded and coloured everything that he did and wrote. He was the supreme adversary of Stalin and everything Stalin stood for."

As early as 1923, Trotsky began to oppose the policies and methods of the right wing emerging in the Bolshevik Party, which was increasingly reflecting the interests and prejudices of a new privileged caste, a bureaucracy which was developing in the party and all the organisations of the state. Led by Stalin, with the support at various times of Zinoviev and Kamenev, and Bukharin, this fraction of the party, which had opposed Lenin in October 1917, began more and more to undermine the elements of democracy within the party and the soviets.

The struggle between Stalin and the Left Opposition, however, was not simply a battle of ideas and policy. To consolidate his leadership and suppress all criticism of his mistakes and blunders, Stalin was prepared to go to any lengths, first to repress the opposition, later to exterminate a whole generation of old Bolsheviks, including collaborators who helped him to power but subsequently became an embarrassment or a challenge to Stalin's leadership.

Stalin weighed up the possibility of killing Trotsky in 1928, but feared that it would carry the risk of violent retaliation from the young members of the party and the Red Army who were still loyal

to Trotsky's idea.

Instead, Trotsky was exiled, first to Turkey, and subsequently to France, then Norway, and finally Mexico. But the bloody purges against the Trotskyists continued in Russia, reaching a climax with the grotesque show trials of 1937/38. Even in exile, most of Trotsky's family, friends, and close collaborators were either killed or driven to suicide by Stalin's secret police. Eventually, the GPU succeeded in murdering Trotsky himself.

Writing in his recently published memoirs, Leopold Trepper, a genuine revolutionary caught up in the machine of the GPU, admits that it is only the Trotskyists who can claim the honour of protesting against Stalinism at the time: "they fought Stalinism to the death, and they were the only ones who did."

However, it should not be forgotten, Trepper says, "that they had the enormous advantage over us of having a coherent political system capable of replacing Stalinism. They had something to cling to in the midst of their profound distress at seeing the revolution betrayed."

And Trotsky himself commented in his Diary in 1935: "you cannot live through it (life in that period—LW) without falling into prostration and cynicism unless you have before you a great idea which raises you above personal misery, above weakness, above all kinds of perfidy and baseness."

Indeed, among the leaders of the Bolshevik Party after Lenin's death, it was only Trotsky who had the political and, above all, the moral reserves to sustain a fight against Stalinism.

Many academics and so-called 'Marxists', always more ready to pay homage to those with material power than to recognise the power of ideas, have dismissed Trotsky, even ridiculed him, for being "out-manoeuvred" by Stalin, for spending his last years in exile and isolation. Yet from the point of view of Marxism, Trotsky's role during the period of his third and last exile was as important, if not more important, than his contribution as co-leader of the October revolution.

During the period of the degeneration of the Russian revolution, which was an inevitable result of the defeat of the revolution internationally, Trotsky analysed and explained the processes taking place—and fought for a

programme for the restoration of workers' democracy in the Soviet Union.

Internationally, Trotsky formulated new strategy and tactics for the advanced layer of the working class in a period of revolutionary convulsions and, unfortunately, catastrophic defeats as a result of the policies adopted by Stalinism.

Confiding to his 'Diary in Exile' in 1935, Trotsky wrote: "I think that the work in which I am engaged now, despite its extremely insufficient and fragmentary nature, is the most important work of my life—more important than 1917, more important than the period of the civil war or any other." The absolutely vital role Trotsky played in the revolution—which he actually underplays in his "History of the Russian Revolution"—underlines the importance Trotsky attached to his work in exile.

"Now my work is indispensable in the full sense of the word...the collapse of the two Internationals has posed the problem which none of the leaders of these Internationals is at all equipped to solve. The vicissitudes of my personal fate have confronted me with this problem and armed me with important experience in dealing with it. There is now no-one except me to carry out the mission of arming a new generation with the revolutionary method over the heads of the leaders of the Second and Third Internationals."

There is not a trace of boastfulness or personal vanity in this statement: the ideas worked out by Trotsky in that period have indeed proved to be indispensable for the education and re-arming of Marxists today.

It is only Trotsky's analysis of the degeneration of the Russian revolution that has stood the test of time. When workers ask: will socialism work? Will it not be like Russia, with a terrible totalitarian dictatorship? it is only the ideas set out in 'Revolution Betrayed' and many other books and articles written by Trotsky between 1923 and 1940 which can provide a real answer.

Trotsky's conception of the 'permanent revolution,' the idea that Russia's small but relatively powerful working class would have to take over the tasks of the national-democratic revolution from Russia's sickly capitalist class, was brilliantly confirmed by the October revolution. But the other side to this perspective—a conception



completely shared by Lenin—was that the working class could only proceed to the socialist tasks which would immediately face them on the basis of the international extension of the revolution to more developed capitalist countries with stronger working classes.

On the basis of isolation in an economically backward and culturally barbarous country, degeneration, with

the development of the totalitarian bureaucracy, was inevitable. Stalin's idea of "socialism in one country" was simply the rationalisation of this process.

As the isolation of the Soviet state was reinforced by the blunders of the Stalinist leadership, which contributed to the defeats of the workers in western Europe, this stratum, through manoeuvres and bloody purges, trans-

# EAS R DAY



formed the former Bolshevik Party into an instrument of its own rule.

Nevertheless, while usurping the power of the working class, the bureaucracy still preserved the economic and social gains of the revolution, which remain the basis of its power. Despite the monstrous waste and mismanagement which arose from the lack of democratic control, the nationalisation of production

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

Through his analysis of the social and political relations that developed in Russia, Trotsky provided a clear theoretical explanation of Stalinism.

With socialised property relations, on the one hand, and the rule of a despotic bureaucracy, on the other, Trotsky characterised the Soviet Union as a "deformed workers' state," defining Stalin's regime as a regime of "proletarian Bonapartism."

