

Militant

The Marxist Paper for Labour and Youth 30p

ISSUE 806 11 July 1986

Inside...

Durham Miners' Gala

Pages 8-9

South Africa

Pages 3, 5, 10

THATCHER'S phoney concern for the oppressed black workers of South Africa is highlighted by the fiasco of Geoffrey Howe's visit.

He was only going to allow the Tories more time before they might be forced into some minor economic sanctions.

But the black workers, suffering under the heel of the state of emergency saw through this sham. James Motlatsi, the South African NUM President, told the British miners' conference: "The time for fact finding missions is long past. We won't waste our time going to meet him."

Then the visit became a farce, as every black political figure apart from the stooge Buthelezi, had refused to meet Howe. Even President Botha said he could not fit a meeting in.

British capitalists have the largest stake of any country in South Africa. Firms like Barclays, Consolidated Goldfields and Pilkingtons employ over 20 per cent of their worldwide workforce in the country. Attracted by the cheap labour half the top 100 companies on the Stock Exchange have interests in South Africa.

No wonder the Tories are prepared to appease apartheid. In 1984 they welcomed Botha to Britain. In 1970 within days of winning the election, they reversed Labour's embargo on arms sales to South Africa.

Geoffrey Howe last month offered the Commons the excuse that "the South African government have begun to find the courage to make a start", in dismantling apartheid!

No faith can be placed in the Tories over South Africa. Only workers' sanctions organised through the labour movement can guarantee effective action.

The union leaders must offer full backing to any groups of workers taking a stand against apartheid, and for the release of the detainees. Material assistance should be given to COSATU and other organisations fighting the apartheid state. Labour must give the commitment to nationalise all firms with interests in South Africa.

Tories back apartheid



Howe—defending British capitalism's profits.



Black workers defy the might of the apartheid state in Tsakane township last year. The state of emergency has failed to crush the militancy. Photo: Morris Zwi (Reflex).

Strikers lead resistance

SINCE THE apartheid regime's emergency clampdown, 130 workers have been killed. 2,000 have lost their lives since September 1984.

Up to 5,000 have been detained, including 1537 trade unionists. Additionally there has been the mass arrest of 1,200 municipal workers at Tenileisa.

At Kimberley diamond mines and Free State gold mines, NUM members have staged strikes and go-slows, starting to implement the union's decision for a campaign of localised rolling actions to disrupt production.

Continued back page

Right wing
hijack
CPSA

See back page

Pogrom feared as Loyalists take to streets

EVENTS IN Portadown last Sunday underline the danger of an all-out sectarian conflict within Northern Ireland, as the 'marching season' reaches its climax on 12 July.

The police allowed a 'traditional' Orange parade to go through the Catholic 'Tunnel' area, an act of sheer sectarian provocation, since a Catholic march in the same area had been banned. Yet the attempt to restrict those who could participate in the march led to fights between the RUC and Orange marchers. One of their leaders, Alan Wright of the Ulster Clubs, said: "In the past we have witnessed Loyalists acting in a ferocious and volatile fashion against the RUC. I believe their action today is going to start the whole campaign off again".

The use of the RUC against Loyalists shows that the government is prepared to risk further violent confrontations rather than abandon the Anglo-Irish agreement. The Loyalist reaction is an ominous warning of further attacks on RUC men's homes and further sectarian attacks on Catholics.

75,000 marched throughout the North on Sunday. Now Alan Wright and other Orange leaders

have called for all lodges to go to Portadown on 12 July, even though a demonstration on that day has been banned. This raises the prospect of the marchers breaking through the police cordon and launching a pogrom in the 'Tunnel' and other Catholic areas.

There have been numerous unreported sectarian attacks and riots in the past few weeks. Masked and uniformed paramilitaries have paraded in the dead of night. Ian Paisley has spoken of the country being "on the verge of civil war".

The trade union movement has not been untouched. 150 Loyalists lobbied the conference of the Northern Ireland Committee of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions, demanding an "Ulster TUC". Workers in Ballylumford power station and other workplaces have threatened that unless their union, the GMBATU, disaffiliates from NICTU, they will leave the union.

The labour movement must urgently intervene with a socialist alternative to unite the working class before the situation is allowed to deteriorate further.

By Belfast Militant reporters

TUC incomes plan

THE TUC is to consider a report on incomes policy for the next Labour government. Incomes policies by previous Labour governments have demonstrated that in a capitalist society, there is no way that incomes can be planned which does not mean restraint for the workers, while profits, dividends and top salaries continue to rise.

This new TUC plan is no different. It provides for a miserable £60 a week statutory minimum wage for

a 38-hour week, with the aim of raising this to £80 over one to two years. To finance this, those a little better off will be forced to forego increases which they would otherwise have been able to negotiate.

Meanwhile the unearned income of the big shareholders, landowners and property speculators will be left to market forces. Rather than a distribution of wealth, it will be a distribution of poverty.

Tories to tighten screws on councils

GOVERNMENT restrictions on local authority spending are likely to be even more severe in 1987/88 than next year. The Tories might even introduce general rate capping for all authorities.

At present certain specifically named councils are penalised for 'high spending', but these authorities only account for 8 per cent of the annual 'overspend'. Ironically the joint boards created by the Tories to supersede the GLC and other metropolitan counties account for more than half the overspending.

This failure to meet cost cutting objectives has led to speculation about general rate capping which would mean introducing universal targets. These were withdrawn last year because it was very unpopular with Tory councils.

The new environment minister Nicholas Ridley, whose politics are as dry as the Gobi desert, is also due to propose in the cabinet that large areas of dereliction in eight major British cities should be taken out of local

authority hands and given to new development corporations to make a fortune for big business speculators.

These corporations would resemble the London Docklands Development Corporation (LDDC) which took over huge tracts of London land and created free enterprise zones with rate free leases, and a boom in land and house prices which freezes out working class inhabitants. Such bodies contribute nothing to local services while taking vital control out of elected local authorities' hands.

Labour councils will be the worst affected. They need to fight harder than ever to stop the Tories devastating jobs and services. Liverpool council showed the battle local councils will need to wage. Labour authorities can not just wait for the next Labour government to overturn some of the attacks; they must work out a strategy to resist Ridley's plans now before he destroys local government.

By Roger Shrives



Police and demonstrators clash at the 1985 Orange march in Portadown

Photo: John Arthur (Reflex)

Sectarian outburst by Scots Labour leader

A LEADING Labour party right-winger in Scotland is facing demands to resign his council leadership after using the platform of the Orange Order for a sectarian tirade against Catholics.

Sam Campbell, convenor of Midlothian District Council and a contender for the chairmanship of the Convention of Scottish Local Authorities, told a few hundred Orange marchers in Edinburgh that they were "the elite, the chosen people who will lead the Protestant

people to victory".

Campbell, who is also an elder in the Church of Scotland, said "the best way to save money on education is to shut down the Papist schools, which are an insult and a memorial to Roman chains and darkness." He appealed to Church ministers to "stop fraternising with the Church of Rome—get back on your white horse and let's have a go". He ended by bursting into song with: "Give me a home where there's no Pope of Rome...".

Throughout the recent troubles in Northern Ireland,

there has been relatively little sectarian strife in Scotland, despite the traditional hostility on the football terraces.

Unity

At a time when socialists in Northern Ireland are fighting to unite Protestant and Catholic workers behind the banner of the labour movement, it is intolerable that a Labour leader in Scotland should make a speech calculated to inflame sectarianism.

Already the Scottish National Party is trying to make

political capital out of the speech, a spokesman saying that Campbell would be more at home in Pretoria. It is vital that Labour emphatically disowns Campbell, and reaffirms its commitment to workers' unity. It will be instructive to see if the leadership take on Campbell with the same determination with which they have tried to expel Militant supporters who stand for class unity against all forms of sectarian divisions.

By Pat Craven

Tory racist defects

ANOTHER member of the Federation of Conservative Students has defected to the fascist British National Party, highlighting the links between the Tory Party and the extreme right.

The latest defector is Stuart Millson, Eastern regional chairman of the FCS, a member of the national committee and chairman of the Monday Club student's group. Millson's reason for joining the BNP was that the Conservatives had adopted a hypocritical attitude to race relations to 'get votes from the black community.'

Given Millson's record this shift of loyalties came as no surprise. While still a member of the Tory Party, he edited *The Patriot*, a publication which contained openly racist material. Millson says of himself: "I would describe myself as a

fascist. My main aim at university has been to drum up as much support as possible for racialism."

There is more evidence of rampant racism in the Monday Club. One member Ted Attwell, standing for deputy chairman, said in a policy statement: "I consider that the British are the chosen race". He was proposed by John Carlisle, Tory MP for Luton North and seconded by Peter Thompson, a councillor from Hove, whose own statement supported the regime in South Africa.

With increasing evidence of deep-rooted racism in the ranks of the Tory Party it is no wonder that Thatcher has shown no interest in the struggle of the black South African workers and has gone out of her way to avoid implementing sanctions against the brutal regime in that country.

Fascist rally stopped

THE NATIONAL Front was given short-shrift in Bury St Edmunds on Saturday. About 40 fascists marching from the station were met by over 120 counter demonstrators including LPYS members and supporters of Militant and Anti-Fascist Action.

The anti-fascist demonstrators attempted to block off the area where the NF were to hold a rally. Although police cleared a way for the fascists their rally was aborted and they marched off again.

The NF's theme for the march was opportunistically "US bases out of Britain". Added to this they had the cheek to chant "the workers united will never be defeated" which brought hoots of derision from the counter-demonstrators.

During the day a number of youth from Bury St Edmunds joined the counter demonstration, so an appeal was made for them to get organised and join the local LPYS to keep the NF out once and for all.

Mobilise against NF

LABOUR PARTY Young Socialists in the North West are calling on all members of the labour movement to mobilise against a proposed march in Oldham by the fascists on Saturday 19 July.

The NF are organising the march in support of 'free

speech'. For them this means attacks on the black and Asian community and curbing the trade unions.

The LPYS demands 'no platform for fascists' and have called for a counter-demonstration to assemble in Queen Elizabeth Square, Oldham at 10.30am. Glyn Ford MEP, Anwar Ditta and Linda Douglas, the Young Socialists' NEC representative elect, have agreed to speak.

Come to LPYS Summer Camp



Saturday 26 July to Saturday 2 August 1986. At the Bracelands Campsite, near Colford in the Forest of Dean, Gloucestershire. Only £35 for the whole week! Book now, write to Andy Bevan, 150 Walworth Road, London SE17 1JT. (Tel: 01-703 0833)

Councillors' court appeal for justice

FORTY SEVEN Liverpool Labour councillors face surcharge, massive legal costs, possible bankruptcy, and a five-year ban from office for carrying out their election promises and defending jobs and services. If they had robbed banks they probably would not be facing such severe penalties.

Meting out this draconian punishment is the unelected District Auditor, who acts as a policeman, judge and jury. In February the councillors unsuccessfully appealed against the DA's sentence before three High Court judges in the Divisional Court. This week they are appealing again before three judges of appeal in the Court of Appeal.

If they were up on criminal charges, the councillors would undoubtedly be getting fairer treatment. It would be up to the DA to prove their guilt, not the councillors to prove their innocence, as it is under existing local government law.

On the charge of "wilful misconduct" (the allegation that they not only acted unlawfully but deliberately did so) the DA would have to prove his case "beyond all reasonable doubt". In this case, it is decided on the "balance of probabilities".

Evidence

Above all, in a criminal trial the verdict would lie with a jury. It is hard to believe that after considering the detailed evidence presented by the councillors, any jury would convict them of wrong-doing.

As their written judgements show, however, the Divisional Court judges disregarded most of the evidence.

They ignored the terrible deprivation of people in Liverpool. They were not interested in the fact that for years, prior to 1983, the council had only provided a rock-bottom level of services. They were not swayed by the desperate need for new houses and improvements.

Thousand at rally in Liverpool

1,000 PEOPLE attended a rally in Liverpool's Philharmonic Hall in support of councillors who are appealing against possible surcharge.

The rally was in defiance of a Labour Party edict that it would not be recognised. £2,900 was collected for the councillor's defence fund towards the costs of the appeal. Despite the attempt by 20 members of the Conservative Party and oddballs on the right-wing to disrupt the meeting, the mood was of defiance and support for the councillors.

Les Huckfield MEP attended despite being told by

They were not even impressed by the relatively low rate increases, though judges have damned other councils for levying massive increases.

They discounted the fact that the Tory government had stolen £360 million in grants from Liverpool since 1979 and imposed drastic financial "penalties". More specifically, they ignored the fact that the "losses" alleged by the DA arose from the withholding of DHSS benefits and Crown Property payments in lieu of rates by central government—in order to exert pressure on the council to make cuts.

No losses

The real iniquity is that in reality there were no losses to the public purse—the Treasury collected the interest on these sums until they were eventually handed over to the council!

The councillors have strong legal grounds for appeal. If the Divisional Court's judgement stands, it will greatly restrict the powers of elected councils and destroy their right to exercise political judgement on behalf of those electing them to office. Moreover, councillors will have little or no right to a hearing from the DA before he passes sentence on them—even if he changes his reasons for complaint as he goes along, as in the case of Liverpool.

What most alarms and angers the councillors in this case, is that the presiding judge in the Court of Appeal will be Lord Justice Lawton, who stood as a fascist candidate for Hammersmith in 1936. How, they ask, can a judge who stood on such a platform in the past be seen to be giving a fair hearing to councillors on trial for carrying out the socialist policies for which they have repeatedly received a mandate from the people of Liverpool?

(See also Page 7)

By Lynn Walsh

Labour Party officials that they did not recognise the meeting. But speaker after speaker on the platform said they would continue to recognise Tony Mulhearn as a Labour Party member. Eric Heffer said that he was "proud to speak with those good comrades who had been expelled from the Labour Party."

A number of people signed to join the Labour Party and the rally was a big boost for the councillors.

By Martin Lee
(Garston Labour Party)



Garston Labour Party stands by its expelled comrades

NATIONAL LABOUR PARTY official Joyce Gould told Garston Labour Party at a meeting last Friday of "the serious consequences" if it continued to ignore the NEC decision to expel Tony Mulhearn.

Garston officers asked why they had not been given the evidence surrounding Tony Mulhearn's expulsion, what rules he had breached, why he wasn't allowed to call witnesses to the NEC's hearing and why evidence was presented after he had left the NEC. Gould said that the NEC had made its decision and they were not there to put a political point of view.

Through a history of campaigning Garston Labour Party has turned a 12,000 Tory majority into a majority for Labour. This record and the strength of feeling in the constituency and wards against Tony Mulhearn's ex-

pulsion has been swept aside by the officials. It was made clear that if Tony Mulhearn's expulsion was not recognised and if he attended the Party's AGM as a delegate from the NGA the meeting would not take place and the NEC would take "instant action"—evidently meaning the suspension of the party until it is reconstituted with officers who accept the NEC's ruling.

Blackmail

Garston members are being blackmailed by the national officials. The consequences of not accepting the NEC's ruling would mean the party being robbed of delegates to the District Labour Party, its conference resolution and delegates would be null and void and Labour could ultimately lose the seat. The NEC would be free to vet individual party membership applying to re-join and debarring those it thought undesirable—

expulsions by the back door. Despite this scandalous pressure from the NEC, Garston's officers made it clear that they remain united in opposition to Tony Mulhearn's expulsion. Messages of support should be sent immediately to Garston Constituency Labour Party, c/o Woolton Labour Club, Childwall Valley Road, Liverpool 25, before next Tuesday's AGM.

Peter Kilfoyle, regional organiser and party 'policeman' also attended the meeting. He revealed his closeted existence when he expressed surprise that he had to be signed in at Woolton Labour Club. Two members of the club, Tony Mulhearn and Derek Hatton, obliged by signing him in. The receipt will now be sent to the NEC as proof of Kilfoyle's connection with *Militant*.

By Josie Aitman

Militant speaking tour

Terry Harrison

Kent (Miners' Gala)	12 July
Hastings	15 July
Portsmouth	16 July
Lecture Theatre, Fareham Tertiary College, Bishops Field Rd, Fareham	

Chesterfield	21 July
Exeter	22 July
Plymouth	23 July

Tony Mulhearn

Bridgend	16 July
Dunraven Arms, Wyndham Street	
7.30pm	
Neath	17 July

Derek Hatton

Swinton	15 July
Lancastrian Hall, 7.30pm	
Bradford	16 July
St George's Hall, 7.30pm	

Family kept out of party

AN ENTIRE family has been barred from Labour Party membership in Newport, Gwent. Oswald John, a NUPE shop steward, was urged by his union to join the Labour Party during a recruitment campaign by Michael Meacher. In a letter to Dave Nellist MP, he describes what then happened:

"My wife and I applied through the NUPE regional office. Ringland Labour ward asked us to attend a ward meeting to vet us as prospective party members. My two young married daughters also joined us.

"When our applications were read out we were asked by the chairman did we support *Militant*. We all answered no. We were then interrogated by a ward member Roy Stock whether we read *Militant*. My wife and I answered that we had read the *Militant* paper along with many other political papers. Mr Roy Stock felt that this was grounds not to accept us as party members".

Turned down

A vote was taken at the ward meeting and they were accepted as members. But when they attended the next Ringland ward meeting the chairman said that the minutes which recorded acceptance of membership were a mistake and duly amended them from 'accepted' to 'referred to the EC'.

