

Militant

THE MARXIST PAPER FOR LABOUR & YOUTH

ISSUE 657
1 July 1983

20p

30 Years ago:



See
centre
pages

Berlin workers' uprising

Workers' MP Lashes Tories

T&GWU
Conference
preview—page 14

Chile—page 10

"The heartless, cynical response from the government...talking about the demise of the Kraft factory in Liverpool was to say that such events were unavoidable and involved commercial judgements.

"What judgement do Tory members put on human dignity when adults at a factory like Crawfords are reduced to tears of despair and anger because their factory is closing?"

So Terry Fields, MP for Liverpool Broadgreen gave the Tories a taste of anger of Merseyside workers, during a speech in parliament.

During the election campaign the bosses held back from announcing massive redundancies to help the Tory victory.

Now the election is over, so they have opened the sluice gates of mass redundancies in Merseyside. 2,000 jobs are going at Crawfords biscuits. Now the Binns department store is to close with 220 jobs going—and the bosses didn't even bother to inform the workers: they found out through an article in a financial report!

As one widow who has worked for Binns for years

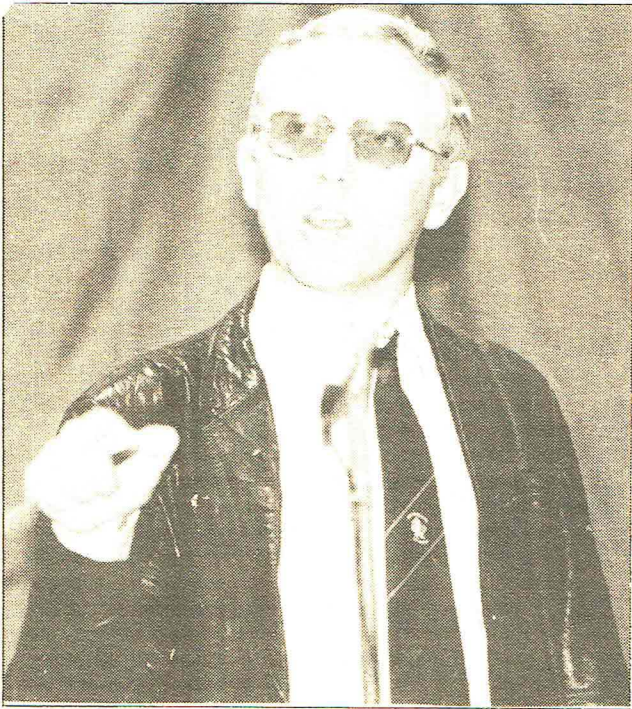


Photo: Militant

Terry Fields, Labour MP for Liverpool Broadgreen

told *Militant*, "I've been a bag of nerves for the past three months worrying about this. This is how the management repay my 30 years of loyalty to the company."

The Merseyside death toll goes on. 128 jobs are going at the Pearless edible oil plant and 150 redundancies have been announced at Central Oil.

But the Tories' slashing of jobs will not go through without opposition. As Terry Fields warned the Tories in the House of Com-

mons, last Friday, "Despite the Tory victory on June 9 we give fair warning that a large (Tory) majority in Parliament will not save the government when the true effects of their policies are felt by the British people...This government's policies will provoke an even greater reaction from the working people (than in 1926). Of that there is no doubt."

Terry Fields' speech in full—see page 5

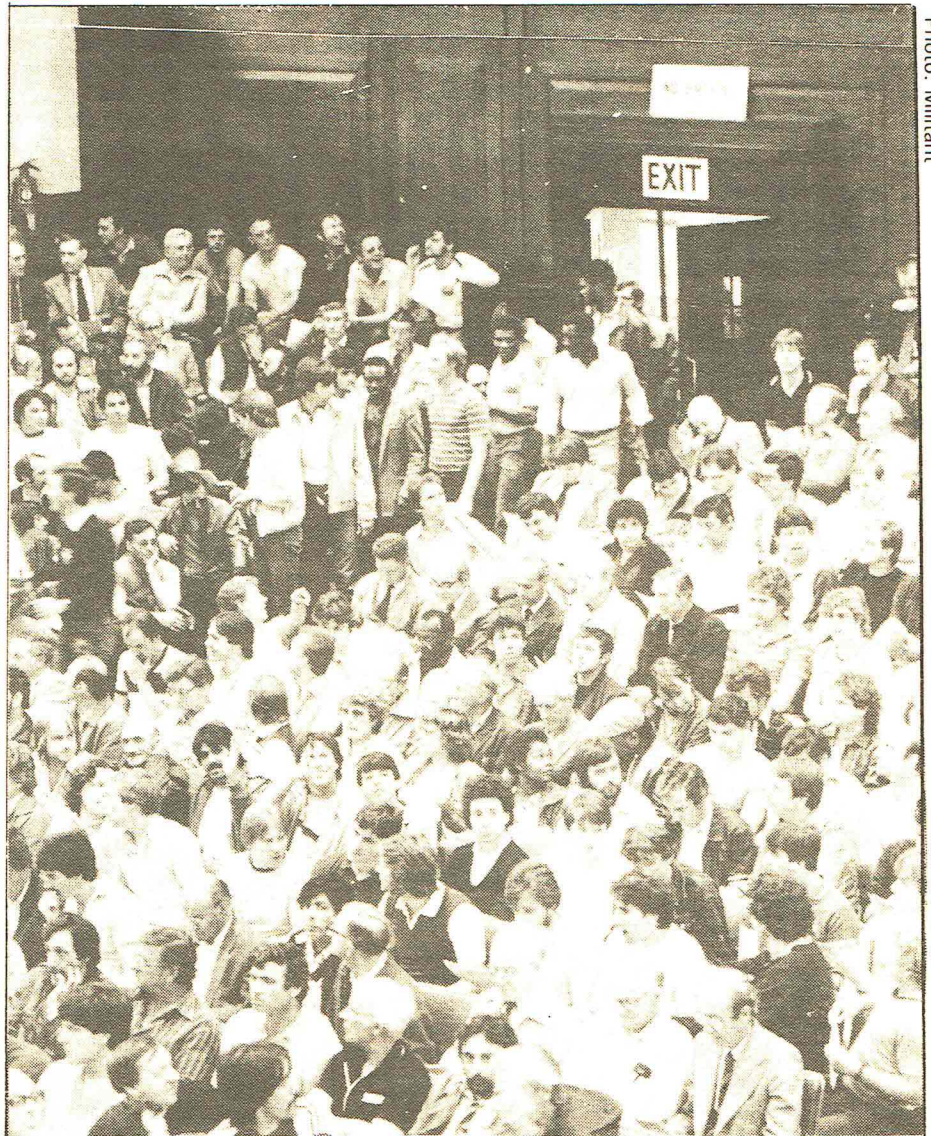


Photo: Militant

A section of the packed POEU meeting in London which backed industrial action to block Tory privatisation plans. Full reports on page 15.

Jobs axe hits family four times

IN THE wake of the Tory victory in the general election, employers have taken out a vicious retribution against the workers of Merseyside.

Hundreds of jobs have gone in one of the most ruthless rounds of factory

closures this already hard-hit area has seen.

Behind these cold statistics lies the reality of unemployment for thousands of Merseyside families. A reality that the Hayes family of Tuebrook—one of the areas in Broadgreen—know only too well.

Father of the family is PHILIP HAYES. A worker at Union Cold Storage for many years, a member of ASTMS, he was thrown on to the dole queues over four

years ago and hasn't worked since. Now, at an age when few employers would be willing to take him on and without the skills "needed" in to-day's society, he is typical of the thousands of older workers who face a future of permanent unemployment under the Tories.

Of the three sons BRIAN HAYES has been out of work for a year. He was originally fortunate to get an apprenticeship as a fitter

Continued on back page

Back the paper that backs you

"WHERE'S the money going to come from?" was the question of questions on the doorstep from workers who wanted to support Labour's programme.

Militant and the candidates who stood on the ideas of *Militant* had the

By Clare Doyle

answer. Implement all the basic socialist policies of the labour movement! Release

Continued on page 2

NUR END OF A RIGHT-WING ERA

THE National Union of Railwaymen has ended its support for bans and proscriptions in the Labour Party.

At its conference this week in Bridlington, the NUR, under the new leadership of Jimmy Knapp, decisively rejected an amendment that echoed the witch-hunting politics of the former right-wing NUR general secretary, Sid Weighell.

This amendment, from the Knottingley branch in Yorkshire, called for the elimination of "the cancer of the Militant Tendency" and was rejected by 61 votes to 14.

It had been put to a resolution from Paddington No 1 branch that called for party unity, and an end to expulsions, saying, "These procedures are divisive, time-consuming and a criminal diversion from the struggle against the Tories and their allies."

It also called for changes in the constitution of the Labour Party. *Militant* supporters have never advocated this as they do not feel that their existence runs contrary to the party constitution.

A second amendment was put to the Paddington resolution from the Tyne and Wear, Liverpool No 5 and Nottingham No 2 branches, calling for reinstatement of the five members of the *Militant* Editorial Board, who were expelled from the Labour Party last year. However, this amendment was withdrawn after some of the left felt (wrongly as it turned out) that the Paddington resolution had a better chance of being passed without this amendment.

But Jimmy Knapp intervened in the debate and called for conference to reject both the Knottingley amend-

ment and the Paddington resolution. They were thus both lost.

The general secretary said that the passing of the resolution would only "carry on the arguments" that he believed had given the appearance that the party was divided. He preferred to keep the situation arrived at after the 1982 Labour conference at *status quo* in the interests of party unity. Mr Knapp told the conference that Pat Wall had said the 'Militant Five' were expelled for being socialists. Jimmy Knapp disagreed with this, saying the expulsions were on "constitutional grounds". Although Mr Knapp stressed he was against witch-hunts and expulsions, his position in effect means that the 'Militant Five' would remain expelled.

Many Labour Party activists within the NUR would disagree with the general secretary, as the *Militant* editorial board at the time proved that their expulsion was not on constitutional grounds but a political act instigated by the right wing.

Even so, the conference decisions marked a step forward when it is considered that last year, under the domination of the arch right winger Sid Weighell, there were moves to even stop a bona fide journalist from *Militant* attending the conference.

The debates, unlike those of the past, were held in a fraternal atmosphere with free and open discussion. As Mr Knapp himself put it, "the atmosphere in some of the debates at the union's conference last year frightened me. The smell of McCarthyism was in the air. That's not the sort of atmosphere we want to conduct our debates in."

By Martin Elvin

700 cheer London rally



The platform at the London *Militant* rally. A mood of optimism for the future.

"THATCHER says she has a mandate to carry out her policies of attacks on the working class. Well the labour movement has a mandate to defend its class."

So the chairman **John Bulaitis** opened the enthusiastic post-election *Militant* rally. Held at the Friends Meeting House in London, 700 people—many who joined the Labour Party during the election—applauded and cheered the speakers.

First to speak was **Dave Nellist MP**, who exposed the inequality of Tory Britain. He told how the millionaire Sainsbury family made more money in one week than someone on the dole could accumulate in 91 years.

Rod Fitch, the candidate for the election in Brighton Kemptown, explained that although the campaign there did not end in victory, the Labour vote held up with hundreds of workers joining the party, while in other Sussex constituencies Labour lost ten deposits.

Eddie McParland, an executive member of the London Labour Party, described the gains made by the Labour and Trade Union Group, who stood a candidate in East Belfast. He said in the election campaign fifty workers had shown an interest in joining the LTUG and the Young Socialists, and that nearly 500 copies of *Militant* were sold. He said



Part of the audience at the rally.

it marked the beginning of the end of elections in Northern Ireland being simply a "sectarian headcount".