Trotsky's analysis of proletarian Bonapartism has proved to be indispensable, not only for understanding developments in Russia, but for explaining post-war developments in China, Cuba, Syria, Ethiopia, and a number of other countries which have experienced similar social changes.

In the first period of the Opposition after 1923, Trotsky stood for the reform of the Bolshevik party and the state, calling for the restoration of inner-party and soviet democracy. But after 1933, when the betrayals of the Comintern and the victory of fascism in Germany marked a new stage of developments, Trotsky drew the conclusion that only a supplementary, political revolution could overthrow the bureaucracy and restore healthy workers' democracy.

The demands of the International Left Opposition were a re-statement of the original programme of Lenin: Free and democratic elections with the right of recall over all officials in the party, the state, and industry; No official to be paid more than a skilled worker, and an end to bureaucratic privilege and corruption; Abolition of the standing army, and its replacement by a democratic workers' militia; Democratic workers' control and management in industry, and a return of the democratic role of the workers' and peasants' councils (soviets).

In spite of the terror directed against the opposition, and the bloody personal revenge Stalin exacted from Trotsky's family, Trotsky never abandoned the defence of the gains of October which remained after the Russian "Thermidor."

Yet in the 1930s, because of the horrendous scale of Stalin's terror and the terrible defeats of the workers at the hands of fascism in Italy, Germany and Spain, many ex-communists and 'Marxist' intellectuals rejected Trotsky's idea that the Soviet Union was a "deformed workers' state."

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

These ideas reflected a complete loss of confidence in the working class, whose role, according to these theories, was now taken over by a new social stratum. In their confusion and despair, these pseudo-Marxist intellectuals had written off all the gains of the October revolution, accepting in practice that Russia was simply a new variant of capitalism, so-called "state capitalism."

The developments of the last thirty years, however, have absolutely refuted these ideas. The former champions of the theory of "state capitalism" now have little to say on the subject.

There is now a sharpening economic crisis in the Stalinist states: but it arises from the contradictions of bureaucratic "planning" and the lack of democracy, and is fundamentally different from the problems of the capitalist economies. Contrary to the prognosis of Burnham, Shachtman and others, there has been no "convergence" of totalitarian monopoly capitalism and totalitarian state capitalism.

Ironically, in the post-war period Trotsky's ideas came to be questioned from the opposite point of view. Bowing down before Stalinism as an accomplished fact, quasi-Marxists like Trotsky's biographer, Isaac Deutscher, put forward the idea after Stalin's death that there would be a process of de-Stalinisation, with the gradual restoration of democracy. They welcomed Khrushchev's "liberalisation" as the beginning of such a process. In effect, they had concluded that the political revolution advocated by Trotsky was no longer necessary: the bureaucracy would be gradually reformed out of existence.

But developments in Russia and Eastern Europe since that period have demonstrated how false their conception was. After 1956, with the crisis in Poland and the uprising in Hungary, the bureaucracy undoubtedly attempted to remove some of the more oppressive features of Stalin's rule and partially meet the economic demands of the workers in an attempt to dampen opposition.

But the recent strike movement in Poland is yet another sign of the sharpening conflict between the working class and the bureaucracy which, while being forced to make partial economic concessions from time to time, has been forced back to more repressive policies. Events in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and elsewhere in Eastern Europe show that it is to the programme of the political revolution—taken up within a few days by the Hungarian workers when they rose against the Stalinist dictatorship in 1956—that the workers of the deformed workers' states will turn.

Forty years after Trotsky's assassination, the Kremlin bureaucrats are still mortally afraid of the wider dissemination of his ideas. Despite Khrushchev's limited attack on Stalinism and the partial "re-habilitation" of many of the victims of the purges, there have been no moves whatsoever to acknowledge openly Trotsky's role in 1917 or to allow the free publication of his works in Russia. Nevertheless, we may be certain that Trotsky's ideas are circulated and discussed in the underground oppositional circles which certainly exist amongst the advanced workers of Russia and Eastern Europe.

Trotsky's ideas are being bought to the fore because the relatively progressive role played by the bureaucracy while the nationalised, planned economy was still able to take Russia forward, is now completely exhausted. The bureaucracy has become an absolute fetter on further progress, while the vast, highly educated, highly cultured working class that has developed is straining at its

Stalinist chains.

Trotsky's critics, including many so-called "Marxists", have often scornfully pointed to the fact that his perspectives for the Second World War and its aftermath were not borne out by events. Trotsky had predicted that the war would be followed by revolutionary upheavals which would decide the fate of capitalism and Stalinism, with either successful social revolution in the West and political revolution in Russia—or barbarous capitalist counter-revolution East and West.

In fact, the war was indeed followed by massive revolutionary upheavals. What Trotsky did not foresee—and could not have predicted—was the relative strengthening of Stal-

inism. Because of the enormous resilience of the planned economy in spite of the bureaucracy, on the one side, and the international weakening of imperialism which was forced to abandon Eastern Europe and China and retreat from direct domination of its former colonial possessions, on the other side, the war had an unexpected outcome.

The leaders of the Stalinist parties, acting on orders from Moscow, in conjunction with the reformist leaders of the workers' movement, de-railed the post-war movements and handed the shattered states and economies in Italy, France, Greece, and other countries back to the capitalist powers without a struggle. This counter-revolutionary policy established the political pre-conditions for a new period of prolonged capitalist upswing and relative stability.

But the long post-war boom of capitalism has now exhaus-

ted itself. Even the capitalist commentators are forced to recognise that the world recession of 1974/75 signalled the end of the long boom. The working class of the advanced capitalist countries, enormously strengthened by the boom period, are again moving into action against capitalism. The events of the last decade, particularly in Spain, Portugal, Italy, Greece, as well as Britain, have confirmed the fundamental Marxist conception that the working class of the advanced capitalist countries are the key to socialist revolution internationally.

