

Militant

THE MARXIST PAPER FOR LABOUR & YOUTH

ISSUE 616
3 September 1982

20p

TUC CONFERENCE MUST BE START OF FIGHT TO....

END TORY NIGHTMARE

In their three years in office, the Tory government have tried to create a dream world for them and a nightmare for us of raging unemployment and low paid workers.

This year's TUC conference will face record unemployment in Britain, now officially standing at 3,292,702, nearly one in seven of the workforce.

Over 300,000 school leavers are registered out of work.

And all of these figures are gross underestimates. Many workers, particularly youth and women workers do not even bother to register as there is little or no hope of a job.

By Roger Shrivess

The Tories have encouraged the growth of the dole queues in the hope of putting the squeeze on the living standards of those "lucky" enough to keep their jobs. The YOPs "allowance" of £25 a week shows the Tory evaluation of a living wage.

But the working class are not prepared to let the Tories get away with their plans. NHS workers many of them amongst the lowest paid in a low wage economy have been fighting for many months for their 12% pay claim.

When the TUC conference starts next Monday 6 September, trade unionists will be looking to their leadership, who represent

not only the 11 million members of the unions but their families as well to lead the fight back against the Tories and their system.

The bosses of British industry, the CBI, predict further problems for their capitalist system. They see no end to the world recession and anticipate particular problems for British capitalism.

The bosses do not intend to suffer the consequences of their failure themselves. As usual, they want the working class to carry the can.

The world wide collapse

of the steel industry in the recession has led to a 21% drop in steel production in Britain and more threats to steel jobs in Scunthorpe. Bankruptcies and liquidations

continue at a record level. British Leyland, the car components industry and

now the mines face the prospect of a battle for jobs.

The TUC should make it clear. Workers won't pay for the mess the capitalist system had caused. The demands in the TUC agenda from many unions like the AUEW and the POEU for a 35 hour week reflect the determination of the union's rank and file to create new jobs by sharing the work with no loss of pay.

These words must be translated into action in a campaign using the full

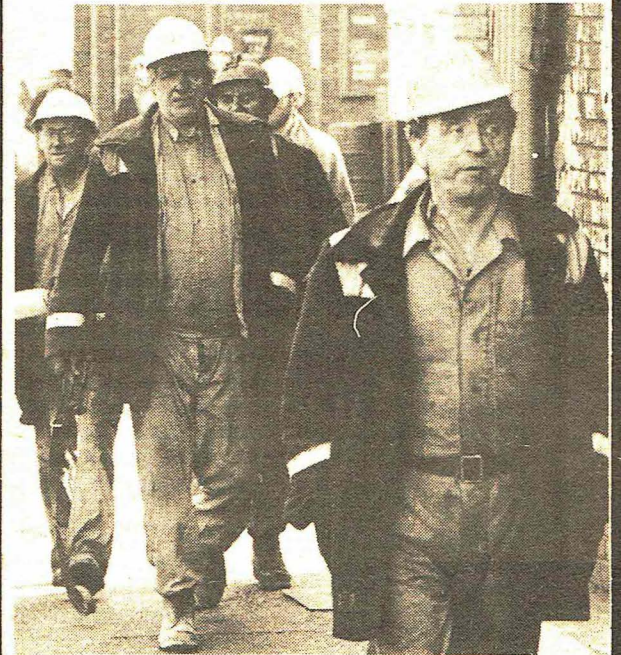
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TUC Conference feature pages 6-9

NO TO WITCH HUNT

Come to 11 September
conference



STOP PRESS: Yorkshire miners support conference

With just over a week to go before the 11 September 'Fight the Tories not the socialists' conference, support is pouring in.

The executive of the rail drivers' union ASLEF have agreed to sponsor the conference and circulated all their branches advising them to send delegates.

The ASLEF decision has come as a boost to the campaign against a witch-hunt in the Labour Party. The union no doubt appreciate the help they received from the left, including 'Militant' supporters during their recent dispute with the British Rail Board and the Tory government.

With the Bakers Union and the Fire Brigades Union executives already having agreed to sponsor the conference and send delegates, ASLEF became the third national trade union to lend its weight to the 11

September conference. At local level, too, the unions are responding. Houghton Main, for example, the largest pit in the Yorkshire coalfield, has already sent in for five delegates from its local NUM branch.

All indications are that the conference will be an overwhelming success with around 3,000 delegates and visitors attending from a cross section of the labour movement.

The fight has begun to show the right wing that ordinary rank and file members of the Labour Party are not prepared to see socialists witch-hunted out of the party through organisational manoeuvres. If your organisation has not elected delegates it should do so now and miss the last minute rush.

Notification of delegates should be sent to T Saunois, c/o 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN. Fight the Tories, not the socialists.

By Dave Webb

Support
Militant

Don't stand on the side-lines...Defend Militant!

I am prepared to help in your campaign to defend the paper and stop the witch-hunt.

Please send me details of how I can assist.

Name.....

Address.....

Rush to Militant, 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN
Tel. 01 986 3828

MPs could wipe out Labour's debts

The Report to this year's annual conference shows that the finances of the Labour Party are in an even worse shape than ever.

In the year up to 31 December, there was an accumulated deficit of £547,000, of which £320,000 was due to 1981 alone.

The 'Labour Weekly' made a loss of £109,000 while the 'New Socialist' magazine made a surplus on its first five issues, but only £7,000.

Both the individual and affiliated membership show falls. The individual membership has gone down by 71,000 to 276,692. Even if this is not the "lowest figure since 1929" as reported in the press—the method of gauging the individual membership was changed two years ago to do away with the inflated 'affiliation' numbers—it nevertheless represents a serious loss, especially in the face of a government more vicious than any Tory government for generations.

The extra two million unemployed have reduced the ranks of the TUC by about a million members and have reduced the affiliated membership of the party by 133,500. Several unions—the Dyers and Bleachers (11,000), EETPU (47,500), the AUEW (25,000), NUR (10,000), USDAW (19,000) and the Textile workers (11,000)—have reduced their affiliation by 10,000 or more.

The financial standing of the Labour Party and its membership are vital issues that will have a bearing on the outcome of the next election; but it would be completely wrong to view them as administrative issues—they are intimately tied to the political debates now taking place in the party.

The general secretaries of some of the big trade unions are meeting together to discuss ways and means of increasing the finances of the Labour Party and there is nothing wrong with that in principle. But for such discussions to take place behind the closed doors of the Trade Unions for a Labour Victory will only increase the suspicions of rank and file party members that 'deals' are being hatched; like, for example, a deal to compromise on party policy and purge the left, in return for cash.

The trade union leaders should by all means discuss new initiatives and campaigns to help the party financially, but it should be done in the open, in front of their own union members and the party as a whole. Despite the opposition of the right, last year's party conference finally agreed to the rule change that allowed for work-place branches, and the Conference Report includes a set of model rules for such branches as approved by the NEC this year.

The trade union tops should above all be mounting a campaign to establish such branches in as many factories, offices and workplaces as is possible, increasing the vital links between the trade unions' rank and file and the Labour Par-

ties in their area.

While the right wing condemn 'Militant' for having increased its support and influence, they also link the question of the Labour Party's parlous finances with the 'healthy' finances of 'Militant'. What they fail to point out is that the financial support for 'Militant' comes from the individual donations and contributions of thousands of ordinary Labour Party and trade union members.

The right wing may not understand the concept, but the fact is that these workers are inspired by the ideas of the 'Militant' enough to want to make a little sacrifice: those who give their pounds and fivers to 'Militant' in this way are helping to build the Labour Party—on the socialist lines embodied in Clause IV part 4.

If the right-wing Parliamentarians showed a fraction of the same self-sacrifice and personal commitment to the party as the average supporter of this paper, the national party deficit would be wiped out in months. Members of Parliament have a salary of £14,510 a year (£280 a week); they have a subsistence allowance of £5,099 (£100 a week) and secretarial and office expenses of £8,819 (£170 a week).

Labour MPs get £550 a week

The annual report shows that the income from the Parliamentary Labour Party was a mere £15,000 in a year. Yet MPs benefit from the party organisation as a whole. The PLP contribution is only a tenth of what was paid out by Walworth Road in publicity costs alone.

If Labour MPs were to put themselves financially on the standpoint of workers—taking, for example, the average wage of a skilled worker, in addition to genuine expenses—they could easily afford to give back to the party £20 or £40 a week (£1,000 to £2,000 a year) at the very least—and from 238 Labour MPs there would be enough to wipe out the deficit. That is not even counting the better paid Euro-MPs, the monies that MPs earn through perks like TV appearance money and fees from the odd bit of journalism.

Finances are a political issue. Until the right wing of the Parliamentary Labour Party are prepared to campaign for self-sacrifice and commitment from their own 'colleagues' in the House, they have no right to quibble if workers choose to make sacrifices to build the 'Militant', to build the Labour Party as they wish to build it.

But above all, the issues of Labour Party finance and membership are issues of political programme and orientation.

The right wing are fond of peddling the myth that the left "drive decent party members away", but the truth is the opposite. The biggest fall in active membership occurred in the 1950s and 1960s when the ideas of the right wing held sway.

The Labour governments of 1964-70 and 1974-79, dominated by the right wing, were responsible for massive disillusionment that still lingers today. On the other hand there are many instances of Labour Parties where the membership has grown considerably in the recent period because of the activity and influence of the left, including the supporters

of 'Militant'.

It will not have gone unnoticed by many trade unionists that while supporters of 'Militant' are campaigning assiduously for unions like NALGO and CPSA to affiliate to the party and while they campaign vigorously for new members on the doorsteps, the leaders of the right wing barnstorm the country making speeches about how they are hoping to expel party members with whom they don't agree.

No wonder the membership is stagnating: many workers would be reluctant to join if they then had to face "Registers" and proscriptions.

On the other hand, if the

leadership of the party were to campaign vigorously on socialist policies, including those adopted by party conference, then membership would be no problem.

Labour's socialist traditions are the key

A Labour Party that vigorously championed the cause of low paid workers, like those in the NHS, by fighting for a national minimum wage of £90 a week, that declared war on

unemployment by calling for a 35-hour week, that declared its intention to bring about fundamental social change, that had Parliamentary representatives that put themselves economically, politically and financially on the same standpoint as workers: such a Labour Party would be flooded with new members, finance and support.

The answer to the financial crisis faced by the Labour Party is not new economies at Walworth Road or secret deals with the trade union leadership: it is a return to the bold socialist traditions upon which the party was founded.

Polish workers oppose Jaruselski regime

The Martial Law regime of General Jaruselski has shown in the most brutal fashion that it is not prepared to tolerate any return to the 'Solidarity' period in Poland.

At least two workers were killed and hundreds arrested as the Polish bureaucracy stamped upon demonstrations marking the second anniversary of Solidarity, on 31 August.

The government had issued ominous warnings on the TV and radio in the week leading up to 31 August, but this and the massive show of force by the police and riot police, were still not enough to prevent workers from showing their opposition to totalitarianism.

Armoured cars, jeeps, lorries, armoured personnel carriers and other military vehicles had assembled in all the main centres of industry

in Poland on the Monday. Even the *Morning Star*, which still, mysteriously, describes Poland as a 'socialist' state, reported that "the square near the Palace of Culture was packed with police vehicles."

Jaruselski's state machine must have intimidated many workers into staying away from protest gatherings they would otherwise have supported, but there were nevertheless large demonstrations which were viciously attacked by the riot police. Clashes were reported in Warsaw, Gdansk, Wrocław, Katowice, Nowa Huta, Czestochowa, Lublin and other industrial cities.

In Gdansk, where the solidarity union was founded, the police cordoned off the memorial to the workers killed by the police in 1970 outside the shipyards, but they were not able to prevent 5,000 shipyard workers from gathering nearby, calling for the release of imprisoned Solidarity leader Lech Walesa. The demonstration was later attacked by water

cannon and tear gas.

In Warsaw, it was reported, 10,000 turned out and were met by tear gas, water cannon and stun grenades, but as fast as the police dispersed gatherings, new groups assembled to take their place. Barricades were thrown up and later in the night young workers used petrol bombs to defend barricades against the riot police.

Plain clothes police often mingled in with the crowds to help identify and arrest the most active elements in the demonstrations.

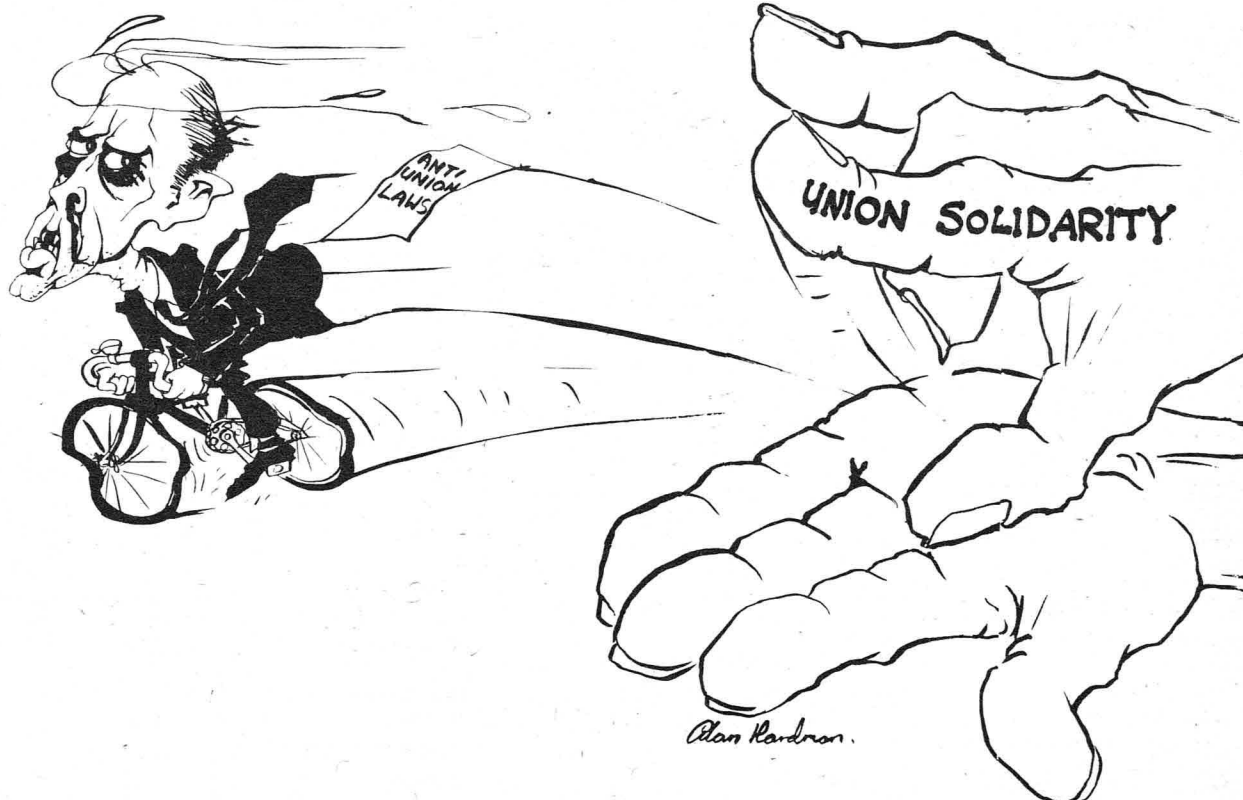
Further clashes were reported in Wrocław and Nowa Huta, where steel workers tried to march on the town centre of Cracow, leading to hand-to-hand fighting with the police.

Despite the imposition of martial law in December of last year, something that represented a serious defeat for the working class, it is clear that there is still a huge groundswell of anger and bitterness beneath the surface.

Many workers have to work with police and soldiers looking over their shoulders and the increases in food costs have meant a dramatic fall—by as much as 40 per cent—in the living standards of most workers.

These clashes are a warning to Jaruselski that while the workers suffered a major defeat last year, they are not defeated for good. There will be more and more opposition movements in the future and, when the time is right, there will be another big movement of Polish workers, on the same vast scale as the Solidarity movement that exploded into life in 1980.

The bureaucracy cannot stabilise itself indefinitely. No amount of tear gas, water cannon and riot police will destroy the will of the Polish working class to struggle to change Polish society—not for a return to capitalism, but for a political revolution to give the working class democratic control over the economy, the state and society.



September 11th Conference

support growing

Over 1,000 resolutions have been passed by labour movement organisations in the last few months, in what can only be described as a hurricane of opposition to any attempts to carry out a witch-hunt and expulsions against 'Militant' supporters and other socialists in the Labour Party.

Opposition is even growing in the right wing's own 'backyard'. Walstanton and Maybank Ward branches of Newcastle Under Lyme Constituency (John Golding is the MP!) unanimously agreed "that the Militant Tendency should not be expelled from the Labour Party."

Similarly, in many areas that used to be dominated by the right wing, there has been a marked shift to the left. Frank Cook, the

By
Militant
Reporters

Labour PPC for Stockton, sent a £5 donation to the September 11th Conference and Frank Griffiths, PPC for Thornaby, has agreed to sponsor the conference.

quite a change from the former MPs, SDP defectors Rodgers and Wrigglesworth!

The Labour Party of General Secretary Ron Hayward, Thanet West, rejected the Inquiry Report into 'Militant' recommending the register. Jimmy Haddow, Youth Officer, pointed out that not once were local 'Militant' supporters consulted about the Report.