Terry Fields MP applauded the mood of confidence at the rally. He described conditions faced by workers in Merseyside where in some areas 94% of youth were unemployed. With this in mind, he said, "I haven't

come down to the House of Commons to play footsie with the Tories or take part in some debating society, but to defend the interests of the working people in Broadgreen in Liverpool."

Peter Taaffe, editor of *Militant*, was cheered when he described Tebbit as the "morgue attendant of British capitalism". He add-

ed, "As Marxists we do not subscribe to the view that it is all doom and gloom for the labour movement."

"In 1924 the Tories had a majority government yet within two years there was the greatest collision of the classes in British history." The Tories were setting themselves the same course, and with a correct leadership by the Labour leaders, the mistakes and failings of the Labour leaders in 1926 would not be repeated.

Turning to the elections, Peter said it was a disgrace that when Michael Foot spoke in Bradford, he issued a warning to Labour candidate Pat Wall, yet the outpourings from right wingers like Callaghan and Chapple at the height of the campaign were met with silence.

A guest speaker to the rally was **Phil Holt**, a newly elected executive member of the Post Office Engineering Union, who outlined the POEU's battle against the privatisation of British Telecom.

Closing the rally, **Ted Grant**, political editor of *Militant*, explained how the 'Falklands factor' played a part in Thatcher's victory, and how the leadership of the labour movement had been found wanting by the workers. Explaining the economic collapse of British capitalism, he described Britain as the "warehouse of the world".

A collection for the fighting fund raised an excellent £1,239.

BACK THE PAPER THAT BACKS YOU

Continued from page one

the resources of society from the stranglehold of private ownership!

Now there are Marxists in Parliament who can cut right through the "cant and hypocrisy" of the Tories and expose the lies and distortions of the press, as Terry Fields did last week (See page 5). But workers want a paper that does this every day.

But... "Where's the money going to come from" is the question of questions for *Militant* too!

There's just a week now before we have to reach our £50,000 target and there's

only one source of our finances...YOU!

EVERY ONE OF OUR READERS IS BEING ASKED TO DONATE THIS WEEK! Tanners, fivers, whatever you can afford MUST reach us by Tuesday 12 July at the very latest. **EVERY RAFFLE TICKET MUST BE SOLD!** Counterfoils and money must reach us by Saturday 9 July.

See your area's line off the chart (p.4) and see *Militant* on target. Then we can lay concrete plans for getting a Daily *Militant* off the ground!

Set-back for Italian Tories

THE ITALIAN Tories, the Christian Democrats, have suffered a stunning setback in this week's general election.

Their vote is down by nearly 6%. Up until this election the Christian Democrats share of the vote had never fallen below 38%; now it is less than a third, at 32.9%. Only by a whisper do they remain the largest party, just 3% ahead of the Communists.

The CD have called this election in order to get a mandate for their policy of cutbacks and attacks on workers' living standards. They have failed miserably. Right at the start of the

election campaign, the workers showed their power; 14 million came out on a half-day general strike.

But if the workers have demonstrated their opposition to the CDs, they have shown little real enthusiasm for the moderate policies of the Italian left. There was no real increase in the votes of the main workers' parties.

Call for radical change

The mass party of the Italian workers, the Communist Party, held its vote at just under a third. The

Socialist Party, whose leadership campaigned on building a new coalition with the CD, saw their vote creep up by just over 1% to 11.4%.

If there had been a vigorous campaign for a clear socialist alternative, there is little doubt that the combined parties of the Italian left could have swept to victory as has happened in Greece, France and Spain in recent years. Instead it seems there was an increased vote for small 'radical' parties.

Italian workers, as this result shows, are crying out for radical change. The Christian Democrats have been in power ever since the

war. But their power is ebbing. In that period there have been 44 governments; in the last year three governments, each one weaker than the last.

This week's election results shows that the logjam is beginning to break. A fuller analysis of the implications of the election, from our correspondent in Italy, will be carried in a future issue.

By Colin Barber

Fancy going red this summer?



Photo: Militant

Last year's summer camp, putting the social in socialism.

WOULD you like to get away from all the pictures of Charles and Diana in Canada? Away from the howling statements of Thatcher and the Tories? If so, then the best way of doing it is to come to LPYS Summer Camp.

At this year's Summer Camp we will have debates and seminars on topics such as 'Socialism and religion', 'What is Marxism?', and the way forward for the labour movement in the wake of the election.

The interests of the LPYS not only lie at home but abroad as well, and the burning issues facing the labour movement interna-

tionally will be discussed. What is happening in Central America? Will the general strike succeed in Chile? These are just some of the topics up for discussion.

More than anything, the LPYS Summer Camp is a great holiday. This year you will be able to go rock-climbing as well as playing football, cricket and other sports. There will also be a social held every night.

From discussions held at last weekend's LPYS National Committee, every region of the LPYS is bringing at least one coach to the Summer Camp. Coventry alone are planning to send a coach on the basis of new members gained during the

election campaign.

Undoubtedly, tremendous enthusiasm exists for the Summer Camp amongst the ranks of the LPYS indicating that this year's camp will be the biggest ever.

It is now vital that every LPYS branch begins raising money to help unemployed LPYS members and school students attend the camp. Hackney South CLP for instance have already agreed to sponsor two unemployed at £40 each.

If you can't afford to go to Australia and Canada for a couple of months as Charles and Di have done, then come to LPYS Summer Camp and prepare to kick out the Tories—and enjoy yourself at the same time.

LPYS SUMMER CAMP 1983

**Saturday 30 July-Saturday 6 August
Bracelands Campsite, near Coleford, in
the Forest of Dean, Gloucestershire
PRICE: £25 for adults; Children under 12
£12.50 (under 3s FREE)**

**Bring a tent, sleeping bag, stove and
cooking utensils. Food can be bought on
the site from the LPYS campshop or
bring your own.**

**BOOK NOW! For further details write to
LPYS, 150 Walworth Road, London SE17.**

Stop this deportation threat

MR VIJI KUMAR came to England from Malaysia seven years ago. He went to university and then worked for an electrical company in Birmingham. After this, he was unemployed for a few months before going to Keele University to complete a post-graduate teaching course and was appointed as a mathematician at Stoke-on-Trent Sixth Form College.

However, when he arrived for work he was told that the Home Office had not renewed his work permit. The college principal intervened by informing the Home Office that they could not re-appoint anyone else at such a late stage. Consequently, the permit was renewed for a year.

The year is now almost over. The Home Office has refused applications for renewal. As is usual in such cases, they are under no obligation to justify their

decision. Mr Kumar's three applications for British Citizenship have been denied; again, no reason being given.

Even if the permit were renewed, Mr Kumar would have to live with the constant insecurity of not knowing when the axe will fall for good.

In an effort to get this decision revoked, Mr Kumar's friends in Stoke and Derby have organised a nationwide petition. To date, over a thousand signatures have been collected, reflecting the growing opinion against the Nationality Act.

Several MPs have given the petition their support, and Jack Ashley, MP for Stoke Central, is currently investigating the case.

Please help in the campaign and send any messages of support to:— Helen Edge, 4 Grasmere Crescent, Sinfen, Derby.

“YOU can't ignore such a big event. I have said many times that the Russian revolution was the biggest event in the history of mankind; economically, politically, socially and culturally.

“I call it an eruption in mankind, that's how big it was. It is the biggest breakthrough for the working class which has ever taken place. It broke totally with private ownership in our cultural development and implemented common ownership. This is a tremendous example.”

Thus 96-year-old former Red Army pilot Anton Nilsson, who will be coming from Sweden to speak at the *Militant* “Marxism in our time” rally, summed up his view of the Russian revolution.

This, together with speakers on the struggles of the labour movement in the 1920s and 30s, will be a theme at the rally—of the past struggles and the lessons of those struggles for the labour movement today.

In a similar vein special displays of the life and ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky are being prepared.

In the afternoon the rally will centre on the struggle for “socialist policies for Labour”. Speakers will include newly elected MPs Terry Fields and Dave Nellist, who have already made an impact in their first few days in Parliament, showing the way to begin the struggle to get rid of the Tories.

According to *The Times*, Dave Nellist was met by a “stony silence” at a meeting of the Parliamentary Labour Party when he declared: “Our job in opposition is to bring the anger of working people into the debates in the House of Commons... Our job as Labour MPs is to be on the picket lines at six o'clock in the morning, showing moral, financial, practical political support for the battles of working people against the Tory government.”

Make sure you are there! Book your tickets now!

OBITUARY Jeff Ali

IT IS with deep regret that we report the death of Jeff Ali, chairman of the TGWU 6/93 branch. This is particularly sad because at the age of 44 Jeff should have had many more years of service to offer to socialism and the trade union movement.

Jeff, a regular reader of *Militant*, came to the trade union movement at a somewhat later age than many people. His first experience of being an activist came in 1974, when he led the Asian drivers at the Burnley and Pendle bus company in their fight for the reinstatement of a wrongfully dismissed colleague.

Despite the branch being split over this issue and the Asians fighting alone, they won, and the driver was reinstated. This gave Jeff confidence and he stood for the position of shop steward, and within three years of being elected to the committee he was voted in as chairman, which he held until his un-

timely death.

During the six years he was chairman Jeff worked unceasingly for the rights of the branch membership, and made undoubted gains. Even in the past four years of Tory attack on the trade unions Jeff used the knowledge he had gained as an activist to defend the membership as best he knew how. Within the Labour Party he defended the *Militant* against the attacks of the right-wing.

I am sure the 6/93 membership fully appreciate Jeff's efforts and realise that but for his loyalty and devotion to his membership in these difficult times they would have had many of their hard earned rights taken from them.

Testimony to the above is that forty members are attending his funeral even though it is taking place in South Wales which is over 200 miles from Burnley. Socialism can ill afford to lose class fighters of Jeff's calibre.

A tale of two constituencies

IN THE Motherwell area there are two constituencies, Motherwell North and Motherwell South, each with a LPYS branch. Pressure on both the election agents allowed each to hold “Youth for Socialism” rallies during the election campaign.

The YS in the ‘South’ was out every night for two weeks leafleting and canvassing first time voters—about 500 people. As well as a vigorous campaign we also had articles printed in all the local papers.

Result: an excellent youth rally attended by over 50 people who heard the MP, union leaders and Susan Riley of the LPYS outline Labour's programme for youth.

Sales of *Socialist Youth* were around 30 and over 25 names were attained for the YS. The MP Dr Jeremy Bray pointed out that the YS had obviously played a major part in ensuring a Labour victory by delivering the youth vote.

In contrast Motherwell North's election agent, a

known member of ‘Solidarity’, seemed to do all she could to make the youth meeting a disaster. No canvassing for it was allowed, no leafleting, in short no advertising for the meeting whatsoever.

Held in a small village miles from the major towns of the constituency, with a youth speaker chosen by the election agent herself, the rally began under orders that no *Socialist Youth*—an official Labour Party publication—were to be on sale at the door.

Result: rather inevitably

the rally was a flop. There were no young people there at all. Not one single name was obtained for the LPYS and no papers were sold.

With this kind of behaviour it seems absolutely clear to us where the blame for Labour's defeat must lie. The right wing failed (or never even tried in this case) to put the socialist message across to working class people in the course of the election.

By Colin Fox
(Motherwell South CLP)

NORWICH MEETING

A TRAINING gym complete with boxing ring was the appropriate setting for the Norwich *Militant* Readers' Meeting, which discussed the coming fightback against the Tories.

Over 25 people heard Theresa McKay of Ipswich CLP outline the need for

Labour to be a campaigning party of working people with a socialist programme and a fighting membership.