Their membership applications, together with many others, were again discussed and all were turned down.

"Again at this meeting" writes Oswald John "one party member Roy Stock was most abusive and intimidating, referring to all the new applications as belonging to a wagon train and that we should all go and join another party.

"If this is the way new prospective members to the Labour Party are treated, the recruitment drive is going to fail abysmally. We have now sent in appeals to the local general management committee and I am asking you to support our application."

Please send letters of support to: Mr Ken Oliver, secretary Ringland Ward Labour Party, 1 Nelson Drive, Ringland, Newport, Gwent and Mr Ken Powell, secretary Newport East Labour Party, 13 Oakley Street, Newport, Gwent.

Please send copies to Oswald John, 35 Howard Close, Newport, Gwent, NP9 9FR.

Militant Marxist Weekend School
Saturday/Sunday 13/14 September, University of London Union, £7/£5 unwaged.

Eight courses, three sessions each on Marxist philosophy, economics, South Africa and the colonial revolution, black struggles, Russian revolution, women, the trade unions and Ireland. (Details next week).

Militant

Editor: Peter Taaffe
Militant, 3-13 Hepscoot Road London E9 5HB.
Phone: 01-533 3311.

Commit Labour to socialist nationalisation

A REPORT on 'social ownership', by two Labour Party leaders has serious implications for workers looking to the next Labour government to tackle the damage inflicted by the Tories.

The main concern of the report, by John Smith and David Blunkett, seems to be to avoid the word 'nationalisation' at all costs. Its plans for restoring British Telecom and other privatised industries to public ownership envisage that they will be implemented within the framework of a capitalist economy, rather than as part of an overall socialist transformation of society. They talk of a flourishing private sector which will co-exist with 'democratic planning' and a mixture of partial social ownership and major stakes in the private sector.

As in all such 'mixed' economies, it will be the owners of the private sector who will predominate, since they will remain in control of the commanding heights of the economy, the big multi-national monopolies. They will still be able to dictate to governments through their power to invest or withhold investment. By threatening a 'strike of capital' as they did against Harold Wilson's government in the 60s, they will be able to sabotage all the plans on which Labour won the election.

When Clause IV Part 4 was added to the party constitution in 1918 to commit Labour to the "common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange" it was seen by party members as the foundation stone on which a new form of society was to be built.

Public ownership was counterposed to the chaotic, unplanned anarchy of capitalism. In place of a society in which workers were exploited to produce goods which then they could not afford to buy, was to be one in which the creators of wealth, the "workers by hand and by brain", would own, control and manage the means of production so that the wealth they produced could be used to meet social needs and raise living standards.

The programme of the 1945 Labour government was seen by millions of workers as the first step towards this new socialist society. But the partial and bureaucratic measures of nationalisation taken by that government did nothing to change the basic nature of capitalism. The rich and powerful minority of major shareholders continued to rule. Those whose industries were nationalised were able to invest their compensation in other, more profitable industries. For the workers, life went on very little different. This was not the society envisaged by the socialist pioneers who put Clause IV into the constitution.

Despite the much greater investment which took place, nationalisation became unpopular, because neither workers nor consumers felt they had any real control. In no sense were these industries 'owned' by the people, but by the state, run by appointed boards of businessmen, often former directors of the private company. Huge amounts were paid out in compensation to the former owners, and the new corporations were run to provide cheap energy and transport for the rest of the economy which was left in private hands. Just as in the private sector, profit was the goal and because they were monopolies, they were under no more pressure than private companies to respond to their customers' demands. They became notoriously bureaucratic. As employers they were as ruthless in axing jobs and resisting wage rises as any private firms.

Under Smith and Blunkett's proposals there will again be massive compensation to the shareholders, even though it will take a new form. They will have the choice of selling their shares at their original price, or having them converted into non-voting 'bonds' which will not carry voting rights, but will gain in value and yield a big return to the holders. Although employees will be encouraged to buy shares, there will be no workers' control or management; the report says there will be a 'hands off' relationship with management. Just like the old nationalised industries, a board will be appointed from above with a directive to run the industry as a commercial enterprise.

The party leadership needs to be reminded by the membership that what is important is not the words they use but the intention behind them. On the basis of these proposals by Smith and Blunkett, Labour in office will once again find itself at the mercy of international big business and market forces. The socialist alternative has to be for the public ownership of all the big private monopolies, with compensation only on the basis of need and with the introduction of democratic workers' control and management. Only then would it be possible to start genuine democratic planning of the economy for the benefit of society as a whole.

Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office.
Published by Militant.
Printed by Militant Publications, 3-13 Hepscoot Road, London E9 5HB. ISSN 0144-9275

BLOC conference

Privatisation South Africa a socialist strategy for unions

HUNDREDS OF delegates will meet at this weekend's Broad Left Organising Committee (BLOC) conference to plan the fightback against privatisation.

The call will be put at the conference for the trade union leaders to lead the campaign against the plunder of nationalised industries.

Privatisation has meant job losses, worse conditions and less benefits for workers. A recent survey in the *Local Government Chronicle* showed that in 300 cases of privatisation 30 per cent of jobs are lost and there is a 30 per cent cut in pay and benefits to the remaining staff. The only ones to benefit are the firms which profit from low wages.

With the government in retreat over plans to privatise the water authorities now is the time to strike back. Already plans to sell off NHS accommodation have been successfully fought off by NHS workers.

A properly planned campaign involving all sections of workers under threat and those in the community affected by privatisation could turn the tide against the government. Jobs and services would be protected.

BLOC will be backing this campaign but it is up to the individual union broad lefts to take it into the branches and workplaces.

Renationalise

Workers are looking for the return of a Labour government to reverse the damage done by the Tories. But a clear statement of intent by the TUC and Labour leaders to renationalise all privatised assets—this time under the democratic control of the workers in those industries and with compensation only on proven need—would stop the process of privatisation in its tracks. Few profiteers would then be

foolish enough to buy shares in British Gas, or go for a stake in British Airways if they thought that Labour was determined enough to renationalise them.

Instead the Labour leadership have said up till now that renationalisation is a low priority. Roy Hattersley has gone further and suggested that private investors should be welcomed in the rail industry (see below).

Pressure must be put on the Labour leaders to reverse all anti-working class policies. The anti-trade union laws, designed by the Tories to blunt the fighting edge of the trade unions, must be repealed in their entirety. The unions are the backbone of the Labour Party. The Party belongs to working class people—they fought for it now the Party must fight for them.

By Mick Barwood
(Treasurer BLOC)

Tory plans in a mess

THE TORIES' privatisation plans have hit major problems.

The privatisation of water has been postponed until after a general election, which should mean that it will be scrapped completely.

This follows the delaying of the British Airways sell-off, and the shelving of the Royal Ordnance Factories' privatisation.

The government still intends to sell off gas, airports and Rolls Royce. Privatisation by local councils is increasing. This year 16 per cent of councils will be privatising some services, compared with 11 per cent for each of the last two years.

But the Tories' defeat over water is still a serious blow. They were preparing to net £5-£7 billion from it. They were so keen, they were prepared to write off all the water authorities' debts.

Perhaps they hesitated in the face of public abhorrence at the idea that such a basic amenity as water should be handed over to profit-grabbers. Also NALGO was already damaging the Tories' scheme. It has taken Thames Water to court maintaining that it was not empowered to spend money preparing itself for privatisation.

With the Tories preparing themselves for a general election, possibly next year, they did not want to get themselves bogged down in increasingly complex and unpopular legislation.

But what now for their financial strategy? They



Health workers lobby the South Manchester area health authority against privatisation.

planned to raise £4.7 billion per year from privatisations. This would finance tax cuts as pre-election sweeteners. But they also used this money to balance their books.

This monetarist government's aim—the reduction of its budget deficit—has been undermined by the policies pursued to achieve it. Public spending cuts have meant slashing public sector employment. But as the dole queues lengthened, so the benefit bill soared, pushing public spending back up. Thatcher may dream of Victorian times when the unemployed could be left to starve, but workers today have fought to win some relief for those out of a job.

So the Tories have kept the budget deficit in check by selling off whatever is at hand. Every delay or postponement must damage their economic programme.

By Jeremy Birch

Hattersley invites private funding

ROY HATTERSLEY has astounded rail workers in a speech to the NUR conference when he said that Labour would ease the constraints which discourage private funding on the railways.

This comes at a time when the Tories are slashing rail jobs and have sold off profitable sections of British Rail. Labour's deputy leader said, in words reminiscent of the present government, that even a national public service must operate commercially. "Railway electrification is an extremely profitable enterprise with a high rate of return on investment and should be attractive to private investors" he said.

Hattersley's statements would mean privatisation through the back door. The NUR must initiate a campaign throughout the labour movement to reverse this policy otherwise it will face the battle against privatisation all over again under a Labour government.

Read Militant, sell Militant

MILITANT has always supported workers' campaigns against privatisation. Delegates to BLOC conference should read *Militant* every week. Why not sell it too, at your workplace, shop stewards' meetings and union branches. Get organised and get *Militant*.



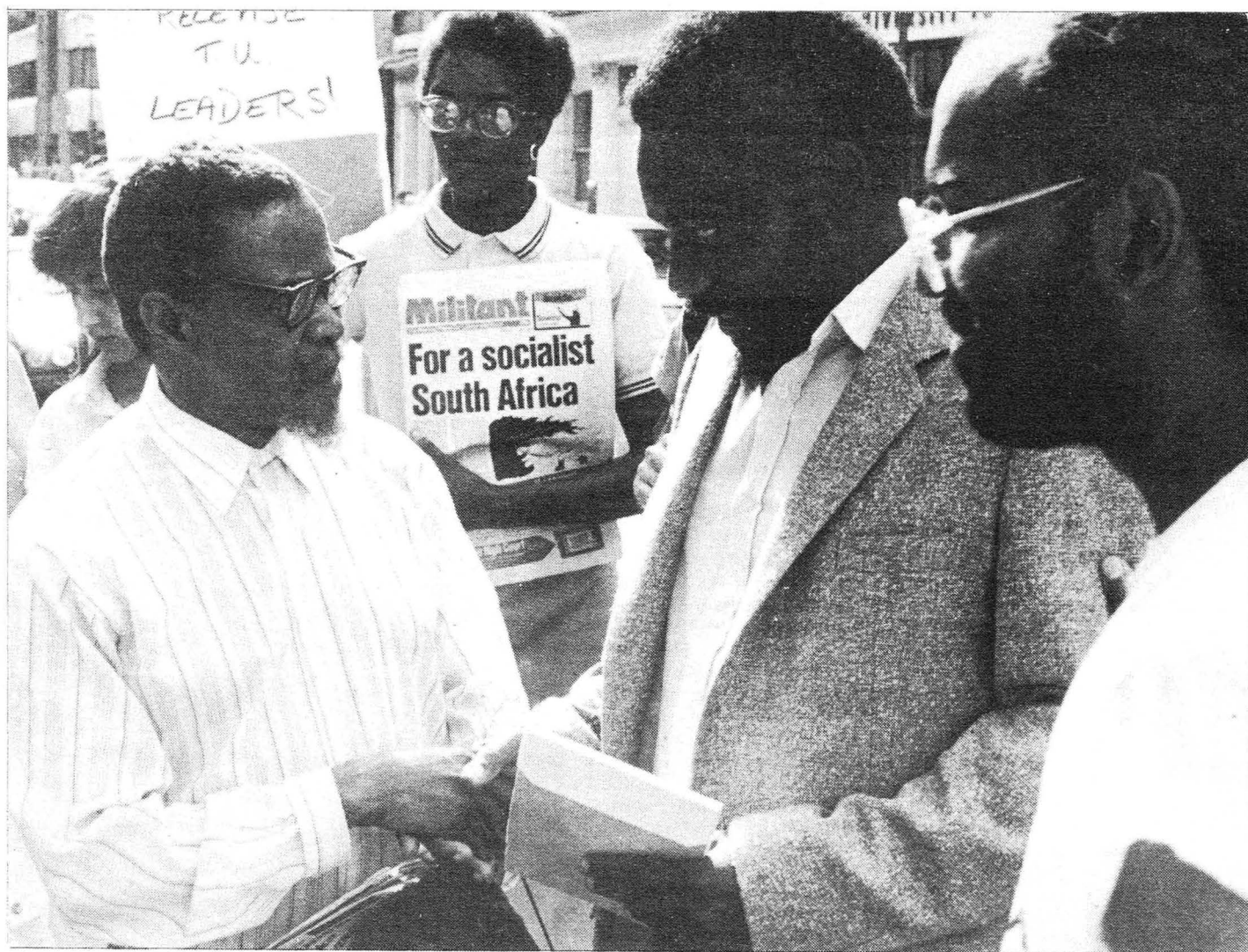


Photo: Dave Sinclair.

Lobby of the TUC organised by the LPYS calling for workers' sanctions. Veteran trade unionist Nimrod Sejake (left) meets South African NUM general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa (centre right).

Workers' sanctions against apartheid

POVERTY WAGES in South Africa, paid by multinationals like Pritchards, have fuelled the growth of the militant trade unionism against apartheid. The battle against privatisation sharks such as Pritchard, and low pay in Britain should be linked to the fight for the release of SA trade union leaders and the lifting of the state of emergency.

COSATU leader James Motlatsi told the British NUM conference: "The workers of South Africa are calling on you—if Thatcher is against sanctions then we call upon the working class

in Britain to impose sanctions". Workers at BLOC conference should make concrete plans for union sanctions. TGWU members at Heathrow voted to take action against South African Airways, but after management intimidation another vote was narrowly lost. Had the union leaders guaranteed full backing then that action could have been successful.

Dockers, shop workers and workers in companies with South African subsidiaries must take action to halt the flow of goods, parts and money to South Africa until the state of emergency

is lifted and all detainees released. Trade union bodies should adopt detainees and their families to campaign for their release.

Direct links with South African trade unions must be made to ensure closer and more effective solidarity. The next Labour government should nationalise under workers' control and management all British multinationals investing in South Africa and take into public ownership South African subsidiaries operating here.

THE LEADERS of USDAW have a special responsibility to organise industrial action in aid of South African workers' struggles. The Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union of South Africa has been at the forefront of industrial action against the state of emergency organising strikes and workplace occupations in almost 100 dairies and many supermarkets in the Johannesburg area.

CCWUSA has borne the brunt of state attacks, with its members accounting for 11 per cent of arrests of trade unionists. This union has recently been involved in strike action against the major retail chain Pick and Pay and has led the way in fighting for women's rights, negotiating deals on maternity rights, which are far better than many deals in the British retail trade. This militancy should be matched by equally strong solidarity action from CCWUSA's sister union in Britain—USDAW. The USDAW executive council should implement the union's conference policy of supporting any members blacking South African goods.

So far the only response of the EC has been to write to the South African embassy, and to Thatcher calling on the Tory government to impose sanctions as "the only alternative source to wholesale slaughter."

Already the Booksellers and Stationers branch has passed a resolution calling upon the executive to send out an immediate instruction to all branches and workplaces to boycott South African goods: USDAW's delegation to the Irish Trade Union Congress in Belfast have also adopted a resolution calling for workers' sanctions.

The USDAW Broad Left should campaign to ensure the struggle of CCWUSA members is taken to every shop in Britain and members are convinced of the need to take effective solidarity action.

Low wages and union-busting

LEADING UNION buster and beneficiary of privatisation, Pritchard Securities is leading the way in profiteering from apartheid.

They pay 1,660 workers, more than half their black workforce, less than the meagre minimum of R535 per month (approx £35 per week) set by the EEC for companies investing in South Africa. They admit to paying workers as little as R199 (£70 per month).

Blatant discrimination

Women cleaners are employed at below poverty wages because, the company says: "they are rarely the sole or main breadwinner".

An estimated 50,000 of the company's security workers are black—they are paid a quarter of the wages of white guards.

Peter Pritchard, the company chairman, earned £63,000 in 1984 (excluding pension contributions).

The company and its subsidiaries pervade the world, operating in 17 countries, mainly in the provision of low-paid, unskilled services

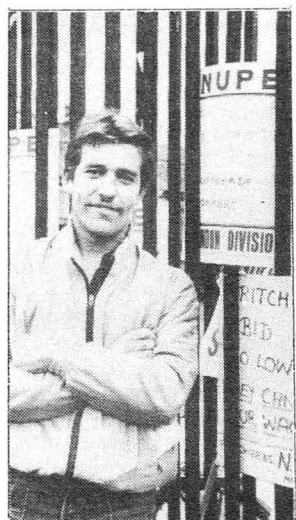


Photo: Militant

Protesting at Pritchard's wages in Wandsworth.

eg, building maintenance, hospital support services, home health care and catering and vending.

In the UK, its policy is to provide a complete service package to NHS, central and local government, and other authorities. They claim to be the largest "specialist cleaning and allied services" company in the UK. But there is an unspoken policy: cost-cutting, wage-slashing, and

inadequate standards.

In Australia, New Zealand, and the US, too, they are probably the main provider of hospital ancillary services—moving towards complete hospital management, providing health care which is cheaper to the insurance companies than proper hospital treatment. In Atlanta, Georgia, Pritchard has hired union-busting consultants and a notorious anti-union law firm; it distributes anti-union literature and holds anti-union meetings with the workforce; workers have been intimidated and threatened with dismissal for talking about the union. Forced by the union to sign an agreement, anti-union practices continue.