This is not to say, of course, that the struggles of the oppressed people of the economically under-developed countries, which has continued in spite of the post-war boom, will not take on an even greater intensity in the next period. These movements will go together with the development of the political revolution in Russia and Eastern Europe.

In terms of time-scale, Trotsky's prognoses proved to be inaccurate. But Marxism can never provide a blue-print and time-table: perspectives have to be worked out by analysing the broad economic, social, and political trends in society. In essence, however, Trotsky's predictions have been brilliantly confirmed. His warning, for instance that Stalin's idea of "socialism in one country" would lead to the disintegration of the Communist International and the putrefaction of the communist parties has been completely confirmed by events!

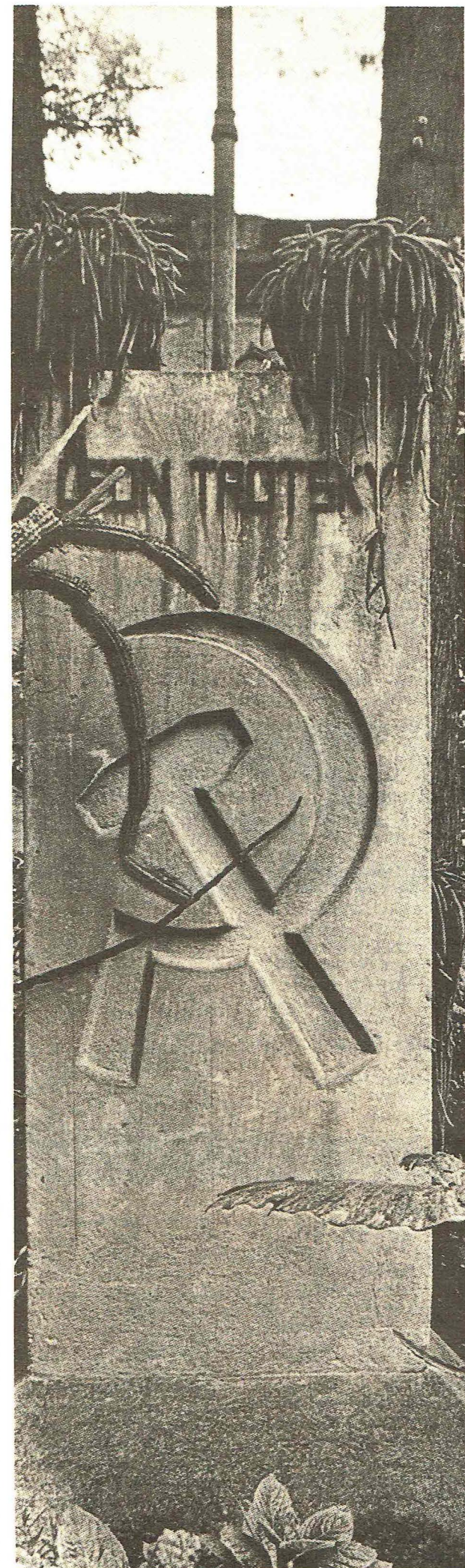
Trotsky himself commented on the problem of formulating perspectives: "Engels' prognoses are always optimistic," he wrote in his 'Diary in Exile.' "Not infrequently they run ahead of the actual course of events. But is it possible in general to make predictions which—to use a French expression—would not 'burn' some of the intermediate stages?"

"In the last analysis Engels is always right. What he says in his letters [ie. to Florence Wischenewetsky in America in the 1880s and '90s—LW] about the development of England and the United States was fully confirmed only in the post [first world] war epoch, forty or fifty years later, but it certainly was confirmed!"

The same conclusion can be drawn in relation to Trotsky. The perspective and programme he upheld in opposition to Stalinism have certainly been confirmed. His warnings of the danger of fascism and his analysis of its social and political character were also tragically borne out by events.

Only the conceptions of "uneven and combined development" and "proletarian Bonapartism" can explain the post-war development of the colonial revolution. And Trotsky's writings on the strategy and tactics for the working class of the advanced capitalist countries are an indispensable weapon for present-day Marxists.

We are proud to stand on the ideas of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. But above all, in their burning relevance to the contemporary problems, it is the ideas of Trotsky which will play a vital role in re-arming the present generation of working-class activists for the over-riding, urgent task of our epoch: the socialist transformation of society, in Britain and internationally.



Trotsky's grave in Mexico

# GIVE WHAT YOU CAN

What do you spend your money on? Well, naturally you will say, "food, housing, clothing and the occasional drink, smoke or night out [very occasional these days!]."

If you think a little longer, you'll remember transport, toys and sweets for the kids, the TV, newspapers, the dues for the Labour Party and your trade union and, possibly, if you are a regular reader of the Militant, the occasional donation to the Militant.

What you won't generally think of is how much you pay each week for arms, gunboats, bombs, planes etc. The average for these items works out to be over £15 per family (and the Tories have just increased defence spending by the cost of a loaf of bread per family per week!).

And how much better off would you be if your local council had no debt charges to pay the moneylenders? The average in Lambeth, for example, is more than £13 a week for every family!

Compared with these sums isn't a 'fiver' for Militant's fighting fund worth every penny! We have a case to argue against every evil of capitalist society and the only way the fight can be won is with the backing of workers like yourselves who will have nothing to lose and everything to gain!

Many Militant supporters have contributed in various ways towards the £1,130 raised this week. Only a few examples are given below and because of our reduced size the area chart cannot be shown.