The proposal to establish a register, and the letter from new General Secretary, Jim Mortimer, outlining the proposals and asking CLPs to co-operate, has gone down like a lead balloon in most areas. Honiton CLP in Devon wrote to all NEC members and Michael Foot, "Dear Colleagues, we are returning your letter and recommendations for a register of Non-Affiliated Groups of Labour Party

members as we are not prepared and do not intend to police this register."

Similarly, opposition to the register within the trade union movement is growing. The Fire Brigades Union has come out in opposition to the register and agreed to send delegates to the September 11th conference.

Alongside the FBU, the Bakers Union and now ASLEF (see p1 report) are sending delegates, as are the Kent Miners and South Wales Miners. Even the press want to be there, with over 60 applications for press credentials!

Make sure you are there! All labour movement organisations are welcome to send delegates (£1 each). Write to Labour Movement Conference, c/o 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN.

WEMBLEY CONFERENCE CENTRE SEPTEMBER 11th 10.30am

Union branches oppose purge

The strength of feeling of many rank and file trade unionists to the threat of a purge in the Labour Party can be gauged by two letters recently sent, one by a POEU branch and one by a chapel of SOGAT 82.

In reply to a circular by POEU-sponsored Labour right-winger John Golding MP (on behalf of the union's Political Fund Management Committee) urging support for the witch-hunt and for the right-wing Solidarity group the POEU Liverpool Internal Branch made their own position perfectly clear. "Dear John," they wrote, "We return the childish and comic like leaflets from the Solidarity organisation which we understand is not open to any LP member and is an unrepresentative clique. Our committee and branch were completely annoyed that the union should be wasting its time, effort and resources attacking people who have given decades of service to the LP, a good number who are active in our Branch.

"Knowing the political attitudes which most CLPs have the PFMC must know that circulating such literature is totally provocative and will only serve to alienate CLPs from us precisely at a time when we should be circulating them with our case on privatisation and asking for assistance in our fight. "Quite frankly, in pursuit of your narrow factional aims you have damaged the good name of the union and undermined our fight to defend our industry.

"We must now ask are you prepared to circulate a response from Militant so that all sides of the case can be heard? For our part, the Branch is prepared to listen to what you have to say and would wish to invite you to a Branch meeting at your convenience. Perhaps you would welcome a debate with a Militant supporter who may or may not be a POEU member. You can choose.

Yours fraternally
P D Holt
branch secretary"

Labour Party to set up an inquiry into the Militant Tendency." The branch further called upon the SOGAT National Executive Council "to instruct the SOGAT delegation to the Labour Party Conference to oppose the proposed establishment of any register of groups in the Party."

"We are specifically opposed," the letter went on, "to the restriction of free speech which is displayed by the attack on Militant. We are particularly concerned that as elected representatives of over six hundred clerical workers the Labour Party is not attacking the Tories or their policies in the interests of working people.

"A lot of our members voted Tory last time—a lot less will next time, but they won't all vote Labour until the Labour Party campaigns on policy instead of hounding out enthusiastic socialists from the Party.

Yours fraternally
Geoff Dixon
FOC"

Up in Scotland, Norman Lockhart, the convenor of the joint shop stewards committee at the Glasgow Royal Infirmary told Militant supporters that the paper had been discussed recently on his committee: "We are totally opposed to witch-hunts on any section of the Labour Party," he said, "The main fight should be against the Tories rather than using administrative methods to stop socialist discussion."

Charlie Murphy, the staff convenor at Long John's distillery continued, "fear is at the back of the right wing's attempts to evict people from the Labour Party. I don't think that the Labour Party can continue to exist under the present set-up," he added, "It has always been an unhappy marriage.

"It has to go one way or the other. I want a socialist Labour Party going in the direction of Tony Benn, as long as that means real socialism at the end of the day."

These comments and letters are typical of the views of many union activists who see the main battle as the fight against the Tories, but it is absolutely essential that these same views are transmitted, as in the case of the SOGAT letter, up to the leading bodies of the trade union movement.

Right line up Shore for leader

It is at regular dinner-table gatherings at the St Ermin's Hotel in London that leading trade union right-wingers discuss strategy and tactics in their attempt to shift the Labour Party back to the right.

Prominent diners include Roy Grantham, General Secretary of APEX, Terry Duffy of the AUEW, Brian Stanley of the POEU, and Frank Chapple of the EETPU.

Last week's *Observer* reported that the Erminites were now backing Peter Shore for Labour leadership if Michael Foot decided not to fight the next general election. Shore, joint chairman of the witch-hunting Solidarity organisation, would be easily elected, the *Observer* calculates, if Foot stood down.

"There is no question of any plot to force Mr Foot's resignation," the report continues, "Union leaders are content to let him make up his mind about his future, but they have also been preparing for his possible departure."

In reality articles of this kind are intended to increase the pressure on the party leadership: the right wing, through the medium of the Tory press, is in effect telling Michael Foot that he must purge the party of *Militant* supporters or he will be out. As the *Observer* notes, "The pressure on Mr Foot continues to mount."

The irony is, that even if Michael Foot were to support a wave of expulsions in the Party, thus opening the way for a more general attack on the lefts, the right wing would still try to ditch him and replace him with someone like Shore. The Erminites would not be content

with the expulsion of a few Marxists; they want a return to the Bevan-baiting days of the 1950s.

It has also been rumoured that Clive Jenkins of ASTMS has begun to dine at St Ermins, which may surprise many union members since the ASTMS vote went for Tony Benn at the last Party conference contest for deputy leader. The ASTMS Executive recently discussed the register proposed in the Hayward-Hughes report and came out in its favour, although that clearly does not correspond to the views of many of its rank and file.

Already Divisional Councils No 1 and No 6 have passed resolutions opposed to the register. Nottingham University branch carried a resolution rejecting the register "as a regressive step for the party, leading to the overturning of conference decisions and the inevitable destruction of the Labour

Party as a democratic socialist party."

A similar resolution from ASTMS Liverpool Shipping and Freight branch stated: "As we know from Tory attempts to shackle the trade unions, a Register inevitably aims to create powers to interfere with and police democratic activity. If (the register) goes through groups would only exist with the permission of the NEC. Ineffective pressure groups would no doubt be tolerated, but the right would move to suppress any group which like the *Militant* gained effective support within the party."

Many similar resolutions will no doubt be speeding their way to the Executive of ASTMS protesting about the disgraceful attitude of the leadership to the register.

By Mike
Waddington



250,000 people attended the Notting Hill Carnival over the August bank holiday week-end. Labour Party Young Socialist members were also there with their own literature stall, leaflets and papers. Hundreds of papers were sold, thousands of leaflets given out and large numbers of young workers signed up to join the LPYS.

The Quadrant House Chapel of the London clerical branch of SOGAT 82 sent a letter directly to the editor of *Militant*, making it clear that they "condemn the decision of the National Executive Committee of the

'TWO' MILITANT CAMPS IN S. WALES

Photo Dave Brown



Ted Grant speaking at one of the sessions, relating a Marxist approach to all aspects of culture, science and society.

The one we went to..... the other the press reported

The South Wales summer camp gets better every year. About 300 attended this August bank holiday and heard a discussion on "What is Marxism?" introduced by Ted Grant who spoke of the necessity for comrades to be imbued with the method of Marxism.

By Brian Lewis

Ted explained that this meant understanding the processes taking part in society, nature and human thought; understanding the past and present to explain the future.

Throughout the rest of the day, football competitions were held in which South Wales comrades were looking to take this year's cup. Llanelli Leninists were unfortunately pipped at the post by Jim Newlands of Scotland who thrashed us 3-1.

The press and TV, BBC Wales and BBC Radio were there. As the article on this page shows, the Daily Mail report, which looked in part like it had been written before the camp, ignored the fact that the vast majority of attenders were industrial and white collar workers and pretended we were all lecturers and students. But the media did not stop comrades enjoying the camp.

Bob Wylie from Scotland gave an excellent introduction on Sunday morning to

the Marxist theory of the state where he pointed out examples from history to prove that the state, an instrument in the hands of the capitalists, was a vicious tool to be wielded at times of deep capitalist crisis.

Chile had been held up in 1970 as a new experiment in the parliamentary road to socialism. But the state was left in the hands of the ruling class and allowed the bosses an instrument to beat back the working class with enormous bloodshed.

Sunday night saw West Wales comrades put on terrific entertainment ranging from the "Creation starting with Adam and Brian" right up to 1969 where the first person to land on the moon was greeted by, you've got it, a Militant seller.

These people get everywhere. But even if you never get to the moon, make sure you get to next year's South Wales summer camp.

Extra entertainment at this year's camp was laid on by the press.

Pride of place for hilarity, hack journalism and plain good old fashioned mis-reporting must go to Ann Leslie's account, spread across the centre pages of the Daily Mail, 30 August.

The first problem for Ms Leslie was, how do you recognise a Militant supporter? She got round that by pretending they were the holiday makers disembarking at Swansea station on Friday morning "All, I noted, bravely ignored the blatant reactionary statement that 'Christ is the answer to all needs' on a platform poster". Hard faced atheists. Sinister stuff eh?

Unfortunately for Ms Leslie the vast majority of the campers arrived on Friday evening in packed-out, and often clapped-out, cars and vans.

So out to the Gower Peninsular for the hacks, where they obviously would get turned away by the camp organisers, and then they could write up 'exclusives' on secretive, well-organised sinister conspiracies under canvass.

Why, only three years ago, Fleet Street lavished praise upon Prentice supporter McComick, when his book "Enemies of

Democracy" revealed on 'Militant': "This is how the secret army trains its agents. I have received reliable information from three sources that these secret training sessions have been held, lasting between three and seven days, and that they are increasing in frequency. Often they are held in Wales."

But what was this? The camp organisers were letting the media in, only asking the entrance fee of £10 and the wearing of a press badge. Bemused Ann Leslie turned to the only 'unbiased' source for an explanation—another Fleet Street reporter. He told her: "They're behaving like pussycats. It strikes me as sinister"

Re-assured, Leslie then went on to deliver her most ludicrous piece of sickening hypocrisy. She quoted another Fleet Street Pressman as claiming that the yellow badges, with 'Press' written on them "makes me feel like a Jew among the Nazis".

There is no limit, it seems to the depths to which some people will sink. But then at the camp, Ann Leslie had had to confront the historical truth on who backed the real Nazis.

One of the quiz questions was about the Daily Mail's support for Hitler in the 1930's. "Before my time", interjected Ms Leslie. She was challenged to put it in

her report. It did not appear.

What was included bore no relationship with reality. Having been told by the local Labour Party agent that discussing Marxist policies was all "middle class" and having been told by her other main source of knowledge, a fellow reporter, that it would all be "middle class students and lecturers," she ignored the facts and repeated her preconceptions.

Strange. Contributors

from the floor, mentioned the shop steward committee, workplace or Labour party they were in. But then Ann Leslie did not bother to stay and hear any of the discussions. By that time, prejudices intact, she had left the camp.

Can't allow political ideas to be mentioned in a 'report' about Militant can we?

By Jim Chrystie

Shep Stone

In his article in *The Times* (23 June), Peter Taaffe referred to Shep Stone, who had been responsible for channelling funds into the International Institute of Strategic Studies, which was set up by Denis Healey. Stone indignantly asserted that he was "never a member of the CIA, never worked for it."

Stone had seized on an error in *The Times* article which had not been in the original but which we had made when the article was amended over the telephone after *The Times* had asked us for alterations.

Stone was confused with Richard N Bissell, who reorganised the International Department of the Ford Foundation before Stone was appointed its Director. It was Bissell, not Stone, who was Deputy Director, Plans, of the CIA, responsible for covert operations such as the abortive Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba. Bissell had also admitted, in 1968, to the US Council on Foreign Relations how the CIA had organised 'covert intervention' against the left in Western Labour Movements.

In its reply to Stone, *Militant* wrote:

"During the war Stone worked in America's Office of Strategic Services which was later transformed into the CIA. After the war, Stone worked for the US Militant Government in Berlin and helped, together with Bissell and Michael Josselson (who later spilled the beans), to direct Marshall Aid 'counterpart' funds to European organisations propagating ideas favoured in Washington. When these funds ran out, they turned to the CIA, and, when this was exposed, to other sources like the Ford Foundation and the Aspen Institute, for which Stone now works.

"Stone, for instance, in

1948, helped Joseph Retinger organise the Hague Congress which launched the European Movement using secret US funds. Stone was also involved with Retinger and Denis Healey, in setting up the Bilderberger Group, and he helped Healey to raise funds for the International Institute of Strategic Studies, as we stated. Stone also helped to organise the CIA-backed European Cultural Foundation with Prince Bernhard, and when, in 1967, it was revealed that the CIA had been backing the Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF), magazines like 'Encounter' and news services like 'Forum World Features', Stone was brought in to head the new, non-CIA International Association for Cultural Freedom which took over many former CCF Activities.

"Attempts to uncover the links between these organisations and their offshoots does not imply 'guilt by association.' They form a murky network which leaders in Washington have built up and used to further definite ideological ends, and figures like Bissell and Stone have played a key role in funding the various bodies from US sources.

"Stone takes up a factual error. But does his indignant tone indicate that he would now support, and be prepared with his inside information to co-operate with, a full enquiry by the Labour Party into sinister and secret efforts by the CIA, big business, other US funded organisations to bolster the position of the right and counter the influence of socialist ideas within the Labour Movement?"

The Editor of *The Times* found our reply "very interesting", but declined to print it...

Anti-Fascist Rally. Over 200 Asian youth trade unionists and Labour Party members including 40 LPYS members demonstrated on Sunday 29 August against the National Front having a stall at the Brick Lane market.



Labour Party Executive—TU Section

'WHY I AM STANDING' Terry Fields
(FBU)

I am standing for the NEC of the Labour Party, having been nominated by the Fire Brigades Union, and am seeking your support.

At a time when the people of this country are faced with mass unemployment, bad housing, school closures, the National Health Service is starved of finance, and the industrial base of the country destroyed through lack of investment, the Labour Party needs a fighting programme based on the needs of ordinary working people and a willingness to implement such a programme, from the leadership of the Party.

As a member of the NEC of my union and a working fireman, I have been involved in a fight over many years to improve the conditions of my members. As a result, I believe that a return to incomes policy, or public sector cash limits, on the part of the next Labour government, would be a tragedy for the trade union movement, and the lower paid sector in particular.

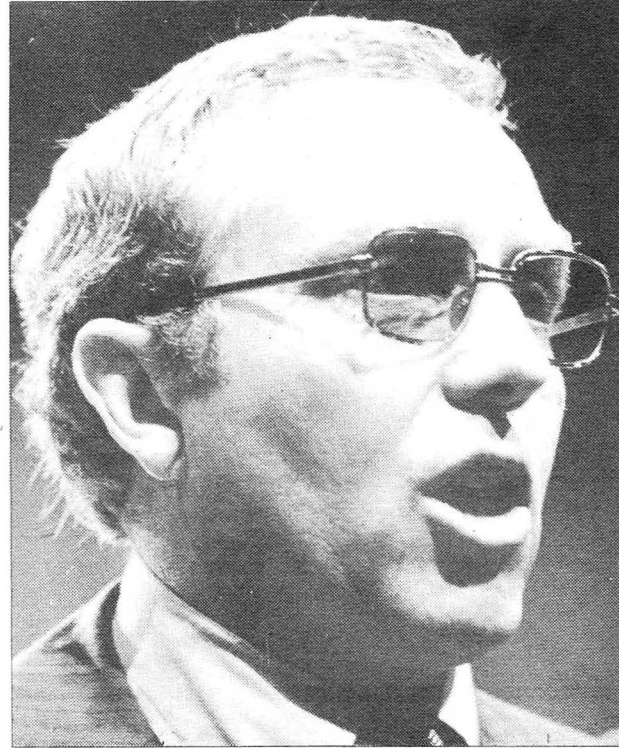
I stand in support of socialist policies—of accountability at every level and the right to recall elected representatives—for CLPs to select the candidate of their choice and in total opposition to witch-hunts in the Labour Party, and for the Labour Party to campaign around a socialist pro-

gramme to force an election and drive the Tories from office.

However, at a time when the right-wing of the Party pays lip service to 'Unity', in the same breath it launches a vitriolic attack, in the pages of the capitalist media and in the same language as those patently opposed to the Labour Party and to socialism, against members of the Party who have been members for many years and who have fought to have Labour MPs and councillors elected, campaigned to recruit into the Labour Party to create a mass socialist party and fought for democracy within the party.

The disastrous effect of such a witch-hunt would split the party at a time when the call for 'unity' should be heeded; but unity around socialist policies to defeat both the Tories and their Liberal/SDP allies.

I believe that the decisions of conference should be translated into action, and the whole Labour movement should struggle on radical socialist policies in the interests of the majority in society, and break the grip of the parasites who control finance, industry and the monopolies. The wealth created by the workers should be put to the use of the workers, and their families, but this can only be achieved by a Labour govern-



ment taking over the 'commanding heights' of the economy and drawing up a socialist plan of production to implement such reforms. Labour must act with the same enthusiasm and commitment on behalf of workers as the Tories do their friends—big business interests in this country and abroad.

It is with this in view that I appeal for the support of the Trades Union section in the election to the NEC.