Grievances

In the UK, Pritchard steadfastly resists union representation. In Wandsworth where Pritchards has the street-cleaning contract (with a turnover of 1,000 for 80 jobs in three years) the company refuses to discuss grievances with the TGWU which 90 per cent of its workforce has joined.

New Militant poster

"Smash apartheid and capitalism" Workers sanctions now! For a socialist South Africa!

Order from: Militant, 3-13 Hepscott Road, London E9 5HB. Cost £1 per 100 to cover p&p.

Party witch hunts school students

PLANS TO discipline two young Militant supporters and members of West Bromwich West Labour Party Young Socialists Peter Dillon and Ian Barton have been dropped for the time being.

But this right wing party's inquiry to 'investigate' the two went on to recommend suspension of the LPYS branch after the intervention of right wing MP Betty Boothroyd.

The two Young Socialist members had been suspended without previous notice by a motion from the floor of the general committee. "The only 'evidence' said Ian Barton, "was that someone claimed that they had heard us admit to membership of Militant tendency outside the meeting.

"I had been selling Militant outside the meeting and someone had asked if I was a Labour Party member. Peter hadn't even been selling the paper" he said.

An inquiry was set up on the basis that the two had allegedly admitted membership of Militant. No written charges were given. Peter Dillon was studying for his 'A' Levels and had an exam the next day. Officers told him he had to attend the meeting or they would proceed with the action anyway. Some members of the executive involved in the hearing were also on the board of governors at Peter Dillon's school—obviously more concerned with expelling him from the Labour Party than with his education.

One executive member and Deputy Mayor of Sandwell, Nancy Law, arrived at the meeting in a chauffeur-driven car—presumably at tax-payers' expense. She was greeted by a lobby of 25 Young Socialists with shouts of 'Derek Hatton was expelled for less'.

The charges of membership of Militant were dropped on the advice of the regional organiser but the officers promised that the party would 'review the charges in the light of future changes to the party's constitution.' In other words the witch-hunters plan to use future rules retrospectively to continue the witch-hunt.

Suspension

Although the special meeting was confined to discussing the specific charges against the two it then went on to recommend suspension of the whole LPYS branch. Betty Boothroyd spoke at length, even though she is not a member of the executive, and her role at the meeting was unclear. It was from her contribution that the formulations of the motions were suggested at the meeting.

The attempt to close the LPYS branch is clearly a political witch-hunt against young party members who disagree with the majority of the executive. It is not difficult for any socialist to disagree with a party which only voted down a motion to reintroduce capital punishment and the cat-of-nine-tails by three votes at a recent general committee.

LPYS members will fight the decision. They have broken no rules and there can be no justification for closing the Young Socialists branch—other than political malice. In the Black Country many right wing Labour Parties are literally dying on their feet as the small number of ageing members fade away. Unless the party recruits young members it faces virtual extinction.

By Nigel Wheatley

Kinnock loses

NEIL KINNOCK'S Islwyn constituency has voted against the leader's recommendations on two issues recently.

One resolution to lower the LPYS age limit from 26 to 18 was defeated with only two votes in favour, even though it was moved from the ward in which Kinnock's agent is a member, normally a seal of success.

Another motion was passed calling for the phasing out of nuclear power. Kinnock was away but sent a letter to the party underlining that phasing out was not in the party policy guidelines.

By a Militant reporter



Above: The four month battle of the Somme accounted for a third of the 1.2 million British dead in the First World War. Soldiers from across Europe died in the interests of 'their own' ruling classes. Below: King George V and Kitchener inspect troops, the donkeys leading the lions.

Death in the trenches

TWENTY THOUSAND British soldiers were dead in the first hour. At the end of the first day, 60,000 men including German 'enemy' troops lay lifeless.

The 'Great War' of 1914-18 was billed as the 'war to end all wars'. The cream of a generation, overwhelmingly working class was massacred. The Battle of the Somme started just 70 years ago.

Both 'sides' were dug into trenches and constantly bombarded with shells and cannon often for 24 hours at a time. This form of warfare did enormous psychological damage, apart from the physical dangers, to combatants.

Shell-shock, caused by the continuous loud explosions, lack of sleep and appalling conditions was not understood. This was the newest 'development' of warfare: the sustained barrage. Previously battle tactics featured some hand-to-hand combat and tended to occur in quick bursts or early forms of skirmish.

Conditions in the trenches

worsened towards winter. Men became lousy, cold and wet. Rats got into their rations. Contact with the 'normal' world was infrequent and medical facilities primitive.

Firing squad

The top brass had learnt nothing since the Crimea campaigns. The principal form of attack was by 'Salient'—formations of troops in rectangular shapes which pushed through opposing lines—allowing the 'enemy' to attack you on three sides instead of one.

At the Somme, British soldiers were made to walk across a battlefield facing entrenched German gunnery. No wonder the troops were described as lions led by donkeys.

The slaughter is difficult

to imagine today. Officers forced men 'over the top' to death by threat of the firing squad if they refused. The Great War saw 346 men executed for mainly desertion. Murder and cowardice hardly figure at all.

Not recorded, however, is the number of men who were 'staked out' (tied to posts above the trenches in full view of 'enemy' marksmen).

Other punishments were just as cruel and bizarre. Herbie Bell, a recently deceased *Militant* supporter from Newcastle was tied to a cannon wheel as it was fired time upon time for the 'crime' of refusing to kill German workers in uniform.

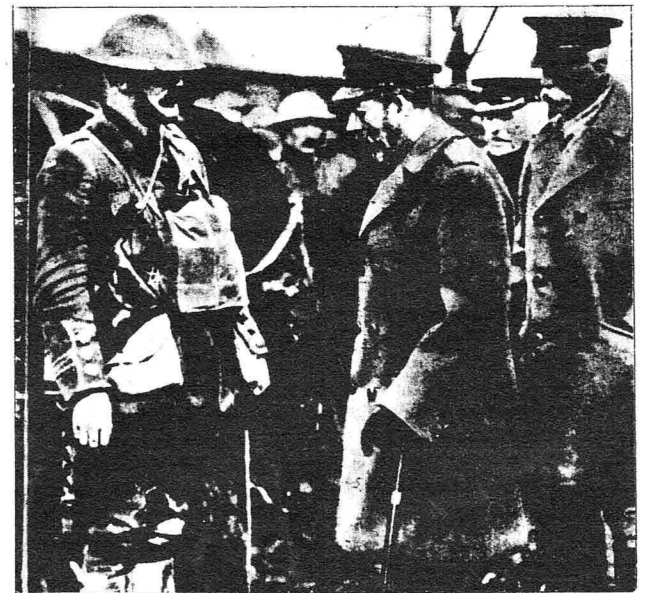
Many men who survived became deranged and formed the basis of the murderous Black and Tans who attempted to suppress Ireland later in the decade.

Lloyd George, Prime Minister from 1916 promised many reforms to the troops: to the urban men "a land fit for heroes" and the agricultural workers each "two acres and a cow".

These promises were as empty as a gin bottle in the House of Commons' Members' Bar.

At the end of the war the victorious imperialist powers carved up the German Empire for themselves and executed swingeing reparations at Versailles. These measures caused such poverty and misery in Germany that the burgeoning revolutionary movement grew apace.

These reparations meant German miners, for instance, working for peanuts and British miners laid-off because German coal was cheaper. The "land fit for heroes" never materialised—the workhouse, the 'Parish' and squalor did.



A hundred years of 'Liberty'

TWO THOUSAND 'important' Americans personally chosen by Chrysler boss Lee Iacocca paid \$10,000 a head for a special champagne trip to the newly restored Statue of Liberty on its hundredth birthday last week.

They would have stared uncomprehendingly at the words on the statue, imploring a poverty stricken Victorian Europe: "give me your tired, your poor huddled masses yearning to be free". All the VIPs wanted was the rich and the huddled American Express owners yearning to spend free.

Between 1880 and 1924 some 17 million immigrants arrived in New York on rat-infested ships hoping for a new life and possibly a plot of land in a country which was still expanding. Most became low paid workers in America's growing

industries.

The bosses were not celebrating them. Poor Mexicans trying to enter the USA at the Texas border are still thrown in jail and made to walk back over the border.

The ancestors of millions of present day Americans reached these shores in horrifying conditions as slaves. The press reports a coolness amongst many blacks to the patriotic fervour. They still have little to wave their flags about.

"Self aid"

One out of every two black youngsters lives in poverty, one out of two grows up without a father, one in two black teenagers is out of work. Murder is the main cause of death for young black men.

Thirty three million people in the richest country on earth officially live in poverty, over a quarter are blacks.

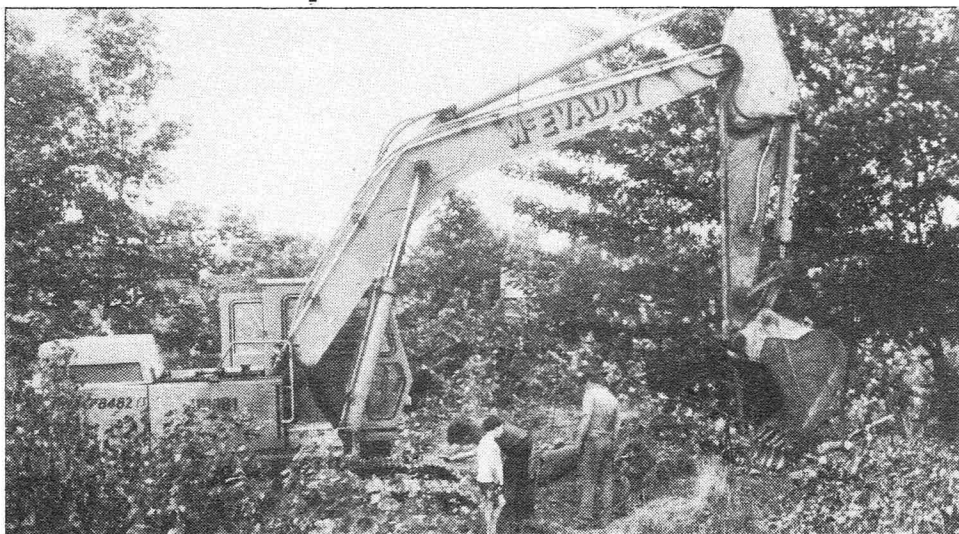
The militant black movements for civil rights in the '50s and '60s forced the governments to affirmative programmes for jobs but when the period of capitalist upswing came to an end, so did many of the jobs.

Welfare is a target for Reagan's cuts. Most benefits and aid programmes have not kept up with inflation in recent years. Reagan dislikes welfare, he talks of self aid.

Reagan should beware. America's blacks and the rest of the "huddled masses" might take the idea of self aid too seriously. All the freedoms in America were won by the ordinary people and maintained mainly by the strength of organised labour.

Real self help, a real yearning to be free, by the blacks and the workers of America would dump the bosses, Iacocca, Reagan and all off their backs.

Rich vandal spreads destruction in Brixton



Scenes of destruction in Shakespeare Road.

ANGRY BATTLES broke out in Brixton when bulldozers and mechanical diggers moved in to destroy a rare inner-city habitat for foxes, badgers, migrant birds and wild orchids.

Residents of Shakespeare Road were rudely woken on 28 June by a horrific clanking noise. Birches and elders

were sent crashing to the ground before the massive yellow machines.

Protests halted the proceedings several times. Protestor David Devlin had 30 stitches around his eye and surgeons had to battle to save his sight after a felled tree struck him in the face.

On the previous Monday,

Planning Permission had been refused to a "developer" to build houses on this site. They deemed the area unsuitable for housing as it stands right next to a railway line. The councillors were considering a proposal to buy the land and set up a nature trail in this deprived area.

Levi King had bought the land from British Rail for around £110,000 and was aiming to make millions by building 50 high cost houses.

None of the homeless of Brixton would have been rehoused in this way. The real aim of his callous vandalism must have been to convince a Tory government to step in and allow him to realise the lucrative results of his speculative investment. Lambeth councillors are determined to resist and London Wildlife Trust members are planning to "reconquer" the area.

Sell Militant

TWO SUPPORTERS in Watford couldn't afford the fare to *Militant's* South African rally so they sold the paper door to door on a local estate they had never tried before.

In less than an hour they sold 19 *Militants* and will ensure they will become regular readers. Money has come in for 500 sales at the Anti-Apartheid demo but much more must be in

the areas. 200 *Militants* were sold at the Welsh Anti-apartheid demo the same day.

Although NUR conference narrowly voted down an anti-witch-hunt resolution a quarter of the delegates brought our paper. Building *Militant's* sales is the key to the fightback in every corner of the working class movement.

◀ Left and Right ▶

Rich aid

THE INSTITUTE of Directors has set out what they call a long term strategy to make Britain an international tax haven. They want capital taxes abolished, national insurance privatised, more relief for private health and education, and taxation back to pre-1937 levels.

Their programme is based on a reduction of public spending by 2.6 per cent every year until 1996 which would cut public spending by 29 per cent! They have identified savings of £24 billion in the DHSS budget alone. Did you read the searing press attacks on extremism? No, neither did we.

Sick advertising

SPONSORSHIP AS indirect advertising is very common. Players' tobacco

company have stopped their support for the Sunday cricket league and gone back to making people wheeze and splutter; there will be no shortage of replacements.

But our prize goes to McDonalds. A ward for sick children's parents at Guys Hospital is likely to be named the Ronald McDonald ward after the clown who advertises the world's leading burgers. Adverts throughout their chains ask for donations and offer £1 from the sale of every £2.40 Ronald McDonald watch they sell.

Are McDonalds giving any money directly to Guy's? Burger that for a lark! McDonalds have got time for the hospital and some legal advice but no cash gift.

So their name could be permanently linked with a good cause in children's minds with another advert permanently stuck on their wrists. Not bad for nothing, eh?

Liverpool councillors fighting for democracy

THE LIVERPOOL Labour city councillors who are in the Court of Appeal this week are not only fighting for themselves, against surcharges and disqualification from office. They are not fighting only for the Liverpool Labour voters who gave them the mandate for the policies for which they have been hauled before the courts. They are fighting for the right of any Labour council to implement the programme on which it was democratically elected.

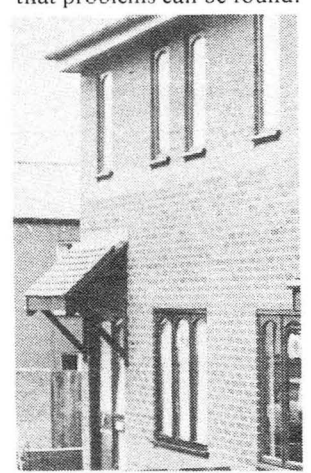
The Tories see local government democracy as a barrier to their attempts to cut public expenditure. Reforms won by the workers over a century of struggle—such as social welfare, education, housing—'can no longer be afforded' by the state, they say. Local government has to be cut back.

By Dave Cotterill

admit to breaking the law as with Nicholas Ridley, when Transport Minister. This cost the taxpayer £50m and yet no action will be taken against him.

Liverpool's problems

IN A city with a council workforce of 31,000, that has seen a total of 100 years of Tory rule and Liberal/Tory alliance mismanagement, and which is blighted by national Tory policies, it is not surprising that problems can be found.



New homes—new hope.

But of course the District Auditor's report glossed over all that. No detail is given of the government cut-backs in Rate Support Grant—over £500 million stolen since 1979. The DA simply takes the position as it is and insists that the council "cut their cloth".

Even though the councillors were democratically elected with a clear programme, the DA can retrospectively decide on what manifesto commitments should or should not be implemented.

The Liberals of course welcome the DA's approach. It does not take much of a political imagination to envisage Sir Trevor Jones piously declaring that he did not want to lay people off but the DA was instructing him and the Liberals and they had no alternative but to comply with the law!

But the DA's attack is not confined to cuts. What concerns him just as much is the style of the council, their unorthodox measures. He is not too pleased with real socialist management. "The council has established alternative means through which to channel its efforts" he says, including a Central Strategy Unit, Central Support Unit, links with the trade unions, and Policy Groups.

The Central Support Unit, according to the DA, was set up to campaign for the city council's position on services

and jobs and amongst its aims were:

- a) No redundancies
- b) No privatisation
- c) Improving services and creating jobs
- d) No rate increases to compensate for cuts in government grants

And here the horror story begins. The council allowed newspapers, bulletins and leaflets to be printed propagating these aims; it allowed members to travel throughout the country; it allowed free use of local authority premises for public meetings; it granted time off to shop stewards and union members to attend public meetings. It even 'allowed' the trade unions to organise days of action.

The DA is not asked of course by the Tory government to quantify how much central government spends on its propaganda.

But behind this is a more serious issue. Workers can exercise democratic rights; they can voice opposition, as long as it costs nothing. However, if they wish to spend a proportion of their rates—and Labour was voted in democratically—then they had better think twice.

The DA's real complaint however is that the full-time officers are not running the council. In most councils the elected members act as rubber stamps—the full-time officers have the real power. But in Liverpool the actions of the councillors limit "the contribution made by the council officers and make more difficult the task of the officers in controlling the council's finance" (My emphasis).

He unwittingly justifies



March in support of Liverpool City Council.

the argument that the council has used against certain opponents in the labour movement. Peter Cresswell, secretary of Liverpool NALGO has alleged that the council is cutting jobs. The whole basis of the DA's report is that it is not doing that. The other argument adopted by Cresswell is that the city council is an employer like any other, except that it is headed by a "bunch of sectarians". Again the report is diametrically opposed to this, arguing that the whole policy of the council has been to build links with the unions and improve conditions for their members.