A large slice of the discussion was on the press bias and putting the case for socialism by means of a labour movement daily newspaper.

**MILITANT RALLY
‘MARXISM IN OUR
TIME—SOCIALIST
POLICIES FOR LABOUR’
SATURDAY 10 SEPT
10.30-5.30**

(Followed by the film
Battle for Algiers
until 7.45 pm)
WEMBLEY CONFERENCE
CENTRE, LONDON.
Speakers include:
Ted Grant (Political
Editor, *Militant*),
Peter Taaffe (Editor),
Anton Neilson (Former
Red Army pilot),
Terry Fields MP,
Dave Nellist MP
and others.

Tickets: £2 (£1
unemployed). Order from
MILITANT RALLY, 1
Mentmore Terrace, Lon-
don E8 3PN.

TARGET—£50,000 BY JULY 9.

Area	Received	% of target achieved	Target 9 July
Eastern	943		2700
East Midlands	974		2600
Humberside	562		1300
London East	1167		3300
London West	569		1650
London South	1752		2500
Manchester & Lancs	1339		3000
Merseyside	1389		3400
Northern	1160		3550
Scotland East	738		2100
Scotland West	1008		3000
Southern	1665		3150
South West	651		2000
Wales East	545		1500
Wales West	411		2100
West Midlands	975		3100
Yorkshire	982		3400
Others	3622		5000
Total received	20451		50000

One week to reach target

Don't let the coming holiday period stop us from reaching our target.

We appeal to all our sellers and readers who can afford to go on holiday this year to remember those millions who can't, by way of a donation to *Militant* before you go. How about a fiver from those holidaying in Britain, and a tenner if you can afford to go abroad.

What about it? It's a challenge to our readers and sellers alike! We've now passed the £20,000 mark for this quarter's target, so we need a really massive effort.

Supporters in Cumbria have left no doubt as to their intentions: £105 has been donated, some in "paper extras", and raised from social events. Can other "Northern" supporters emulate this example? Cumbria isn't one of the most prosperous areas, and if the odd pounds and odd pence can mount up to this much there, they can anywhere.

The biggest donation this week, however, came from delegates and visitors to the NALGO Conference, where a total of £876 was donated over the conference period.

By Steve Cawley

Tyneside supporters sent £139 from a meeting in Newcastle, £34 from one in Ashington and £23 from Sunderland. A further £41 came from Rochdale, £12 from Scunthorpe (where unemployment is approaching 30%), £100 from Eastern Region Labour Party delegates and visitors, and £28 from a Nottinghamshire meeting.

Mossley Hill LP members collected £10 for us and a victory social in Coventry SE left us £78 better off. Thanks also to LPYS members in South Knowsley, Stockton, Tyneside and Edinburgh, students in Cardiff, donors from Manchester ASTMS, and readers on the Torness power station site, as well as the "usual" stewards and TU officers who've passed on expenses.

Two donations of £100 and one of £50 head the list of individual contributions. Thanks to those comrades, also to J King (Hove) £40; a Manchester APEX member for £15; LPYS member K Beer (overtime pay); I Etherington (EETPU); B White (South Shields, UCATT); J Galvin (Isle of Wight); C

**Total received
this week:
£2814**

Bain (Leeds); Mansfield waitress (for tips); H Browning (Llanelli); L Herriot (Midlothian) from 'guess the time of baby competition' (winner R Paterson); a French reader (via Cardiff); J Rourke and C Lawrence (both Leeds); Nottinghamshire readers J Murdock, M Bryan (NUR), S Hemmingway (COHSE), and student J Hopcroft. C Stanley (Tunbridge Wells) and K Sneddon (unemployed) are two of the Kent LPYS supporters who contributed, as did N Walker (Leyton), A Tweddle (Newcastle), and M Spagnol (Dagenham).

The Militant Supporters Association Draw tickets are one excellent way of contributing—for only 10p you could win a video. Best to be on the safe side and buy a few books from your *Militant* seller, but hurry

because the draw is on 9 July!

One last big effort will see us through to our target. But hundreds of pounds is raised each week (and it could be thousands) from those "extras" on sales of *Militant*. If the majority of our readers gave us change from a £1 note for the next couple of weeks, we'd be home and dry on that alone.

Obviously when we get one or two sizable donations, which we do most weeks, we mention them in this column. But the vast majority of regular donations from a few pence to one or two pounds or so can't be recorded on account of space. We're not asking for hundreds of pounds, welcome as they are. We're asking you for what you can afford.

MILITANT SUMMER RAFFLE

1st prize: Video equipment worth over £400.
2nd prize: Colour TV worth over £200.
Eight other prizes, electrical goods, books.
Draw 9 July. Tickets 10p from local *Militant* sellers.

CLASSIFIED

SOUTH WALES MILITANT SUMMER CAMP

August Bank Holiday
Friday 26 August-Monday 29 August
For the eighth time we are organising our highly successful camp in the beautiful surroundings of Horton on the Gower Coast (10 minutes' walk from Port Eynon and Horton beaches).

It will provide not only an excellent introduction to the ideas of Marxism, but also a superb holiday for the family. Price £10. Write to 181 Hanover Street, Swansea SA1 6BP.

ads

CLASSIFIED: 10p per word, minimum 10 words.
SEMI-DISPLAY: £2 per 2 column centimetres.
All advertisement copy should reach this office by SATURDAY.

Militant Readers' Meetings

EDINBURGH. Speakers: Ted Grant (Political Editor, *Militant*), Dave Nellist MP (details from local sellers).

BRADFORD. Speakers: Peter Taaffe (Editor, *Militant*), Pat Wall on 10 July (details from local sellers).

LITTLEBOROUGH. Speaker: Dave Farrar at Wheatsheaf pub, Church Street on Monday 25 July at 7.30 pm.

OLDHAM. 'Lessons of the General Strike'. Speaker: Dave Farrar on Tuesday 26 July (for details contact local sellers).

EDINBURGH: 25 July. Speakers: Ted Grant (Political Editor, *Militant*), Dave Nellist MP (details from local sellers).

TUNBRIDGE WELLS. Speaker: Ray Apps at 8 pm Thursday 30 June at Len Fagg Hall, 7a St John's Road.

SCUNTHORPE. Speakers: Ted Grant (Political Editor, *Militant*), Dave Nellist MP at 7.30 pm, 11 July at Central Community Centre.

ROTHERHAM. Speaker: Ted Grant (Political Editor, *Militant*) at 7.30 pm 12 July at Assembly Rooms, Effingham Street.

MANCHESTER. Speakers: Terry Fields MP, Phil Frampton (Details from local sellers).

MARXIST WEEKEND SCHOOL LONDON

Saturday 2-Sunday 3 July

AT QUEEN MARY COLLEGE STUDENTS UNION, MILE END, LONDON E.1.

Courses on: 1. Introduction to Marxism; 2. Internationalism; 3. Marxism and the British labour movement; 4. The Permanent Revolution.

Saturday evening, 7.30 pm, Film *Missing* and disco.

Sunday afternoon, 2 pm, Rally. Speakers: Peter Taaffe (Editor, *Militant*) and Terry Fields MP.

Cost: Full weekend £6.00 (or £3.50 for unemployed and school students). Sunday sessions only £3.00 (£1.75 for unemployed and school students). Crèche provided.

MARXIST WEEKEND SCHOOL MIDDLESBROUGH

Saturday 9-Sunday 10 July

AT TEESIDE POLY, MIDDLESBROUGH (in town centre, off Borough Road)

Courses on: 1. Introduction to Marxism; 2. Internationalism. 3. Marxism and the British labour movement. 4. Permanent Revolution.

Saturday evening Disco.

Sunday afternoon, 2 pm, Rally. Speakers: Ted Grant (Political Editor, *Militant*) and Dave Nellist MP.

Cost £5.00 (£2.50 for unemployed and school students). Crèche provided.

"Women and the struggle for socialism"

Southern *Militant* Weekend School—Brighton
July 30 and 31

Northern *Militant* Weekend School—Bradford
August 20 and 21

Sessions on: The Family
Women and the Colonial revolution
Positive Discrimination
Low Pay
The role of a Marxist as a T.U. activist
Sexual harassment at work
Crèche provided

For further information: (0706) 842702

Holiday sales

THE tremendous sales during the election and at the trades union conferences show the tremendous potential for the ideas of socialism. We must now turn this potential into thousands of regular readers and sellers. As the great American labour leader Joe Hill said the day before his execution: "Don't mourn, organise!"

Every activist must now prepare for the coming battles; we are appealing to all trades unionists to take out a bulk order for their stewards' committee, trades union branches and trades councils and use our paper to explain the urgent need to turf out the Tories. During

the summer months we must take advantage of the good weather and set up sales in the parks, on the beaches—anywhere working people are; take a bundle on your holiday, you'll be surprised who you meet!

Commit yourself to finding a new reader for us this week; there isn't one activist who is not looking around for a way out of the capitalist crisis. Take advantage of our special offer (5 issues for a £1) or take out a bulk order (5 or more copies a week) and join the fight back against the terrible Tories. Contact 'Militant Circulation', 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN or phone 01-986 3828.

to fighting fund.

In the evening a social will be held in Gateshead East.

•••

WILL WHOEVER borrowed my radio/cassette player during the election, please return it. Will swap for camera, flash, odd clothes left in Brighton. Geoff Jones, Brighton 601559.

DURHAM MINERS' GALA Saturday 16 July 1983. Centenary rally—all Durham lodge banners will be on show.

Speakers include: Tony Benn, Dennis Skinner, Arthur Scargill.

Comrades who would like bed and breakfast should ring Kath Cotterill on (0632) 692655. All proceeds

Blast of reality hits Commons

THE voice of workers' anger reached the hallowed chambers of the Houses of Parliament on June 24, when Terry Fields, MP for Liverpool Broadgreen, spoke for the first time in the Commons.

His speech accurately reflected the hatred of the Merseyside workers for the Tories and their system. We reprint his speech below in full:

I am grateful to you, Mr Deputy Speaker, for you having called me in this debate for this, my maiden speech.

I wish to make it clear from the outset that making my maiden speech is not a formality. Maiden speeches are supposed to be non-controversial but having listened to the cant and hypocrisy from the Conservative Benches it is difficult to keep my temper let alone observe the proprieties of this place. For the working-class people who have sent me down here to represent them, matters in our area are far too pressing and urgent.

The solutions that I will be proposing to the problems of our people will be controversial to the government but not to the people of Broadgreen and Liverpool. Because of those policies, we obtained victory in Broadgreen in the general election. I should like to record my gratitude and thanks to the people from all over the country who worked to ensure that we gained victory in Broadgreen.

My first task as a member of Parliament, apart from dealing with the appalling housing conditions inherited from the Tory-Liberal alliance which ran Liverpool for a decade, was to deal with the closure of Crawfords biscuit factory, in Liverpool, with the loss of 2,000 jobs, which was announced on Tuesday 14 June. Those circumstances are typical of what has happened to ordinary decent people all over Merseyside. The workers at the factory have had no major industrial disputes since the turn of the century. They have accepted shift change patterns with the loss of £40 a week in earnings. They have adapted to flexible working agreements. They have co-operated in the shedding of 1,000 jobs already and now for their pains and for their co-operation with management they are threatened with the sack.

Unemployment on Merseyside has been mentioned on many occasions in the House, and as recently as 20 April by my hon. Friend the Member for Liverpool, Riverside (Mr Parry). Since that debate a further 3,555 jobs have gone or will be lost in the area. I am saddened and angered to hear from my hon. Friend the Member for Liverpool, Walton (Mr Heffer) that a factory in his constituency has been notified today that it will close, with the loss of a further 350 jobs.