- ★ FOR A MASS, DEMOCRATIC SOCIALIST PARTY TO DEFEAT THE TORIES!!
- ★ FOR THE RIGHT OF CLPs TO SELECT THE CANDIDATE OF THEIR CHOICE!
- ★ DEFEAT THE WITCH-HUNT!



'Now that they've gone'

Member of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party, N Michta, has discovered the major cause of the outburst of workers' anger in Poland over the past two years: "...In the later half of the Seventies there was a group of people among the leaders of the Party who were hidebound ideologically and intellectually. There was no vacuum; the place formally occupied by Marxism-Leninism, which was preached but not practiced, was filled by bourgeois and Petty-bourgeois mentality, consumerism, admiration of the West's facade, and a desire to get rich by any means. The leaders did not want to hear or know anything about the miseries and hard lot of many working men and women in industry and the villages."

This comment has the blessing of the Russian Stalinist bureaucracy, who published the quote in the official Novosti Press Agency booklet, 'Who Pushed Poland to the Brink'. They add, "the former Polish leaders, with Gierek at the head, in many respects set an example of exploiting one's official position."

As the Polish bureaucracy is merely a mirror of its Russian counterparts, this analysis may surprise the workers of Poland. But of course, the Russian, and Polish Stalinists refrained from such criticisms while they waited to see if Gierek could ride out the resistance of the Polish workers. When he failed they turned on him as a convenient scapegoat, And of course, they don't mention that the above quotes would describe themselves very well.

South Africa: Release prisoners - build Trade Union links

August 25 saw the start of a non-stop picket outside South Africa House organised by the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM), calling for the release of political prisoners in South Africa.

The start of this picket coincided with the 63rd birthday of Dave Kitson, jailed 18 years ago by the apartheid regime. About 200 attended the start of the picket, and on the days since the size has been about a dozen. In the course of the picket, police harassment culminated in Dave Kitson's son, Steve, being arrested for obstruction.

Dave Kitson was jailed in 1964, after having been tortured and beaten by the authorities. Dave is a member of a British trade union, AUEW/TASS, who have continually called for his release.

TASS has sent greetings on special occasions to Dave Kitson to keep up his morale. They have also petitioned Thatcher to apply pressure on the South African government for his release. Yet Thatcher has proved to be one of the staunchest allies of the bosses' apartheid regime.

The LPYS and 'Militant' have consistently called for the building of direct links between unions in both countries, and for the formation of international com-



Amanda and Steve Kitson picket for the release of their father, British trade unionist Dave Kitson, and all political prisoners in South Africa. Later Steve was arrested for obstruction. Photo: Militant

bine committees where multi-nationals exist in both countries. We need to unite our struggle with the struggle of the South African workers.

The South African capitalist class will not release prisoners on the say-so of a few thousand signatures on a petition, or a picket of their embassy. The South African newspaper 'The Post' collected over 75,000 signatures for the release of Nelson Mandela in 1980, yet Mandela remains in jail. Thousands of members of

the African National Congress languish in prison, and the recent murder of ANC activist Ruth First in neighbouring Mozambique shows that the apartheid regime will use any kind of terrorism to stay in power.

But the strike of protest against the killing of union organiser Neil Aggett while in police custody shows the potential power of the workers' movement inside South Africa. The strength of the working class movement inside South Africa must be added to by the strength of the international

working class.

This highlights the need for the unions to take up the tasks of building direct links with trade unions in South Africa. Any campaign for the release of political prisoners must be built on the strength of the trade unions, with international working class action such as strikes and boycotts.

By Pete Giblett
(AUEW TASS shop steward, personal capacity)

Equality of Sacrifice 1

To celebrate their government's success in cutting ordinary peoples' living standards, Tories in Acton decided to hold a modest little summer party. Seventy-one members of Springfield Conservative Association tightened their belts and then tucked into 32lbs of lamb, 25lbs of chicken, 52lbs of Polish sausage, 22 lbs of veal and 8 lbs of mince. With an average of 2lbs of meat per person, not forgetting the lavish helpings of vegetables, they clearly needed to wash this down.

So they then moved on to drink their way through 31 litres of wine, 24 cans of beer and 2 bottles of spirit. If this is what just one ward in one constituency gets up to, it needs little imagination to see what the top backers of the Tories do when they want to relax.

Equality of Sacrifice 2

A sign of the times was a two page spread in a local paper covering Worthing a formerly prosperous town in the South-East of England. At the beginning of the summer holidays, the Worthing and District Advertiser highlighted the problem of school-leaver unemployment. They gave pen portraits of twenty-two youngsters offering themselves for jobs, under the heading: "We want to work".

But they have little hope of success. For in Worthing, just down the road from where the TUC are holding their Conference, there were 400 school-leavers chasing only seven advertised vacancies.

TUC CONFERENCE FIFTY YEARS AGO

George Lansbury, leader of the Labour Party, told the 1932 TUC Conference that workers must not limit their sights to the reform of the capitalist system, but must rise throughout the world to end it. He said there was no security for any standard of life under capitalism and that the working classes of the whole world must rise together not to reform, but to revolutionise the capitalist system and establish in its place the co-operative commonwealth of the world. Today as the conditions of the '30s return, socialists in the Labour Party are facing attacks for expressing the same aspirations as Lansbury and other pioneers of the Labour Party.

TUC CONFERENCE '82



TUC General Council structure -keep elections

The past three years have seen big changes take place in both the Labour Party and the trade unions. In most cases these changes have been for the better, with increased democracy, improved policy, and personnel with a greater will and commitment to tackle the ever-growing crisis of capitalism.

The events under a system of rapid social and economic decline have led workers to seek to sharpen and re-sharpen their organisations into instruments fitted to defend and advance their interests.

Yet at this year's TUC a move will be made to end the democratic procedure of electing the collective leadership of the movement by the whole of Congress, which has been in operation for over 60 years. So at a time

places to be distributed amongst those affiliates with less than 100,000 members.

If implemented, this would be a setback and reduce the ability of the rank and file to have a say at the highest level of the movement about who its leaders are going to be.

The top union leaders would have an important check on their actions removed. Although not perfect the present system does at least give an opportunity to bring pressure to bear on the leadership and remove from leading positions those trade unionists who had let the working class down.

Not only would the fundamental principle of elections go, but also the very essence of the TUC as a collective leadership, a general staff that looks after the interests of all affiliates, irrespective of size or numbers. The old union motto "An injury to one is an injury to all" would receive a big dent, as quantity rather than quality would be the criterion for leadership.

Furthermore the weight and importance of the industrial and manual trade unions would be downgraded. Unions that have

played a foremost role in the formation and development of the Labour Party and trade unions. It is not for mere sentiment that these unions should retain their influence. It is the membership of these unions that bring most vividly to conference the exploitation of working men and women under capitalism. This must never be forgotten and it would be a mistake not to give due recognition to these unions.

There are attempts to turn the TUC to the right

Certainly the current trade group system of elections is somewhat out of date and needs an overhaul. The resolution from the NUM and the Tobacco workers call for "i) a General Council which is both representative and better able to reflect changes in the trade union movement and industries"; and "ii) which is elected annually by Congress as a whole."

But the 'automacy' proposals are clearly a blatant attempt by the right wing to move the political complex-

ion of the General Council to the right. Under pressure from an embattled working class pushing the policy of the TUC further to the left, they plan to stem this leftward shift by organisational means.

In this way the programme passed at Conferences can be more easily by-passed by inactivity at the top. Thus the right wing calculate that despite the TUC having decisively thrown out an incomes policy at Blackpool last year, with a change in leadership to those sympathetic with such defeated policies, discussion with a future Labour government on such an issue will not be ruled out.

The right wing try and throw dust in the eyes of workers in order to justify these changes by accusations of 'undemocratic patronage' etc. by big and powerful unions like the TGWU. Yet for decades not a murmur was heard against the block vote when Deakin and the rest of the right wing leaders ruled the TGWU and other unions.

It is illustrating to contrast these appeals for more 'democracy' in the TUC with the situation in the organisations of those who make these appeals.

It is not the block vote that is the obstacle to a more genuine reflection of the aspirations of the working class, but the often unelected trade union leaders and officials on inflated salaries well above the living standards of those they represent. Many of them are way out of touch with problems that accompany low pay and adverse working conditions.

It will be no surprise that leading the fray are those same right-wing leaders who are attempting to witch-hunt the left and destroy the gains in democracy and policy made within the Labour Party.

In 1979 Roy Grantham of APEX, the clerical workers' union, raised a similar motion to the one eventually passed last year, moved by Brian Stanley of the POEU.

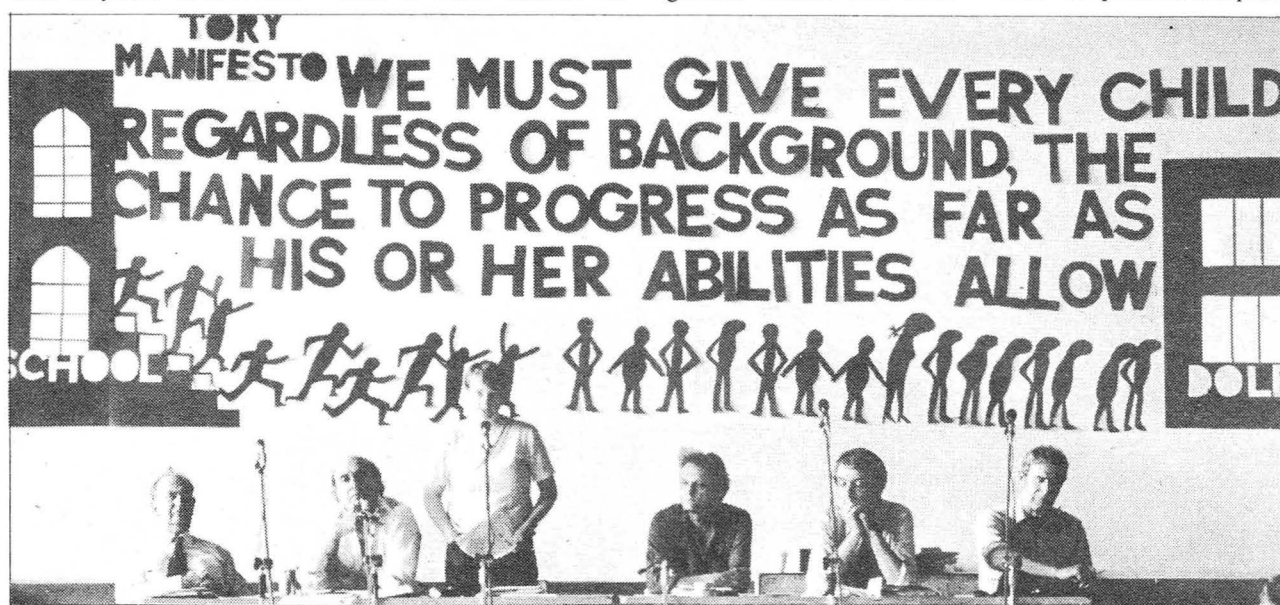
Both Grantham and Stanley have failed consistently to gain a seat on the General Council under the present electoral process, Roy Grantham having been booted off several years ago. In 1981 Grantham came bottom of the poll in his section.

It was Grantham who, a few months ago, raised the possibility of the Labour Party entering into a coalition with the SDP!

Even if the right wing succeed, the transformation will continue from below

Automatic selection to the General Council would be a setback but would not stop the moves towards the creation of a fighting and democratic union movement armed with more socialist policies. If thwarted from above, the transformation will continue all the faster from below. The conclusions will be drawn that if the rank and file have no choice at the TU Congress, then before those leaders get to the Congress they must be as democratically elected and as accountable as possible.

Experience is always the greatest teacher. Under the school of Thatcher many old lessons about united struggle and resolute leadership are being re-learned. Those leaders who now sing lullabies to the working class when war cries are needed are living on borrowed time. The process of change will not be abated, whatever the machinations of the right wing.



Shareen Blackall, of the YOPs Trainees Union Rights Campaign, speaks to a joint Labour Party/Trade Union May Day meeting in Maidstone, Kent

Support YOPs campaign

By Peter Mumford

The fact that Tebbit was forced to back down on his plan to cut YOPs pay to £15 a week was a significant victory for the trade union movement.

The 3,000 strong lobby of Parliament in February, organised by the Labour Party Young Socialists and the YOP Trainees Union Rights Campaign played a major part in Tebbit's defeat.

But still Tebbit intends to go ahead with his 'new' Youth Training Initiative, although now the pay will be the princely sum of £25 a week! Over 560,000 people

are now on government training schemes. Employers are using YOP workers to replace full time workers they would otherwise have taken on. The Tories are using YOPs in an attempt to undermine the wages and conditions of the rest of the trade union movement.

The resolution to TUC Conference from the Bakers, Food and Allied Workers Union calls for "the present TUC structure to be developed into an effective force that can fight for the rights of young workers."

The resolution also demands concrete action to make this possible:

★ A two-day youth conference which would allow fuller discussion of the issues affecting youth.

★ The TUC Youth Conference to consider motions submitted by constituent trade unions and to formulate a programme of demands for young workers and young trade unionists.

★ The election of a youth committee at the conference to organise campaigns between conferences.

★ The Youth Committee to be able to initiate campaigns on issues affecting young workers.

**YOP Trainees Union Rights Campaign
TUC Conference Meeting
—END CHEAP LABOUR:
REAL JOBS FOR YOUTH**

Speakers Kevin Roddy (President CPSA) Nick Toms (LPYS National Committee) on Tuesday 7th September at 1.00pm at the Preston Suite, Royal Albion Hotel, Old Steyne.

UCW five year rule change

Full-time officials in the Union of Communication Workers now face reelection by secret ballot every five years, after a victory on this rule change at the UCW rules revision conference in August.

Despite opposition from the UCW's national executive, the rule change went through by 90,730 votes to 73,620. However, at present this rule will only affect newly elected officers and does

not apply to present officials, which include the General Secretary.

Even so, this marks a major step forward in the democratisation of not only the UCW, but, with similar decisions having been made in the Civil and Public Services Association, the Fire Brigades Union and UCATT, the building workers union, is a step forward for the trade union movement as a whole.

Step forward for ISTC

A major step forward has been taken for union democracy in the steelworkers' union, the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation. In the past policy making decisions were taken by the 21-member union executive, with the ISTC conference, with elected representatives from the union's 102,000 members, being merely 'advisory'.

Fortunately, the executive, albeit by a narrow majority, has voted to let annual conference decide policy. The decision was not without opposition from right-wing ISTC leader Bill Sirs, who

raised the red herring of 'extremists' etc. He said the union would be open to "back room meetings of the extreme left who will try to destroy this union." (*Financial Times*, 20 August). Why "extreme left" steelworkers would want to destroy their own union he didn't explain.

This is a tremendous step forward for the union and will be the first step in the ISTC rank and file members getting a fighting leadership for the steelmen's union, that can turn back the Tory onslaught on jobs that has butchered the British steel industry.

ASLEF President speaks to Militant: 'We're bitter but we must go forward'

THE ASLEF dispute on flexible rostering has been one of the most important episodes in recent trade union history. The management of British Rail provoked a struggle with train drivers over the 8-hour day, established in 1919. In the face of vicious media hostility ASLEF members stood firm. Unfortunately, at the height of the battle, the Finance and General Purposes Committee of the Trades Union Congress leant on ASLEF, demanding that they relinquish the 8-hour day and settle the dispute on terms favourable to the British Rail Board. If solidarity had been organised by the TUC on behalf of ASLEF, tapping the enormous support that existed at rank and file level, a famous victory would have been achieved which would have encouraged all workers in the struggle to defend jobs, living standards, working conditions and union rights from the onslaught of the Tories. The events surrounding this dispute therefore need serious analysis so that all the necessary lessons are drawn by active workers in the labour and trade union movement. Here, Derrick Fullick, President of ASLEF, talks to Brian Ingham and Martin Elvin of "Militant", on these events and the way forward.

What are the feelings of the ASLEF EC as you look back on the recent dispute?

We are extremely proud of the way ASLEF members answered the strike call and stood shoulder to shoulder throughout the battle. Our feelings towards the Finance and General Purposes Committee of the TUC, however, are ones of disappointment.

I have said many times that they can march from Hyde Park to Trafalgar Square, they can get on that plinth and speak as loud as they like, but if that's all they do, they'll achieve nothing. At the end of the day they have got to support workers. I always thought that was the idea of the club.

The lesson for the wider trade union movement is that you cannot allow serious issues like this to be handled by just a committee of the TUC. Our dispute should have gone before the full General Council of the TUC.

The F&GPC failed to understand the two main principles involved. Probably some of them did not want to understand. The two main principles were, first that the management of a nationalised industry was forcing conditions of service onto its workforce without trade union agreement, and, secondly, that they were threatening to dismiss the whole of our membership. Their real intention was to destroy ASLEF and wipe the name of ASLEF off the trade union books.