Rent arrears

The DA, like the Tories, is a firm believer in the economics of the mad house. His reference to council house rent arrears is a clear example of this. He explains that arrears stood at £11.3m in November 1985 and that "one of the constraining factors in the escalation of arrears would seem to be the softer line adopted by the council towards tenants in

arrears".

The number of possession cases initiated fell from 2,240 in 1982/83 when the Liberals were in power to 1,559 in 1983/84 and 668 in 1984/85. If the DA's advice were taken and tenants were evicted if they did not pay their rent, the result would be that they would be classified as homeless and have to be put up in bed and breakfast hotels. According to the School for Advanced Urban Studies, it would be more expensive than brand new council homes.

But the DA conveniently suffers from political amnesia on the point of council house rents. There is no mention of the record of the Liberal administration which raised rents by a total of £9.91 making Liverpool rents amongst the highest in the country.

Liverpool City Council has thankfully rejected the economics of the mad house and instead has created a monument to show what socialist policies can achieve. It has had 3625 families rehoused from tenements, flats and maisonettes; 3800 houses and bungalows built

or being built; 4080 houses and flats improved or being improved; 350 houses or bungalows created or being created by "top-downing" 810 walk-up flats.

Inaccuracies

The DA's report was obviously prepared with great haste, to have the maximum impact before the May elections. His staff spent on average about half an hour in each department. The report is therefore shot through with contradictions and inaccuracies, which the councillors intend to answer.

Even the head of the Audit Commission, Banham, has admitted that he is opposed to surcharges on councillors. Yet the Audit commission is proposing that the District Auditors be given the powers to apply to the courts to have any item of expenditure judged illegal before it is introduced by a council.

In other words, the judges would become responsible for running local government—and yet like the District Auditor, no one voted them in.

District Auditor

Their aim is to destroy what they see as 'municipal socialism' and force councils to turn towards privatisation and private building—thus lining the pockets of big business.

Every possible weapon is being used to undermine the position of councillors; and Liverpool, because it is the most militant, is at the cutting edge of these attacks.

The District Auditor's job is to make an example of councillors in Liverpool and Lambeth, and perhaps in other cities, and then terrify councils into accepting that their local policies must fit into the government's objectives, the Tory cuts.

His April report on Liverpool was a completely one-sided, biased, ill-informed statement used quite consciously to try and influence the May elections. He has quite clearly entered the political arena. Little wonder therefore that the report was produced without consultation with any Labour councillors and that Liberal leaflets were peppered with examples from it.

The powers which the District Auditors have apply nowhere else in Western Europe. They apply to no other elected bodies. Government ministers can

Reach your target

AS THERE are only three weeks left to the end of this quarter we need every area to step up its fund raising efforts.

In Southwark and Lewisham boroughs in London, comrades have decided to make 25/27 July a special weekend for the fighting fund. On Friday evening the petitions will be used to gain support against the witch-hunt and to raise money.

On Saturday, street activities are planned all day with bookstalls, placards, posters, papers, stickers, collecting tins and petitions.

Fighting Fund weekend

Socials and parties on Saturday night will raise money and give a breather before Sunday's paper sales on all the big estates, using the petition and tins. If every

Fighting Fund This week £2221

Area	Received	% of target achieved	Target
1 Humberside	1148		2300
2 South East	897		2400
3 London East	1215		3550
4 London West	913		2900
5 London South West	429		1500
6 London South East	641		2250
7 Manchester/Lancs	1055		4150
8 Merseyside	1533		7000
9 Scotland West	849		3850
10 West Midlands	999		4500
11 East Midlands	652		3050
12 Southern	628		3100
13 Yorkshire	1116		5600
14 Eastern	581		3450
15 Wales West	556		3350
16 Northern	470		4550
17 Scotland East	295		3200
18 South West	185		2150
19 Wales East	165		2150
Others	7700		5000
Total	22026		70000

area organised a similar activity we would sell thousands more papers and raise thousands of pounds.

Despite the attacks from the union leaders, the conferences continue to show rank and file support for the ideas of *Militant*. £279 was raised at COHSE conference. At NUM conference Dave Hopper, General Secretary of Durham Area NUM, Dave Guy, President

and Colin Wear, Conference delegate from Durham Area each donated £10.

In Southampton a "Rich and Famous" party raised £40 for the fighting fund while socials in Harlow and Wirral raised £20 and £27 respectively. A jumble sale in Hull raised £37.57 while comrades from Birmingham collected £22.67 on the coach down to the anti-apartheid demonstration.

There are hundreds of ways to raise cash but the plans need to be made now to get our target by 31 July.

DONATIONS INCLUDE: American reader \$100; D Cooper, NUPE Black Country £20; R Moyce, Southampton £2.80; K Waddington North London £5; A Tees Strathclyde NALGO £3; M Overall Blantyre £2; Collection at Snowdown pit, Kent £4; NUPE expenses, Walsall £12.

Bradford Militant Rally

THE ANNOUNCEMENT of the forthcoming *Militant* rally in Bradford on 16 July has already had a good response from the local labour movement. After Derek Hatton spoke at the Silentnight rally, one of the organisers, Steve Davison, Keighley trades council president, said:

"The sheer excitement that was caused when Derek Hatton was booked showed how both he and the Liverpool council have captured the imagination of the working class. He went down a bomb." Peter McHale, shopsteward at Silentnight, told us "Derek Hatton was prepared to come and speak to people and offer his help. The Labour leadership should do more to build the party instead of expulsions which are destroying it."

Terry Bennett, well-known chairperson of one Silentnight FTAT branch told us "*Militant* is no more extreme than Tom Clarke. I'm a moderate and I don't think *Militant* are extreme." With speakers from Pakistan and South Africa the international aspect was not overlooked. Councillor Derek Smith, secretary of Bradford Trades Council told us "I support the rally because it is anti-Thatcher and anti-apartheid and it is right that we support the South African workers in struggle".

Pensioners also welcomed the rally. Arthur Hearn, president of UCATT 136 branch for 40 years sees some hope in Liverpool. "At 75 years of age, I consider that Derek Hatton and his colleagues are attempting to raise the living standards of the working class in Liverpool, doing the work we know needs doing in all our towns and cities. Liverpool has set an example that ought to have been followed in all cities."

Wages Councils

Young workers also gave strong support. Razina Bostan, USDAW branch chair and LPYS regional youth committee member explained that "Bradford is the lowest-paid city in Britain and with the abolition of Wages Councils in July it will mean further cuts in the living standards of young people."

Richard Hamilton, a school leaver and LPYS member knows why he will be attending the rally. "The Tories are never going to do anything for me. *Militant* can show young people like me how to fight back."

Many other local figures will be coming. Dave Jackson, of the T&G 9/8 branch told us "I support Liverpool council in their fight and hope they win."

Dave Birch, branch organiser of the Bradford District CPSS DHSS Section told us "I am fighting against extremism, extreme low-pay and extreme poverty. The expulsions are a criminal waste of time. The NEC should be organising labour movement sanctions against South Africa and support of trade unionists in struggle at GCHQ and at Wapping."

After the local election victory with overwhelming control for Labour in Bradford, people are looking for answers and will be keen to find out how Liverpool came to grips with their problems.

By Linda McKenzie
(Bradford North Labour Party)

Durham Miners

MINERS AND their families assembling at this year's Durham "Big Meeting" will be carrying on a tradition that has lasted for over a century.

The annual Gala, with the parade of banners from the various collieries, has been the highlight of the year ever since the Durham Miners' Association was established in 1869. But many miners will be unaware that this proud tradition goes back even further than the establishment of the DMA.

In 1831 what came to be known as "Hepburn's union" after its leader Thomas Hepburn, held a series of meetings of as many as 10,000 pitmen, to discuss a programme to put to the coal owners for an improvement in wages, hours and general conditions of the yearly contract or "bond".

A deputation was sent to the mayor of Newcastle to ask permission to meet on the town moor. The request was granted on condition that the pitmen would not carry sticks or offensive weapons and would not pass through Newcastle in large bodies.

The city of Newcastle-upon-Tyne in 1831 was a wealthy provincial centre, which had grown on the business of the bustling port and particularly from the export of coals. But now that the men who dug the coals were to mass in the city, its middle class shopkeepers and prosperous burghers were horrified, anticipating riots and looting.

These terrible and savage pitmen, they thought, would surely lay waste to the city. But the trembling townsfolk need not have worried: the behaviour of the pitmen was impeccable.

On the morning of Monday 21 March every pit in the two counties lay idle. Large numbers of pitmen were arriving in the city from 9 o'clock onwards, each group carrying a placard or banner bearing the name of their colliery, setting the tradition which still flourishes to this day at the Durham Miners' Gala.

By 11 o'clock a vast crowd had assembled around the brow of the hill on the new race course on Newcastle town moor. It was estimated that not less than 23,000

pitmen from 48 collieries were present, representing the vast bulk of the miners of Durham and Northumberland.

The meeting went on to agree a course of action and later, after a 7 week strike, won every demand from the coal-owners. The following year, however, the coal-owners crushed the union, getting their revenge after another lengthy dispute.

Bitter struggles

But the principle of unity of purpose had been firmly fixed in the minds of the pitmen. There were many more bitter struggles and strikes in later years, until the DMA was firmly founded. By May 1870 the union had 140,000 men in 216 lodges, and it organised its first "official" Gala, in Durham, the following year.

Miners today would do well to reflect on the struggles of their predecessors. Just as the government and coal-owners of the nineteenth century found it impossible to prevent the growth of miners' unions, so the Tories today are finding it impossible to smash the NUM. Formidable as the Tories may seem today, they are as nothing when compared with the obstacles which the pitmen of the last century had to overcome.

At this year's Gala Durham miners should reassert their proud traditions in preparation for the further battles which are inevitable if the Durham coal field is to have a secure future.

By Dave Ridley
(Houghton and Washington Labour Party)

Durham pits massacred

ON THE western outskirts of the old city of Durham, where rows of terraced houses, cobbled back lanes, corner shops and 'pitman's' clubs peter out and become lost to the rolling hills of a countryside once dominated by mine shafts, the small pit village of Bearpark prepares itself for the "final farewell".

It is Gala Day 1983 and the end of an era. Bearpark colliery, one of the oldest in the Durham coalfield, is exhausted and now, as one miner put it, is being "laid to rest".

On that day, the 100th anniversary of the Gala, amidst the excitement of small children too young to understand what the day's events were all about, the old gents of Bearpark, long-since retired, silently lined up behind the silken banner awaiting the signal to march the final two miles to the city.

For many of the "old gents" Gala day has always been a time of remembrance. The memory of back-breaking shifts before mechanisation clearly etched on their hardened faces, and the memory of fathers, brothers, friends and workmates lost in the blackness.

To the younger and working miners the future is where they look to. Bearpark was allowed to "die gracefully" on the grounds of exhaustion and with the blessing of the union, but for many other pits

'death' has been premature, 'executed' by the Tory government after being found 'guilty' on the charge of being 'uneconomic'.

Today, after the great strike of '84-'85, there have been more 'executions' in the Durham coalfield. Since 1945 onwards Durham coalfield has almost been wiped off the map. In 1945 over 180 pits in the Durham area alone employed nigh on 250,000 miners. Today in both Durham and Northumberland, around 15,000 miners operated only a dozen or so coastal pits.

The young miners will once again be looking to the leadership of the labour and trade union movement for a lead. They will listen to speeches from the platform and they will remember the contribution each leader gave during the recent strike.

For those like Arthur Scargill, Dennis Skinner and Tony Benn, the reception will be warm, for others not so warm. With the continued Tory onslaught on the pits, jobs and communities, speeches, smiles and waves from Neil Kinnock and the Labour leadership will not be enough. They need socialism and they need it today not tomorrow!

By Bob Harker
(Gateshead East Labour Party)

NOTICE TO THE MINERS, OF NORTHUMBERLAND AND DURHAM, AND THE PUBLIC GENERALLY.

We the Miners of Seaton Colliery, have sent to our Masters, this day October 4th, 1854 a petition, for a small advance of price, and we hope that our Brother miners, will refrain from seeking work at Seaton Colliery, for if any should come we will treat them as Black legs, & we think that other Collieries, should try to make their own wages good, and not interfere with us, as it is for your good as well as our own.

We are yours,
In the bonds of Union,
The Workmen of Seaton Colliery.

Seaton miners appeal to other workers, 1854.

NCB's record of bur

MANY ON the right wing of the labour movement are trying to turn the Labour Party away from the idea of nationalisation, on the grounds that the traditional so-called "Morrisonian-style" nationalisation does not work.

It is true, as Durham miner STAN PEARCE explains here from his own experiences, that the coal industry was nationalised in a bureaucratic manner, without the involvement of the miners and with such compensation that the NCB was crippled at birth.

But, as he argues, the answer is not for the labour movement to abandon the principle of nationalisation, but to advance the policy of socialist nationalisation, with minimal compensation based only on proven need and run on the basis of workers' control and management.

THE NATIONALISATION of the mines in 1947 raised enormous expectations among miners. We all knew there was no future for the industry under private ownership. The coal owners lorded it over us. They failed to invest in the pits. We were all using antiquated and old-fashioned machinery.

The older pits were reaching the end of their lives and mining the deeper reserves and the coastal pits needed a massive input of capital. There were a lot of disputes, especially about pay for the coal hewers. There was no standard rate, we were negotiating with different employers.

Exploitation

So, we expected big changes. Everybody thought, "it's our industry now". People really thought they were going to get some say in the running of the pits.

We expected an end to the coal-owners' exploitation and cruelty. We expected the pits to be run for working people. I came from a mining family. My father, uncles and brother were all miners. I started work at Glebe colliery, Washington, in the autumn of 1946 at the age of 14. My father was really proud when in January 1947, as the youngest miner in the pit, I unveiled the plaque at the colliery to mark public ownership.

We soon realised how little had



Photo: Militant

actually changed. In every pit consultative committees were set up, with representatives of management and all the mining unions. We thought it meant we were going to be consulted about decisions. We were told we could discuss things like production, safety, absenteeism. But it was just a talking shop, there were never any votes taken, the decisions were still taken by management.

The people put in charge — appointed by the Labour government — knew nothing about the industry. The area board was made up of ex-admirals and generals, who had been given these cosy corners as a reward for their services to King and Country. They had no affinity with mining.

At Glebe colliery our first colliery manager after nationalisation was a Major Barron of the Indian army, the under-manager was a Captain Nicholson. Judging by the way they tried to run the pit they thought they were still in the army.

Even after nationalisation the old war-time legislation was still being used against us. For going on strike men were fined and bound over not to do it again. In the coal shortage of 1947 we were urged to "put the nation first" and work an extra half a day and Saturday mornings.

It was the same old story. My father used to say "They've taken their braces off and put their belts on".

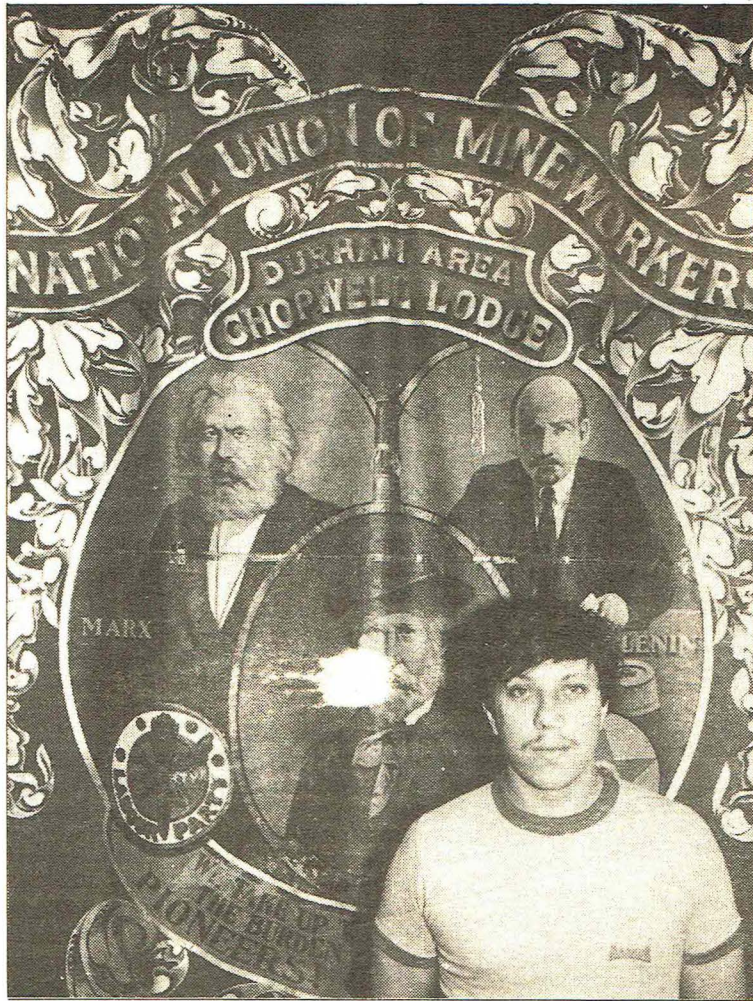
There were some improvements under nationalisation, like massive investment and a lot of new machinery. But the big increases in

miners Gala



Photo: Militant

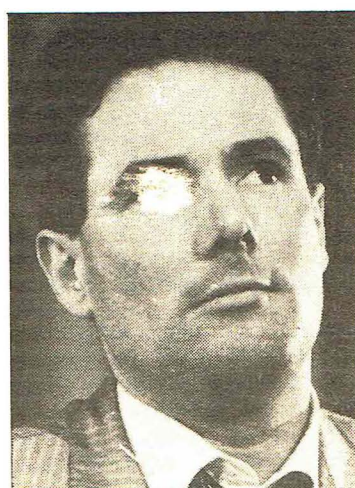
1983 saw a massive turnout in Durham (above, below and below left) as miners celebrated the 100th gala.