Conservative members talk about privatisation. Let us call it by its proper name—asset-stripping. It is the reward and rake off for those who gave £20 million in handouts to the Tories to fight the election. I hope that members of the Post Office Engineering Union and other organised workers will stand up and fight the government's proposals to close their industries and sell them to private individuals.

Since the Tories came to power in 1979 Merseyside has lost 48,000 jobs. One firm a week has closed its doors. About 12,000



Terry Fields canvassing in Broadgreen in the election

Photo: Militant

jobs a year are going—that is, 33 jobs every day of the year. Unemployment on Merseyside is currently about 150,000. In some areas 94.7 per cent of young people are unemployed. That is the grim reality of Tory Britain for the people whom I represent.

The heartless, cynical response from the government in the debate on 20 April, talking about the demise of the Kraft factory in Liverpool, was to say that such events were unavoidable and involved commercial judgements. What judgement do Tory members put on human dignity when adults at a factory like Crawfords are reduced to tears of despair and anger because their factory is closing?

The Pontius Pilates of the Tory government attempt to shift the blame from themselves and their system to the world crisis. The truth is that unemployment is not an act of God. It does not fall from the sky, but it is symptomatic of the system they defend, typified by the world crisis of capitalism and the even deeper malaise of British capitalism. The government's policies have contributed to the misery of working people on Merseyside. They have no solution for working people.

A Select Committee, chaired by the right hon. Member for Taunton (Mr du Cann), clearly states that 50 per cent of unemployment in Britain is the direct result of the government's monetarist policies. Many people looked to the Queen's Speech for some direction for the millions who are

unemployed or face redundancy. We warned during the general election campaign that if the Tories were elected on 9 June closures and redundancies would happen immediately, but in Liverpool we did not expect it to happen so soon. It is no coincidence that the announcement of the closures came after the election result and the return of Labour members from Liverpool.

There is no hope in the Queen's speech for ordinary working people. For the government it is business as usual with policies the same as before. On 5 May in the local government elections the people of Liverpool ditched the Liberal-Tory ruling alliance and elected a Labour-controlled Liverpool City Council to fight to reverse the decline of our once great city.

On 9 June the people of Liverpool elected five Labour members out of a total of six. They had campaigned uncompromisingly on socialist policies, which the electorate of Liverpool have accepted as the only hope for the majority in society in the face of heartless Toryism. Workers in Liverpool, who have had to suffer longer and harder than workers in most areas from the excesses of capitalist exploitation have turned correctly to a political solution for the resolution of their problems.

The record of this government and the big business interests that they and the Liberal-SDP alliance represent hold out no hope for the majority of workers.

There has been a 29 per cent fall in investment over the past four years. The patriotism of capitalism has been exposed as a sham. A total of £29 billion has been exported—that is, wealth created by the workers but shunted abroad—aided and abetted by the Tory government. The living standards of ordinary, decent, working class people has been driven down, despite officially doctored statistics. I assure Tory politicians that it is no good just reading about it. You have to live in those conditions to understand what the majority of people are going through. It is in those circumstances that small business men have been driven to the wall by bankruptcy.

Despite the Tory victory on 9 June, we give fair warning that a large majority in Parliament will not save the government when the true effects of their policies are felt by British people. The government of 1924 had a majority of 200. Stanley Baldwin thought that he could savage the living standards of ordinary people. Do the Tories now think that they can do the same, perhaps in a more brutal fashion? Baldwin's actions provoked the 1926 general strike. This government's policies will provoke even greater reaction from working people. Of that there is no doubt.

Events shape history. The nostalgic yearnings for the 'fifties and 'sixties, when times were good, which moved people to vote Tory at the last election will finally wear thin and the hard facts will emerge. Then, the inability of the Tories and their system to satisfy the expectations of workers in their belief that things will turn out right will explode in Tory faces. There are no solutions in the past. Tory policies will provoke a social upheaval in Britain. Neither monetarism nor Keynesianism can solve the problems of working people. You have tried and failed. When will you learn your lesson?

The experience of working people under the government will teach them that there is no solution under capitalism. Increasingly they will turn to the socialist alternative and the labour movement—to the benefits of democratic public ownership based on a planned economy—when the needs of the majority will be fulfilled. Then, the mayhem and lunacy of the present system, like Conservative hon. members, will be cast into the dustbin of history. Ordinary decent people will be heard and the voice of Liverpool—with the message of hope that turning to socialism will bring—will act as a beacon to the rest of the country.

At the start of the election campaign in Perth, the Prime Minister said that she was giving the British people an opportunity to banish socialism and Marxism from the land. Others stronger than she have tried and failed. Labour may have been defeated at the election, but socialism and Marxism have not been, and will not be, defeated in the eyes and hearts of the working class.

My election victory in Broadgreen, which for many decades was a marginal, refutes the Prime Minister's boast. The victory in Liverpool for working people is the music of the future.

The media and my political opponents during the election, in seeking to denigrate me and the socialism I stood for, made great play of the label "militant". Let me make my position clear. I wear the badge of a militant with honour, and do not forget that a militant is only a moderate who has got up off his knees. In time, the whole of the working class will arise from their knees, and you will not be laughing then.

The Tories' hollow jeers

IT HAD been a quiet day in Parliament. Despite the fact that the crucial issue of Privatisation was up for debate—which will mean thousands of public sector jobs going while the bosses rip off the rich pickings—at the most there were just over 20 MPs in the House.

Maiden speeches are meant to be pleasant affairs. New MPs introduce themselves, congratulating the opposition speakers who have spoken before them. The theme of this particular day, introduced incredibly by the new Labour MP for

Greenock and Port Glasgow, Dr Godman, had been to heap praise on the Labour renegade Dickson Mabon. The Tories also agreed that Dickson Mabon was a good chap.

Such pleasantries were not the case when Terry Fields rose to speak. As Terry's Liverpool accent jarred the polite traditions of Parliament's green leather and wooden splendour, it was soon evident that this was not to be any ordinary maiden speech.

Terry made it clear he was there to represent the Liver-

pool workers who elected him to fight the Tories, and not to go around congratulating the likes of Dickson Mabon who had betrayed the labour movement.

As he began, the press gallery suddenly filled up. Other Tories filed into the chamber to join the other nine Tory MPs already lounging on the benches. Amongst the newcomers was the extreme right-wing Tory Harvey Proctor, along with one of his young cronies.

As Terry began, the Tories were momentarily stunned as

expressions such as "the exploitation of the working class" hit them full in the face. Then they began to laugh. But it was all they could do. In particular Proctor's young crony giggled like a school boy.

But their laughter was not a confident laugh. Especially when Terry reminded them that in 1924 Baldwin had a 200 seat majority, yet within two years there had been the momentous struggle of the 1926 general strike.

Noticably, besides the Tories' hollow cackling, the chamber was quiet. Normal-

ly whispering can be heard from the bored tourists in the public gallery. But on this occasion they were silent, with several workers, in London sight-seeing for the day, nodding their heads in agreement as Terry spoke.

When Terry sat down the press gallery emptied. The press office was transformed into a hornets nest as the Fleet Street reporters phoned back to their offices with their various horror stories.

The Tories filed back out of the chamber to the tea rooms and bars to tell their colleagues of this 'big joke'.

A mere five Tories were left in the House to carry on the purpose of government.

The new Tory MP that followed Terry spoke in his clipped Sandhurst tones of Terry's passionate speech, but said the House of Commons was "the place for reasoned argument". He then continued rattling off the Tories "reasoned" platitudes that have pushed millions of workers into the misery of unemployment; the "reasoned arguments" that, as Terry had explained, had reduced grown people to tears.

Labour leadership: Right put their views

WITH THE contest for Labour leadership now upon us, this book by Labour's Shadow Cabinet is quite revealing of the expressed views of the right-wing candidates.

Peter Shore's chapter on "The purpose of Labour's economic programme" brings in a whole range of ideas completely outside of Labour's manifesto while at-

tempting to excuse this with an attack on Thatcher's economic policy and outlook. His main thesis is that if only Britain would return to Keynesianism we could all return to the golden age of the post-war boom.

He forgets to point out that one of the main reasons that the economy is in a mess is the failure of the bosses to invest during the boom. He points out that whilst living standards doubled in Britain during the boom, in the rest of the industrialised world they trebled, so that British

workers relatively fell behind workers in other countries.

His main policy proposal is wage control. Workers must ask themselves if they did tie down their wages would be the result? Shore even points out that prices are governed by market and international forces so there is no guarantee prices would be held down. Neither would employers necessarily invest. Any attempt to keep down wages would only benefit the employers' profits whilst also cutting the market and

thus causing a further contraction of the employment situation.

Roy Hattersley's chapter on "Framework for a Labour Britain" again shows the belief that the capitalist state machine can just be re-tuned to follow workers' interests. The article analyses the deprivation especially of the ethnic minorities without explaining that this is a direct application of the divide and rule tactic used for centuries by the British ruling class. Hattersley pleads: "We

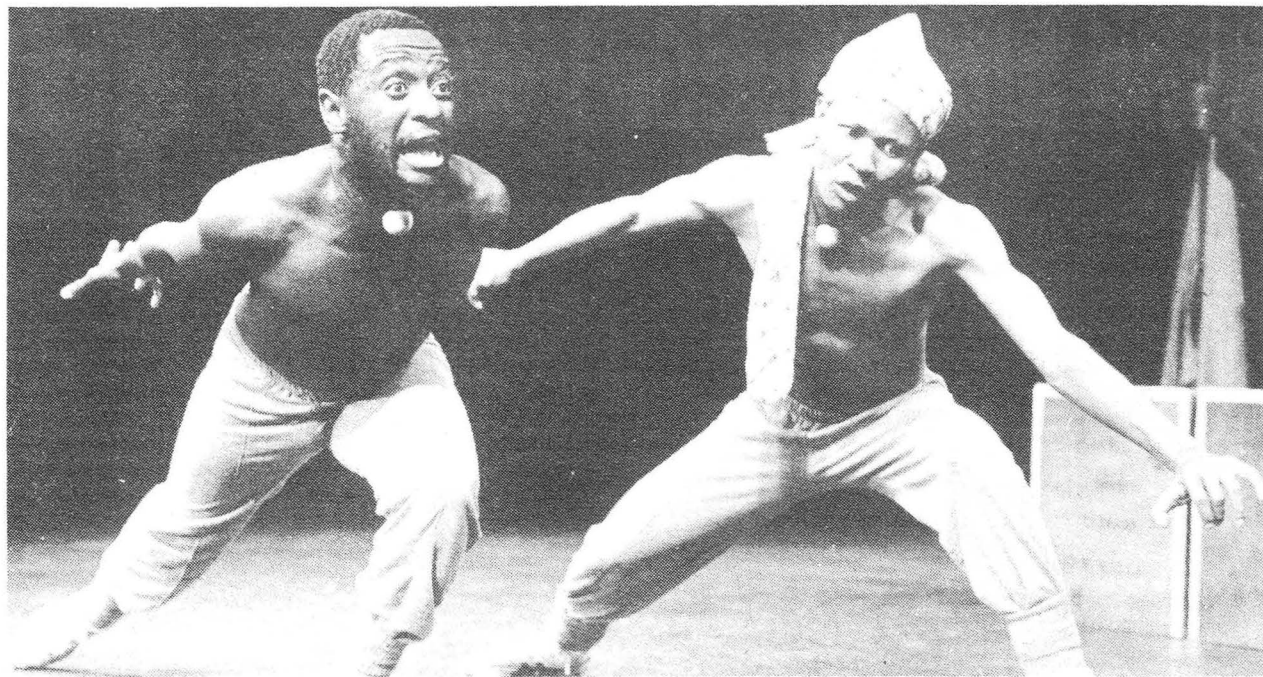
also need to convince the ethnic minorities that the police are—and still remain—on their side." After the evidence of Brixton, Toxteth and the Grunwick picket line...?