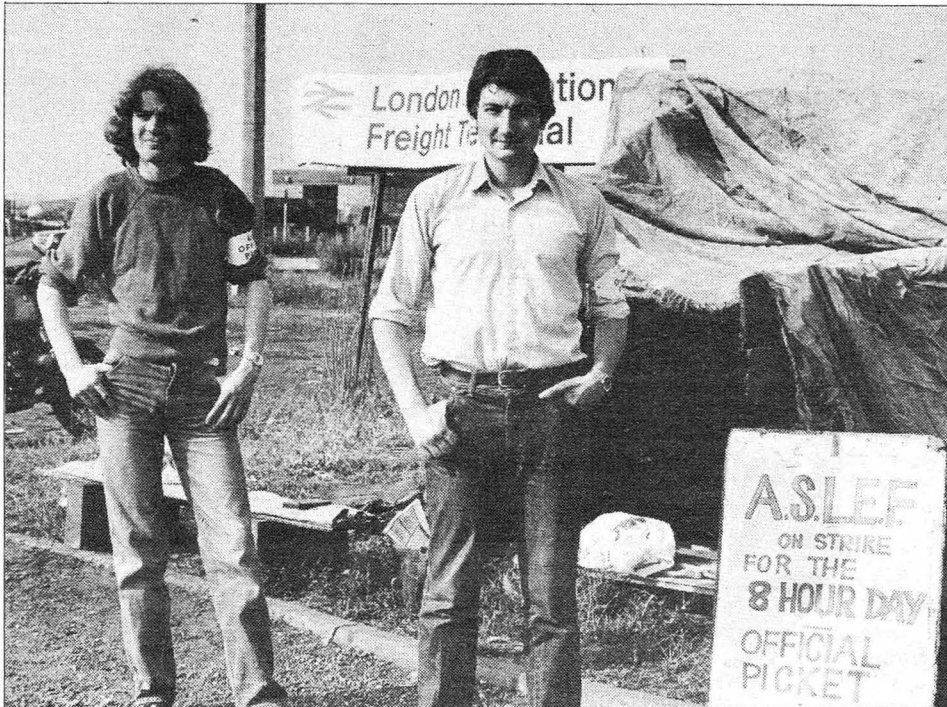
We have not had one word of criticism from our branches anywhere in the country. But what we are doing now, and we know that branches at local level are doing the same, is to regroup, and obviously, examine if we could have done things in a better way, and also widen our contacts with other unions, through our branches.

I think this had come home especially to our members: whether there is trouble or not we should always keep contacts going.

What support did you receive from other trade unionists during your dispute?

The support from rank and file trade unionists was tremendous. At Dover for instance very strong ties were built with the miners during this dispute. This had done both sides a lot of good. At Waterloo, my own depot, there are now close links with NUPE who put telephones and rooms at our disposal.

I am given to believe that because of the support at Waterloo Depot from various people in the Labour



Train drivers on the picket line at Stratford, East London, during the strike earlier this year. Photo: Militant

Party, they have recruited 15 new members from our union to the party. That is a terrific number from one small location. It shows the growing awareness of the need to return a socialist government.

What support did you receive during the dispute from rank and file members of the NUR, and what do you see as the prospects for future joint working and for the proposed Federation of railway unions?

We should not judge every trade union by its leadership. A hell of a lot of NUR men did good work during the dispute. The NUR locomen, for instance. They are small in number, but there were many out of that number who were on strike, and it was not just a question of not crossing picket lines, many of them put on ASLEF arm bands and joined the pickets.

NUR—'We should not judge a union by its leader'

They realised what the issues were. So did those sections of the NUR who held collections for the drivers.

The General Secretary of the NUR said that this was not the issue to fight over. Perhaps he will tell us one day what is the issue to fight over. If you always leave the fight to tomorrow you find that when tomorrow has come everything has passed you by.

You ask about the Federation. I would say it is extinct for the period the present NUR General Secretary is in

office. It has not had an inaugural meeting and I cannot visualise this happening. It is a shame. It is unfortunate, but that's the way it is.

We have to blame a lot of what happened on the utterances of the General Secretary of the NUR. You have got to ask yourself what his interpretation of trade unionism is.

His mind seems to be geared towards productivity. But he is living in a dream world if he thinks that the type of productivity the board wants does not mean shedding staff, because it does. These are the sort of issues dividing us. We feel that we should be creating jobs, not giving them away.

I know in practice that you try to save the younger man's job by letting the older man take redundancy, but what you've done is to cut out one employee. You have effectively told the children at school that you have given their job away.

Our idea of trade unionism is different to that. We keep referring to the General Secretary of the NUR, but he seems to be the only one on the scene for the NUR at national level. During the whole of our dispute I never heard him say one word of support for any of our members or for our organisation. In the beginning he was quite happy to appear on television with Sir Peter Parker and, jointly with him, take on Ray Buckton. In that type of atmosphere how can you get a Federation off the ground?

We want to work with the other unions. We had been requesting joint trade union meetings before our dispute began and virtually

throughout this year. I don't know how you get joint working when the leader of one side seems unwilling to meet.

The Tribunal we've just been to has highlighted the situation we face. The Railways Board think that they have got the rail unions on the run. Their demands increase every time they open their mouths. Somewhere, somehow the three rail unions have got to recognise that they've got to combat it.

Some of the same right-wing trade union leaders who refused to back ASLEF are also—along with right-wing leaders of the Labour Party—demanding a witch-hunt against the supporters of "Militant". What is your attitude to this witch-hunt?

I'm absolutely opposed to this witch-hunt. They all talk about free speech and the

'The Railways Board think they have got us on the run. Their demands increase every time they open their mouths'

right to express yourself but if you start speaking freely or expressing yourself, or if a group like "Militant" get together and express their ideas, then some people start to fear for their own positions. We are opposed as an organisation, and I am opposed as an individual, to witch-hunts.

Things like unemployment should be at the fore at the present time, and quite frankly they are diverting the issue with this witch-hunt. It saves them hammering home,

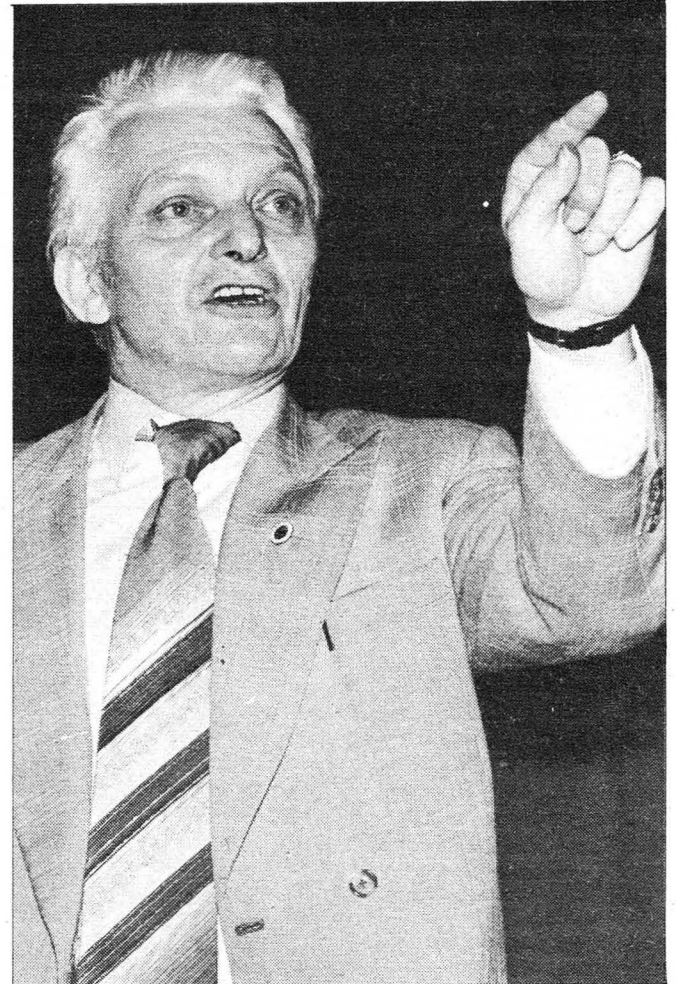


Photo: Militant

"We are opposed as an organisation, and I am opposed as an individual, to witch-hunts."

Above, Derrick Fullick, President of the train drivers' union ASLEF addresses the recent 'Stop the Purge' rally organised by Tribune

where they intend to go in the event of Labour being returned to power.

I was listening to Bob Mellish on the television and he was talking about being a member of the Labour Party, and how he had given his life to the party. It disgusted me when I saw it. He gave me the impression that he thought the Labour Party owed him something and that they were wrong to fall out with his point of view and his way of acting.

Life is a constant change. A few years back you could join the Labour Party provided you didn't speak up. It

because if we go by the messages of support from branches in other trade unions then we should not have had anything to worry about.

But I want to emphasise this. All our lads are bitter about what happened, but you can not forever dwell on the past. We've now got to look forward. We should be using our energies to seeing that this sort of thing does not happen again and to asking how we are going to progress the future of the working man. If we say we got kicked in the backside the last time so we won't try it again, we won't move forward and we won't stand still, we'll go backwards and backwards.

Are you confident of the future?

I'm confident because I think that they can only push the working man so far and then suddenly he turns. There will be a break through. It always happens. The working class will bounce back, but I think that they've got to realise that with the type of government we are now experiencing it has got to be an organised bounce back.

They have got to get together, and the trade union leaders through the TUC have actually got to come out and lead from the front.

How do you see the way forward?

Certainly within the trades union movement the grass roots have got to exercise a far greater control over the people who lead some of the trade unions. They've got to insist on their point of view being taken into account,

WORKERS DEMAND

TUC must give a lead

By Brian Ingham

Last week a Gateshead hospital hairdresser told members of his local NUPE branch how, for the last two years, both he and his wife have regularly attended local jumble sales. This is where they have bought the toys for their childrens Christmas presents, and their childrens clothes.

They have had no alternative. Hairdressers are amongst the lowest paid grades in the health service. The government has spent thousands of pounds peddling the myth of the well-paid hospital worker, but they have convinced no-one, and hospital workers have only been incensed by such flagrant lies and distortions.

With no bonus and little, if any, overtime to rely upon, this hairdresser normally has a take home pay of between £41 and £43 a week. In order to survive, his family have been forced to turn to the state for Family Income Supplement and other means-tested benefits.

This week the 114th Annual Trades Union Congress meets in Brighton as this hairdresser and other health workers enter the 18th week of their dispute.

The TUC must spell it out: health workers are not alone; they have behind them the massive organised strength of the entire United Kingdom trades union movement!

Health workers are not asking for the earth. They have called for a rise of 12% to compensate for increases in the cost of living. Even after such a wage increase many hospital workers will remain extremely low paid.

But the government has stood steadfast against even this modest demand. It is hoping to break the determination of health workers by cynically relying upon their dedication to patients.

The cynicism of the government, however, has already been answered magnificently by miners, steel workers, shipyard workers and thousands upon thousands of other workers who have all participated in the unprecedented wave of solidarity action which unfolded over the last few weeks on behalf of health workers.

Circulars were sent out from Congress House calling for such support, but the initiative and drive came almost entirely from below. Congress must ensure that a bold and energetic lead is given from above.

All workers will be looking to this week's TUC to show a way forward, but the hospital dispute is central to the whole situation facing the working class. To ensure victory Congress must—at the very least—declare a one-day general strike in support of health workers, as part of an on-going programme of solidarity industrial action. Such a call would lift the

morale of that hospital hairdresser and of every other health worker. It would also act as a tonic to workers everywhere.

It would mark the beginning of the fightback against the onslaught which this government has waged against jobs, living standards, working conditions, the Welfare State and all the democratic trade union rights painfully secured by the British working class.

The resolutions on the agenda of the TUC point to the waste and despair of youth on the dole, to the attack on the living standards of old people, to the worsening job prospects of the blind and disabled, to the attack on the nationalised industries and to the undermining of education, the health service and the nation's social services.

Britain now a net-importer of manufactures

These resolutions show the grim reality of life in Tory Britain. The days of the so-called "affluent society" have been utterly and forever buried. Into their place has been dragged mass unemployment, falling living standards, worry, uncertainty and fear for the future.

The Tory election manifesto in 1979 promised that an incoming Tory government would launch a free enterprise crusade which would regenerate British industry and bring security to the lives of the British people. A whole generation of the youth of Britain have been sacrificed on the altar of this insane Tory dream. And for what?

The historic decline of Britain as a major manufacturing nation has not been abated—on the contrary, it has speeded up significantly. In volume terms, Britain's share of world trade has dropped one fifth in the five years up to 1980.

This decline continues as does the increase in the volume of imports. Beaten on the home market, beaten abroad, and constrained inside the government's monetarist strait-jacket, industry has been savaged.

Since the spring of 1979 manufacturing investment is down one fifth and total industrial production down by 12%.



A TUC march during the week of action in April 1981. The TUC must boldly prepare for a 24-hour general strike as the only means of shaking the employers and the Tory government.

Whole areas of Britain have been reduced to the level of economic deserts as a result of the Tories' quack economic medicine.

The labour and trade union movement must say: enough is enough; thus far but no further. At this week's TUC the message must ring out: every struggle for a living wage will be supported as will every struggle against redundancy, victimisation and attacks on work practices, services and trade union rights.

Some trade unions, possibly despairing of any successful fightback against the onrush of redundancies, have table motions calling for increased redundancy payments. These motions should be decisively rejected in favour of the idea contained in the resolution from the Transport and General Workers Union: "To resist

industry closures and compulsory redundancies and to assist those who are actively engaged in the struggle to save jobs."

The fight to save jobs is only undermined if the selling of jobs is made more attractive.

It is precisely to prevent any meaningful industrial action developing in defence of jobs or on any other fundamental issue that the Tories have also introduced vicious legislation aimed at crippling the power of the trade unions. Part and parcel of any serious struggle to defend the interests of the working class therefore must be intransigent opposition to this legislation.

A resolution from the Fire Brigades Union shows the attitude which the trade unions must adopt to these laws:

"(i) No union affiliated to

the TUC utilises funds in payment of damages or fines resulting from enactment of the Bill;

(ii) affiliated unions do not attend court proceedings brought due to the enactment of this Bill;

(iii) that the TUC withdraws from the National Economic Development Council during the lifetime of this government;

(iv) that the TUC responds to any trade unionist being jailed under the proposed Act by taking positive action and calling for an immediate withdrawal of labour."

There will be those, however, at this week's Congress—right-wing trade union leaders—who will be claiming that the trade union movement is not strong enough to fight back in a determined fashion against the Tory onslaught. They will plead that management

has now got the upper hand and that the movement must recognise "the harsh realities".

But what are these "harsh realities"? Certainly the recession has taken its toll. In those industries most deeply affected by redundancy and short-time working generally there has been a feeling that it is better to grit your teeth for the moment, accept some of the brutal conditions which management are enforcing, wait until a more favourable moment, and then go back on to the offensive to recoup what has been lost.

As a result, in the Midlands, for example, where, in the past the pace on wage rates was set for the whole country, workers are now often settling for increases around 2.5-3% (way below the current rate of inflation) with many accepting

no increase whatsoever.

But to draw the general conclusion that the working class is weak is to completely misread the present situation. In isolated factories the battle ground may—for the moment—favour the employer. That is why unity, national struggles and solidarity are more vital today than ever.

In the Engineering industry, despite the recession, the complacency would be wiped off the faces of the Engineering Employers' Federation if engineering workers nationally were brought together in a united struggle for a living basic wage.

TUC total membership has fallen.

Trade union numbers may have fallen as a result of the recession. They have slumped dramatically in some cases. T&GWU membership in the Midlands has fallen from 387,000 to 282,000.

But the inherent strength of the trade unions remains absolutely intact. Miners, power station workers, Post Office engineers, railway workers, lorry drivers and water workers, to name but a few, could all have a devastating impact upon the economy if they took industrial action. If the working class stands together as a class then there is no greater force in society.

What is needed is a leadership that will harness this strength to defeat the attacks of the Tories and big business. Indeed if such leadership had been given over the last few years then each and every Tory attack could have been repelled, there would not now be 3-4 million workers on the dole and there would not have been the fall either in trade union membership figures.

The right wing trade union leaders have been trapped by their whole reformist outlook. They may express their commitment to socialism from time to time in interviews, articles or conference speeches. But in reality they have accepted the capitalist system for good or ill.

At a time like now of severe capitalist crisis their approach plays disastrously into the management's hands. Because they accept the capitalist market economy they have no answer when they are presented with tales of economic woe backed up with demands for increased "productivity" (i.e. speed-ups, attacks on established work practices and job losses), and they believe that strikes only make the situation worse by further damaging competitiveness and economic viability.

How many times have right-wing trade union leaders lectured their members over the last few years on the need to accept employer dictats in order to bring about a more stable economic climate in their industry? And how many times has one attack merely whetted the appetite of management to go on later to yet further attacks?

Under this "leadership" the workforce of British Leyland has been massively

reduced. If the right-wing leaders of the AUEW had given the necessary backing and leadership when Derek Robinson was sacked by Michael Edwardes then the whole history of the last few years, not just in Leyland but throughout industry, would have been transformed.

Managers in one industry after another immediately aped the tactics of Edwardes, while many stewards began to adopt a more cautious approach out of fear of being victimised and then being left high and dry by their union leaders.

With the Thatcher government stiffening the employers there has never been a time when there has been a greater need for a bold and decisive trade union leadership. Yet in certain key incidents the present leaders of the trade unions have brought their own generalship severely into question.

The most recent glaring example was the shameful attitude taken by the leaders of the TUC during the dispute of ASLEF with the British Railways Board over flexible rostering, an episode which Congress must ensure is never again repeated.