Alan Mardghum, Wemouth lodge secretary, stands in front of the old Chopwell banner showing Marx, Lenin and Hardie.

Liverpool backed the miners

DEREK HATTON, deputy leader of Liverpool City Council, and expelled from the Labour Party, was invited to the Gala as a guest of Wemouth NUM. The invitation was a recognition of the stand made by the council against the Tories, in defence of jobs and services.



Derek Hatton, deputy leader Liverpool Council. Photo: Militant

Unfortunately, because of a broken ankle, Derek is unable to attend the Gala, but the link between Liverpool and the miners remain strong. During the strike Liverpool City Council gave every possible support to the miners.

Those miners living in Liverpool paid no rent and received a weekly food parcel. Extra food and clothes were provided to those families with children under 5. Holidays were given to miners' children between the ages of 8 and 16. Extra clothing grants were given for children.

Liverpool on Trial See pages 3, 7 and 16

Permits for financial collections in the city were given without hassle, and they raised over £1 million in the course of the strike.

The council also made available their own transport, with their own employees as guides, to take miners round the factories and other workplaces to organize support and solidarity action. Concerts were organized to raise funds.

The city council received praise from the Notts area of the NUM for the food which they sent down, collected by members of the city council trade unions. In particular the South Wales area was adopted

with food and money being sent there.

South Wales NUM President Terry Thomas, who has now joined in Neil Kinnock's witch-hunt against *Militant* supporters in Liverpool, was made a guest speaker at rallies supporting the miners organised by the city council and by *Militant* supporters in Liverpool.

Derek Hatton on many occasions made himself available to speak on platforms on behalf of the miners. Many miners—like workers in Liverpool—have been appalled at the decision to expel him from the party for standing up to the Tories and are demanding his reinstatement.

By Kevin Miles

80 DMA members still sacked

NATIONALLY there are 550 members of the union still sacked from the strike. From a total of 150 Durham miners dismissed over 80 remain outside the pit gates. The only ones reinstated are those who were accused of trivial offences such as coal-picking.

cent of all miners sacked nationally would have already won reinstatement.

Of the men remaining sacked, many are branch officials and active rank and file miners, and are obvious victims of Coal Board attempts to reduce the effectiveness of the NUM.

The struggle must go on for the reinstatement, with full compensation, of every miner sacked or jailed during the dispute and for the return to power of a Labour government committed to socialist policies.

By Rob Crute
(Sacked miner, Easington Colliery, Durham Area NUM)

eaucracy

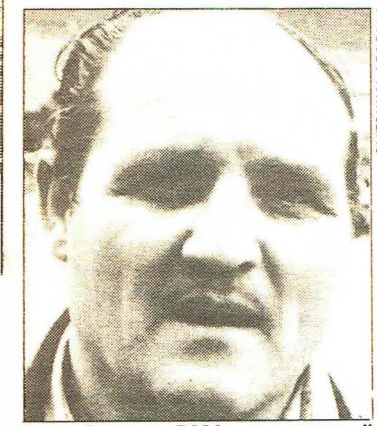
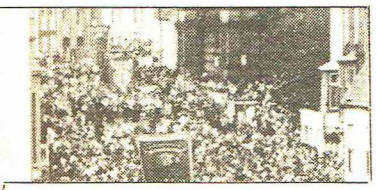


Photo: Militant

Stan Pearce, DMA area council member

productivity didn't lead to any benefit for the men. Instead of using the opportunity to reduce hours of work, it was used to create unemployment and a cheap energy supply to industry. The capitalists got all the benefits.

The new management often didn't have a clue about mining. Every miner could tell you stories about decisions taken by management whizz-kids which could never work in practice.

I remember in 1956 or 1957, at Glebe colliery they introduced a new machine from Germany known as the "plough". It was new to us although it had been used by the Germans for years.

Appalling safety record

There was a man in our pit who had been a prisoner of war and had been made to work in a pit in Poland. He had used a plough there 12 years earlier and he told us it wouldn't work. It was unsuitable for our pit. He also told us it had an appalling safety record, it had a free-range chain and kept knocking timber out.

But that didn't matter, the decision had been taken. As predicted, it wasn't right. It wouldn't plough hard coal and kept digging into the soft coal so we couldn't keep the face straight.

THE RECENT conference of the National Union of Mineworkers saw many former 'left' NUM leaders adopting the policy of 'new realism' which, in effect, means surrender to the dictates of the Tories.

Almost isolated in the national leadership, Arthur Scargill was

criticised from both right and left for his forthright speech in which he defended the fundamental ideas of the trade union movement, including the necessity for the unions to stand up for their members. A full report of NUM conference is on page 15.

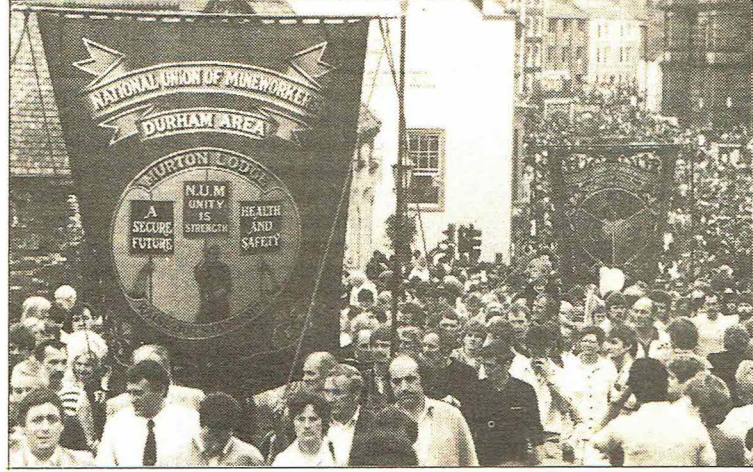


Photo: Militant

In the neighbouring Washington F pit a man was killed by it. The machine became known as "Hitler's revenge".

At Wemouth colliery they brought in another new machine called "the pecker"—a pneumatic device for pecking at stone ribbons. The management demonstrated it on wood in the car-park. They brought three men up for a day's training on it.

Instinctively, the men knew the machine wouldn't work in the conditions underground, but again management had decided. They seemed not to care that the three miners had a hundred years of experience of mining between them. Sure enough the machine didn't work underground and had to be taken out again.

There is nobody better qualified to run the mining industry than the miners themselves. The attitude of management during the '84-'85 strike has given a new impetus to the demands of democratic workers' control and management of the industry.

But workers' control would mean that the industry would be run in the interests of the working class. Even under public ownership mining in Britain has always been run for big business.

In 1947, at nationalisation itself, the coal-owners were given lavish compensation from the public purse. They then went into the profitable business of manufacturing

mining equipment like chocks or into coal distribution leaving the Coal Board saddled with debts and interest charges right up to the present.

Socialist nationalisation should involve workers' control of day-to-day production, safety and hiring and firing with management boards made up of one-third from the unions in the industry, one-third from the TUC and one-third appointed by the government—all on the average wage of skilled workers in the industry. Compensation should be based only on proven need.

Democratic plan

Up to now the industry has been milked dry just to provide cheap energy for big business. At the same time all the nationalised energy industries, coal, gas, electricity, North Sea Oil are competing against each other.

What stronger argument could there be for an integrated energy system, which could only be done on the basis of democratically-run public ownership. The only real future for the energy industries lies in democratic planning by the working class in the interests of the working class.

By Stan Pearce
(Durham NUM Area Council personal capacity)

ANC leaders must show way to workers' power

"Viva Tambo! Viva Socialism!" This call has gone up at the revolutionary demonstrations and funerals of the last period, reflecting the overwhelming mood among the working people for a fight to the finish, organised under the banner of the ANC, against the capitalist bosses as well as the apartheid regime.

What stage is our struggle at? How can we unite and strengthen all our forces? How can we prepare for power? These are questions posed to the ANC leadership by hundreds of thousands steered in the revolutionary upheaval of the last twenty-two months, who are prepared to sacrifice all for victory.

Unfortunately, rather than addressing these questions, the ANC leadership has recently appeared more concerned to seek common ground with "progressive" big business and with Western governments in the search for a "negotiated settlement" with Botha's regime.

Since the state of emergency, ANC President Tambo has held talks in Britain with Tory Minister Lynda Chalker, and lunched in the City of London with top bankers and businessmen. At the same time ANC spokesmen Thabo Mbeki and Mac Maharaj chatted on a BBC radio "round table" broadcast with SA businessmen and academics about the preconditions for negotiations.

Now it is reported that even the Reagan government is anxious for dialogue with the ANC.

Democratic society

It cannot be imagined that any of these people share the burning demand of the black masses in South Africa for a democratic society.

While they remain divided on the question of selective sanctions, the capitalists are united in searching for a negotiated settlement as an alternative to the revolution which they see looming ahead.

Urging Thatcher to agree to selective sanctions, Malcolm Frazer, co-chairman of the Eminent Persons Group (EPG), warned that otherwise "in eight or ten years... a radical government is bound to emerge, whose first action would be to nationalise all Western interests, and Britain would lose all."

Supporting the EPG initiative, the *Financial Times* wrote (13 May): "The danger is that unless black leaders are released, and exiled leaders allowed to return, a new generation of radicalised blacks, already emerging, will take control and demand not only political power but the socialist transformation of the country."

But can big business or Western governments deliver such a settlement?

With or without selective sanctions, Botha remains under enor-

By Richard Monroe
Member *Inqaba* Editorial Board

mous pressure to reform. Should he feel his grip on the masses becoming more secure, he will have to go over once again onto the 'left' foot—even possibly releasing Nelson Mandela.

At the same time Botha, or his successor, is the custodian of the bosses' state which depends on the allegiance of over four million privileged whites to hold down the black working class.

For the bosses also, the cohesion of this state machine is vital. Faced with the revolution, it is the only state they have got. But "white minority rule", for so long the guarantee of their profits, has now become an obstacle which will prevent them from delivering any "settlement" which could halt the revolution.

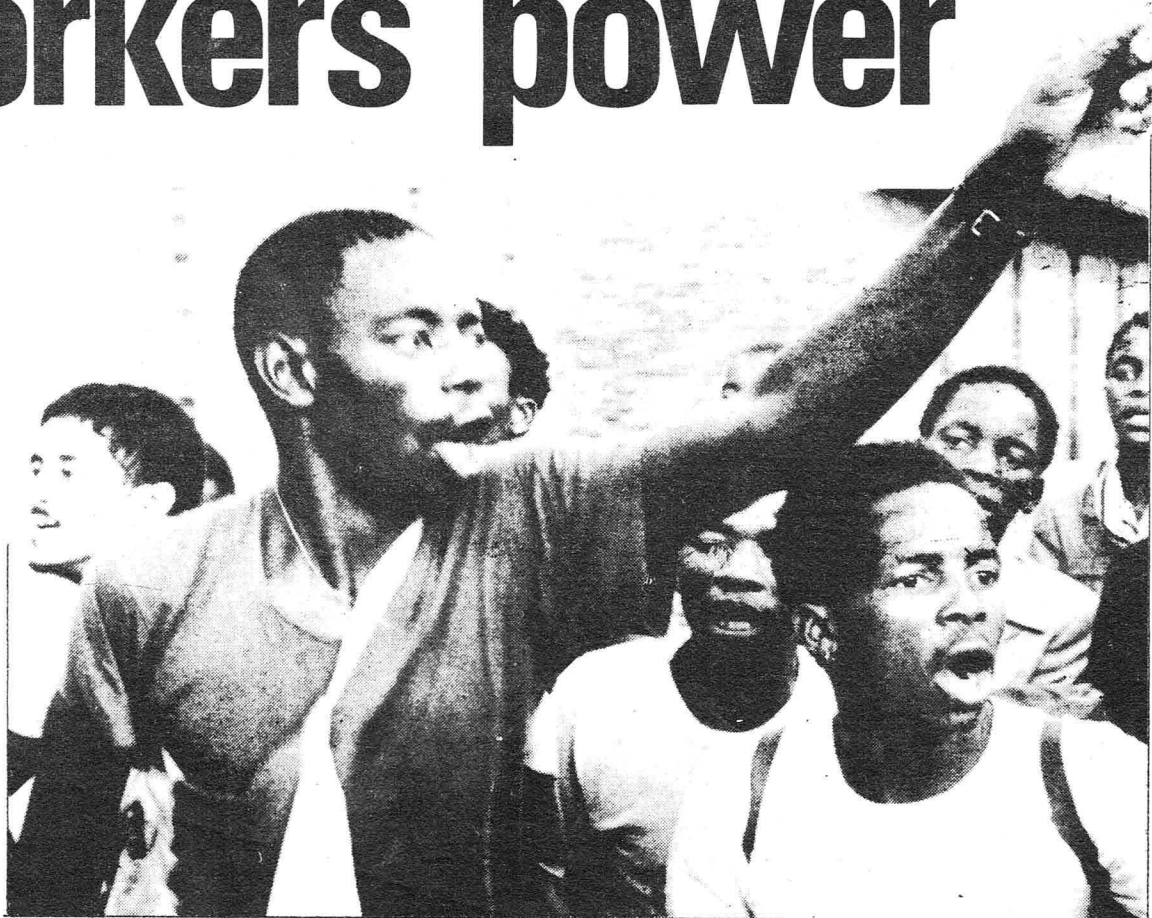
As the *New Statesman* recently explained (for once, with some insight): "a South African government that showed any inclination to make real concessions of power to the Black majority in the country would instantly lose control of the white political machine... If senior police officers collectively came to think that 'liberal' Afrikaners were 'going soft' on the Black issue, there would almost certainly be a coup." (27 June)

In justifying their discussions with big business, the ANC and CP leadership have argued that negotiations are now "premature"—and will remain so "short of a government accepting the principle of transfer of power in a united, democratic SA." (*Guardian*, 5 July)

But come, comrades! How will any government based on the white minority and defending capitalism be able to agree to such a condition?

The emergence of the neo-fascist AWB, and the growth of the Conservative Party, are signs of the drift to the ultra-right that will be the predominant response of the ranks of the whites, in the first instance, to the insecurity imposed on them by the unfolding SA revolution. How much less in the future will the white racist state machine be reconciled to any "negotiations" predicated on the transfer of power to the black majority!

Nor would ultra-right whites be appeased in any way by the willingness of the ANC leadership to "permit temporary arrangements safeguarding some aspects of white privilege, such as a few guaranteed seats in Parliament." (*Guardian*, 5



Easter 1986: the National Education Crisis Conference calls for a three-day general strike on 16-18 June.

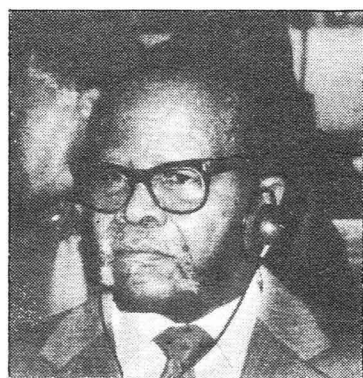
Arm the movement against attacks!

Since the State of Emergency, there has been an escalation of bombings against civilians. Though ANC leaders deny that this is their official policy, it is the inevitable outcome of the false method of urban guerrillaism which they have proclaimed for over 20 years.

These bombs will add to the hysteria among whites,

and play into Botha's hands as he tries to heal the emerging splits among his rank and file—when the task is to deepen these splits on class lines.

At the same time, the ANC leadership have taken no practical steps to arm the movement against attacks by vigilantes and the police. If anything, the bombings divert attention from this burning task.



ANC President Oliver Tambo

July). At the same time, any retreat from the demand of one-person-one-vote in a unitary SA would lose the ANC leadership support among the masses.

Despite their wailings about the regime's excesses, the bosses will continue to rely not only on the firepower of the barbaric white state, but on all other forms of reaction which the state will encourage.

"Terrorising townships"

More than ever before, Gatsha Buthelezi has become revealed in his real counter-revolutionary colours. Waging war against COSATU and the UDF in Natal, strike-breaking on the mines, permitted to hold a political rally in Soweto despite the emergency. Buthelezi's Inkatha is—as even Denis Healey conceded after his recent visit to SA—"a political machine rather like Mayor Daley's Democratic Party in Chicago, terrorising the townships throughout Natal." (*Observer*, 6 July)

Yet, asked about his attitude to Buthelezi recently, Anglo-American boss Gavin Relly said: "You can't expect us to run away from the single black leader who says exactly what we think... I've been told that Buthelezi plays a rough game in Natal. But SA is not

Out now—LPYS leaflets "Support South African workers and youth" £8 per 1000. Available through NC members.

for the faint-hearted." (*Business Day*, 2 May)

Big business and Western governments hope, through talks with the ANC leaders, to buy time, to wear down revolutionary resolve, to distract them from the task of leading the struggle for power—and entice them into the "divide and rule" schemes which are the only constitutional tricks open to the SA ruling class.