Roy Hattersley seems oblivious to the fact that the state is being beefed up to take on working people as they fight back against a system in crisis. Indeed, where he alludes to this, he just says that the Labour Party is against baton rounds, CS gas, etc., without seeing the implication of

these measures and the tactics of the police and their backers. The realities of the next period of struggle will bring to light all the deficiencies of the utopian plans of comrades Shore and Hattersley.

**Dave Farrar reviews
Renewal. Labour's
Britain in the 1980s
written by Labour's
Shadow Cabinet for this
year's general election**

Reviews · Reviews · Reviews



It is the humour, vitality and precision of observation which come from the actors' own lives that make this such a stunning production. Above: Mbongeni Ngema and Percy Mtwa
Photo: D Doran

Best political theatre in London

THE PLUSH cosy Criterion Theatre underneath Piccadilly Circus is an incongruous setting for this play about black South African workers. In the seats behind me, people were discussing how they were looking forward to dressing up for Glyndbourne, even though they disliked the opera.

But forget the surroundings. It is what is on stage that matters. And this is nothing short of brilliant.

Written and conceived by the two actors and the director, the play is a series of stunning cameos/sketches of the differing lives of black workers. It could have become predictable, one-dimensional agit-prop theatre. But the precision of the observation, the vitality, and above all the humour which come straight out of the performers' own experiences mean that the audience is never bored.

The story centres upon what would happen if Jesus Christ (Morena) decided to stage his second coming in South Africa. At first he is welcomed by the Christian Nationalist Prime Minister, as another proof that the international boycott has failed: "You can keep your Kevin Keegans, your John McEnroes; we have Morena".

But Morena's presence starts to undermine the "Christian" apartheid regime. Blacks look to him for a solution to their pro-

blems. However gradually workers realise that only their power is the answer. The only way for brick builders, for example, to change their position is not a repeat (as they first thought) of the "loafs and fishes", with Morena producing more bricks, but by strike action.

Nevertheless the government imprisons Morena as a "Communist agitator". Finally they have to destroy him with an atomic bomb, when he escapes from Rob-

ben Island prison by walking across the water to Cape Town.

On rising from the dead in a graveyard three days later, he first looks round for another Lazarus to bring back to life. But a worker diverts his attention further along the L's, to Luthuli, the late leader of the African National Congress liberation movement. In the play's last emotional scene all the main opponents of apartheid are raised ('woza') from the dead, beginning with Albert

**JIM CHRYSTIE reviews
Woza Albert,
playing at the Criterion
Theatre.**

Luthuli, from which the play gets its title.

Amazingly enough the play was allowed to be staged in South Africa for a year, and past TV clips showed the wild enthusiasm which greeted the presentation. If you can, see it: there can't be a better theatrical experience in London.

'Clarion van'

THE Clarion Van is the story of Ada Neild Chew, an early fighter for the rights of working class women. Born in North Staffordshire in 1870 into a family of nine children, she left school at the age of 11 to help her mother in the grinding domestic work such a large family involved.

Later she worked as a seamstress in a sweatshop. In her twenties she was sacked for writing letters to the local paper exposing the conditions of work and the exploitation of female labour. Her average wage was 8 shillings a week—men doing the same work earned over three times as much.

After the sacking she threw herself into political work with the ILP. First as a touring agitator travelling in a horse-drawn caravan—

the Clarion Van, named after the socialist newspaper, then as an organiser for the Women's Trade Union League.

Later she worked as a writer and propagandist in the socialist press. In this time she travelled all over the North of England and Scotland, at one time sharing a platform with Karl Marx's daughter, Eleanor, agitating and organising for socialism and women's rights.

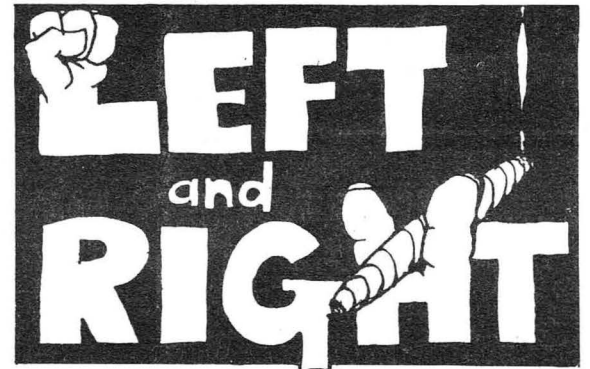
A fiercely independent woman, she exposed the oppression of women both at home and at work. She only married George Chew, a fellow socialist, after he had agreed that she should continue her work and keep her own name, as well as adopting his. She deliberately had only one child, to avoid the drudgery and the constant cycle of

**PAUL TRAYNOR previews
The Clarion Van
to be shown on ITV,
Tuesday 5 July at 9 pm.**

pregnancy and child rearing that trapped working class women in the days before contraception.

The play concentrates on her life as a socialist agitator for women's rights and the problems that involved. The play was written in collaboration with her daughter, Doris Chew, now in her eighties, who as a small child accompanied her mother in her political tours.

With Margaret Thatcher extolling the virtues of Victorian values in the family and society, the play is a timely reminder of the conditions, and the oppression of working class women that those values involved—and how much of the exploitation and double standards she exposed remain with us today.



Rough justice

There is clearly one law for the rich and one for the poor. Money and connections can make dealing with the law an awful lot easier. Take Earl Jermyn, for example. This millionaire British peer was charged in New York with the very serious crime of distributing narcotics; yet, with a little help from his friends, he easily raised the £70,000 necessary for his release on bail.

On the same day in Exeter Crown Court a judge confirmed a three-month jail sentence on a woman which meant she would give birth to her second child while in prison. Her crime was to have stolen £17 worth of meat from a supermarket—a desperate act, undoubtedly prompted by the circumstances she, her unemployed husband and their baby son were in.

Workers' democracy?

The official mouthpiece of the Soviet bureaucracy, *Soviet Weekly*, tries hard to convince its readers that true workers' democracy exists in the USSR. Reporting how workers on collective farms took part in a discussion on a new law, it explained, "No fewer than 110 million Soviet people took part in the discussion..." However, the report gives the game away when it describes the results of these "discussions". Only "70 amendments and additions were made".

Contrasting MPs lifestyles

Coventry's newly-elected Labour MP, Dave Nellist is slowly but surely finding his way around Britain's most exclusive club—the House of Commons. In his travels he might just bump into Geoffrey Robinson, fellow Labour MP from the neighbouring Coventry North-West constituency. Their constituencies may be geographically close, but these two Labour MPs' lifestyles are miles apart.

While Dave Nellist is "a workers' MP on a worker's wage", giving the rest of his salary to the labour movement, Mr Robinson is contending with the problem of commuting to London from his new home in Godalming, Surrey. This eight-bedroomed, nineteenth century mansion is no doubt a suitable residence for a former chief executive and managing director of Jaguar and quite a bargain at £300,000!

Not surprisingly Mr Robinson assures everyone that his luxurious life-style will not affect his role as a Parliamentary representative of 17,239 working-class voters in North West Coventry.

FIFTY YEARS AGO

June 1933 saw the appointment of a new chief to censor all BBC Radio programmes. The new guardian of the nation's morals, Colonel Dawney, was an appropriate establishment figure. Dawney had formerly been in the intelligence Department of the War Office; his brother, a General, was director of the arms firm, Vickers Armstrong. One newspaper, describing the new appointment, unintentionally summed up the ruling class: "Colonel Dawney, who is a first class General Staffs Officer, and a Coldstreamer, bears little resemblance to the accepted type of guards officer. He is both brilliant and frank." The intelligence of the British ruling class may not have improved since those days, although now they keep their censorship controls more under wraps.

Battered women not addicted to violence

I was angered by this book.

Erin Pizzey founded the first refuge in Chiswick in 1971 for battered women and did some excellent work, not only for the battered women but in making the public aware of the tremendous horrors inflicted on women by their boyfriends, husbands and fathers.

Now she believes that women go back to their violent partners because they are addicted to violence i.e. "prone to violence". She explains that these women recreate hazardous situations for themselves to bring back the excitement of an "adrenalin high" because only then do they feel really alive.

She uses quite a few interviews as "proof" of her theory. But her interviewing technique is lacking in objectivity. To say she puts ideas into people's heads would be an understatement. In the majority of cases Erin Pizzey suggests to the women that they like being beaten up rather than the women admitting it.

In several interviews with children she seems determined to get the answers she wants. In one case, with a 4 year old boy, she asks him "Do you like blood?" Then she comes to the staggering conclusion that he likes watching his mother getting beaten up when he finally answers yes. She is then satisfied that the boy is addicted to violence!

Some of the cases outlined by Erin Pizzey in her book are really horrific. In one instance Mrs S from Enfield had thirteen stitches put in her eye as a result of a

KIM WADDINGTON
reviews *Prone to Violence* by ERIN PIZZEY and JEFF SHAPIRO

beating from her husband. She also had severe cuts and her eyes so blackened they are permanently damaged. He also beat the eldest child so badly with a boot she haemorrhaged. There are many other equally horrendous cases some of which have been fatal.

Erin Pizzey and Jeff Shapiro's theory is that when a person feels pleasure they experience a chemical called "opioid-peptide". In an emotionally disabled family they believe that a baby's experience of pain and pleasure becomes crossed both emotionally and chemically. In fact they say that babies only learn through pain; a baby experiences the pain of hunger making it eat, when a baby's teeth come through that too is painful making it chew etc.

The authors explain senility in the same way. They say that old people who lose their hair and teeth and who cannot look after themselves are really trying to return to the opioid state to which they were always addicted.

I must admit to finding it difficult to accept that these elderly people are anything other than old and it's hardly surprising that many are losing their teeth and hair. These theories are the authors' alone and they have as yet no proof that their conclusions are true.

But even if we accepted their hypothesis I would like to remind Erin Pizzey of a statement she made in her first book, *Scream Quietly or the neighbours will hear*: "Whatever human beings do to one another they never



The bruises from her battering still showing on the back of this woman

'deserve' having their ribs kicked in or their noses broken. The few women who are violent themselves are the exceptions."

In *Scream Quietly* she clearly shows why women return to violent men: "A woman usually has children

and no money and nowhere to go...Very few people understand this kind of fear. It is the fear of knowing that someone is searching for you and will beat you when he finds you.

"In the mind of someone who has been badly beaten

this fear blots out all reason. Battered women are almost permanently in a shocked state."

Another reason why battered women return is that the law does nothing to protect them. In *Scream Quietly* Joan, after being attack-

ed by her husband takes him to court. He apologises to the judge and the judge lets him go.

One day later he breaks into the house again, where he rapes her at knife point, drags her around the room by her hair and hits her on the side of the head causing her ear-drum to burst. Joan again served papers on him and a different judge gave him just seven days!

Erin Pizzey points out how a battered wife is ignored by her own doctor who will just give her tranquilisers. If she goes to hospital she will only be sent home again once she has been patched up. Social services will complain that she "is a slut because she is dirty and dishevelled never stopping to think what repeated vicious assaults must do to her personality."

I would like to end on a good note with some of the great work done at the Chiswick Women's Aid. In both books Erin Pizzey shows how the refuge is run by battered women for battered women. Despite all the hardships "rent" is paid every week by everyone. Everyone helps one another.