But in the remaining 21 weeks of the years the average

## By Clare Doyle

fighting fund income must reach more than double this week's figure i.e. over £2,300. So...very many more "fighting fivers" must come in and many more £s and pences. Examples to follow:—

Personal donations of more than £5: Newcastle Reader £50, Brighton £40, Dundee £35, two readers in Wakefield total of £30, S. London Trade Unionist £20, 'May 14th Pay' £14.31 (!) and readers in Wakefield total of £30, R. Worth (EETPU Totnes) £9.

Fivers and under: S. Foster (Shropshire) and 'A Communist Party member' £5; I. Milne (Fife) £3; M. Neald, Basildon Labour Party £1.85; K. Gower, Westminster CLP £1.40; Student Nurse, S. Pearce, St. Mary's Paddington £1 and OAP, K. Paine (Bristol) 50p.

LP Young Socialists' donations: Sec. Tower Hamlets YS, J. Jones £5; Sec. Enfield N. G. Nardell £3; J. Kelly, Patchway YS £2; J. Hunter (Burnley), K. Farthing and J. Eanes (Reading) £1 each.

Trade Unionists: COHSE member, M. Kershaw (Huddersfield) £3.50; Busmen—R. Binns, Leeds £3 and A. Pandolfo, Manchester £2; USDAW member, J. Ivors (Newcastle) £1.60; EMI Shop Steward, J. O'Brien (Hayes) £1.25; Sec. Monktonhall NUM (Big Bobby Ogg) £1; Bristol Rolls Royce worker 50p 'extra' for his Militant and many others, including this week, workers in the G & MWU, UCATT, ASLE&F, EETPU, ASTMS, and NALGO.

# ads

CLASSIFIED: 5p per word, minimum ten words  
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- Militant GMWU Review..... 20p
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- UPW: Democracy and socialism ..... 10p
- A fighting socialist programme for USDAW ..... 20p
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- A Militant programme for NUPE ..... 20p
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Add 10p for postage for all pamphlets  
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MAPROGRAPHICS notes that during our move from 32 Worpole Road Mews to new premises some orders for Plunder Woman badges have gone astray. Will anyone who has not yet received their badges please phone Martin on 01-543 3864 as soon as possible. Business now as usual at 108 Merton High Street, London SW19 1DE.

**NICK BROOKS AND JOSIE BELL'S Wedding** A party to celebrate at 228 Weston Lane, Woolston, on 30 August at 8.30 A collection for the 'Militant' Fighting Fund will be held.

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## CLASSIFIED

**STOP THE TORIES RALLY**  
Pavillion Theatre, New Road, Brighton 8.00 pm

Thursday 21 August 1980  
Speakers:

**Bob Wright**  
[Presidential Candidate, AUEW]  
**Dennis Skinner MP**  
**Tony Saunois**  
[Labour Party NEC]

## GREET LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE

Get your Labour Party or LPYS branch, trade union or shop stewards' committee to place their greetings to Labour Party Conference in the pages of 'Militant'. Support the paper that fights for socialism.

Rates for greetings:

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Display:  
one-sixteenth page...£7  
one-eighth page...£14  
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Closing date for copy is Saturday 13 September, but send your greetings as early as possible to: the Circulation Department, Militant, 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN

## 'Militant' Summer Camp

**August Bank Holiday 1980: Bank Farm, Horton, Gower, West Glamorgan. Friday August 22-Monday August 25.**

Come to the Wales Summer Camp! For the fifth time we are organising our highly successful camp in the beautiful surroundings of Horton in the Gower [10 minutes walk from Port Eynon and Horton beaches]. It will provide not only an excellent introduction to the basics of Marxism, but provide a superb holiday for the family.

First class entertainment is being organised as well as sports and fancy dress for the children. Creche facilities will be available. Snacks will also be provided. Campers will need their own tents etc.

### POLITICAL EVENTS

- Sat 10am-12.30: Introduction to Marxism—Ted Grant.
- Sat 6pm-8.30: Theory and practice of the General Strike—Tony Mulhearn.
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£8.00 per person [snacks provided].  
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Free to under 5.

Money to and details from: R. Sewell, 99 Pendery Road, Penlan, Swansea.  
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## 'Militant' Weekend School

Come to the Danville Hotel (on sea-front) in sunny Margate On Saturday/Sunday August 30/31

Saturday 11—1: 'An introduction to Marxist economics'. Ted Grant.  
2.30—5.00. 'The Socialist Way Forward for Labour'. Ray Apps. 8.30...Social at hotel (with food)  
Sunday 10.00—1.00. 'Chile—Lessons of '70-'73 and the Way Forward'. Sunday afternoon...sunbathe on beach.  
Bookings and queries to K Nicholson, 25 Grotto Road, Margate, Kent. Tel. (0843) 291293. Cost: only £7.50 (including bed & breakfast at Danville Hotel). Children: half-price.



### Unasked questions

Dear Comrades  
Re your article in the 'Militant' (issue 507) on the Derek Robinson meeting held in Edinburgh, at which I was present.

Tam Burke, the author of the article who was also there and the first speaker in the discussion period, I think failed to bring the real nub of the question forward. That is; first, why did Derek Robinson get 'the boot' from Leylands? Second, why did he not get the unqualified support of the shop-floor.

I think these questions should have been discussed more thoroughly. Don't get me wrong; I am not slagging Tam Burke, I think he made an important contribution, sounding out the official Communist Party viewpoint on import controls etc.

But I still think more probing of the Leyland debacle would have brought out the CP's industrial motives, which I think led to a very nasty defeat of

solid trade unionists at Leyland.

At this juncture in time, I don't think we can add any more defeats, i.e. Grunwicks, Leyland, etc—putting it in mathematical terms the sum total equals disaster.

Yours fraternally  
Bill Pendruch  
Edinburgh North CLP

### Writing on the wall

Dear Editor,

The following quote was seen on a wall at a tenants' group street party in Altona, West Germany, where the housing problems are very serious. It is taken from Bert Brecht's "Book of Changes" and needs no comment.