Victory for ASLEF would have marked a major setback for the Tories. It would have lifted the morale of all workers and it would have given a huge impetus to the general struggle against the Tories. Workers everywhere were expressing their solidarity with ASLEF.

If the TUC leaders had declared their support and then organised the necessary solidarity, victory would have been assured. They refused. Instead the Finance and General Purposes Committee of the TUC pressurised ASLEF to return to work on terms favourable to the BRB.

The Times has congratulated the government on keeping quiet while the TUC leaders won the battle for them! Right-wing leaders of the National Union of Railwaymen have used the TUC decision as justification for their own refusal to stand side by side with ASLEF against the demands of BRB over flexible rostering.

"Negotiating Skills" are not enough to protect conditions

The NUR News has since commented that to achieve a "fair deal" for railway workers and the railway industry "it will take all our negotiating skills to win the battle."

But "negotiating skills" are nothing unless management understands that words will be backed up—when necessary—by industrial action. If they detect weakness then all the most reasoned negotiating arguments in the world will not convince management to cancel their plans for attack.

If the NUR had helped ASLEF secure a victory over flexible rostering then the confidence of the Tories and management would have been shattered. A living wage and investment in the rail network would both have been a thousand times more easily achieved.

It is ironical that while the right-wing trade union leaders tell tales of trade

TUC CONFERENCE '82



"Mr Chapple corrected an earlier assertion by Mr Nigel Lawton, the Treasury Secretary, to the effect that the shop floor mood was now one of realism by asserting that it was merely one of dumb insolence. Dumb insolence is only dumb when the whips are cracking: when they are put away, it finds a voice, the more bitter for not having been heard."

—From the Financial Times editorial of 23 August, referring to recent NEDC meeting

union weakness the most serious representatives of big business have remained only too painfully aware that the very opposite is the case.

The Financial Times carried an editorial on 23 August aimed at those sections of management, the Tory back bench and even the Tory Cabinet who have begun to lose sight of reality. This article spells out the truth:

"When the economy picks up, or when the fear (of the dole) is replaced by active resentment, the law may be exposed to a challenge more fierce than any seen in this country since the war—including the events of 1972 and 1974...Employers and government cannot assume that any lost battles mark a final retreat of union power.

The unions' collective strength is still the greatest in civil society. The bedding down of what seems likely to be only the first third of the Government's employment legislation of this parliament does not mean it has put down roots enough to withstand a storm, if and when it blows."

Despite their crude anti-union rhetoric, the Tory Cabinet has recognised that it has to tread with extreme care. It always has in front of it the memory of the bloody nose meted out to the Heath government by the organised working class.

They have made certain inroads into trade union rights and conditions, but at each stage they have moved warily, dreading the possible consequences of their own actions. When they have been faced by intransigent union opposition, backed up by wider solidarity action, then they have backed down.

This was the case especially last year following threats to pits in South Wales. A spontaneous strike opened up in the South Wales pits and rapidly spread through all the coal fields.

Organised workers in all industries were immediately identifying with the struggle of the miners and the possibility of a general strike quickly loomed in front of the Tories who retreated in total disarray.

The battle showed the real relationship of forces in British society. The Tories have been driven by the

desperate position of British capitalism into pushing through anti-trade union legislation.

Yet even before Norman Tebbit's draconian laws are on the statute book the Tories have been made to panic at the possible consequences of Prior's more mild legislation. The Tories did not dare to invoke Prior's laws themselves during the hospital dispute against so-called "secondary pickets" fearing that this would provoke an all-out confrontation.



Arthur Scargill was elected NUM president last year with a crushing majority

Their worst fears were almost realised following the decision of the Newspapers Publishers' Association to take Sean Geraghty to court.

If he had been jailed an unstoppable movement would have been unleashed. And if the right-wing leaders had refused to put themselves at the head of such a movement they would simply have been by-passed.

The Tories are now looking uncomfortably towards this winter, realising that major struggles could break out on several different fronts. They are particularly dreading the prospect of a confrontation with the miners on wages or—what is perhaps more likely—jobs.

With the anger that is developing at present in industry at the erosion of living standards and conditions then one wrong move, one provocation of management and a huge movement could suddenly erupt. In this situation right-wing trade union leaders will be pressurised again and again into giving

official backing to disputes.

All is not lost just because right wingers sit at the helm of key unions in Britain. By their hesitation, fear, reluctance to struggle and sometimes—to call things by their right name—out and out betrayals, they can bring about set-backs and defeats.

But workers will sooner or later draw all the necessary conclusions. Already, many older activists at the shop floor level have realised the need to turn energetically towards their official union structure and join the fight for a more democratic structure and a more determined leadership.

They are being joined by new younger shop stewards and convenors unscarred by the disappointments and set-backs of recent years. This process, and the general disenchantment with the right wing has already been reflected in some recent union elections.

Gavin Laird only narrowly scraped a victory against Ken Brett in the election for AUEW General Secretary. In the CPSA Militant supporter Kevin Roddy has been elected as the union's first left-wing president for decades and in the NUM Arthur Scargill was elected President by a landslide majority.

In other unions, despite bureaucratic heavy-handedness, new Broad Left campaigning groups are beginning to pull together the most serious-minded left activists and offer an alternative to the leadership of the right.

Unfortunately, at this stage, many of the left-wing trade union leaders have still failed to draw all the necessary conclusions from the experience of recent years. Many still believe that it will be possible for an incoming Labour government to tinker with and manipulate the capitalist system to the benefit of working people.

A Socialist programme is needed to solve economic crisis

Many of the resolutions to Congress from the left-led unions contain demands along these lines. Only in an amendment from the Bakers', Food and Allied Workers' Union is there a clear call for the trade unions to link the industrial struggle to the political fight to bring down the Tories and return a Labour government committed to socialist policies.

There is a need for urgent and on-going discussion within the left of the labour and trade union movement on these vital issues. Militant

has pointed out that unless an incoming Labour government takes over the major monopolies and inaugurates a democratic socialist plan of production, geared to the needs of ordinary working people, then, as in 1964-70 and 1974-79, it will be forced by big business to take back with a vengeance any reforms which initially it may have introduced.

Because Militant lays bare the class nature of society—the irreconcilable gulf between the interests of the capitalist class and the working class, and because we have fought so consistently for a socialist society, we have brought down the



The right-wing union leaders accept the capitalist system for good or ill

wrath of the capitalist class and the right-wing labour and trade union leaders.

These right-wing leaders are, at the moment, attempting to purge Militant and Marxism from the Labour Party and the trade unions. They will not succeed.

It has not been lost on the active layers within the labour movement that it is the same trade union leaders who failed to defend ASLEF who have lined up demanding a witch-hunt against the supporters of Militant.

The attitude of many activists in answer to the right wing is to build support for the ideas of Militant as never before. Increasingly, in the years to come, that will be the attitude of the overwhelming majority inside the labour and trade union movement.

Ordinary workers such as the hospital hairdresser in Gateshead are being faced with no other alternative but to take action in defence of their living standards and conditions. Many of these workers have had little direct personal experience of trade union affairs in the past.

They are now becoming active. This week they will watch closely the deliberations of the Trade Union Congress, looking for firm leadership.

In the years ahead they will take hold of their organisations and recreate them completely as thoroughly democratic fighting unions. That way they will secure the future for the present generation and for generations to come.

Despite the fall in membership, the inherent strength of the trade unions remains intact. What is needed is a leadership that will harness this strength to defeat the attacks of the Tories and Big Business

BOMBAY POLICE STRIKE

a prelude to future struggles

"In any other country there would have been a revolution. There was widespread discontent, a massive strike, a mutinous police and an ineffective and unpopular administration. If the combination recurs the army may not be enough."

This anxious comment by a middle-class resident of Bombay was quoted in the *Financial Times* (25 August) to underline the justification for the spasm of shock which ran through international capitalism at the news of the police revolt and general strike which erupted last week in Bombay, India's main industrial and commercial city.

For years the world press has imposed a black-out on all news of the class struggle in India, which brought down three governments in succession in the period 1977-80, put India right at the top of the world league table of days lost in strikes per head, and caused, as witnessed so dramatically now, a complete disintegration of the state apparatus.

Militant has been the only newspaper in the world to report and analyse these world-shaking events. Even the popular press has now been forced to lift the

By Roger Silverman

blanket for a moment to give a glimpse of the pre-revolutionary crisis gripping Indian society, and has hastily clamped it down again.

Most of Bombay's 22,000 police struck on 18 August following the arrest of 20 leaders of the police union and the sacking of 90 activists. The Maharashtra state government claimed that the crack-down was necessary to forestal the threat that mutinous police would seize their armouries and mount an armed revolt.

Last year Chief Minister Bhosale's predecessor Antulay (recently sacked for corruption) had placated the police union by promising reforms in pay and conditions which the new government claims cannot be paid for out of state funds.

Nearly 50 incidents of

police indiscipline had been reported during the six weeks leading up to the strike. On Independence Day (15 August) Bombay police staged a hunger strike and wore black protest badges while on duty at Independence celebrations.

Before dawn on the following day came the vicious reprisals which provoked the mutiny. The outraged policemen tore through the city, halting commuter trains, stoning buses, burning cars and building barricades.

14,000 uniformed strike-breakers were flown in—the Central Reserve Police, the Army, and even the paramilitary Border Security Force, ostensibly set up to patrol the frontiers a thousand miles to the north of Bombay!

The virtual imposition of martial law came in the middle of one of the biggest strikes in world history: 250,000 textile workers, whose massive and prolonged strike is still completely solid after seven months, in spite of the terrible hardship suffered by the strikers and their families.

The employers and the government, their resolve strengthened by the watchdogs of the International

Monetary Fund (which recently granted India its biggest ever single loan, \$5.8 billion, under the most stringent conditions) are taking advantage of the slump in textiles to sit the strike out, in the hope of crushing the union and making a terrible example of the textile workers, as they did with last year's great public sector industrial workers' strike in Bangalore.

On top of the general slump, commercial life in Bombay has been especially afflicted by the loss of trade with the starving mass of textile mill-hands.

The intervention of the army was interpreted by the textile workers as a threat to themselves. They responded by flocking to the streets alongside the policemen. After their long and arduous ordeal they were overjoyed at the prospect of making common cause with potential allies. They were only too willing to join hands with the police, all the more so since in the past police had frequently been used to break up picket lines.

Although the biggest trade union federation in Bombay, led by the demagogic maverick Datta Samant, refused to participate, a joint committee of the left-wing



Mrs Gandhi's anti-trade union laws have been impotent in the face of a wave of strikes

unions called a 24-hour strike in solidarity with the police on the day following the mutiny.

19 August thus witnessed amazing scenes: police stoning government vehicles; industry paralysed by the general strike; shops and offices closed; workers in the few offices remaining open stranded by the transport strike and by fear of rampaging mobs of looters; a 24-hour curfew over six districts of Bombay; and pitched gun battles between police and troops!

Machine guns were set up, a recoilless cannon was moved in and troops marched through streets. Even the famous Gurkhas—more accustomed to the Burmese jungles than the streets of Bombay—were flown in!

Police cannot remain insulated

The alliance of the textile, engineering and dock workers with the policemen marks a historical milestone, in sharp contrast to the experience of the giant police strike of 1979 when the leaders of the workers' parties, notably the Communist Party (Marxist), were more concerned to impress the ruling class with their defence of "law and order" than to express sympathy with the police strikers and take the opportunity to win them to the cause of labour.

At that time a million policemen throughout India struck, rioted and seized their armouries, in several cases shooting it out on the picket line with troops ordered to occupy their barracks. Rebuffed by the trade union movement, the police in most of India have been rampaging blindly and hopelessly, sometimes in protest demonstrations, more often through extortion and even robbery.

The police forces and other paramilitary institutions (Central Reserve Police, Central Industrial Security Forces, Border Security Force, Provincial Armed Constabularies, etc.) have become grossly swollen over the years, their numbers quadrupling even proportionately to population since Independence. No wonder they can no longer remain insulated from the radical

mood sweeping the rest of society!

Even the Intelligence Bureau—India's "MI5"—has become organised into a trade union and its members have sabotaged security operations, withheld intelligence information, submitted false reports, and even staged public black-badge protests and demonstrations!

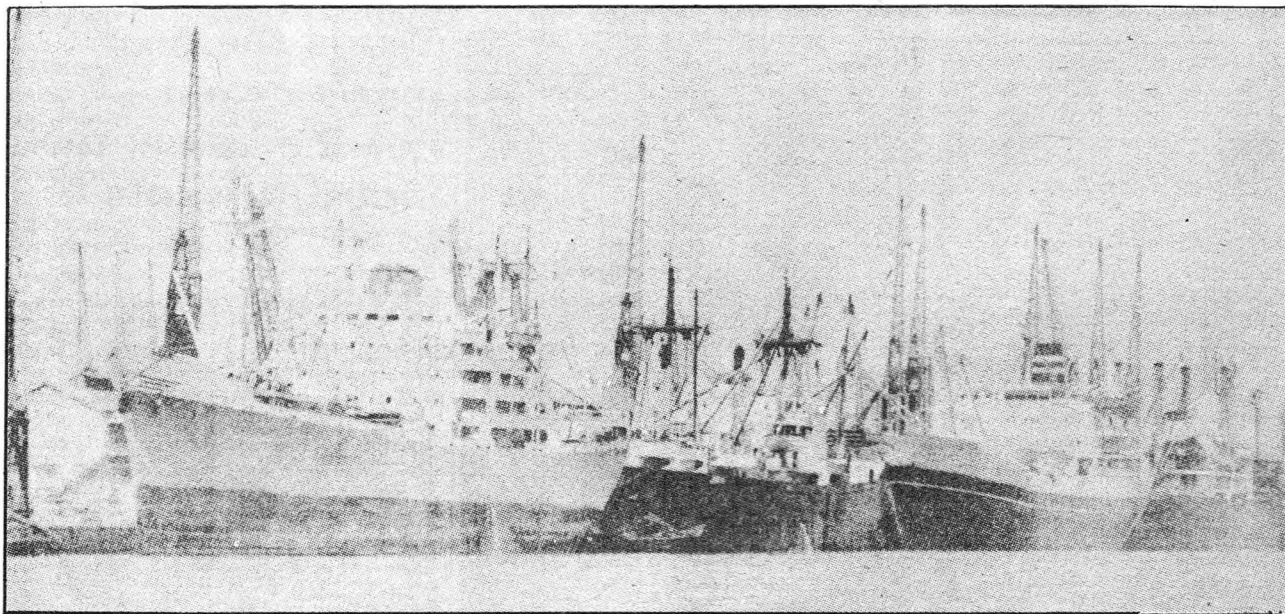
For the policemen, recruited from the peasant youth, brainwashed and brutalised into doing the employers' dirty work, the experiences of recent struggles, and especially the unforgettable events of the last few days in Bombay, have branded their consciousness forever. Recognition is dawning in their minds of their identity as workers, compelled to strike with the only weapon available to workers, inspired by the solidarity of their fellow workers.

This cannot but have a dazzling effect on the rest of the Indian police, still smarting from the effects of the partial defeat in 1979. Already there have been similar outbreaks by policemen in nearby Pune, and in Haryana in the North even by the rural "civil guard", the usually backward Provincial Armed Constabulary.

1979 police strike rocked India

The 1979 strike began with a trivial incident in Punjab but spread like a tidal wave across the sub-continent. The spread of the Bombay strike to even one or two more big cities would put a dangerous strain on the Central Reserve Police (who despite their elite role became in the end the most fearless fighters in the 1979 upsurge) and even on the low-paid and demoralised army.

Amid the growing chaos of the short-lived Janata government, which brought the 1979 strike total to an all-time record of 44 million man-days lost in strikes, it was the police strike which threw the ruling class into



Bombay Docks. This city contains a greater concentration of industry than any other in India.

EYE-WITNESS ACCOUNT OF STRIKE

On 15 August the "Police Karmachai Sangathana" (Maharashtra Police Union) observed a "black badge day" to draw the attention of the state towards their demands.

On 16 August Datta Samant (leader of the textile workers' strike) was to launch his "Jail Bharao" (Fill the Prisons) movement. This step had been pending for a long time, and the striking textile workers pressed him to act. It was a massive mobilisation of workers, but at the same time was most peaceful.

Workers demonstrated in front of the mills. Those arrested were soon released.

17 August passed normally, but during the night the

state arrested the leaders of the Karmachai Sangathana Police Union. This sparked off a terrific explosion and the city was caught in a panicky grip.

The railways were suspended and buses were forced off the road. Disturbances broke out in most parts of the city. Working class areas were most sensitive, where workers, lumpens and policemen all started stoning the buses, smashing windows, damaging and burning them.

Curfew was imposed and the army took over control of the city. In many areas shops, stores and stalls were rampaged. The famous air-conditioned department store Century Bazaar was looted within 10-15 minutes.

The mob freely whisked away any material they could lay their hands on, im-

mediately passing them to others standing on the roadsides! Private cars and taxis too were damaged.

A 10,000 strong mob gathered in front of the house of the chief of the textile owners' scab company union, the RMMS. Finding his room locked, the workers broke it open and made a bonfire of the articles they had removed. The house of another RMMS functionary was ransacked.

The troops resorted to shooting at the crowds. For two days the situation remained tense and grim. Uncertainty prevailed throughout the city. It is only now that things are returning to normal.