Many of the women at the refuge liked sharing a house, even with the overcrowding, much better than living at home. When a house came up in the West Country the mothers voted that rather than have their own "flats", they would have a communal house with just private bedrooms so they could continue to help one another.

Although Erin Pizzey has done a good job, all she can do is to patch up these women and send them back into the same society that created the problems in the first place. Society needs "repairing" too. The saddest thing of all about the book is that Erin Pizzey can find no long term solutions for these poor families.

Single parents harrassed by DHSS

THE TORIES' attitude towards one-parent families is quite easily summed up in one word: **INSULT**; they do not want to increase benefits paid to single parents because they "do not wish to subsidise immorality".

The role of the single parent is difficult enough without the attitude of the DHSS authorities and the added pressure they bring about. "I liable relatives" is a section within the DHSS which deals with single parents, and the responsibility of the maintenance of any children, and women are subject to a degrading session of questions.

Maureen Winslow told us, "I presented myself at DHSS a fortnight after the birth of my last child and was asked, 'why, when you declare that you are not currently living with your husband have you registered the child in his name? Are you absolutely sure that your husband is the father?'"

"Have you received any money from him, and if so have you declared it? Did I intend practicing any form of contraception, and did I realise that I couldn't go around having children willy-nilly?" While I know that there is nothing in the 'statutory law' that insists these questions are asked, I came out of the interview feeling totally demoralised."

Single parent families are claiming benefit which is rightfully theirs. It is not a charity, they are not scrounging off the state—just doing their best to bring their children up happily in conditions which are forced upon them. After a few years on the DHSS you find even your morals take a downward slope, your fight, your pride, your stamina with which you need to carry on your battle to survive within this so-called system disappear. We must find extra strength from somewhere in order to change this system.

24-hour nursery facilities should be made available, with laundrette and communal kitchens as the rule rather than the exception. The pressures of coping with children are tremendous. Every facility should be made immediately available to end the situation where you are continually looking over your shoulder.

By Maureen Winslow and Valerie Clarke (Cheylesmore, Coventry)

Women's rights; New Tory 'champion'

By Kath White

THE appointment of Baroness Platt as head of the Equal Opportunities Commission indicated how little the Tories care for women's rights.

She was vice-chairman of Essex County Council, one of the most vicious Tory councils throughout the country. There have been massive cutbacks on education, and nursery facilities, vast increases in unemployment, especially amongst women.

Baroness Platt's job was her first paid work for 30 years! She is sixty years old—an age when she should be retiring to make way for some young and unemployed.

She disagrees with state-funded nurseries and would like more job sharing—I didn't think there were any



Nursery facilities have been cut by Baroness Platt, new EOC Chairperson.

jobs left to share—and more part-time work. And she does not think that this government is hostile to women's aspirations—certainly not hers!

The job of the EOC is to

oversee and monitor the Sex Discrimination Act (1973), and the Equal Pay Act (1975). It is interesting to note the fact that before 1974, i.e. before the Acts were introduced, women earned 55% of men's pay. Today, after the Acts have been implemented and the EOC introduced, women's pay as a percentage has not gone up but down!

Today women earn on average £41 a week and men earn £97 on average. There are 25,000 homeworkers in Britain; half of these women earn less than 40p an hour. And Baroness Platt thinks Thatcher's government is not hostile to women! With 40% of our workforce women, the Tories and these "white wash" bodies are doing nothing for their problems and rights.

Between 16 and 19 June 1953, in East Berlin and all major industrial areas of East Germany, over 300,000 workers struck and demonstrated in the first major working-class uprising against Stalinism in Eastern Europe.

The demonstrators were almost 100% from the working class; often the leaders had been members of the Communist Party and Social Democratic Party before Hitler came to power 20 years previously. The demonstrations were clearly aimed at the dictatorial regime of the bureaucracy and not at the economic base of East Germany society, the nationalised economy. There were no demands to denationalise the economy and return to capitalist ownership.

The mass movement was eventually defeated by the tanks of the Russian bureaucracy. In the purge which followed, 71% of all the local party secretaries of the 'Communist'-dominated Socialist Unity Party (SED) were fired for supporting the uprising.

Today East Germany is seen as the most stable and affluent of the Eastern European Stalinist states, the second largest economic power in COMECON, the economic community of the Eastern bloc, and the eighth largest economic power in the world. It has a per capita Gross National Product larger than that of Britain.

Neither in 1953 nor in 1983 are the East German workers campaigning for a return to capitalism; instead, the June 1953 uprising shows the instinctive demand for workers' democracy.

The workers' revolt began, significantly, only three months after the death of Joseph Stalin whose monstrous rule, with its slave camps and show trials, represented the narrow caste in power in the USSR, a bureaucracy completely parasitic on the working class who had made the revolution in October 1917. Throughout the USSR and even more in Eastern Europe, Stalin's death was the signal for some of the hidden opposition and anger at the bureaucratic regimes to come to the surface.

At the beginning of June 1953, in the industrial centre of Pilsen in Czechoslovakia, troops had to be brought in from the capital, Prague, to disperse a demonstration against currency reform. But within a week a far larger insurrection was developing in East Germany.

New Norms imposed from above

In East Berlin about sixty building workers stopped work on 15 June at the Friedrichshaim Hospital building site to draw up a letter, signed by all the workers, complaining at huge increases in work norms imposed from above by the government. In an attempt to increase the productivity of labour, workers were threatened with a fall in wages of a third or more if they did not increase their output by more than 10%.

The uprising began as an economic protest by building workers who had been hoping for larger wages in the longer daylight hours of the summer. Their decision was mirrored by workers on a neighbouring site, building a police barracks, and on the

Stalinallee construction site.

The next morning, 16 June, two groups of workers marched from Stalinallee and Friedrichshaim. By the time the two groups of marchers had toured the other building sites to call workers out on strike the whole of the Stalinallee complex came to a halt. It was estimated that the protesters by then numbered around 10,000.

Leaders of the procession had a crudely painted banner, reading, "Down with 10% rise in the norms". The building workers were joined by other factory workers, clerks, minor officials, even shoppers, shouting in chorus, "We are workers and not slaves, put an end to the extortionate norms, we want free elections, we are not slaves."

The demonstration was now taking an overtly political form, protesting not only against the norms but against the government, the Communist Party and in particular Communist Party leader Walter Ulbricht.

300,000 on strike

The demonstration was growing and gaining support from the population. Those watching shouted and waved encouragement from the windows of blocks of flats and offices, with people demanding, "To the government, to the Leipziger Street".

Heinz Brandt, then secretary of the SED in Berlin, said, "The building workers have thrown a spark into the mass. The spark burst into flame. It was like Lenin's dream come true, only this mass action was directed against a totalitarian regime ruling in Lenin's name and headed by those who called themselves Lenin's followers..."

"The Party and state officials were overwhelmed by the events and increasingly paralysed. Something monstrous was going on before their eyes, the worker was rising against the worker-peasant state."

Amongst these officials a small section went over immediately to the workers, reflecting the tremendous mood of antipathy to the government and the determination to achieve the aim of genuine socialism, power to the working class.

The demand for free elections was given added strength by the large number of members of the Social Democrats (SPD) whose party had been forcibly grafted onto the Communist Party (KPD) to form the Socialist Unity Party, in which the Communist Party was totally dominant. But the demand gained support also from many activists from the KPD from before the second world war. The demonstrators congregated outside government buildings where a building worker conducted the choruses, "We want to talk with the government. Pieck and Grotewohl!"

KPD officials and minor SED politburo members

30 Years a



Berlin wor

upprising

The str
industrial
involving
workers

were scorned, with demands that the government should come and answer questions from the working class in whose name it was supposedly governing. One worker called for a general strike if the government had not shown up in half an hour, and when this did not materialise the workers marched away and started to spread the strike.

When the government loudspeaker cars approached and tried to explain the position of the Party leadership, the crowd seized the cars and marched with them, broadcasting through the

loudspeakers, that all workers in Berlin should join a general strike the next day.

The Politburo of the SED issued a statement speaking of the need for higher production and higher norms if living standards were later to rise, and said that workers who accepted norm increases would be able to have wage rises in the near future. Yet even the Politburo had to concede that the norms "may not and cannot be pushed through with administrative methods, only through free will."

By the next day the strike had spread to the majority of

industrial cities in East Germany involving 150 centres and 300,000 workers, particularly in the older in-

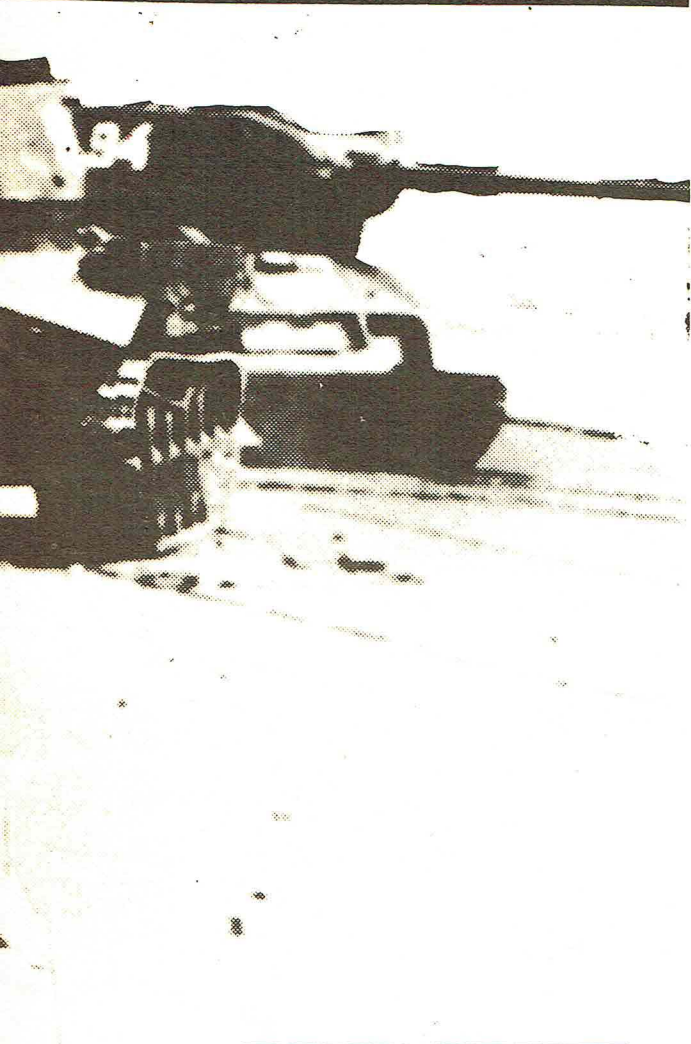
Heavy industry

dustrial areas, with over 120,000 on strike in the industrial area of Bitterfeld, Halle, Leipzig and Merseburg and tens of thousands in Magdeburg, Jena, Brandenburg, Goerlitz. All of these had been known as "red" centres in the pre-war Weimar republic.

In all cases the strike spread outwards from the big factories into the smaller industrial areas. Only in one major heavy industrial area, Stalinstadt, was there no strike; this was a new industrial area with no pre-war tradition of struggle and where workers were relatively highly paid.

In Berlin more than 60,000 workers were on strike. In factory after factory workers organised meetings not only about norms but leading to detailed discussions about the crimes of the SED regime, including arbitrary arrests of

go:



By Roger Shriver

kers'

ke spread to the majority of
l cities in East Germany,
150 centres and 300,000

many workers from their ranks. Worker councils were elected to represent workers' economic and political interests and calls were made for demonstrations. Most of the demonstrations were forcibly dispersed and the so-called trouble makers arrested and in many cases beaten up by the police.