"There are many ways of killing. You can stab someone in the stomach, take away his bread, not cure him of an illness, stick him in bad housing, grind him to death through work, drive him to suicide, send him off to war, etc. Few of them are forbidden in our country."

Fraternally,  
Greg Powell,  
Hamburg.

### Claimants' rights

Comrades

Jessie Draper's letter 'Conning School Leavers' (Militant 511) raises a subject that, I feel, is on the whole neglected by yourselves and the socialist movement in general: 'The unemployment rip off'. We are all well aware of the present government's attitude to unemployment—it is an integral part of their monetarist policy—but how many of us are aware of the treatment that claimants receive?

Having worked with three organisations in the poverty industry, a Claimants' Union, Citizens' Advice Bureau and the Scottish Association for the care and resettlement of offenders (SACRO) for the past three years, I am appalled at the abuse of claimants' rights by some of the staff of the DHSS.

Supplementary benefit is the area where the claimants' rights are most exploited. In the year 1977/78

there was an estimated £380m unclaimed in benefits, and while Claimants' Unions and other organisations have increased their potential to help, the amount unclaimed for 79/80 is expected to be even higher.

I find it hard to stomach the fact that the people who are in most need of state assistance to survive are so callously dealt with. I have had meetings with a few of the union members of my local DHSS office and while they are acting on behalf of claimants' interests, unfortunately the same cannot be said of all members of staff of all DHSS offices.

I ask all comrades who deal with the unemployed to do everything they can to help them receive their rights, pitiful as they are. I would do ask that all members of the CPSA and SCPS actively fight 'the unspoken code' that exists regarding the limiting of amounts paid to claimants for exceptional needs payments etc.

In conclusion, I hope the 'Militant' will devote more space, time and energy to exposing the realities of the unemployment rip-off.

Yours  
Jim McKirdy  
Castlemilk  
Glasgow

### Anti-Nuclear Arms Unity

Dear Comrades,

Martin Ryle (letters 1/8/80) argues that socialists should be prepared to work with Catholics, Liberals, Anarchists or Methodists in the struggle to halt the arms race.

It is not a question of who socialists should be prepared to work with; in the trade union movement socialists have to 'work with' people of many and various opinions—I've stood on the same picket line as Hindus, Seventh-Day Adventists, even Tories. The question is whether we are prepared to water down our programme and what the class basis of the movement is.

There is all the difference in the world between trying to involve politically backward workers in the struggle and trying to woo the heads of the Church, the Liberal Party or whatever to speak on CND platforms. The first can strengthen the movement, the second can only weaken it.

Secondly, how is the arms race to be halted? By petitions? By peace treaties between governments? Is comrade Ryle aware that the Peace Pledge Union collected millions of signatures for peace...shortly before the

Second World War broke out? Is he aware that every war in history has been preceded by an epidemic of "peace treaties" between governments?

It is only the movement of the working class which has the power to end the arms race. The capitalists on the West and the Stalinist bureaucracies in the East have a vested interest in retaining the "nuclear balance of terror"; the working class has no such vested interest.

Workers who are Catholics, Liberals or what-have-you are not children. They will never respect or listen to socialists who try to disguise and water down their ideas.

Such socialists are doing a grave disservice to the movement by confirming their worst fears that there is something so horrific about the socialist programme that it needs to be hidden from them. On the contrary, the socialist programme links together the question of arms with the hundred and one everyday problems they have to cope with and presents them with a realistic alternative.

Yours fraternally,  
Derek McMillan

# Defend union activists CPSA MUST TAKE UP NATIONAL FIGHT

By Bill Boyle  
(CPSA, DHSS,  
personal capacity)

The Civil and Public Services Association's annual conference in May this year overwhelmingly carried a motion calling on the National Executive Committee to fully support Phil Cordell, secretary, Department of Employment Brixton branch, in his fight for reinstatement.

Phil has been sacked for trade union activities. Conference was in no doubt that he should be supported and that industrial action would begin on the day of his dismissal.

Since conference, another Brixton activist has been sacked. Richard Cleverley, the branch organiser, was sacked on 27 June for 'unauthorised absences' as a result of branch decisions to take industrial action.

The present National Executive Committee decided to take no action until the Civil Service appeal board hearings, apart for a one-day strike on 13 June and a three-day official strike at Brixton from 25 July, when Cleverley was sacked.

The NEC made the appeal boards an excuse for total inaction. No campaign was attempted in the face of a concerted attack by the Tories, using the reactionary DOE management.

They carefully picked out a strong trade union branch in

a weak section of the membership. Management knew the organisational difficulties we would face, but the NEC did nothing.

The strike on 13 June was only partially successful, mainly in London and DHSS Scotland, proving that there was much work still to be done to explain the issues and dangers of this precedent to the whole membership.

This was doubly confirmed on 27 June when Cleverley was sacked. The response to the call for a national day of action, in protest, was extremely disappointing.

The Brixton Campaign Committee failed to draw the obvious conclusions from 27 June. Cordell and others at Brixton are members of the Socialist Workers Party. Misled by their advice and frustrated at the lack of solidarity on 27th, the Brixton branch threw all its energies into organising indefinite strike action. The decision to come out indefinitely from 30 July was a courageous demonstration of determination, but as is now clear, it was premature and tactically unsound.

In the face of management's crushing determination and the disgraceful attitude of the union leadership, the Brixton campaign

must have realised that the strike would not be made official. It was vital that the campaign was extended beyond Brixton. What was needed was a national defence campaign.

The strike has become a severe financial drain, diverting much-needed resources required to publicise and explain the issues at stake, with speaking tours, leaflets and circulars raising the urgent need for action by the union as a whole.