The whole thing was the clearest expression of the fury of the masses against the whole system. Once let loose, it had no limits or

bounds. The communication system was suspended by the government itself, so that no news could get out of Bombay. The city telephones would not work.

In Pune too, the army was alerted but the city remained quiet. The police agitation has not yet ended. Though in Bombay the constables have come back to work, in the outlying districts demonstrations are continuing. The Joint Trade Union Action Committee in Bombay has backed the cause of the police and are holding meetings in their support.

From our correspondent in Bombay (a leading TU activist)

LEBANON *Israel imposes* *Phalangist president*

By John
Pickard

The Israelis' intervention in Lebanon is looking increasingly like a political quagmire from which they are finding great difficulty in extricating themselves.

The Israeli war machine guaranteed the 'election' of Bachir Gemayel, leader of the Phalangist militia, as Lebanese President, in the hope that he can provide a strong-arm Lebanese government upon which Begin can rely to suppress any Palestinian resurgence. But Gemayel will be incapable of providing any basis for a 're-unified' Lebanon and his election only adds one more destabilising factor in an already unstable situation. The fraudulent 'constitution' by which he was elected (by 60-odd deputies elected as long ago as 1972) has no solid foundation of support. According to the past practice, the Lebanese president was always a Maronite Christian, the Prime Minister a Sunni Moslem, the Speaker of the Parliament a Shia Moslem, and so on.

The ruling class used this electoral system in the past as a barrier against the unification of workers, while the wealthy of all denominations—but particularly the Maronite capitalists with the lion's share of state power—took the rich pickings. But the previous semblance of stability was exploded by the civil war of 1975-76 when the Lebanese left and the Palestinian militias fought a bloody struggle against the right-wing militias, including 'warlord' Gemayel's forces.

The Palestinian and Lebanese will remember the atrocities associated with the Phalangist militia and they will not be prepared to accept an imposed government of Phalangists, threatening to carry on where they left off in 1976. Since then, the Phalangists have been equally ruthless in establishing their dominance over other Maronite militias, including gangster-style massacres of rival leaders along with their families.

Phalangists modelled on Nazi party

The inevitable rejection of Gemayel by the Moslem and the left-wing groups is based on bitter experience and, as if to rub the point home that they haven't changed, it was reported (*Economist* 21.8.82) that Phalangist militiamen burned down 140 dwellings in a (predominantly Christian) Palestinian refugee camp three weeks ago, in an area under the control of the Israeli military.

Begin's support for Gemayel—he calls him his "dear friend"—is heavy with irony. While Begin refers time and time again to the horrors of the Jewish Holocaust to justify his own holocaust against Palestinians, Gemayel's own party was founded in 1936 and is modelled on the German Nazi party.

There is also an irony in the present Syrian opposi-

tion to Gemayel, because when the Syrian army intervened in the civil war in 1976, it was not in order to support the left and the Palestinians but to impose a truce—a *Pax Syriana*—and at one stage that involved bloody fighting alongside the Phalangists who they armed against the Palestinians and Lebanese left.

Even if there were to be a quick withdrawal of the Israeli and Syrian forces from Lebanon, it would be impossible for Gemayel to provide any real basis of social or political stability. Indeed, his election has already been denounced by most Moslem leaders and Karami, a former Prime Minister, has declared Northern Lebanon, still controlled by Syria, as 'liberated' territory.

A new round of fighting in Bekaa

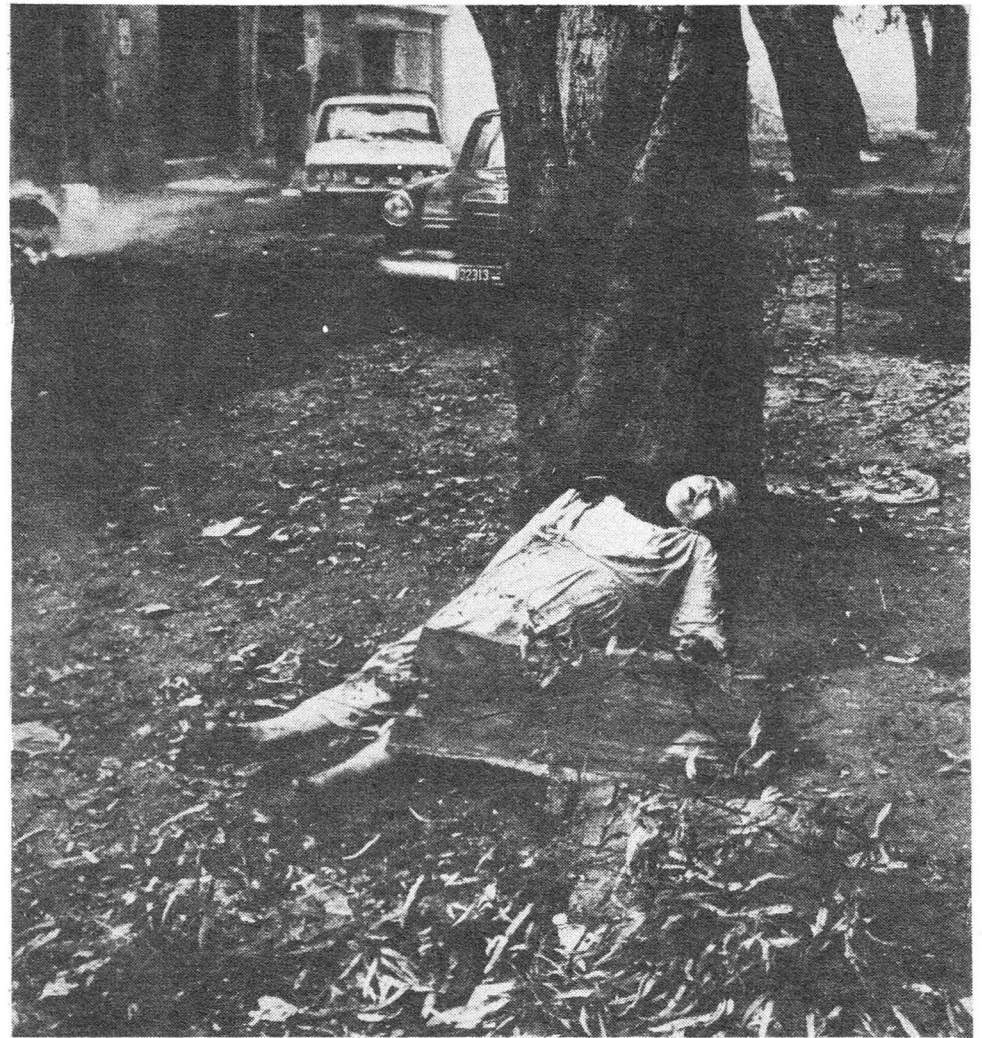
It is because of the chronic instability in Lebanon that it is unlikely that there will be a quick withdrawal of Israeli or Syrian troops. In fact, it is not excluded that there could be a new round of fighting over the control of the strategic Bekaa Valley, at present under Syrian army control.

The Syrians would be reluctant to engage Israel in a war they would certainly lose, but on the other hand, they would not be prepared to relinquish control of eastern and northern Lebanon.

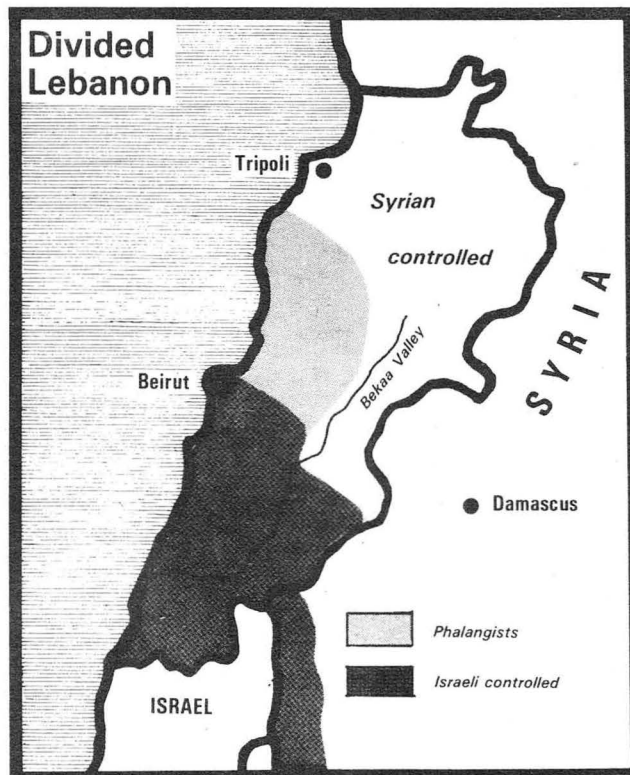
The Israeli ruling class has placed itself in an impasse. During the war, despite popular Israeli support for a war against the PLO, there was an unprecedented groundswell of opposition to the policy of Begin and Defence Minister Sharon, and especially their policy of ruthlessly bombing and shelling the civilian areas of Beirut.

There are already growing demands for a withdrawal and demobilisation and there would be enormous opposition if Begin decided to stay in Lebanon for a long period of time. The Israeli newspaper *Haaretz* is already warning that "At the extreme right wing of the government, voices have been heard for some time about the need to stay in Lebanon for 'a long time' and in Southern Lebanon for 'some years' (with some hinted asides about not leaving certain areas ever). These references should not be taken lightly; the massive colonisation of the West Bank began with prattle which at the time seemed to be nonsense."

Even the more far-sighted representatives of Israeli capitalism can see that permanent control of southern Lebanon would involve a far more bloody and costly operation than even control of the West Bank, and it would mean in total Israeli occupying and forcibly paci-



Civil War 1976. This woman was killed as the Phalangists over-ran the Palestinian Quarantina district of Beirut. The able-bodied men who were caught by the Phalangists were led away and shot.



Lebanon is partitioned into two main areas—the Syrians still holding the north and east.

fying a population as large as its own.

But the second option—driving the Syrians out of Lebanon—is also fraught with enormous dangers. The Israelis would have the military capability to do it, having established overwhelming air superiority and eliminating all the Syrian anti-aircraft missile batteries in the Bekaa. But the question is whether Israel has the political strength to achieve it.

Israeli casualties in such a new outbreak of war would be far higher than those suffered in the quick dash to Beirut and they would not be justified in the eyes of Israeli workers. Defeating the PLO is one thing, they would say, but making war on a reluctant Syria in order to reshape the map of Lebanon is

another thing altogether.

Apart from the opposition at home, the Israeli government would find itself under increased pressure from the imperialism. The USA and the Gulf states, no great friends of the Syrian regime, would nevertheless be afraid of the revolutionary implications for the whole of the Arab world if the Israelis, having smashed Beirut, then marched on Damascus.

It would seem that the balance of political forces means that for the moment Syria will stay in Lebanon.

Probably the most likely outcome, the option most suitable for Syria and Israel, would be for some secret deal leaving the Syrians in north and east Lebanon—on the understanding that they curtail the activities of the Palestinian militias who have

been evacuated to there—with Gemayel and Israel in control of southern Lebanon.

Even that makes the unlikely assumption that Gemayel will be able to establish his authority in southern Lebanon sufficiently for Israel to withdraw. But Gemayel's control over his 'sphere of influence' will always be tenuous, if he establishes control at all, especially in those areas where the Moslem and left militias still defy him, arms in hand.

If Gemayel remains a power, he will be forced to rely permanently on Israeli assistance and arms.

In the tangle of the crisis in Lebanon, there are a few quite clear and distinct features: that intervention has inextricably linked Israel to Lebanon as it did Syria after its own intervention in 1976; and that the issue of the national rights of the Palestinians, far from being swept away, has been brought to the fore.

The war will also have brought in its train repercussions far greater and wider in scope than could ever have been imagined by the narrow-minded Israeli Cabinet when they decided 'to march into Lebanon a few months ago. Begin may have unwittingly unleashed new revolutionary movements that could threaten the basis of social relations in the whole Arab world.

"The chronic instability of the region has increased," wrote the *Financial Times* correspondent in Jerusalem. "If Arab governments are overthrown as a result of the Lebanese crisis, as they were after Israeli victories in 1948, 1956 and 1967, then succeeding governments are not going to be more moderate." The American and European capitalists, quite apart from the reactionary Arab rulers, will not thank Begin for that.

panic. They resolved to bring back to power in a parliamentary coup the overthrown dictator Indira Gandhi, whatever her past mistakes, as the only possible hope of restoring order and authority.

Ironically, Mrs Gandhi has proved utterly impotent in her attempt to use draconian anti-union laws to curb the rising tide of strikes. She had proclaimed 1982 as "productivity year". It has turned out to be the year of class struggle!

75 million days lost through strikes this year

The year was not yet three weeks old when 12 million workers staged the first general strike since Independence. On top of the textile strike, there have been strikes of 600,000 state employees in Uttar Pradesh and 300,000 in Rajasthan, and numerous state-wide political general strikes. Already the strike level must have reached 75 million man-days, dwarfing all previous annual totals.

The capitalists of India and the world shuddered at their glimpse of the impending revolution in Bombay. If the leaders of the strongest workers' parties had had a fraction of the revolutionary audacity of the mass of workers, they would have taken the initiative to form local committees, uniting the policemen and textile millhands with the rest of the workers, and formed a network of patrols to guard against looting and rioting by the downtrodden unemployed pavement dwellers who had understandably taken advantage of the situation.

In this way the labour movement could have allayed the fears of the small shop-keepers and the middle class in general, worked out a programme in the interests of the whole working population, and given some hope to the unemployed, the beggars and the lumpen proletariat.

For the time being Bhosale has been enabled to pose as the protector of personal safety and property, the sole barrier against the deluge. It is possible that sections of the Bombay population could be turned against the trade unions. But the entire political bureaucratic machine is stinking with corruption and utterly discredited.

It may have temporarily succeeded in restoring some semblance of control, at enormous cost, but there can be no doubt that the outbreak in Bombay is only a prelude to even more revolutionary upheavals throughout India.

Other articles on India will follow in future issues, including reports from workers there.



Letters

VIEWERS? COMMENTS? EXPERIENCES?
CRITICISM? WRITE ABOUT THEM TO

MILITANT, 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN

No Sectarianism in health fight

Dear Comrades,

I notice from the papers that on the morning that Sean Geraghty, the Fleet St electricians' leader, was due in court (Friday), the health workers in Northern Ireland threatened to come out on all-out strike if he was jailed. Sean himself comes from Dublin, and it goes to show that when it comes to action, sectarianism doesn't divide the working class.

Yours fraternally
Richard Evans
Sparkbrook LPYS



Sean Geraghty walks away from the law courts, despite the threats from the newspaper bosses of seven figure fines and even imprisonment.

Photo: Andrew Wiard (Report)

GMWU branch against witch-hunt

Dear Comrades,

At the July meeting of my union (GMWU/Cambridge 11) a discussion on the witch-hunt ended with the following resolution being carried unanimously.

"This branch notes with pleasure that motion 237 'Return of a Labour Government' was duly carried by the 1982 Annual Congress.

"This Branch particularly notes that the motion states that 'Unity can only be achieved if democracy within the Party is respected and its basis must be the policies passed by its Annual Conference. All socialists prepared to work for a Labour Victory on this basis should have the right to do so within the party and there should be no witch-hunts.'

This Branch therefore calls upon the Executive Council to oppose the Labour Party NEC, proposals to introduce a system of registration for groups within the party; and further to oppose the proscription of any group within the party, or the expulsion of any individual from the party, in accordance with the GMWU's policy as set out in motion 237.

This Branch considers that, in order to ensure victory at the next General Election, the party must now unite behind the leadership and the policies determined by Annual Conference. Proscriptions and expulsions would serve to divide the party and in all probability lead to the loss of the next General Election."

The August branch meeting re-affirmed the membership's commitment to fight any witch-hunt by deciding to send delegates to the Labour Movement Conference. Nine members showed an interest in attending the conference but five were finally selected.

The meeting also decided that the annual pay claim should call for a £25 increase for all grades (giving the lowest paid grade a basic wage of £88) and a 35 hour working week.

Yours fraternally
D. White
GMWU Cambridge 11
personal capacity

Health workers Halifax victory

Dear Comrades,

An important victory has been won by health workers in Halifax against an attempt to victimise a shop steward.

During the last three day strike it was decided that the storemen at Northowran hospital would stay out all week. Despite this decision the hospital management decided to try it on. They instructed the hospital stores manager, Tony Bescobey, a NALGO shop steward, to open the stores. This Tony rightly refused to do. As a result he was suspended, initially without pay.

In response to this provocative act all hospitals in

Halifax came out on strike. This was stepped up the following Monday and Tuesday with the drivers and storemen coming out. As a result of this determined action management was forced to back down and Tony was fully reinstated.

This example shows the determination of health workers. The feeling among the workers is for united action by the whole trade union movement to win the claim. As Hilda Watson, COHSE shop steward at Northowran, put it, "all the unions should get together and do something drastic. I'd like to see a one-day general strike to sort this government out."

Yours fraternally
Pete Watson
Bradford Trades Council

Labour Campaign for Gay Rights Conference

Dear Comrades,

The following resolution was passed at the Labour Campaign for Gay Rights Conference in Nottingham, on Saturday 24 July:

"The Labour Campaign for Gay Rights notes the recent vote of the NEC to set up a register of all non-affiliated groups within the Labour Party. We feel this is an attack on the customary right of the party members to group together to work to change the party's policies through the normal democratic channels.