In Merseburg 10,000 workers from Leuna works, singing revolutionary songs, marched into the city where they met thousands of workers on the Buna plant, stormed into the police station, ransacked party offices and broke into the jails to

release prisoners. In Leipzig, workers occupied youth headquarters and destroyed all the portraits except those of Karl Marx. At Halle, 8,000 railway workers seized the SED headquarters, the council offices and the prisons.

In Brandenburg the so-called 'People's judges' and the public prosecutor were beaten up by demonstrators, and in Rathenow an informer was beaten so severely that he later died. Only the specially trained elite 'People's Police', kept in separate garrisons, and their notorious informers, sided

with the Ulbricht regime.

By now Russian troops and tanks were moving into Berlin as the East German government could not handle the situation on its own. On 17 June martial law was proclaimed, banning demonstrations and meetings.

Despite the enormous heroism of workers armed with nothing but crowbars, bottles, sticks and building bricks, the uprising was crushed and its leaders imprisoned or executed. 1300 were brought to trial, four were sentenced to life imprisonment, six sentenced to death and some reporters estimated that as many as 260 died from Russian bullets.

Even this repression did not immediately end the protests. Three weeks later there were still reports of sit-down strikes in East Berlin demanding the release of strike leaders, higher wages, lower prices, a change in government and free elections.

Government admissions

The government made some temporary economic concessions. A vast stockpile of food and clothing material was made available for sale. Early in July 1953, the wages of the lowest paid workers were increased and wage reductions dated from the beginning of the year were cancelled.

But many of these reforms were short-lived. As soon as this revolutionary crisis had passed many of the concessions were removed, increased norms were reimposed and party and trade union leaders who had taken seriously early instructions to 'stand up for their members' were reprimanded or sacked.

The purge of SED members after the uprising found that one-third of those in leading positions in the demonstrations had been members of the old German Communist Party prior to Hitler's succession to power in 1933.

In East Berlin 68% of the leaders were former Communist Party members. Many saw this uprising as a continuation of the same fight for workers' power they had waged against both Hitler and the other capitalist governments before the second world war.

What had led to this insurrection? A socialist Germany had been the aspiration of Marxists from the days of Marx himself. Lenin and Trotsky, in the early days of the Russian revolution, understood the vital importance of this industrial giant of Europe for the socialist transformation of the world. A socialist Germany was a means of escape from isolation for the backward peasant economy of Russia after the 1917 revolution.

But the bureaucratic caste which came to rule Russia under Stalin was in constant fear of a genuine revolution developing in the industrial west. Stalin expressed total contempt for the German working class. During the second world war, he said that Communism fitted Germany 'like a saddle fitted a cow'.

The Second World War had wrought havoc in the USSR and over 20 million Russian workers are estimated to have died. Stalin publicly denounced the German working class, alleging that they did not fight the Nazis, even though an estimated 800,000 German trade unionists and political activists from the working class were executed

or imprisoned in the early years of Hitler's power.

It had in fact been Stalin's own policies, followed by the German Communist Party, that had allowed Hitler to come to power "without a pane of glass being broken".

The state of East Germany was formed after the war not as a result of a revolution, but through conquest by the Red Army. After the defeat of the Nazis, largely as the result of the colossal sacrifice of the Russian working class, the imperialist powers, in particular the United States and Britain, saw as their main concern the division of Europe into spheres of influence.

Germany was divided and occupied by the conquering armies. The Potsdam agreement in 1945 allowed the individual powers occupying Germany to decide how far they wanted to destroy German industrial strength through claims for reparations.

There had been huge losses by Russia during the war, but whereas after the first world war Bolshevik Russia under Lenin mercilessly attacked the capitalist powers for their reparations policy—which penalised the German work-



Workers' demonstration, 17 June 1953 in Potsdamer Platz, East Berlin.

ing class for the crimes of the ruling class—after the second world war Russia demanded \$10,000 million recompense for war losses.

Until 1946 they took equipment away from the Russian-occupied zone of Germany and reassembled it in Russia. 26% of all industry was taken. War and reparations reduced East German workers to penury.

Many of the old capitalists were tainted by their involvement with the Nazi occupation. As they fled the advancing Red Army, new regimes were installed throughout Eastern Europe in the image of the USSR—not in 1917 but as it was in 1945 under Stalin.

Capitalist shadows

These regimes, with the same social base of that of the USSR, rested entirely on the Red Army. They were able to erect false "popular" governments using the shadow of the old capitalist class to keep in check any independent movement of the working class and peasantry, at the time as they started to oust the leaders of the capitalist parties. In East Germany the Russian commanders picked out "reliable" people from any background which was not obviously Nazi and placed them in state positions such as police officers, mayors, etc.

In 1946 a number of leaders of the Social Democrats (SPD) agreed to merge their party with the Communist Party in the Russian occupied zone. One of these, Grotewohl, was given a leading position in the

new Socialist Unity Party (SED).

Many workers kept their allegiance to the former SPD rather than the new hybrid, as Stalinist control of Eastern Germany had done little to change their views. The Communist Party opposed strikes, and agitation about low wages, even though industry was still largely privately owned to begin with.

Instead the Stalinists used bribery, such as special ration cards for SED members, to convince political enemies. At the same time, former Social Democrats were often arrested.

Although many Communist Party members from before the war retained their membership, the party ranks were swelled by many place-seekers, including many from the middle class who saw Stalinism as a better guarantee of the future than the dead end of capitalism.

At no stage did the East German Stalinists encourage direct participation of the working class. This was no repeat of 1917. There were no workers' soviets, and no independent movements of workers.

Despite the waste and

changes were made.

In Russia itself, in that same summer of 1953, half a million prisoners in the Vorkuta slave labour camp struck in the most difficult and dangerous conditions despite the shooting of 120 strikers.

In East Germany the government at first carried on totally subordinating consumption to the building up of heavy industry, but at the beginning of June only a few days after the norm increase for workers had been decreed, the Russian high commissioner ordered the East German government to adopt a more conciliatory policy, including a drastic cutback in the plan for heavy industry.

The debate within the Communist Party leadership was whether or not to give concessions to the working class helped to foster an atmosphere of hope lacking in earlier years.

Western capitalist leaders understood very well that the East German working class were not demonstrating for the return of capitalism. The West German government was content to make propaganda points on the radio but certainly not to offer any real support to the workers.

The leaders of trade unions in the West were also unwilling to offer any support. When East Berlin workers marched through the Brandenburg gate into West Berlin, they received the sympathy of the working class and gifts of cigarettes and chocolates.

East Germany in crisis

In Magdeburg, railway workers told East German workers, "We negotiate neither with Adenauer (Chancellor of West Germany) nor with Ulbricht but only with Ollenhauer (the leader of the SPD)." Ollenhauer was following the lead of the West German and the American ruling classes, who would prefer, whatever their differences with the Russian bureaucracy, for them to maintain control of the East German state, rather than to have genuine workers' democracy.

Although the Berlin uprising was crushed, it showed the bureaucracy that it could no longer treat the working class with contempt. When Polish workers came onto the streets in 1956, the East German bureaucracy rapidly acted to lower consumer prices by up to 50%, to ward off any workers' protest.

In the 1960s there were growth rates of 5-6% in East Germany, and far more was spent on the improvement of living standards than in most other East European countries, with large subsidies for consumer goods.

But regardless of these reforms, East Germany remains a state in crisis and the development of society will come up against the obstacle formed by the bureaucracy with all its waste, incompetence and mismanagement. Eastern Europe needs workers' democracy to develop fully, like a living body needs oxygen.

The memory of the 1953 uprising will serve as an inspiration to East German workers as their struggles inevitably impel them towards political revolution, the successful overthrow of bureaucratic control of society, and the implementation of real workers' democracy, in East Germany and throughout all Eastern Europe.

mismanagement of the bureaucracy, the state ownership of the economy provided the basis for considerable economic growth.

The East European economy had been very poorly developed before the war, and after it some areas practically doubled their industrial output in a few years. But all of the development was in heavy industry; consumption goods were totally ignored and this lopsided economic development saw its results in the lowered living standards of the working class.

In 1950, following the war and reparations, workers' living standards in East Germany had reached only 46% of the level of 1937. In 1953 this had grown to 89%, and by then industrial production was way over the level in 1937 for Germany as a whole.

Numerically, the working class in East Germany was by far the most powerful force in society, and they soon began demanding their reward for the growth rate of 20% per annum.

The situation was made even more explosive by divisions developing within the ruling bureaucracy following the death of Stalin. Throughout Eastern Europe and the USSR the bureaucratic caste seemed paralysed.

They depended on the atmosphere of fear developed by the secret police and the purges during the rule of Stalin. But equally, they were afraid that the working class, which had grown enormously in size since the 1920s, would explode and end their rule completely unless certain cosmetic

CHILE

Strike wave spreads panic in ruling class

PERHAPS the famous words of Marmaduke Grove, the first leader of the Chilean Socialist Party, best reflect the mood of Chilean workers ten years after the coup d'etat in 1973.

"When we get power there won't be enough lamp posts from which to hang the oligarchy."

Last week this hatred and bitterness stirring in the Chilean people spilled onto the streets of Santiago, Chile's capital. These protests against the junta and its economic policies attracted wide-spread support, showing that Pinochet's hangmen and jailers have not broken the will of the working class to fight.

What is clear from these protests is that despite ten years of deaths, torture, "missing persons", and repression, in fact the mass terrorisation of a whole nation, the working class has not surrendered its historic mission of changing society.

Following the courageous protests in Santiago on 11 May hundreds of thousands demonstrated last Tuesday (14 June) in the biggest anti-government protests for a decade, and barricades and burning tyres were set up on main highways.

Consequently, hundreds have been detained, a fifteen year old was shot dead by uniformed police and others have been seriously wounded. Police used batons, tear gas and water cannons to break up demonstrating workers and charged crowds protesting along La Almada, Santiago's main avenue.

Apparently following Pinochet's naïve instruction to clamp down at any cost, police arrested Hugo Estivalde the 29-year old president of the Confederation of Copper Workers for organising protest action against the government, and he is being charged with offences under internal security laws.

The response from workers, particularly copper miners, to the arrest was tremendous. Even before the copper workers' executive took a decision to call for a 24-hour general strike demanding the union's president's release, workers in at least one mining division had already voted to strike for 48-hours.

As copper production contributes 10% to Chile's GDP these disputes are having a catastrophic effect on the economy. Copper workers employed in the El Salvador, El Teniente and Andiana centres have been dismissed for responding to the strike call. These stoppages became indefinite and the trade unions called for a general strike from 21 June.

These protests are the accumulation of years of tension, misery and hardship suffered by workers and peasants as a consequence of the junta's economic policy. As one capitalist commentator put it last week, "the economic model of the



Protest outside Chilean Embassy on 23 June. The success of the transport and copper miners' strikes is likely to force the government to grant concessions.

Chicago boys has failed." Chile has not attracted foreign investment, has failed in privatisation schemes and has contracted what is proportionately one of the highest foreign debts in the world, some \$18 billion, due to the Junta's wholesale borrowing to finance the economic boom of the 1970's.

The penetration of foreign imports in Chile's delicate economy has produced a whole number of factory closures. Half the country's industry is bankrupt. GNP fell by 13% in 1982. These hard, cold facts show that the policies of Friedmanism have devastated the economy; moreover they have meant the pauperisation of the working class and spelt hunger and death for the peasantry.

The junta has frozen wages since 1981, resulting in a fall in their real value of 27%. Unemployment stands at 32% and has tripled in Santiago over the previous three months.