Unfortunately, the ANC leadership have not made crystal clear their rejection of these manoeuvres. The EPG reported Nelson Mandela as saying to them that, were he released, "the unity of all black leaders, including Chief Buthelezi, could be achieved." (*Mission to South Africa*, p.68)

But what possible recipe is there for unity between the pro-capitalist and federalist programme of the tyrant Buthelezi, and the democratic and socialist demands contained in the Freedom Charter?

At his Soweto rally, Buthelezi even declared his willingness to participate in Botha's stooge "National Statutory Council"—if Mandela was released and given the option of participation.

Mandela is also reported by the EPG as stating that, if troops were removed from the townships, and bans lifted on political organisations, "He and his colleagues would have to take on the active role of persuading people to call off violent activities and to respect the negotiating process." (*ibid*, p.72)

Yet, despite his immense authority, how could Mandela expect to preserve credibility in the eyes of the workers and youth, were he to try to halt the struggles over wages and jobs, over rents and education, against the unending

violence of the state machine?

To try this would ignore all the lessons of the last period—that real democratic power can only be seized through struggle against the regime and the bosses, and will not be transferred by them.

Yet nothing in the EPG report has been repudiated by spokesmen for Mandela or by the ANC/CP leadership.

These discussions with the business leaders and their governments, raising false hopes about a negotiated transfer of power, can only serve to politically disarm the mass movement in preparing for its central task—dismantling the existing state and the establishing in its place the democratic rule of the working class.

Socialist strategy

The task now rests on activists to build, clandestinely at first, branches of the ANC around a revolutionary programme, preparing workers and youth for the fight back against the state of emergency, for armed self-defence, and for the eventual conquest of state power.

We must call on the ANC leadership to turn away from endless diplomatic negotiations with the capitalists. Appeals for "instant insurrection", issued at times during the struggles of the last period, provide no answer either. The formidable state machine stands in the way of any immediate conquest of power.

The SA revolution will develop over an extended period, passing through massive upsurges, and inevitable ebbs, as the working masses build the necessary strength of organisation to achieve power.

The ANC leadership has the responsibility to guide this struggle for democracy and socialism. Victory can only be achieved through the building of a mass ANC on a socialist programme, preparing for eventual mass armed insurrection.



Socialist policies are needed to split and defeat the state forces

Photo: Jillian Edelstein (Reflex)

Poland 1976:

LAST WEEK PHIL HUTCHINSON examined the post-war history of Poland and the mighty strike movement which took place in Poznan in 1956, thirty years ago this month. Twenty years later the Polish workers once again demonstrated their willingness to fight against the parasitic bureaucracy under which they still suffer.

Regime forced to retreat

BY THE mid-1970s the inflationary crisis of the capitalist world began to add to the pressures on the Polish balance of payments. Poland's expenditure on imports had gone up \$1,400 million in 1974-75. Poland's debt to the West now stood at \$8,000 million.

By 1976 the bureaucrats had no alternative. They announced price rises of 50 per cent for sausage meat, 69 per cent for other meat, 30 per cent for poultry, 100 per cent for sugar, 50 per cent for butter and 30 per cent for other types of food.

Almost immediately the workers responded. In Radom the workers from the munitions plant marched in protest, and as they went through the town, workers poured out of other factories and housewives off the estates, swelling their ranks until the whole town was involved.

The first demand of the workers was for negotiations with the Party officials. When this was refused—and this is a measure of the speed of development of political

consciousness in the political revolution—they attacked the party headquarters and burned it down.

Troops flown in

Local police refused to deal with the situation, again indicating the contagious effect on the consciousness of the state forces nearest to the militant workers. Troops were flown in and 17 workers were killed in the shootings that followed. The movement was only put down with liberal use of bullets and tear gas, the only things the bureaucrats have ever been liberal with!

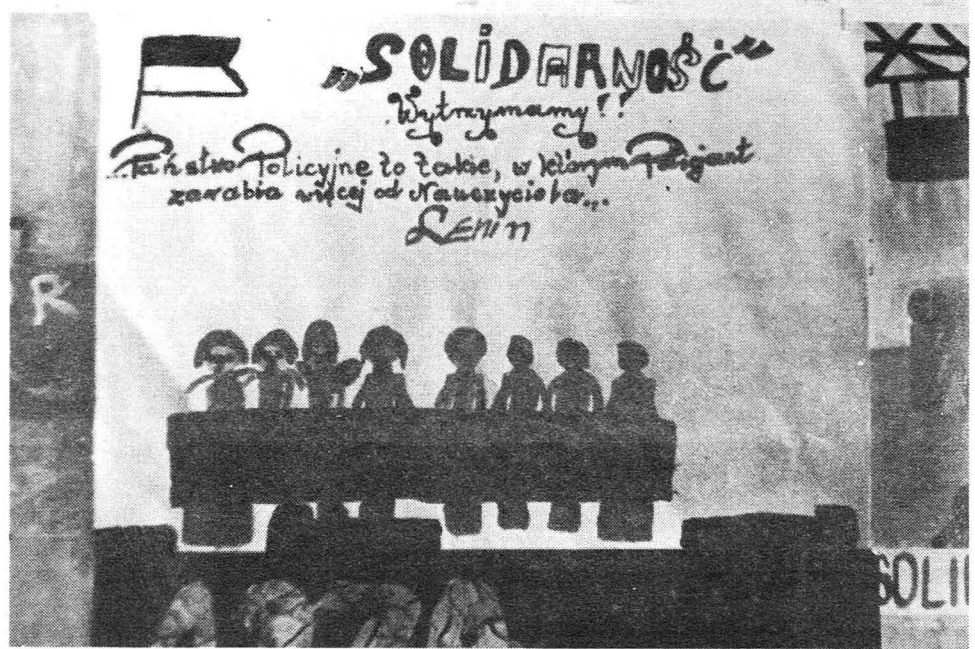
Workers from the Ursus tractor factory, south west of Warsaw, held up the Warsaw to Paris express. They ripped up the railway lines

and refused to release the train until the price increases were cancelled.

In Plock, 60 miles to the north-west of Warsaw, the workers also took to the streets and bravely took on the forces of state repression in pitched battles in the town.

Such was the horror of the bureaucracy at the forces they had unleashed that they backed away in panic. That very evening a government minister appeared on the television to explain, with characteristic intellectual acrobatics, that although the majority of the workers agreed with the price rises the government had decided to cancel them!

Heavy prison sentences of up to 10 years were imposed on the workers' leaders involved. But the workers as a whole learned great lessons from these events. They developed a sense of the power they had, even though they were living under a totalitarian police dictatorship. The most active and



An exhibition of children's paintings inspired by Solidarnosc shows the profound effect of the workers' movement on Polish society. The caption reads: "We shall hold out. A police state exists when a policeman earns more than a teacher—Lenin".

thinking young workers began to seek alternative political ideas, as a layer of students and intellectuals had done since 1968. An underground opposition began to emerge.

1976, whilst not the biggest and most significant of the recent struggles by the Polish workers, must nevertheless be seen as an important landmark in the maturing of the Polish workers movement which paved the way for the independent organisation of the workers, Solidarnosc, which was thrown up as soon as the strikes started in 1980.

Workers confident

These movements formed the background to the events of 1980 and 81, which are dealt with in material we published at the time.

At every stage in the development of the political revolution in Poland, the workers have become more confident, and drawn more



and more layers of society behind them. Meanwhile the bureaucracy has become more isolated, demoralised, fearful of the future and its room for manoeuvre more and more limited.

In 1980-81 however, the leadership of Solidarnosc lacked ideas and perspectives. Lech Walesa boasted he had never read a book, a scandalous assertion for a workers' leader. Without theory, the spontaneous pressure of the workers was not enough to bring the workers to power. The muddled ideas of the intellectual leaders of KOR, the 'Workers' Defence Committee', filled the vacuum at the head of the movement, along with all the preaching of moderation by the church.

The movement was thus deflected from a decisive struggle in 1980 and 1981. The best traditions of the Polish workers from 1956 were forgotten by these so-called leaders. Only an all-out struggle for power by the working class could have brought the movement to victory. The road of gradual

reforms was illusory, and paved the way for the military coup and martial law regime of Jaruzelski.

A new period of struggle for the Polish workers will open up over the next few years. All the pitfalls and dangers that led to the defeat of the movement in 1980-81 will be there again.

Lesson

The great lesson that comes out of an examination of these magnificent events in the history of the Polish workers' movement is the need for the workers to develop within their own ranks a leadership armed with clear Trotskyist ideas that can galvanise together the revolutionary strength of the masses when the hour for political revolution strikes.

Such a movement could lead to the conquest of power by the workers of Poland, and the inauguration of a new period in history, of workers' democracy spreading to all the countries of Eastern Europe and throughout the world.

General strike in Chile

LAST WEEK'S general strike in Chile was the biggest organised challenge to the Pinochet dictatorship in the 13 years of its existence.

In Santiago, Valparaiso and other towns and cities police and troops battled with demonstrators, leaving several dead and many wounded. Hundreds were arrested, including the entire leadership of the student movement in Santiago and Valparaiso.

Public transport, a key to the success of the strike, was off the streets. The only traffic was the occasional passing car.

Factories, schools, shops and banks were severely affected in most areas, though the reports available at this stage vary as to the extent. The regime has banned all news coverage by independent radio stations.

One source said that the strike was 75 per cent successful.

Key working-class areas were sealed off by the police. During the night, machine-gun fire alternated with the sound of women banging empty pots—a traditional form of protest against the regime.

The strike was called by the National Civic Assembly, a multi-class body which first met about two months ago and brings together many opposition



Chilean workers and youth will respond to a bold socialist leadership.

groups, including the main trade unions.

Initially the Assembly gave Pinochet the deadline of 31 May for meeting a series of democratic demands, otherwise they would start making the country ungovernable. Pinochet ignored the deadline. The strike call was the result.

Main force

The Christian-Democratic leadership reluctantly supported the strike, reflecting the immense pressure they are under from the masses. The main force behind the strike was the CNT (National Workers' Command, the main trade union federa-

tion) and the MDP (Popular Democratic Movement, an alliance of left political groupings).

The MDP and other sections of the opposition have raised the idea of an indefinite action, probably around 11 September, the anniversary of Pinochet's coup.

An indefinite general strike, as opposed to a 48-hour action, would clearly threaten the survival of the regime, and lead to massive enthusiasm among the working class and youth.

The crying need in Chile at the moment is for the working class parties to break out of their leaders' alliances with the bourgeoisie, and organise the struggle on an

independent class basis.

Pinochet could be swept from power if the workers' leadership mobilised the movement around the call for an insurrectionary general strike, the arming of the workers and the recreation of the *cordones* (the workers' councils formed under Allende in 1972-73).

Such a movement would place socialist revolution on the agenda. This alone will open the way to ridding Chilean society of the poverty, homelessness, repression and other festering symptoms of the decaying capitalist system.

By Alejandro Rojas

DEMONSTRATIONS IN Poznan, on the eve of last week's Communist Party congress, commemorated the 1956 uprising and warned the regime of the continuing, explosive tensions remaining in Polish society despite the crushing of Solidarity.

Gorbachev warmly congratulated Polish leader Jaruzelski on "defending socialism" during the martial-law period—i.e., on imposing hard-line Stalinist repression on the workers' movement. So much for Gorbachev's 'reformism'!

The Politburo shifted further to the right. Seven workers and reformists, elected at the 1981 Congress during the height of the Solidarity movement, were dropped. Three generals were elected, confirming the key role of the military in running the Polish state.

There is an irreconcilable gulf between the working class and the parasitic, privileged state bureaucracy organised in the 'Communist' Party.

With its membership now at 2.2 million, the Polish CP is still below its pre-Solidarity level. It has few members among workers and youth.

An opinion poll by Poland's Press Research Centre showed that only 20 per cent of Poles have confidence in the CP. And these were mainly the CP members themselves.

Out of touch with reality

Dear Comrades,
I've just heard *Yesterday in Parliament* on Radio 4.

It was what amounted to a slanging match between the Tories and the Labour Front Bench, over who was really the party of 'Law and Order'. In Parliament, the Labour Party throws away many chances to make a class defence from a class standpoint, but this one was

breath-taking.

It will be obvious what the Tories were saying. Labour's 'spokesmen' weren't far off the same: "More money on the police, more coppers on the beat".

I really do wonder how in touch with reality these people are, if they've ever wondered what a phrase like 'on the beat' means to Britain's black youth, the miners or to the strikers and residents of

Wapping.

It is only *Militant* and its supporters I trust to handle the ideas of socialism, to argue with the Tories from a class standpoint, and not to waste time in witch-hunting, career chasing and attempting to out-Tory the Tory party.

Yours fraternally
K Blake
Folkestone

Expulsions—leadership loses

Dear Comrades,

The enclosed letter was written by an OAP on the Wonford council estate in Exeter after she saw the expulsion of Derek Hatton and other Liverpool *Militant* supporters on TV.

A few days earlier the secretary of Wonford ward party visited her about joining the Labour Party and told her she had to make a choice between supporting the *Militant* and joining the LP. The expulsion of Hatton etc made her mind up for her.

Yours fraternally
David Oatley
Exeter

Application for membership of the Exeter Constituency Labour Party

I have decided not to apply for membership of the above as I regret the action being taken to expel Liverpool's Militants.

I wish above all to help get Margaret Thatcher and her government out (for ever) and would therefore like to help Exeter Labour Party at election times.

Yours sincerely
Margaret Pierce

Militant gains

Dear Comrades,

Last Saturday while selling *Militant* in the centre of Bradford, I was approached by a man who said: "I've been looking for you for the last three weeks!" At first I thought he was a reporter doing an article or TV programme on *Militant* in Bradford—why not? They are all at it these days!

But he told me that he is angry about Kinnock and his witch-hunts. His answer to Kinnock is to take a regular copy of *Militant* and join the Labour Party to help change it. That was the answer of an unemployed teacher to Kinnock who thinks expulsions win votes!

Yours fraternally
Hamid Khayam
Bradford North
Labour Party Young Socialists

Letters

Send us your views, comments or criticism.

Militant,
3-13 Hepscoth Road,
London E9 5HB

Plastic but still lethal

Dear Comrades,

Right wing Labour MP Don Concannon remarked disgracefully at a recent Labour Party meeting in Mansfield that plastic bullets were "better than lead ones" (*Militant* 804).

These 'better than lead' bullets, introduced onto the streets of Northern Ireland, have so far claimed the lives of 16 innocent people, 7 of whom were young children, and have seriously injured countless others.

They are used against the unarmed civilian population. If the Tories have their way they'll be used against the British working class.

Already a number of Tory MPs have called for their use against striking miners and striking printworkers. What are we to say to these brothers and sisters in struggle?

"Never mind at least they're better than lead bullets!"?

Yours fraternally
Bob Harker
Gateshead



The Tories are already considering what Northern Ireland-style riot control equipment they could use in mainland Britain, without right-wing Labour MPs supplying their own tacit agreement.

Photo: Dave Sinclair

Kinnock's long forgotten priority of public ownership

Dear Comrades,

I was interested to find out that Neil Kinnock wrote an article in *Labour Monthly*, December '74, entitled 'Socialist Nationalisation'. He maintained: "There is no need to be apologetic about the extension of public ownership or the establishment of workers' control. They are now prerequisites of the economic survival of Britain."

Apart from the content of the said articles, it is of

course interesting that he saw fit to write in a journal, though nominally independent, under the political control of the CP.

It would appear that writing in stalinist publications is fine in his book, whereas writing in those opposing stalinism from the Marxist viewpoint is cause for expulsion.

Yours fraternally
Mike Jones
Chester

Classified ads

15p per word, minimum 10 words. Semi-Display £2 per column centimetre. Three weeks for the price of two. *Militant* meeting ads free. All advertisement copy should reach this office by first post on Friday, the week before publication.

○ Come to LPYS Summer Camp the greatest political event of the year. Saturday 26 July to Saturday 2 August 1986. At the Bracelands Campsite, near Coleford in the Forest of Dean, Gloucestershire. Only £35 for the whole week! Book now, write to: Andy Bevan, National Youth Officer, 150 Walworth Rd, London SE17 1JT. (Tel: 01-703 0833).

○ Perspectives for the United States of America by Rob O'Neil and Tom Williams. £1 each or 10 for £8 (plus 20p p&p per copy). Available from LM Publications, 3-13 Hepscoth Rd, London E9 5HB.

○ History of the Russian Revolution Leon Trotsky. Special offer £5 single copy (£6.25 including postage). Normally £9.50. Limited period only. From World Socialist Books, 3/13 Hepscoth Rd, London E9 5HB.

Militant Meetings

□ Brighton Wednesday 16 July 8.00 pm. Moulsecoomb Hall. Speakers: Cheryl Varley, Councillor Gordon Wingale.

□ Wroxhall Marxist discussion group. 2 Mountfield Rd, Wroxhall, Isle of Wight. Every Sunday. Phone Vic Dale on IOW 854759 for details.

○ South Wales Summer Camp. Bank Farm, Horton, Gower. August 23/24/25. £15 per adult. £2.50 per child (under 15) £5 per day. Overnight stay £10. Make cheques payable to *Militant* Summer Camp and send to MSC c/o 33 Bryn Road, Brynhill, Swansea.

○ Irish YS Summercamp. July 18-25. £40 week (£30 unwaged) £20 weekend. Details: Kevin McLoughlin, 16 Gardiner Place, Dublin.