The members at Brixton are unquestionably ready and willing to fight to defend their union officers. In isolation, however, they will become demoralised by the lack of progress, and bitterly drift back to work.

We must applaud their determination, but we must now concentrate on forcing the union to use all its resources at a national level to win reinstatement and halt the victimisation of union activists. All the issues involved, and the potential consequences of allowing these sackings to go unchallenged, must be explained clearly to every member, in order to exert full pressure on the leadership for action at a national level. Further action must be planned, linked to a mass campaign of publicity.

This case is a dangerous threat to every trade union activist in the Civil Service. With the correct strategy we can win this vital fight, defeating this reactionary spearhead for the Tory attacks on the Civil Service.

## STOP PRESS

Over 10 arrested at Brixton CPSA mass picket, August 13th. Police Chief said he was implementing new Code of Practice.

# Send Unilever packing

The 253 staff at Unilever Export, Port Sunlight, have been told to pack their bags and move south to Bristol! The paternalist mask has slipped to reveal the ruthless nature of this multi-national giant. ASTMS members are being forced into industrial action.

The Port Sunlight offices handle export orders for a multitude of Unilever companies all supposedly independent—Lever Brothers, Birds Eye, Batchelors, Walls, Gibbs, Vandenburgs Yorgen, John West etc. The 253 staff comprise 66 managers, 56 assistance managers and 130 clerks.

The company claim that they want to move in two phases and leave a staff of 70

By Richard  
Venton

at Port Sunlight. There is no great reason to believe this.

A similar move took place at their office in Liverpool in the past when they moved to Basingstoke, kept the skeleton staff in Liverpool and then sacked them when their jobs were computerised.

Unilever Export are in the middle of computerisation at the moment. The danger signals are there to be seen. Unilever claim to be very generous in their offer of disturbance allowances, but

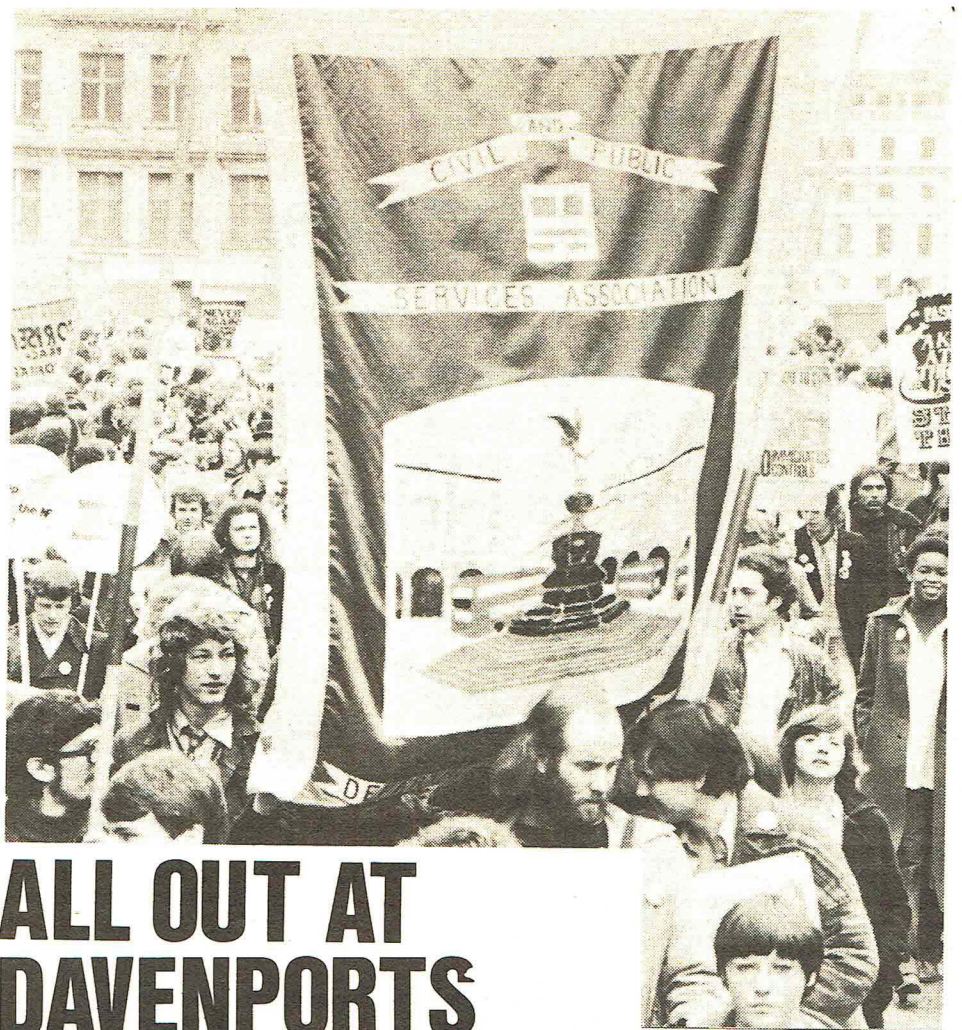
these are based on percentages so for the majority of staff it would be pittance. What about the human cost of having to uproot whole families from their homes, friends and schools?

This notoriously anti-union company have not negotiated or consulted for one minute. The ASTMS Clerical branch have agreed to industrial action starting with a one-day strike.

This must be the start for a united campaign of all Unilever workers to force a retreat by the Company. A victory for the staff at Unilever Export would boost the hopes of all Unilever workers, white collar and blue collar.

further £2,000 has been donated to the strike fund by the Bakers' Union and the workers have organised regular leafletting of local King Henry's shops.

Management's attempt to operate the bakery with cheap non-union labour is a foretaste of what the Tories would like to inflict on us all. There is no doubt about the



CPSA members on the march

Photo: MILITANT

## ALL OUT AT DAVENPORTS

In Mrs Thatcher's recent immortal words, "British management are beginning to manage."