"We condemn the moves to set up a register and the recommendation that 'Militant' should be not eligible for Party membership. The Labour Campaign for Gay Rights, together with other groups, refuses to participate in the proposed register."

Out of the 50 people present at the conference, only 2 people voted against the resolution. 9 copies of 'Militant' were sold. The conference also expressed its opposition to the section on 'homosexuals' in the Labour Party's Draft Programme. It was argued that the programme merely paid lip-service to the fight to end

discrimination against gay women and men by proposing that the age of consent for male homosexuals be reduced from 21 to 18, instead of to 16 as for heterosexuals. The programme also ignores such issues as discrimination against gay women and against gay people in the armed forces and merchant navy.

Yours fraternally
Sam Porter
Nottingham

Made redundant twice in one year

Dear Comrades

Having been made redundant again for the second time within a year, I have been reflecting on the changes I have seen in my working life, from the 1960s to the 1980s.

During the 1960s and the early '70s, working people campaigned through their trade unions for better hours, better conditions, better pay. As capitalism was in an unprecedented post-war boom, it was able to grant concessions, although of course, we had to organise and struggle to get them.

Now I find, in common

Marxist ideas spreading in the country

Dear Comrades,

Although in the past Wiltshire has not been a stronghold of support for Marxism, the present economic crisis is radicalising people all over the country, even out in the so-called 'sticks'.

A 'What we stand for' meeting held in Trowbridge in March only attracted six people. Things are changing, on Saturday 24 July, the LPYS organized a day of action, based in Trowbridge and Melksham, two small industrial towns in Wiltshire. This followed the passing of three resolutions at the July GC of Westbury C.L.P., condemning any attempts to 'witchhunt' or expel any Labour Party members, or

any attempts to restrict the activities of the LPYS.

In the space of two hours work, six comrades sold 25 'Militants' and collected 5 names for the Labour Party and LPYS. Just as importantly the leaflets distributed got a really good response from the people that took them. It would be wrong to exaggerate the support for the ideas of socialism in the area, but it would be equally wrong to write off the 'sticks', as some do, as the poor cousins of the larger industrial towns. The important thing is that Westbury Labour Party is growing, as the (unofficial) motto of the local YS says, "It was Westbury YS versus the bosses...and the bosses didn't stand a chance."

Yours fraternally
Steve Smith, Vice-President, Westbury CLP
Greg Reed,
Westbury LPYS

Support from Jamaica

Dear Sir,

I write to compliment you on the high professional standards your paper consistently maintains.

I do not agree with every position your paper takes but I applaud the fact that your arguments are always honestly and forthrightly stated.

I am of the view that your tendency is not a conspiracy within the Labour Party but on the contrary represents the soul and essence of the movement. Keep up the good work. Forward with the Struggle.

Yours in comradeship
Enoch Blake
Kingston, Jamaica

happy to arrange a showing and accompanying speaker for a Labour Party, trade union or other meeting. Our address is; BM box 758 London WC1N 3XX.

In the Philippines the film has been denounced and the Ministry of Information has threatened to sue the BBC. The Foreign Ministry has put pressure on the British Foreign office and the BBC to withdraw the film. There have even been demands forwarded that the BBC allow equal time for the screening of a pro-Marcos propaganda film. Marcos himself has used the film as one justification of the latest military clamp down in which 16 trade union leaders have been arrested.

As a result of all this free publicity in the Philippines available video copies are reported to be in great demand. We feel that this film and the issues it raises do deserve a wider audience.

Yours fraternally
Geoff Nettleton
Philippines
Support Group

Boom town— doom town

Dear Comrades,

When I signed on at the dole last month I was told that I need not attend again

until further notice, due to extension work taking place on the building. Perhaps a sign of the times that the only expanding area of the economy is unemployment!

In Washington, where I live, registered unemployment is now 4,500 (17%) while another 1,500 don't bother to register. This means 1 in 4 are now out of work!

Washington New Town was designated in 1964 to combat the unemployment caused by the closure of coal mines, which were the main employer till the late 1960s. However, unemployment is now much higher than it was then.

Far from being the "Boom Town" the planners said it would be, Washington is now a "Doom Town", with absolutely no hope of employment in the near future.

Although the idea of planning industry around New Towns is very good, it cannot possibly work in a society which is based on production for profit. Only when we have a society run along socialist lines, and industry is planned for the workers by the workers, will we be able to eliminate unemployment and poverty.

Yours fraternally
Malcolm Rumney
Secretary,
Washington LPYS

Philippines film available

Dear Editor,

Pauline Wardleworth's TV review (Militant 613) of the 'To Sing Our Own Song' programme on the Philippines (BBC2 19 July) and all such expressions of interest in and support for the Filipino people's struggle that come from 'Militant' and its readers are truly welcome and needed.

For those who missed this examination of the US backed dictatorship of Ferdinand Marcos and the growing popular resistance or wish to show it again a video copy is available. The 'Philippines Support Group' has a legal video copy and would be

Area	Received	% of target achieved	Target Oct 9th.
Eastern	919		2,000
East Midlands	512		1,800
Hants & Dorset	585		1,300
Humberside	316		1,100
London East	599		2,100
London West	293		1,000
London South	927		1,500
Manchester & Lancs	679		2,000
Merseyside	853		2,100
Northern	463		2,500
Scotland East	336		1,300
Scotland West	275		2,300
Southern	450		1,700
South West	217		900
Wales East	116		1,000
Wales West	154		2,000
West Midlands	639		2,000
Yorkshire	691		2,500
Others	1368		3,900
Total received	10392		35,000

ads

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

WHAT THE MILITANT STANDS FOR Public meetings

HARTLEPOOL: 'Fight the Tories with socialist policies not witch-hunts'. 7.30, Monday 6 September, Room 2, Town Hall, Lauder Street, Hartlepool.

POPLAR Marxist discussion group. Each Sunday night. Ring Dave Farrar 515 2001.

MERTHYR TIDFIL: Tues 21 Sept, 7.30 pm, Miners Hall (Lesser Hall). Speaker: Alec Thraves (AUEW)

HAVANT: Fight the witch-hunt! Speaker: Cathy Wilson (Prospective Labour Candidate, IOW). On Wednesday 22 September, 7.45 pm, at Focus 230, Dunsbury Way, Leigh Park, Havant.

BURNLEY: Pat Wall speaking on 'The Way Forward for Labour' at 7.30 pm on Wednesday 8 September at the Plumbe St Miners Working Men's Club.

WEST HULL: Friday 3 September, Nerd Hotel, Anlaby Road, Hull. Speaker: Pat Wall (PPC Bradford North LP)

ASHINGTON Marxist Discussion Group. Sunday 5 September: 'Nationalisation and workers' control'. Sunday 26 September: 'Tribune's Alternative Economic Strategy'. The Ladies Room, Ashington Leisure Centre, 10.30 am.

DONCASTER: Fri 3 September, 7.30 pm, Co-op Hall, Spring Gardens. Speaker: Tony Mulhearn (PPC Toxteth), George Brumwell (Yorkshire Sec., UCATT) and speaker from NUM.

Back the paper that backs

workers

By Steve Cawley

One thing that the capitalist papers have in common, apart from attacking the Militant, is that they've also attacked the action taken by health workers. So it's not surprising that we get concrete support from health workers.

Thanks amongst others to London student nurses R Campbell and S Clarke (£15), P Bishop, Dulwich hospital, NUPE, (£2.20) A McCloud, Glasgow, £4; Billy (Royal Free Hospital) 50p, J Gall Chesterfield £1.40 Derby NHS demo 'extra' donations £4.90 D Loftus, Withington NUPE, £7.50 strike pay, and so on. Meetings in Blyth, Preston, Hertford, Gateshead, Dalkeith, Stafford, Burnley, Canvey Island, raised over £200.

Labour Party Young Socialist branches to assist us included Newcastle West, Chester, Plymouth, Holderness, Stevenage, Stockton, Craighton, Brighouse (anti-witch-hunt walk), Brentford & Isleworth, Cambridge, and Southampton, whose secretary informed us that the £15 donation was voted after a discussion on 'What Militant stands for'. Stevenage LPYS made a surplus on refreshment sales at the YS summer camp, and have been able to make a large donation as a result.

Labour Party members in Hastings, Bradford North, and Humberstone Branch, Leicester, contributed to

**THIS WEEK: £1,551
SINCE LAST ISSUE: £3,598**

our funds since the last issue. Thanks for the donations and your good wishes, comrades!

Individual contributions included CPSA official £100, Edinburgh student (from grant) £70, C&B Butterworth (Chingford) £50, a group of black LPYS members £50, H O'Brien (Bristol) £20, R Phillips, NUAAW, Poole, £20, Merseyside NGA supporters £12, a similar amount in benefit arrears from J Steer (Plymouth, and tenners from Hadleigh (Suffolk) Labour party member, K Derrick (CPSA, Bristol), A De Zoysa (E London), E Donnelly (S London), and Tony, a seaman from South Shields.

Amounts from £5 to £10 came from T Gravell (Dorset), C Campbell In-

verness, J Cummins (Stevenage), S Peacock (NALGO, Tottenham), L Garrison (from first week's wages), J Cooze (W London), P Whittle (S London student) and C Wilcox (Surrey). S Watson who works at Leyland Vehicles gave us £4.10, G Mather (Ryton) £4, M Peat (Knowsley Nalgo) £3.60.

£3's included those from DHSS supporters via Nottingham, M Randall (Enfield), B Roome (Swansea, POEU) and those who donated £1 or more were E Bell (FBU, S London) A Taylor (unemployed Chorley, school students S Weeks (Mitcham) and J Harris (Plymouth), M Barnard (Sutton), K Stump (Worthing) and E Connolly (Enfield).

D Fullick, President of

ASLEF paid £1 for his paper along with other members of Feltham LP and LPYS. How many other readers can be persuaded to follow this example?

We need another £25,000 by October 9th! In other words we need to double the present rate of funds coming in of about £2,000 per week. But if we can get in nearly £2,000 during August, then with the holidays over, a double effort through September and the first part of October is definitely realisable.

But we are asking all our readers to assist us, and in doing so to build the paper that always has and always will support the working-class against the employer for as long as the capitalist system lasts!

Classified

LPYS REGIONAL DAY SCHOOL, Saturday 18 September, 11.00 am, Retreat Hotel, Ashley Road, Parkstone, Poole. Features: 'Harlan County USA' film of miners' strike. Debate: 'Women and the struggle for socialism'.

FLAT TO SHARE, Militant supporter welcomed. Ealing area, £65 a month. Ring Andy Price, 579 6836

Due to Government policy there are now over three million people...Jobless? Then you are advised to read 'Cash Without Capital'. This is a compendium of business ideas which can be initiated with little or no capital—and be operated mainly, or entirely, from home. 'Cash Without Capital' is now available at £1.50 from: Eric Messom, Information Folios, (Dept RE), 14 Wycliffe Grove, Nottingham.

"NO WITCH-HUNT BUT SOCIALIST POLICIES"

T-SHIRTS and SWEAT-SHIRTS. Sizes and colours for small—32-34; medium—34-36; large—38-40; extra-large—42-44. Red motif on white, yellow, sky blue, bottle green, navy, black (+sweatshirt grey and mid-blue). Cost: £3.25, sweatshirts £6.75 (both prices include postage and packing). Plain T-shirts and sweatshirts also available, deduct 25p from price. Send cheques and postal order to R Harris, 35 Westminster Court, Blackburn, Lancashire BB1 1UR. All proceeds to Fighting Fund.

PUBLIC DEBATE ON TEBBIT'S EMPLOYMENT BILL. LPYS vs YOUNG CONSERVATIVES. At Feltham Labour Club, Manor Place, Bedford, on Sunday 5 September at 8 pm.

South Africa—13,000 black goldminers struggle for a living wage! South African Labour Education Project presents: 'We Live Like Dogs'—the struggle of black migrant miners on the South African mines. Available for hire from SALEP, 28 Martello St, London E8 3PN. (Tel: 01-241 0434). £5 to LPYS branches/Labour Party Women's Sections. £10 to CLPs, TUs, etc.

GREET LABOUR'S CONFERENCE

Get your Labour Party or YS branch, trade union or shop stewards committee to place their greetings to Labour Party Conference in the pages of Militant. This year more than ever Militant needs your support.

Rates for greetings:
Semi-display: 3 column centimetres £3
6 column centimetres £6
Display: one-sixteenth page £10
one-eighth page £20
quarter page £40

Closing date for copy is 14th September, but send your greetings as early as possible to the Circulation Department, Militant, 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN.

FIGHTING FUND DONATIONS

Cut out and send to 'Militant', 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN.

Enclosed is my donation of £ to back 'Militant's' campaign against the witch-hunt

Name

Address



More and more families are enjoying the annual Bank Holiday South Wales camp. Full report: page 4. Photo: Dave Brown

Industrial Reports

Defend Broad Left of Railworkers

Witch hunt in NUR

As right-wing attempts to witch-hunt 'Militant' out of the Labour Party continue, trade union leaders like Sid Weighell, General Secretary of the NUR, are busy embarking upon their own witch-hunt.

Ian Williams, NUR executive member, Geoff Hensby, Branch Secretary, Paddington No 1, and Tom Doyle, Tinsley Branch, have all been fined £10 for having the 'audacity' to speak at a founding conference of the Broad Left of railway workers.

Sid Weighell claims that a number of branches and district councils have complained of unofficial circulars and literature being sent to the branches. One of these unofficial circulars was advertising the founding conference of the Broad Left at which the three NUR members mentioned all spoke, in a personal capacity.

As a result of Weighell bringing this to the NEC, a special sub-committee was set up to investigate if there had been a breach of rule. It also investigated literature from 'outside' bodies. These included a letter from Peter Taaffe, editor of 'Militant', and the 'Militant' pamphlet 'A fighting Programme for the NUR'.

Eight NEC members made up the special sub-committee. After four months' deliberation, it issued two reports. The first was signed by three NEC members (one of whom is a

member of the Communist Party!) along with the president, the general secretary and an assistant general secretary. They concluded that the above names along with two other NUR members, Brian Maddox and Gary Cantwell, were all guilty of rule breaches and it was recommended that they all be asked for assurances for future conduct.

By an NUR member

The second report, which was signed by five NEC members, concluded: "The rules have been implied in a manner which can be construed as restricting our members' political rights."

When the matter was placed in front of the full NEC the first report was defeated by 17 votes to 7. Not to be outdone, the General Secretary was saved yet again by the President's decision that the second report could not be taken because in his view there had been a breach of the rule. Even so, despite the President's ruling no further action could be taken against Doyle, Williams and Hensby at that stage because the first report had been defeated. However, continuing like the Fosdyke Saga, the General Secretary feverishly planned his next course of action. It came as no surprise to anyone that the 1982 AGM agenda contained an appeal against the NEC decision, again from NUR branches supposedly dissatisfied with the three NUR members for not being more severely dealt with.

Prior to the AGM, NUR members were involved in a national strike. Leading up to the strike many members complained of the lack of propaganda from Unity

House. Perhaps the fact that the general secretary was preoccupied with witch-hunts was responsible for this. Indeed at the AGM all delegates were handed a 60-page document—no doubt at great expense of time and money for the union—made up of unofficial circulars. It was implied by innuendo that the three were responsible for all these!

Also every effort was made by the platform to get the appeal against the NEC decision to be taken at the same time as the debate on the witch-hunt in the Labour Party. This right-wing ploy was defeated.

By the time the debate began, however, conference delegates had been lambasted for nearly two weeks both verbally and by the printed word about evil Trots and conspirators who are destroying the very fabric of society, etc., etc.

The culmination of this fraternal debate resolved that the delegates decided that those mentioned in the appeal were guilty, and that the appeal against the NEC decision be upheld. It was at this point that things began to get a bit unclear.

A press release which appeared in the *Guardian* and *The Times* stated that the individuals concerned had been fined £10 and were being threatened with expulsion. What is confusing is that firstly, at no time during the course of the special sub-committee's deliberations or the findings were any fine or threat of expulsion mentioned. Secondly, no resolution appeared on the AGM Agenda or during the course of the conference that fines should be imposed.

However, it can be reported that personally signed letters have been sent

to Doyle, Hensby and Williams informing them of the fine and the consequences of future misconduct.

This whole affair would be laughable if it were not so tragic. Weighell has claimed that it is not a witch-hunt but a question of rules, as a result of which every branch in the country has received a circular from Unity House informing them that no circular or literature from 'outside' bodies can be placed on the branch agenda. A great many NUR members are disgusted at the manner in which the right wing has embarked upon this witch-hunt.

At no time have the accused had the right to a personal hearing. At no time were they able to answer some of the ridiculous accusations that have been made against them.

The manner in which the rules have been applied make it clear that Weighell fears the Broad Left and what we stand for. Rule 10, Section 1, clause 10, which all three have been supposedly guilty of breaking, was moulded historically to keep anti-union and scab elements out of the union.

The logical conclusion of the right wing stand on this matter is that no NUR member may discuss anything unless it has been sanctioned from above, i.e. Unity House. But the right wing is grasping at straws. The Broad Left resolutions in the 1982 AGM agenda which include five-yearly elections for all full-time officers and other democratic reforms, although defeated, and appeals against the leadership's action, only serve to show that the call for democracy in the union will grow and that the right wing and their attempt to witch-hunt us is an example of their weakness.