○ *Militant* poster blanks (A2 size). Order yours now—cash in advance. £20 per 1,000 (inc.p&p). Box 5, 3/13 Hepscoth Rd, London E9 5HB.

○ New Marxist Study Guide out now—Introduction to Marxist philosophy. Notes, reading guides, questions and articles on dialectical and historical materialism—40p each. Orders up to £5 add 25 per cent postage, £5-£10 add 10 per cent. Over £10 post free. From World Socialist Books, 3-13 Hepscoth Rd, London E9 5HB.

○ *Inqaba ya Basebenzi* journal of the Marxist Workers Tendency of the African National Congress. Price £1 plus 20p postage. Subscriptions: £4 for 4 issues (surface mail—all countries) £7.90 airmail—all countries. Order from: *Inqaba*, BM Box 1719, London WC1N 3XX.

○ Wanted Co-op Stamps. Loose, part, or full books. Proceeds to FF. Send c/o Circulation Dept. 3-13 Hepscoth Rd, London E9 5HB.

□ Sittingbourne Marxist discussion group. Every second Tuesday at 29 Waterloo Rd, Sittingbourne, Kent. For further details ring Sittingbourne 72632.

□ Bridgend Wednesday 16 July 7.30 pm. 'Dunraven Arms'. Speaker: Tony Mulhearn.

Hospitals in crisis

Dear Comrades,

Reading the article on the 'Hospital in Hackney' (*Militant* 804) reminded me of my stay in the psychiatric ward there last year.

Whilst there I witnessed young trainees trying to cope with cases that should have had qualified staff at all times.

Sleeping pills were handed out like sweets. Nights were frightening and dreadful and there was an interminable noise.

Although some of the staff were kind and helpful you were lucky to be able to see a doctor at all.

Young drug addicts, who had been there for months, sat around all day and patients helped to keep them amused. The shortage of staff was appalling. My stay almost destroyed me.

Yours fraternally
A LP member



Special care baby units and other 'luxuries' should not be dependent on charity stunts. Photo: Militant

Dear Comrades,

Recently a friend received a leaflet. It was trying to recruit members for a cowboy and indian display team, which hoped to raise money for equipment for the special care baby unit at the local maternity hospital.

Surely the health of the working class shouldn't have to rely on charities. Thatcher wants to do away with the NHS. She wants

to run it like a big business.

Can't Thatcher see it's people's lives and not commodities she's dealing with? Being ill should not be a luxury only the rich can afford.

Yours fraternally
Joanne Cooke
N Hull LPYS

Escapism for the real 'Eastenders'

Dear Comrades,

I am an avid fan of *Eastenders*. The Fowlers, mum, dad, gran and Michelle are all on the dole.

I had to laugh when we were treated to a view of Michelle's bedroom. It was palatial in size and decor, and would have been more suited to a semi-detached in suburbia than a council house in 'Walford'.

Also there's new baby Vicky in her brand new swinging crib complete with lacy curtains.

This particular episode made me laugh because I couldn't afford what Michelle has for her baby when I was in work, let alone now.

Yours fraternally
Mara Dale
Isle of Wight

CPSA-socialist victory

Macreadie result shocks right wing

"I AM the new General Secretary of the CPSA" John Macreadie said on National lunchtime TV. It is this result that has shocked both the right wing on the union and the government.

The Moderate group candidate John Ellis was so confident of his victory that he went on two weeks' holiday to Malta as the campaign began. He has since said regretfully "I took a short break because I thought it was the last chance I would get for a holiday for some time. I thought I would be General Secretary".

Their pathetic attempts at invalidating the election are yet another demonstration of their disarray. It is widely believed that they will try and appoint the right wing president Marion Chambers to investigate allegations of voting irregularities at Tuesday's National Executive Committee meeting. She will be jumping up and down on the quayside after the boat has already gone.

Low paid

Yet if you look at the situation in which this election was held all the factors were there which pointed to a possible win for John.

The membership of CPSA is predominantly young and low paid. They have suffered for four years with Alistair Graham as their General Secretary signing away pay deals, New Technology deals, selling off disputes and jobs. 70 per cent of CPSA members are women who want a fighting leadership, not women as described by Geoffrey Levy in the *Daily Express* who have "neither the time nor inclination to involve themselves in union matters or vote."

Ironically, the government has to take some responsibility for John's election. Since the Tory government came to power they made every attempt possible to alienate the union membership. Civil servants have never suffered as much as



Marion Chambers, CPSA president

courage any aggrieved member to turn to the courts. Michael Heseltine has hailed the Broad Left victory as "extremely dangerous" because he realises now that civil servants are not going to sit back and meekly reply "Yes Minister" to all the cuts and poverty wages that are dolled out to them.

At the same time the right wing have very kindly sat back and waited for John Ellis to be steam-rolled home to victory. After the presidential and NEC elections they felt very complacent. Alistair Graham sums up the complete confusion they now feel. "How can it be that within the space of a few weeks the members of this union should elect a moderate president, a right-wing executive committee and then a key figure from the revolutionary left?"

Along with the press they

are now trying to clutch at straws to explain John's success. "£25,000 spent on the election campaign" is one idea quoted in the press! Accusations of ballot-rigging and that members were duped over John's support for *Militant* are flying around. John Macreadie has dismissed these claims nationally as "sour grapes" by those who lost.

Contrast this with the magnificent effort of the CPSA Broad Left, who were a key organisational factor in the result. The sheer size, strength, energy and enthusiasm shows that they really had something to fight for. An estimated 41 local leaflets were printed and distributed by the Broad Left. Local meetings were arranged. John Macreadie took part in a National speaking tour with many TV and radio appearances.

Left unity

What a marvellous victory this is for Marxists in the trade union movement. Now more than ever there is the need for Broad Left unity in the CPSA. Unfortunately instead of delight from the Broad Left '84 group on receiving five years of left leadership they are now forecasting doom and gloom. Jonathon Baume of BL'84, a shining example of encouragement to the left, has warned that there is a real danger of the union disintegrating.

Up ahead lies a fighting future for CPSA with its new General Secretary, hopefully backed next year by a Broad Left NEC and President. Now there is a chance to raise members' living standards and conditions at work. A chance to save jobs and negotiate better New Technology deals. A chance for the Broad Left to have a voice on the TUC. This is what has inspired the membership to vote for the Broad Left candidate. It is a future worth fighting for.



John Macreadie: "the right are bad losers"

Macreadie interview

It is claimed that only your election material was circulated at Newcastle Central Office, also that there were several election meetings?

Given the size and geography of the North-East it is the usual branch practice to hold meetings in every office. The four candidates for the General Secretary as well as the three standing for Treasurer all had their addresses distributed by branch officials. Indeed all four factions leafleted for themselves. There were no complaints a couple of months ago when the right won the Presidential and Deputy General Secretary elections.

Why does the CPSA not hold full postal balloting?

Because Kate Losinska and Alistair Graham introduced workplace meetings and that is the system they were elected upon—they saw it as an improvement on the old system of branch block voting. The reason why branch reps at Newcastle worked so hard for me was the recent shiftworkers' strike at Newcastle which lasted for a year and Messrs Graham, Ellis and Rayward failed to support them in that dispute.

Ron Todd, of the TGWU, refused to take office whilst his election was investigated—will you do the same?

The National Executive Committee will appoint someone to investigate the complaints as per rule book. Until that time, when the

report by the investigator has been handed in to the Returning Officer, whose decision is final—and I will accept his decision—I will take office as from 14 July. The NEC does not have the power to alter the rule book but if they attempt to do so I will take action and the membership will take action to safeguard their rights. I have warned the NEC to this effect.

What sort of input will the Militant have?

None. I have been elected to carry out conference policy and that is what I will do: serve the members' interests as they determine it. I will carry out my election promises: I will not accept the raise in salary, the Mercedes car (I'll travel by tube and train) and I have no need of a credit card.

There was a specific complaint from the Land Registry Office at Gloucester of voting irregularities?

I understand the LRO at Gloucester have issued a statement today (Monday) denying any part in the complaint and furthermore complained that Alistair Graham publicised this 'complaint' on TV without first checking with them.

What will you do with expenses from the TUC, articles for the press, etc?

No full time official should make a profit out of their job. I will take only what I spend. The rest will go in the same way as I have always done with fees for TV interviews etc to the union fighting fund. I intend to live

by our conference policy and present a formula to draw members and officials closer together in terms of salary.

Will you act in the TUC to stop expulsions from the Labour Party?

I will put forward my view that instead of attacking socialists in the movement we should be attacking the Tories. The CPSA does not have any links with the Labour Party although I will campaign for us to do so particularly through the political fund ballot this autumn.

It is said you want 'war' with the Tories?

I said I will sit down with this government and discuss the needs of my low-paid members. If the membership decides to fight the Tories then I will back them all the way—but I did not 'declare war': that is a scurrilous lie and I have demanded that the *Daily Telegraph's* editor makes a retraction.

Do you still call for left unity?

I most certainly do. As you know, the grouping known as Broad Left 84 split from the official Broad Left and have stood candidates for positions against us. However, if there should be a re-run of my election and there is no unity between us then we will face a further period of the right, under John Ellis. However, I do not believe there will be a re-run and fully expect to lead this union as from next Monday.



John Ellis, the defeated candidate, plans his strategy with Alistair Graham but to no avail.

Industrial Reports

Bury workers beat Crothall

WORKERS AT West Suffolk Hospital in Bury St Edmunds defeated an attempt by Crothall and Company Ltd Cleaning Services to win the cleaning contract offered by West Suffolk Health Authority.

To win the contract existing workers had to give up bonuses of up to £15 a week. Had Crothall's won the contract 200 of the existing employees would have lost their jobs.

Militant interviewed Danny O'Brien the NUPE branch secretary about the dispute.

When did the dispute start? We knew about two years ago that they were going to privatise. We tried to find out which firms would be tendering. In the end we reckoned that Crothall's would be the main one, so in February this year we started mud slinging.

We released information to the local newspaper which showed that Crothall's had made mistakes in 15 hospitals. The paper ran a front-page story exposing their performance in carrying out three hospital contracts.

A report compiled by

Maidstone and Medway Community Health Council found the following when the psychiatric wing at Maidstone Hospital was inspected:

★ The dining area was filthy, sputum and vomit/excreta had dried on the wall and had not been cleaned off.

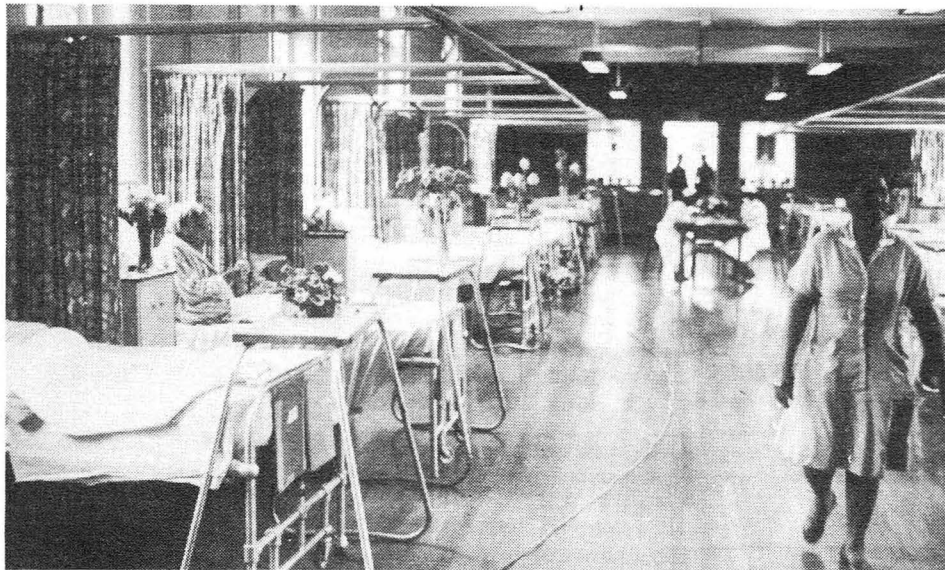
★ The toilets were in a filthy state, with excreta covering the toilet bowl on the inside and outside, and on the walls. Urine lay in a large puddle on the floor of another toilet.

★ A problem with cockroaches on the ward, particularly worrying in the ward's kitchen area.

The following week they ran another front-page story rubbishing Crothall's. The week after the Health Authority met.

What happened at the first health authority meeting?

The assessment panel recommended Crothall's, whose tender was £144,000 less



NHS contracts mean privateers' profit instead of patients

than ours, but because of the publicity the authority accepted our tender by 12 votes to two. It was the first time in the country that an authority had gone against the assessment panel recommendation and also agreed to the vote being recorded. Over 100 of our members were at the meeting.

What happened then?

The DHSS asked the authority to reconvene to overturn the decision. That

was when we re-did our sums and brought our tender down further through giving up the bonuses. The next meeting awarded us the contract as well. The DHSS had to accept it.

Research

How did you find out about Crothall's?

Through the research department of NUPE. Also the local paper did some

research.

What would have happened if Crothall's had got the contract?

We would have lost half the workforce. Those left would have lost the majority of their hours, entitlements and bonuses. Instead of taking home £60 a week, it would have been £25-£30. I know we have lost our bonuses but sometimes you have to lose a battle to win a war. Crothall's would have used

part-timers, and unemployed people as cheap labour. No disrespect to them but standards would have come down. If we'd lost though we would have been out on strike.

Will privatisation come up again?

Yes in three years' time. That's why we need a Labour government before then. The only trouble is I don't know what their policy is on privatisation. There is no doubt in my mind that private contractors can be beaten. You might have to swallow a little but you don't have to swallow all the way. We've kept our jobs and as soon as a Labour government is elected then we'll want to get back what we've lost.

Any conclusions?

Yes. We know that the government has people whose job it is to go round wooing private contractors and bashing trade unions. What we need is people going round rubbishing private contractors working alongside us. The Labour Party should be doing this using the time and money they're spending kicking good socialists out of the party.

TU News

ARTHUR SCARGILL returns to the TUC General Council in September replacing Mick McGahey who retires from the NUM later this year. In the ballot at last week's NUM conference at Tenby, Scargill trounced COSA leader Trevor Bell.

NUS MEMBERS operating between Scottish ports and North Sea rigs struck last Thursday when negotiations between employers—who want a 25 per cent reduction in labour costs and the NUS representing 550 men broke down.



LORD CHAPPLE (formerly plain Frank) who used to dominate the EETPU last week received an award from the very right wing Tory-supported Aims of Industry group.

The citation for the ennobled ex-CP member said: "for his great influence in promoting justice, democracy and efficiency (!) in the trade union movement."

WHERE THERE'S muck there's brass: the US market for fox urine is depressed. Three years ago a gallon of the stuff would fetch £11.70, now you'd be lucky to get £5.00. The liquid is used by trappers and hunters to cover up human scent and is cheaper (and doubtless more pleasant) than essence of skunk.

CONSTRUCTION WORKERS in the North of Ireland are set to lose another 2,500 jobs by autumn in addition to the 3,000 lost since last October. The Federation of Building and Civil Engineering Contractors in Northern Ireland said the cause was government spending cuts. Throughout the industry there are 18,900 in work while 23,700 are on the stones.

THE EMPLOYMENT Gazette shows 1,280 working days were lost per 1,000 employees in 1984 mainly due to the miners' strike. Next highest was Spain with 890. If the miners' strike was removed from the UK figures the new total would be 220. The 5 years from 1980-84 show an average of 480 per annum for the UK, 660 for Spain and Canada, 950 for Italy and Greece topping the lot at 1,010.

NORTHERN FOODS revealed a 19 per cent rise in profits to £66.1 millions at pre-tax level. All UK operations soared to an overall level of 31 per cent. One division, milling and baking, made £12.5 million—up exactly £4 million over the previous year; yet Northern Foods closed their Elkes biscuit factory at Northwich (see *Militant* 805).

SAM McCLUSKIE, favourite to win the general secretaryship of the National Union of Seamen, (Jim Slater is ineligible to stand because of his age) will now be challenged by Bob Rayner. Rayner claims the support of the Left while McCluskie is usually identified as a 'centre-left' and is presently deputy-general secretary. Rayner is a full-time branch secretary at Harwich.

Huwood's -small loss'?

"ONLY A small redundancy". That was the general opinion of most people on hearing of the 95 job losses at Huwood Ltd in Gateshead.

The 95 finished work on black Friday, 13 June, which left the total remaining workforce at about 560, compared to around 1,600 in 1980.

And the future for Huwoods, a major supplier and manufacturer for mining equipment, looks very bleak.

Management have already been informed by Babcock International (of which Huwood is a subsidiary) that they must break even by the end of the year, or the place will close. And this seems likely according to figures previously released by management.

After 170 jobs went in November 1985, plans were announced to build a new factory within two years, employing only 440 workers, on an approximate turnover of £18 million.

Of course, flexibility and new working practices were tied to this redundancy, with the threat of moving to another part of the country if management's demands weren't conceded.

Sunderland—Give Vaux the V-sign!

VAUX BREWERIES have taken upon themselves the role of thought-police in the Sunderland area and have banned Derek Hatton addressing a *Militant* readers meeting in one of their pubs.

As Sunderland Labour councillor Kevin Gallagher said: "It is typical of big business in this town, they are telling people you can come and drink our beer but you can't hold meetings in our pub."