At Davenport's brewery, Birmingham, the result is that shareholders received a 25% increase in their dividends while the creators of that wealth, the shop floor workers, were offered 9.4% with strings. After deductions this would mean, in some cases, a £1 increase in take-home pay.

We had submitted our claim for £15 plus some fringe benefits, the average settlement for the brewery trade. Management came back with the offer of £5-£6, with an increase of up to 100% in canteen prices.

Such was the anger on the shop floor that at a mass meeting 99.9% elected to go on strike—the first all out strike action in 150 years.

A week ago the Tories

announced that all council rents are going up by at least £2. With large increases in gas and electricity prices and travel fares to come, on top of 20% inflation, it is easy to see that once again the working class is being asked to make the sacrifices in a capitalist crisis.

Management at Davenport have threatened us with court action and withholding of money due. So much for the 'family image' on which they claim the firm has been built!

With profits at £1½ million, it is not that they can't afford our claim. But the squeeze is being felt throughout the brewery trade—ironically one of the biggest contributors to Tory Party funds.

By Brian Moore

(T&GWU Shop Steward,  
Davenport)

## TANDY'S FIGHT FOR RECOGNITION

Scab drivers, a security 'schizo' and one-eyed cops are an every-day experience for pickets at Tandy's warehouse, Wolverhampton, in their three-month battle for union recognition.

Three cowboy drivers have scuttled through the picket line, dropping about 12 loads, in the last two weeks. It was established that one of the wagons was being driven under the name of the previous owner and without a tax disc.

When the police were told they said they would look into it, but were not able to travel the half-mile to Tandy's. They were too busy.

On other occasions police have responded swiftly to calls by Tandy's 'Kojak Charlie' [with hair] Haigh. The horrendous crime of throwing a stink bomb

warranted two policemen taking statements and 'looking into' the incident.

One picket's brother was arrested for retrieving two bags belonging to his son. Charges were dropped had snatched off the picket line. Charges were dropped when it was verified that the 'Express' and 'Star' bags were for his son's paper round and not stolen property from Tandy.

In between ringing the police, Haigh has been taking shots of the picket line with a cine-camera and noting the names of those present.

A national boycott has been organised with pickets on all Tandy stores on Fridays and Saturdays. So far, picketing has been effective in disrupting trade. One Birmingham shop manager went to the lengths of getting stooges to cross the picket, in an attempt to maintain an appearance of 'business as usual.'

All LPYS branches and Labour Party members should contact the local T&GWU office or T&GWU officer Jack Jones at the Wolverhampton office, tel. Wolverhampton 26434/5, to take part and crush this anti-union firm.

By Ken Brownsey  
(Withington Labour  
Party)

By Brian Debus

## QUAKERS - OUT TILL SACKINGS LIFTED

Spirits are high on the picket line at Quakers Southall.

Management are playing a waiting game. They have written to employees trying to break their morale; they have written to the eight sacked women asking them to return their locker-keys. But as far as the workforce is concerned, no-one works unless the eight work.

Threats of closure have even been used to frighten workers, but this is ridiculous. Share prices are going up, £1 million has just been invested in new plant and profits are coming in.

A new personnel director, Richard Savage, has been appointed, on a salary of about £15,000 plus numerous perks. His specific brief is to deal with the unions. He looks like being true to his name!

The main battle now will be to stop stocks of Quaker's products being moved. There are large stocks in different warehouses around West London.

All lorries are being turned away on the picket line. AUEW & ASTMS members are going in to work, with T&G approval, as there is no work to be done while T&GWU members are out. They are fully supporting the strike.

Any Quaker Oats, Chunky Dog food, Felix Cat food, Sugar Puffs, Natural Cereal or Quaker macaroni should be blacked. Contact the T&GWU office for official instructions if necessary.

By Ed Bober

(Hendon South  
Labour Party)

## Black this bakery!

Two mass pickets were held at King Henry's bakery in Levenshulme, Manchester, last week.

These marked the firm determination of the workers, now in the sixth week of their strike for union recognition.

Manchester seems once again to be missing out on

this year's summer, but even heavy rain has failed to undermine the strikers' morale. Management are now regularly having to drive the scabs through the picket line.

A contingent of bakers from Liverpool were among those who travelled down to demonstrate their support. A

# SRI LANKA GENERAL STRIKE GAINS MOMENTUM

Workers mass outside the headquarters of the Commercial and Industrial Workers Union last week waiting for news and instructions



Photo: MILITANT

**The month long general strike in Sri Lanka took a sharp turn last Friday, August 8th.**

The reactionary United National Party government arrested large sections of the opposition leadership and closed down the Government Clerical Service Uni. headquarters and the Nava Sama Samaja Party's main office.

The freeing of the 180 detained after the previous Monday's demonstration in Kandy had raised the morale of the strikers, as did the news that health workers were beginning to join the strike.

Over 7,000 workers gathered in central Colombo on the morning of August 8th to stage a 'sathayagraha,' a peaceful sit-down protest. Almost as soon as they had arrived the police swooped and brutally arrested the protest's leaders, including Vickremebahu Karunarathne General Secretary of the Nava Sama Samaja Party.

This violent attack on a peaceful sit-down demonstration provoked a strong response and a full scale riot ensued in central Colombo. At the same time, the government of President J.R. Jayawardene moved to arrest the leaders of the general

By  
**Bob Labi**

strike. The 'Financial Times' reported that "about 30 trade union leaders" were being held including Vasudeva Nanayakkara, President of the United Federation of Labour and a leading NSSP member. L.W. Panditha, CP secretary of the Joint Trade Union Action Committee (the body leading the strike), is reportedly in hiding, while Munnanna, the trade union leader of Mrs Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom Party surrendered himself to the police.