GLC workers' joint meeting with railmen



Hillingdon refuse workers join the ASLEF picket line earlier this year. Photo: Gazette Series

In spite of the political bankruptcy of a section of the TUC leadership which led to the temporary defeat of ASLEF, the links built with local authority workers in the London area will be improved and strengthened following a series of meetings between the ASLEF and local authority shop stewards.

During the ASLEF dispute the Greater London Council rail transfer stations were blacked by the refuse workers of the 12 boroughs who normally use them. GLC workers in the transfer stations refused to load the scab lorries used by the GLC as a strike breaking ploy. Yet despite the lack of any formal or informal links between the various sections of workers at the outset of the dispute, the response and practical solidarity was magnificent.

For many workers it was the first real experience of a common struggle alongside workers from other industries and unions and plans for escalating the support by further industrial action were well in hand.

A further meeting will take place on Thursday 9 September at 10 am in the Civic Centre, Uxbridge.

Refuse workers' representatives from the TGWU, NUPE and the GMWU will once again meet the ASLEF and NUR representatives to build and consolidate a plan of action for the coming period in anticipation of the imminent battles facing railway workers, and the continuing fight against privatisation of the refuse service in the London region.

The role of the TUC in ending the dispute, smashed any illusions that many workers had in these "leaders". It has raised the political level of a whole new layer of workers, whose ability to struggle will be channelled into a confident mood based on workers' unity in the fight to save jobs, to kick out the Tories and to win a leadership of the labour movement capable of giving a fighting lead to mirror the growing bitterness, anger and frustration of workers as a whole.

Make sure that your borough is represented on 9 September at the Civic Centre, Uxbridge (100 metres from the tube station).

By Wally Kennedy (TGWU Branch Sec 854) and Peter Denman (TGWU Branch Chairman 854)

A year of progress

By a supporter of the Broad Left for Railworkers

The Broad Left for Railworkers arose out of concern by members of the National Union of Railwaymen for the state of the rail industry and the need for greater democracy within our union.

At our first national rally we said our success or failure depended on the response we received from the union rank and file. After a hectic year it can be said we have made progress.

Our ideas are reaching more and more railmen through our journal 'Left Lines' and the two broadsheets we produced on flexi-rostering and BREL closures. These two broadsheets in particular were welcomed by delegates at the

Broad Left's second national rally where delegates told of the excellent response these, along with the journal, had received from rank and file railmen.

Other major issues discussed by the Broad Left were the protection of London Transport, the danger of the joint approach put forward in the 'Railwayman's Charter' by the union leadership, and union democracy and accountability of officials.

The Broad Left was born out of necessity. Many railworkers have been frustrated and angered at the situation they face, but this bitterness needs direction. We have succeeded not only getting our ideas discussed, but these ideas also being the basis of demands and resolutions from NUR branches.

For example, the comprehensive list of rules alternatives that we were successful in getting on to the

union AGM agenda, in many cases receiving up to two and three times the required supporting branches, indicates we are receiving a positive echo within the branches.

However, it has not just been a talking shop. Broad Left supporters played an important role in the London industrial action over flexi-rostering by NUR members. Also ASLEF members have joined in meetings of the Broad Left which shows that there is a working basis for a federation of railworkers if united around a fighting programme.

This increasing influence has sent shock waves into the "corridors of power" at NUR headquarters, however. The effectiveness of our work has been illustrated by the new peaks reached by the right wing in using manoeuvres and bureaucratic measures to try and defeat us (see ar-

ticle on fines imposed on Broad Left members).

At the end of our first year of campaigning work, with two national conferences and regional meetings in Glasgow, Newcastle, Sheffield, Nottingham, London and Southampton our supporters now number in excess of 200.

The need for a campaigning NUR and a fighting leadership capable of taking on the Tories was graphically shown earlier this year by the actions of the right-wing leadership in particular the General Secretary, during the rail disputes. This prompted many railmen to seriously look at and discuss the ideas put forward by the Broad Left and we are confident that despite the attempts by the right wing to silence opposition, support for the campaigning programme of the Broad Left will go from strength to strength.

Bosses can't break Air India strike

The Air India dispute continues despite underhand offers from management trying to split the workforce offering to take back the majority, so long as the militant leaders are sacked.

At Thursday's meeting the 30 or 40 workers who had started a 'call-back petition' were defeated and now the leadership are more determined than ever to win their fight.

The march and demonstration through London, the continual pickets (24 hour) outside all sections of Air India, the piles of letters from sympathetic trade unionists, the active support of the LPYS in visiting trade unionists all over West London, have been coupled with

future plans such as drawing up leaflets for mass trade union distribution and intervening in the District Coordinating committee of the TGWU.

What the strikers need now more than ever is co-ordination and support from all other sections of the trade unions in the airport and nationally—if the TGWU pulled out its fuellers, Air India would almost come to a complete standstill. If T&G leadership pulled out the stops for support from all its airport branches, the fight could be won in a day. Messages of support to Mrs J Ray, Air India Strike Committee, 61 Sydney Road, Staines, Middx.

Industrial Reports

TUC must call 24 hr GENERAL STRIKE

If the health dispute is to be fought to a successful conclusion, now is the time for action to be stepped up.

The pay campaign received a great boost from the decision of the Royal College of Nursing to reject the latest pay offer of 7½%, by two to one.

This is the second offer from Norman Fowler they have rejected. It shows the total anger that has built up amongst health workers over their miserly pay—this is the first time in the RCN's entire history that they have rejected government pay offers.

However, we totally reject the 'advice' of the RCN leaders who now call us to call off the industrial action. Quite the reverse, now is the time to step up our action if we are to win, and September 22 must be used

By Alistair Tice

(Chairman, NUPE,
Hull Royal
Infirmary)

to this end.

It must be said our initial reaction at the TUC Health Committee leaving the space of nearly a month between our last action and 22 September was disgust, it was too little too late. Indeed the RCN's rejection should have been the cue for stepping up the action: **the TUC should now call a 24-hour general strike for that day, which would also mark the beginning of an indefinite strike with emergency cover**

only by health workers nationwide.

This is now a crucial period. The action has already gone on over 17 weeks. Some union leaders talk of health workers being able to carry out industrial action indefinitely. This is not the case. Despite the fantastic resolution and determination shown by health workers in the struggle so far, any section of workers cannot be turned on and off to industrial action like a tap. At some time in the future if victory is not at hand that mood will begin to ebb.

Health workers must use the build up to September 22 locally to build support amongst other sections of workers in factories, docks, offices, etc., to ensure this will be the most successful nationwide solidarity stoppage to date.

This build up period must also be used to put massive pressure on the TUC to call a 24-hour general strike, with lobbies and delegations to the TU Congress begin-

ing this week.

To keep up the massive pressure on the government that a 24-hour general strike would bring, the health unions must call **indefinite strike action from 22 September**. Hopefully the lead for this will come from the leadership of the health unions, but if not, many local district committees may find themselves in a position to call the action on a regional level.

A national strike is now essential to secure victory. Local branches of the health unions must flood the leadership with resolutions, telegrams demanding the calling of a national strike with emergency cover only, and also for national recall conferences of NUPE and COHSE to plan out the course of the action.

which over the past few years has hammered many of the traditionally industrially strong unions, has foundered on the rock of the firm action by the health workers. Now is the time to strike back and win.

Ambulancemen: why they are striking

In many areas of the country, ambulance drivers have taken all out strike action sometimes as part of the national struggle, or because of local disputes brought to a head by the NHS pay battle.

By Andy Allenby
(LPYS National
Committee)

The Tories, through the use of the Fleet Street media, have used this to attempt to turn workers against the health workers, but of course they only report one side of the story.

The fight by ambulancemen at Havant in Hampshire, who struck without emergency cover on August 24, was typical of the battles they are fighting and the problems they face.

Feelings are running high at the station. The management are only paying half pay for the days the drivers have withdrawn everything except emergency cover. The men argue that they have worked the hours and should not have their pay cut.

The response of the men was to withdraw all cover, including emergency, in their action on that day. They offered the management to keep two ambulances on call for emergencies at the station on condition the drivers were paid full rates. The management refused and so the only cover the area had is from neighbouring stations.

The drivers pointed to the fact that 2 years ago the area covering 200,000 people had no emergency cover at all. It was only after the workers had fought to get the cover that it was introduced. But today the management are prepared to risk peoples lives for the price of 4 mens' wages (who would have operated the 2 ambulances offered).

Whilst we were there on the picket line one of the management from Win-

chester phoned to tell the drivers that they were not to use any of the stations facilities, i.e the toilets. The response was that they'd use a bucket and save it for the management!

The men pointed out that they are an 'essential' service and not an 'emergency' service like the fire brigade and the police. The Tories obviously don't think the health of ordinary people who can not afford BUPA schemes is an 'emergency'.

Even when the local hospitals had been hit by action in the past days of action, the ambulance men had half their pay stopped as they would not cross the hospital picket lines with non-essential patients. So the men had worked and done the driving etc. but then had their pay cut.

Over in Southampton word came to the Havant men that the hospital workers, who had been locked out by the management, had occupied a part of the hospital at 2 in the morning and were providing meals free to all the hospital staff, and a choice of meals to the patients, a much better service than the management and scab labour had been providing. The police wanted to go in to see if any damage had been caused or a breach of the peace taken place. Union officials warned that if they went in they would get a breach of the peace.



The decline in health workers' pay can only be equalled by the decline of the National Health Service in the hands of the Tories. Here, health workers demonstrate against the closure of Sefton Park Hospital in Liverpool. Photo: Ian Morris

London hospital

After a week's strike in protest at the sacking of a NUPE steward, NUPE members at the London Hospital voted to return to work. Although their demands were not fully met, some concessions were made.

This was perhaps the first time that the whole membership had taken all out action for this length of time, and not over a pay or conditions issue either. Even more significantly, members of other unions gave their support in various ways—

ASTMS took strike action, while AUEW and EETPU members held collections.

The sacked steward Phil McEntee had originally been accused of being off the premises at 3.05pm. When Phil pointed out this was his tea break, the time was changed to 2.55pm! Management thought they had conclusive evidence when they produced worksheets which showed no jobs for Phil for that part of the day. But they bungled again—they were the wrong set of worksheets. The correct set show Phil's name down for jobs in the period in question. So the charge was changed to 'falsifying worksheets'!

The sacking was clearly a blatant attempt to get rid of one of the most effective and active stewards at the hospital. The immediate demand was for an independent panel of TU and management reps to give Phil a fair hearing, with his reinstatement in the meantime. Management refused, wanting to go through the formal appeals procedure, which exposes the official appeals procedure for what it is—a management safety net.

Management finally conceded that the terms of reference of the appeals panel would be widened to examine the way the case had been conducted, as well

as the end result, so the fight still goes on to get Phil reinstated.

By Helen Redwood

(Branch Sec., ASTMS,
London Hospital)

CORRECTION: In our last report of the sacking at London Hospital in Issue 615, we mistakenly named the steward involved as Trevor Haley, instead of Phil McEntee as reported above.

The second court appearance of the eight arrested health service workers (see last week's issue) takes place in Halifax on Friday 3 September. Hundreds of health workers, trade unionists and Labour Party members are expected to picket Calder Magistrates Court, after two weeks of sympathetic action in various parts of Yorkshire.

There has been outrage expressed by the labour movement at the 'police state' methods adopted in Halifax. In view of this there is going to be an investigation by Bradford police into the handling of the case. We can have no faith, however, that such an investigation can be 'independent'. The labour movement needs to set up its own enquiry into police behaviour in Halifax. This could be a great service in developing real accountability of the police, which is obviously lacking at the moment.

Above all the movement needs to maintain its pressure so that all charges are dropped against the eight, whose only crime was to be active trade unionists standing on a picket line.

Demonstrate: meet at 9 am, Friday 3 September, at Dryclough Lane, Halifax General Hospital. March to law courts and on to town centre. Messages of support and donations to: Halifax Health Workers Defence Fund, c/o Jean Normington, Branch Sec., NUPE, 3 Newstead Place, Halifax, West Yorkshire.

MILITANT READERS' MEETING: 'Step up NHS action!' Hear: Glyn Robinson (COHSE Regional Organiser), Hilda Watson (COHSE shop steward, arrested picket) at the Labour Rooms, Prescott Street, Halifax, on Friday 3 September, at 7 pm.

Islington council workers striking for the NHS

By Pat Edlin
 (Islington Labour Party)

Three heart patients died in North London last year while being taken by ambulance to their nearest Accident and Emergency unit, which due to closures was miles further away than previously.

We've seen several casualty departments in our area close, more recently the Royal Northern A and E unit. In the last three years 52 casualty units have been closed in London alone and 100 hospitals nationally.

Others are anxiously hanging on, starved of cash, and in fear of further chops from the government axe. In Islington these cuts mean that the District Health Authority have been asked to cut £288,000 from local hospitals.

This will mean poorer health care and further avoidable patient deaths. The Health Service dispute is not only about the 12%, its also about fighting to save the NHS from the Tories.

The tremendous support from outside the health service has been shown by the call by Islington Labour Party and local trade unionists for a one day strike on 3 September by all employees of the local borough council in support of the 12% claim.

The response has been outstanding with road sweepers, dustmen, borough transport, builders, caretakers and porters already committed to strike action. In fact a 100% turn out is expected. At a GMWU meeting attended by 190 members, £172 was collected from for the strike fund, part of over £500, collected in the past few weeks.

The FBU also offered their support for the picket lines. The Royal College of Nursing members at Whittington Hospital have reflected the national mood by rejecting the divide and rule 'offer' of 7.5% for them and 4-6% for other NHS workers.

Workers from all sections of the labour movement are clubbing their resources to



Workers have rushed to the aid of NHS trade unionists in their struggle for a 12% increase. They understand the importance of the health service. The TUC must call a 24-hour general strike to ensure victory for the health workers.

defeat this stubborn government's refusal to ameliorate the conditions they have created.

The Tories are not so slow in giving handouts to the rich. In 1980 an essential service in London was closed, the St Georges Hospital. Valued at £3.5 million, the land was sold back to the ancestral owner, the Duke of Westminster, the biggest single landowner in the country for a paltry £50,000.

Last weeks tragic death of a patient in an ambulance was well covered by the press. But emergencies like this are everyday for ambulance drivers and health

workers. We need a skilled well equipped health service, not one where workers have to survive on supplementary benefits.

If the Tory press had created as much fuss over the 600 deaths a day which a recent TV programme estimated died from hypothermia related causes during last winter's freeze up then possibly maybe the situation would be different today.

The results of years of Tory governments in France, where private medicine is rife, are clear to see. Outside hospitals in the poorer areas of Paris you can still see, in

1982, old people lying slumped against the walls with heavily infected leg, arm and head injuries.

They are begging for money just to buy food, let alone the 'extravagance' of private health treatment as no one will employ them with such appalling and visible injuries. That must not be allowed to happen in Britain.

The working class can not rely on private health care. We need a healthy NHS. All workers must back the health workers not just in the Islington strike but in the 22 September day of action nationally.

TORY NIGHTMARE

Continued from page 1

resources of the movement in the struggle for a 35 hour week.

The TUC must also take up the fight for a programme of useful works. Many years of cuts and restrictions in public spending have led to schools, hospitals being housed in antiquated buildings and to slum housing conditions. 3 million jobless and a severe housing shortage is typical capitalist madness

But the high unemployment level can not be used as a means of blackmailing workers into low pay settlements. All the press poison, the threats to send in the troops have failed to stop the determination of low paid health workers to gain a living wage (see page 15 and 16).

Trade unionists throughout the country will be preparing to support the NHS workers on the 22 September day of action, but a decisive call by the TUC on all workers is urgently needed to show the Tories that the whole movement will resist attacks on living standards.

The call for a 24-hour general strike in support of the health workers and against this despised Tory government would get an enormous echo.

Resolutions from the Civil Service Union and NUPE call for a national minimum wage to protect low paid workers like those in the NHS, with the Bakers Food and Allied Workers Union calling for this to be not less than £90 and linked to the

cost of living.

These too, are vital resolutions They must not be left to gather dust on the shelves of TUC headquarters at Congress House, but used as part of a political campaign.

The bosses' priorities are profits and they are prepared to cause the ruin of industries, poverty earnings and massive dole queues to get them.

Only a strong labour movement which fights as hard for the working class as the Tories do for the bosses can stop them. Active trade unionists will be demanding there should be no more sell outs of unions like ASLEF who go into battle to defend their members interests. There should be no support for attacks on socialists in the Labour Party and the unions.

A Bakers Union resolution puts its finger on what is needed: "Congress realises that to achieve these urgently needed reforms and secure them on a lasting basis the ownership of industry and commerce must be removed from the hands of big business who run the industry for profit not the needs of working people."

"Therefore Congress pledges to bring down the Tories and return a Labour government to implement clause 4 part 4 of the Labour Party constitution, i.e. public ownership of the economy under democratic workers control and management and the introduction of a socialist plan of production based on need not profit"

This should be the spirit of the 1982 Trades Union Congress, to build a fighting socialist trade union movement and put an end to the ceaseless assaults on working class living standards by the Tories and the ruling class.

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