Engineering job losses mean de-skilling

The only agreement the shop stewards were able to get was the guarantee of no redundancies in 1986! This was torn up as soon as it didn't suit management.

This idea of building a new factory was based on getting a government grant and on how much the company's losses were for the last financial year (up to April)—£900,000. The actual loss was £4.8 million! So much for planning!

Thousands

Even when the redundancies were announced, 30 days notice was given, but management didn't know where the job losses would be!

Only on 6 June did those being paid off find out they

were on the list. One worker was asked on the Friday morning to work overtime on Saturday and Sunday, only finding out on Friday afternoon that he had one week's work left!

Of course foremen have been laid off as well, but the company didn't know whether to pay off 11 or 13 foremen, because they weren't sure if it was 23 or 25 they employed!

The frustration and anger of some of the workers is clear, as is the fear of losing their jobs. But the leadership and direction from full-time officials has been nonexistent.

Many workers wonder what these people are paid for, because thousands of job losses have been announced in engineering in

the last few months alone!

Their only answer is wait till a Labour government gets elected. All that's offered to these workers is buckets of sympathy and a future of poverty and misery on the dole. The chances of getting a job are very slim, especially for young engineering workers like myself, when most jobs on offer require at least five years' experience out of your time (after completing apprenticeship—Ed)!

The lesson drawn from my experience is absolutely clear. The crisis of leadership in the trade unions, the economic crisis that racks British and world capitalism, and the daily anxiety and worry it produces for millions of workers can only be ended by the socialist transformation of society, based on a planned economy and workers' control and management of industry.

As workers draw these conclusions, through bitter struggle and experience, we will build a real leadership in the trade unions, and look to the future with confidence and security.

By John Killen

(Redundant turner, Birtley AEU branch)

their interests lie—they gave £8,000 to the Tories in 1983, £5,000 in 1984 and in 1985 donated £6,000 to the "Northern Industrialists Protection Association".

Some years ago Vaux advertisements on TV etc called for customers to "give the V-sign". They have now given the V-sign to democracy and free speech.

By Kevin Miles

They employed 3,931 full time workers in 1976 and only 2,878 in 1985. Vaux do however, seem to know where

Industrial Reports

'Miners must fight'

AT THE National Union of Mineworkers' conference, Arthur Scargill spelt out the alternatives facing the labour movement.

Against the background of the attacks launched by the bosses on the working class and their organisations, he contrasted the magnificent struggle of the miners with the theory of "those within the labour movement who argue that to survive we must dispense with what is described as 'traditional' trade unionism and devise new methods... This concept is not only naive but positively dangerous".

Drawing particularly on the example of the Gartcosh steelworks campaign in Scotland, he ridiculed the idea of alliances with Tories: "Only those alliances which agree on basic and fundamental goals accomplish anything. Capitalism is in deep crisis... the only effective action is to mobilise and fight against it."

Scargill's speech was well received by some delegates and nearly all the rank and file miners and women's support group activists in the hall. However, the cool reception by the bulk of the delegates and the comments later by some Area leaders in the columns of the Tory press reveal the cracks which are now appearing in the left in the NUM.

In the past the so-called "Broad Left" of the NUM politically dominated by the Communist Party has been a small secretive clique overwhelmingly made up of full time officials. In the aftermath of the '84-'85 strike, many of these individuals have raced across to the right, with the result that Arthur

Scargill and Peter Heathfield are becoming increasingly isolated.

Leading the stampede rightwards have been the Euro-Communist Scottish Area leadership, in particular Mick McGahey and George Bolton. For instance, on the vital issue of nuclear power, the Scottish Area had submitted a CP inspired motion dropping the commitment to phasing out nuclear power stations—a position which would not only mean a retreat on existing NUM and Labour Party policy but which in effect was to the right of the SDP/Liberal Alliance.

Their answer on every issue, including the victimised miners is to build broad alliances with the Liberals, the SNP, the church, even senior police officers. The inevitable consequence of such a strategy is the watering down of demands until they become universally acceptable, at the expense of those who most need the union to defend them.

Militancy

On the issue of nuclear power, the Scottish Area stance was voted down. But the principle of 'new realism' seems to have gained fairly widespread sympathy among the majority of area leaderships. While traditional resolutions were adopted, reaffirming the union's aims of defending the industry, improving wages, hours and working conditions, there seemed to be very little confidence displayed in the fighting ability of the membership. Sharp words were exchanged as particularly the Scottish and Welsh Area leaderships attacked Scargill for stating what appears to be obvious to most rank and file activists, that: "sooner or later miners will once again have to take organised and united action".

But Scargill's isolation in the conference hall, where virtually only the Durham Area delegates could

be relied upon to back him up, is not a true reflection of the mood in the union.

The NUM conference is small, based on restricted delegations elected at area level and the voice of the rank and file is rarely heard. The militancy and determination of the membership, built through the strike—the real strength of the union, remains remote from the conference hall. There is an urgent need to democratise the annual conference, to open it out to rank and file members on the basis of one delegate from each pit directly elected at lodge level. Accountability of the Area leaderships must be increased and the demand for "miners' leaders on miners' wages" also gains a ready echo in the pits.

The collapse of the old style Broad Left in the NUM—the disunity is such that they couldn't even organise a full meeting prior to conference—underlies once more the need to harness the energy and militancy of the thousands of young miner activists forged in struggle, into an open and democratic, campaigning Broad Left.

The building of such a movement could not only end the isolation of Arthur Scargill, the one leader with least to fear from the rank and file, but could also transform the whole union by involving activists in formulating and campaigning for a fighting programme to defend the mining industry. The conference called for on 20 September in Yorkshire, to establish such a movement on a national basis will be a vital first step in reviving what Cyril Ramaphosa of the SANUM called "the NUM's revolutionary and militant traditions".

By Kevin Miles

Murdoch and Hammond meet in Los Angeles

PRECIOUS TIME has been lost. The magnificent "No" vote against Murdoch's offer should have been used to step up the fight. Instead the national union leaders have turned to Hammond and the EETPU.

The same union that acted as a recruiting agent for Murdoch, preparing the way for this confrontation has been asked and has agreed to use "their best endeavours with their members at Wapping" and News International generally "to bring about a resumption of talks between the company and the unions".

Hammond duly carried out his jet diplomacy meeting Murdoch in Los Angeles last week on their TUC backed mission. Murdoch must have trembled when he met this class fighter.

The only possible deal Hammond could "achieve" would be a scabs' charter. He proposed a joint union council to be established inside Wapping, the re-

employment of some of the sacked workers and increased compensation.

The decision to turn towards the EETPU was a mistake. The need was to mobilise the print workers. Beginning with those handling material for Murdoch's empire a campaign should have been started to achieve its blacking. United action would have shown it was not just one section standing alone. A conference of all those involved should be organised, then developed from there to the rest of the industry.

This dispute must be won. It has been rumoured the SOGAT Executive may consider withdrawing strike pay. This only serves the interests of Murdoch and the other print bosses.

Murdoch can be defeated not with the help of Hammond but through relying on the strength of the print workers.

By Peter Jarvis
(London Region NGA)

NUR conference

IN LAST week's report of the NUR conference we reported that delegates supported a call to reinstate the closed shop

agreement with British Rail. In fact they did not. Our apologies to the contributor, Bill Esmonds and the NUR.



Joint action by civil service unions at the British Museum of Natural History in protest at the possibility of museum entrance charges.

Mardy closure

LAST WEEK saw the closure of the last coal pit in the Rhondda valley. Maerdy—nicknamed Little Moscow because of its tradition of militancy, steeped in history of working class struggle.

The Rhondda once boasted 60 pits employing 40,000 workers. In 1910 Winston Churchill sent the troops to police the miners and their families who were seeking justice from the coal owners.

Now there are only 16 pits throughout the whole of Wales. Since the end of the Great Strike half the pits in South Wales have closed. By the time Labour comes to power there will be little of the South Wales coalfield left to save.

By Chris Peace
(Cardiff Central Labour Party)



One of Murdoch's employees being escorted into Fortress Wapping

Photo: Andrew Wiard (Report)

Sunderland council workers—follow Liverpool

COUNCIL WORKERS at Sunderland public works department will be interested in a comparison of their lot with that of their counterparts employed by Liverpool City Council.

Liverpool's workers have achieved a 35 hour working week without loss of pay, short-term contracts have been eliminated. Sunderland workers have a 39 hour week and short-term contracts of 1, 2 and 3 months are the norm, which along with unrealistic bonus targets, offer no security for the future.

The recent pay rise does not make up for the erosion in bonus earnings, which

have steadily fallen over a period of years.

One example is the capital works site at Winsham Crescent, Grangetown. While the Labour council, to their credit, are building 38 new bungalows for OAPs, with a community centre and a warden's house, they are regrettably doing so at the expense of workers' wages and conditions.

The accepted practice is for 2 bricklayers to work as a squad with 1 hod carrier, or 4-2, but on this site some squads work 3:1 and even 4:1, with a consequent loss in bonus earnings. A hod carrier working for 4

bricklayers makes half the normal workload! One squad walked off the site recently on discovering their latest derisory bonus payment. This is only one instance of the mood of suppressed anger which prevails throughout the PWD workforce.

Best wages

The vast majority of the workforce does not know of the existence of the Joint Shop Stewards Committee, as there is little contact between this body and the rank and file. The complacency of the JSSC (representing 6

unions) and full time officials is demonstrated by their failure to enforce the closed shop agreement; non union labour can be found throughout the PWD.

The example of Liverpool should be a blueprint for any struggle of the Sunderland council workers. Liverpool's rank and file took it upon themselves to conduct and organise their own campaigns, and consequently have the best wages, conditions and the best local authority employer in the country.

By Dave Ridley

Militant

Inside...

John Macreadie, Socialist victory

—page 13

Liverpool councillors—pages 2, 7

Right wing hijack CPSA

“THE RIGHT wing have decided to overturn the democratic wishes of the membership,” accused John Macreadie, the newly elected CPSA General Secretary, shortly after the union’s Executive meeting. “The members voted for a new leadership, but the right wing have declared no confidence in the membership. They have hijacked the union, putting in the defeated candidate.”

For if the right wing-dominated Executive succeed in blocking John Macreadie, with outgoing General Secretary Alistair Graham leaving the union, the Deputy General Secretary would have to fill in. And he is John Ellis, the right’s defeated candidate. This could last for 3 to 4 months, while an inquiry is conducted into the election.

Even Alistair Graham considered that this manoeuvre would be seen as unfair.

The inquiry itself is to be in the hands of the Electoral Reform Society and the union president Marion Chambers, one of the right’s leaders.

Ever since John Macreadie’s victory was announced the right wing had been

skulking behind the backs of the membership and of John himself, trying to find a pretext to rule the election invalid.

They had sought legal advice, and despite having it in their hands from 11.30 am on the day before the Executive, they refused John Macreadie’s requests to see it, but sprang it on him and on the Executive at 3.30pm during the meeting. Even the resolutions they pushed through were written during the meeting, not provided in advance for consideration.

Evidence not revealed

But the right admit they have only received 35 complaints about the election out of 802 branches. The officers refused to allow John Macreadie or the Executive to see any of this ‘evidence’. Their resolution actually noted “with concern that a large number of complaints have already been lodged or are likely to be lodged.” Unless they are clairvoyants, many CPSA members will suspect the right are encouraging their supporters to lodge ‘complaints’ to justify their action.

Yet when Ellis narrowly defeated John Macreadie in the previous deputy general secretary election, complaints were made. But Ellis was installed in the position, and then they were looked into. This is the first time a successful candidate has been prevented from taking office, pending an inquiry.

“This is a simple attempt to keep me out, to try to damage me and build the momentum for a rerun,” retorted John Macreadie.

He is quite prepared as General Secretary to arrange for an inquiry under the jurisdiction of an independent figure from within the labour movement.

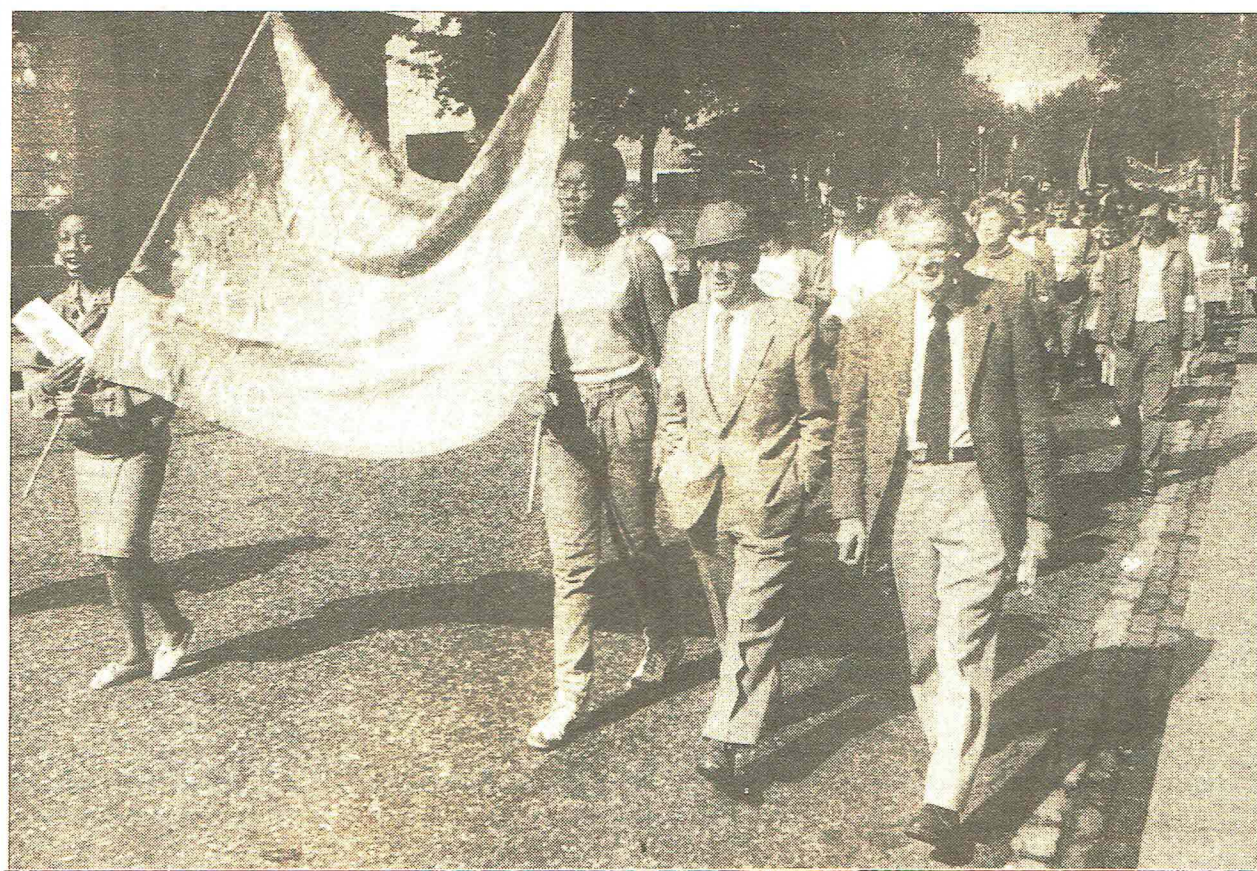
John is defiant: “the suggestion that the union should be in paralysis for 3 to 4 months is not in the interests of the members. I do not accept the decisions of the right wing cabal. I intend to accept the membership’s decision. I have been elected General Secretary, and I intend to take up that post on Monday 14 July.”

By Jeremy Birch



John Macreadie marching with CPSA members

Liverpool councillors march to court



Strikers lead resistance

(from page 1)

Up to 100 other such actions, principally in the supermarkets, have already taken place. The lead by the NUM the most powerful union in South Africa, could now be followed by other sections of workers.

With union leaders, shopstewards and many rank and file workers detained, with union offices barely functioning, these “guerilla” strikes are the most effective way (under present conditions) of exerting the reserves of strength which have been built in the workplaces over the last thirteen years.

The bosses are already wailing to Botha that, with workers’ representatives imprisoned, they are faced with a “mob” on the factory floor. His attack on the unions has placed Botha in a predicament. Either he must carry reaction further

than he intended, or retreat and risk appearing weakened.

From underground, the COSATU executive has demanded the release of all detainees, the lifting of the state of emergency, and the unbanning of political organisations or it will take “effective measures”—including a one-day strike on 14 July. The Metal and Allied Workers Union are expected to take action, also in pursuit of their pay claim, before then.

Union members in Britain can play a vital role in building links with the unions and by international solidarity action.

★ Communication workers in Southern Ireland refused to service a computer conference in Trinity College Dublin when they heard South African speakers would be there.

Become a
Militant
supporter

Name

Address

Send to
3/13 Hepscott Road, London E9 5HB



Subscribe

at old rates,
for limited
period only.

BRITAIN & IRELAND	EUROPE (by air)	REST OF WORLD (by air)
13 issues . £5.00		
26 issues . £10.00	26 issues . £11.00	26 issues . £16.00
52 issues . £20.00	52 issues . £22.00	52 issues . £32.00

Name

Address

Make cheques payable to *Militant*, and return to the Circulation Department, *Militant*, 3/13 Hepscott Road, London E9 5HB.

Donate

I would like to donate
£ p each week/
month to the fighting fund.

Sell

I would like to sell
papers per week (minimum
5) on a sale or return basis.