The police are refusing even to give bail to most of those arrested, although Colvin de Silva, leader of the 'old' LSSP, and Bernard Soysa, the 'old' LSSP's secretary, have been released. It is clear that the Sri Lankan government is attempting to behead the strike.

While hitting out at many workers' leaders, it is plain that it is dealing the harshest blows against the Nava Sama Samaja Party. The NSSP has been the most militant section of the JIUAC and the only party which has been advan-

cing a clear political programme demanding: from a general strike to a mass 'Hartal', (involving workers in the towns and countryside); convene a workers' delegate council; out with the UNP government and form a revolutionary left government! The NSSP's clear programme and the leading role which its members have played in the strike has both increased the party's support and the strike's success.

President J. R. Jayawardene has said that he will pass laws to outlaw strikes, a clear warning to the Sri Lankan workers of what will happen if they are defeated. Yet the government is so nervous that its censors prevented local newspapers reporting the statement of Prime Minister Ranasinghe Premadasa on Friday's riots and arrests!

## Workers' poverty

J.R. and his UNP government are trying to paint a rosy picture of what they mockingly call the 'Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka'. Yet half the island's 14 million population live below the poverty line of 300 rupees (about £8) a month.

The UNP are not and never have been believers in 'democracy'. Its paper 'Siyarata' regularly incited the Sinhalese majority in Sri Lanka to attack the Tamil minority. Two UNP members of Par-

liament, Merryl Kariawasam and John Ameratunga, led the gang of thugs which killed D.D. Somapala during the June 5th JIUAC 'Day of protest' (see Militant 511). No-one should be fooled about what JR and his cronies stand for: racism and repression.

As soon as news of the mass arrests arrived in Britain a wave of protest arose from the British and Irish labour movements. Already the T&GWU, BFAWU, FBU and NUAAW have sent telegrams of protest. Trades Councils from as far apart as Belfast and Southampton, Midlothian and Brighton, have protested.

Michael T. Higgins, Chairman of the Irish Labour Party, also telegraphed Jayawardene. Stuart Holland, Labour MP for Vauxhall, handed in a protest petition to the Sri Lanka High Commission in London. The petition was signed by many trade unions, Trades Councils, four members of the Labour Party NEC, ten Labour MPs, Arthur Latham, Chairman of the Greater London LP and other leading activists in the labour movement.

The flood of protests must be kept up, demanding the immediate release of those still being held and the lifting of the state of emergency, to President Jayawardene, Presidential Office, Queen Street, Colombo 1, Sri Lanka. Copies of any protests along with solidarity messages and donations should be sent to Wesley Muthiah, 13 Hawthorn Avenue, London N13.

were stopped by the police. The labour and trade union movement must learn that it must use its own strength, and rely on this alone, to beat its enemy, be they fascists or bosses.

By a 'Militant' reporter

## TORY CHAOS

CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE

for workers. They are searching for another route to the same goal—making us pay for the failure of their system.

Recession or hyperinflation, unemployment or wage restraint: they all mean a bleak future for millions. Under capitalism in crisis, there is no alternative.

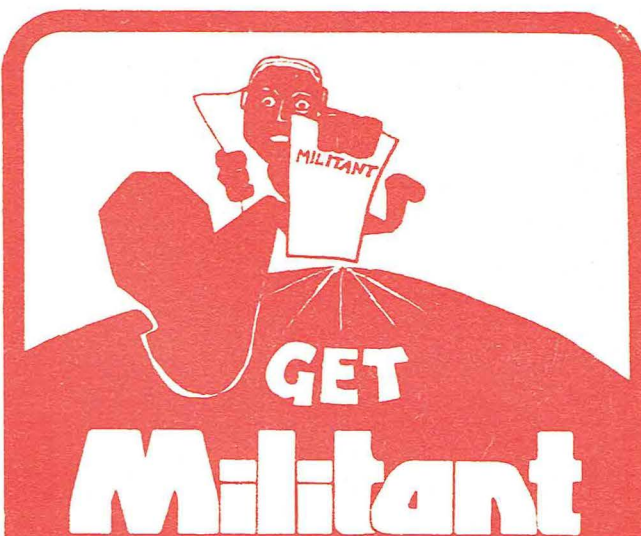
But cracks in the Tory ranks reflect fear at the reaction Thatcher's policies will provoke from the aroused mass ranks of the labour and trade union movement.

That power must be used

now to put this government out of its misery. The Tories and their capitalist system can only offer economic chaos and hardship for millions of workers.

Labour must be returned to power—but not on the watered down Tory policies of the last Labour government. What is needed is a clean break with the insane profit system.

The commanding heights of the economy—the 200 multi-national monopolies—must be nationalised under workers' control. Only then can the hallmark of this capitalist society—mass unemployment, miserable living conditions and crumbling social services—be swept away forever, and construction of the new socialist society begin.



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## WEST BROM Fight the Fascists

The Home Secretary, Whitelaw, has banned a National Front demo in West Bromwich which was to be held on August 17th.

Whitelaw and the police chiefs, learning from the past explosions of anger that followed fascists attempting to march through working class immigrant areas, have evoked the Public Order Act, the second time only since its introduction in 1936.

Despite this ban, the NF have declared they will still march, but on an undisclosed route. In response to this, an anti-racist rally is to be held and all socialists should support this.

This ban prohibits all demonstrations for a month (although the police wanted three months). Is this a victory for the working class or not? It should be quite clear that we don't want

fascists to march in our area. But the blanket ban affects all demonstrations—indeed, the local Tividale Labour Party has had to call off a demonstration on an issue which has nothing to do with fascism and racism.

The day to day activities of the police in the area have predictably been stepped up. Labour Party and LPYS members leafleting and paper selling in Soho Road recently,