Added to these burdens are the atrocious working conditions. In the mining industry workers are systematically persecuted by management, who practice arbitrary dismissals and violations of legal regulations. Coupled with the fear and repression, bans on elections and political parties, restrictions on strike activity and so on, these monetarist measures have polarised the whole working class, middle class and peasantry in opposition

to the junta.

After the defeat of the working class in 1973, which saw 50,000 dead and thousands tortured, the fight for decent pay, conditions and democracy was adjourned. Struggle is now firmly back on the agenda. In short the whole balance of forces had changed, since 1973 completely in favour of the working class.

These strikes and demonstrations have produced all sorts of splits and divisions within the junta as the generals feel the hot breath of the class struggle

The end of the junta is now in sight. Pinochet cannot rule as in the old days

down their necks. The cracks are already visible, there is talk of a "palace revolution" with the ditching of Pinochet himself. Whole sections of the ruling class are now openly critical of the regime, including the gangster Leon Vilarin who organised the infamous truck-owners strike under Allende.

A dismissed member of the Junta, former commander of the air force, General Leith, has complained: "We are confronted with a president who doesn't listen". (*Sunday Times* 19 June). Thus the end of the junta is in sight; Pinochet cannot rule as in the old days.

However, the question is this, why have important sections of capital decided to abandon the junta? Certainly not because of any sympathy for the oppressed masses or hungry peasants. The same business people who today are opposed to the junta were yesterday its allies and executioners.

They are opposed to the junta because its continuation raises questions about the very existence of capitalism itself. With no social base the regime is isolated. In the past the generals could rely on the middle class, but that support has now evaporated; this class, an important barometer as to the mood in the country, has now firmly swung behind the working class.

The Times has noted, "The protest was organised by the trade unions, but discontent has also increased in Chile's wide middle class, and political opposition has become more visible, vocal and united." (June 17). Thus, the more farsighted representatives of Chilean capital realise that the situation is reminiscent of that of Spain at the time of Franco's death in 1975.



Pinochet. All the propaganda photos in the world can't save him.

Spanish big business had a choice under the pressure of the working class, they could keep the Francoists in the wings, liberalise the regime and grant concessions from the top, or, they could fight the labour movement and risk losing their whole system. They chose the former.

The capitalist class can be flexible on how it dominates the working class; when parliamentary democracy is feasible the generals will be kept to one side, at other times it will be convenient to use the military, the criteria being, which regime is best at maintaining the power, profits and privileges of the ruling class.

The Chilean junta will also have a choice, it will grant concessions or it will perish. As *The Times* put in 17 May, "If unemployment continues to grow and unrest spreads, General Pinochet may be put in a position where his critics can no longer be silenced by fears of imprisonment, torture or exile. The only solution then might be a change of government able to introduce new economic policies."

Of course, because of the crisis of Chilean capital the economy cannot afford to put people back to work or increase wages, nor can the capitalists afford to legalise the Socialist Party, introduce democratic elections etc, without glancing to the future in fear.

Therefore any reforms wrung from the capitalist class can now only be temporary while capitalism and landlordism continue to exist. The task of the new emerging Socialist Party leadership, is to struggle for the elimination of capitalism and landlordism; this struggle will have a profound effect not only on the population of Chile but on the masses of the whole of the South American continent.

By Steve Higham
(Liverpool Broadgreen
CLP)

Lessons of Chile

Militant publication
Price 50p (+20p post and
packing) from *Militant*, 1
Mentmore Terrace, London
E8 3PN.



Celebrating Labour's victory in Coventry South East. Labour's youth were to the fore in all the most active socialist campaigns of the election. Photo: Militant

Tories drive down youth wages

THE TORIES plan to abolish what little had been achieved by the Wages Councils.

Hairdressing salons are beginning to take up the Youth Training Scheme (YTS) in a big way.

The Wages Council covering hairdressing has recently agreed that if a young person satisfactorily completes a one year YTS in hairdressing then it can be counted as a year towards the three year apprenticeship.

However, previously the wages council had agreed a rate of £30.50 a week in the London area and £29.50 elsewhere, for first year apprentices.

With YTS trainees on £25 a week this has effectively driven down wages of apprentices in hairdressing.

Hairdressing is a notoriously badly paid industry with apprentices and stylists working long hours on their feet. Hours in London salons often start at 9 am until 6 pm with one or two late nights until 8pm, a physically demanding job; yet still for only £25 per week.

One of Central London's hairdressing companies is Robert Fielding. They have salons in a number of major department stores. Before YTS, they demanded a premium of £300 to be paid (£100 at the beginning of the apprenticeship and the balance 8-10 months later when apprentices sign their indentures).

The company justified charging a premium as they felt it gave the apprentices incentive to stay the course of the apprenticeship.

However, with YTS, they will be getting a first year apprentice for nothing, saving themselves hundreds of pounds in wages. Having tested the trainee out for a year you would have thought that the company would waive the premium. But no, the premium is now £500.

The attitude of the bosses and the Tories to YTS trainees in the hairdressing business is typical of their attitude to YTS in general.

The MSC met recently where the trade union representatives were urging a rise of £3.50. but even this meagre sum has been opposed by the bosses 'union' the CBI, and the Tories will probably follow suit.

Not only is this rise set to be turned down, but there are now fears that where, as at present, the MSC pays trainees' fares that are over £4, this may be ended in September with the trainees having to pay these fares themselves.

It is clear that the path the Tories have taken in the hairdressing business illustrates their plans for the whole of British industry—to provide the bosses with an unending source of cheap youth labour.

By a NALGO member

How Labour could have won the youth

YOUTH during the last four years have been hammered.

Throughout the recent general election the hatred of youth for the Tories was clear. Comments such as, "If Thatcher gets in for another five years it will be war. Things aren't too good as it is", or, "I hate Thatcher. She's turned my father into an old man" were typical on the doorstep. Yet this anger and hatred for Thatcher and the Tories was not translated into votes for Labour.

A recent opinion poll in the *Guardian* newspaper claims that of those youth who bothered to vote, 41% voted Tory, 30% for the Alliance with just 29% voting Labour. An incredible 47% of unemployed youth stayed at home on polling day, with 32% of youth generally not voting.

A further one million potential first-time voters didn't even bother to register. The failure of Labour to win the youth vote solidly to its banner must undoubtedly stand as one of the principal reasons for its crushing defeat on June 9.

The LPYS consistently argued before and during Labour's election campaign that the four and a half million potential first time voters would play a decisive part in the election outcome. As the *Guardian* recently pointed out, Labour's narrow election victories in 1964 and 1974 were dependent on the tendency of youth to vote Labour.

In the recent election a huge potential reservoir of support for Labour existed amongst young people. But as the LPYS warned it was fatal to simply take this for granted. The failure of the 1974/79 Labour government to solve the problems facing working people and especially youth, meant that by 1979 many youth had lost faith in the Labour Party. In the 1979 election the youth vote divided evenly between Labour and the Tories. If Labour was to win back the youth vote then it could only be done by a major campaign around clear socialist policies to show that Labour offered youth a future.

By Nick Toms

Sadly, however, the warnings of the LPYS fell in deaf ears. Far from featuring prominently in the campaign the issue of youth, Labour's youth policy was virtually ignored meriting only one solitary press conference, with Jim Mortimer introducing the subject by talking about pensions!

The policy of the £25 grant for all 16-18 year olds in full-time education, a potential election winner which the LPYS had fought for to be included in Labour's manifesto, was allowed to be ridiculed by the Tories when the Labour leaders announced it was to be paid for by increased taxation and a clawback on family allowance.

Indeed such was Labour's 'determination' to win the youth vote that in the months prior to the election the LPYS had its annual budget drastically cut, with the campaign allocation of the budget being taken away entirely.

By contrast the Tories went out of their way to win the youth vote, even organising an election youth rally just before the election which, despite its Nuremberg character, nevertheless gained national publicity allowing the Tories, disgracefully, to appear as the party of youth.

At the rally, Thatcher proclaimed "Could Labour hold a rally like this?" Yet the LPYS regularly has a turnout of 2,000 Young Socialists at its national conference. Had the Labour leadership provided the facilities the LPYS could have guaranteed a mass youth rally, alongside which the Tory event would have paled into insignificance.

Undoubtedly the Tory vote, despite falling, still held up among sections of young workers because of the failure of the Labour leaders to offer any real way forward for youth. For much of the campaign even, Thatcher was allowed to appear to be the most 'radical'

political leader, resolute and determined, compared to Labour's Frontbench spokesmen, many of whom were still tainted with the failed policies of the 1974/79 Labour government.

But any claims by the Tories of a swing to them amongst young people are completely unjustified. A clear, even overwhelming majority of youth in the election campaign were opposed to the Tories. The failure of the Labour leaders to offer a credible alternative meant some sections of youth sup-

ported the SDP/Liberal Alliance (although it is unlikely that, as the *Guardian* poll shows, more youth voted for the Alliance than voted for the Labour Party) But by far the majority of youth opposed to the Tories did not bother to vote at all, reflecting a general disillusionment and lack of faith in the whole of the political and economic system and its inability to offer any real guarantee of hope for the future.

to believe that the election result will give them another five comfortable years of office. The *Economist* recently revealed quite blatantly big business's and the Tories' intentions to further drive down the living standards of young people. It said, "If Britain's unemployment is to fall, Britain's job-providers will need to pay a lower real level of average wages—particularly to Britain's young people to whom industry is meant to be giving jobs."

The Tories' own 'think

Youth are in the frontline of Tory attacks

★ More than 1.3 million people under 25 are on the dole.

★ 350,000 youth have been unemployed for more than a year

★ 600,000 youth under 18 are on the Youth Training dead end schemes, many finishing the scheme without a job

★ Last year, 10% of working girls under 18 earned less than £34 a week, while 10% of boys earned less than £38 a week

★ More than a quarter of youth working in shops are being paid less than the legal minimum rates.



LPYS members leaflet GEC in Coventry

ported the SDP/Liberal Alliance (although it is unlikely that, as the *Guardian* poll shows, more youth voted for the Alliance than voted for the Labour Party) But by far the majority of youth opposed to the Tories did not bother to vote at all, reflecting a general disillusionment and lack of faith in the whole of the political and economic system and its inability to offer any real guarantee of hope for the future.

The Tories would be gravely mistaken if they were

Very rapidly the disillusionment of young people will turn to bitterness and anger. There is a distinct possibility that the riots of 1981 will be repeated on a far more widespread and ferocious scale. Already in the last few days there have been disturbances in Bristol and skirmishes between youth

and riot police in Slough, Peckham, Brent and Notting Hill in London, which should serve as a warning for the future.

If the labour movement is to ensure that the anger of youth is not to be wasted on blind acts of violence but instead is channelled into the positive struggle through the mass organisations of the working class, then it must study the lessons of the election and resolve to re-arm itself with socialist policies.

More than any other section of society, youth face a crisis. They are being driven into the gutter by the Tories and the decaying capitalist system they represent. Youth have no conservative traditions, by their nature they are the most audacious section of society. But this does not mean that youth will come automatically to the banner of the labour movement. Youth today want a radical leadership which will show a clear way out of the crisis. Labour must show that it is prepared to fight in their interests on the basis of radical socialist policies.

The experience of the LPYS across the country during the election was that youth respond enthusiastically to socialist ideas. Thousands of youth attended rallies organised by the LPYS throughout the length and breadth of Britain.

In Scotland two successful Labour candidates, Norman Buchan and Allen Adams, both praised the efforts of the LPYS in securing the youth vote for Labour, the latter saying, "We fought this campaign on the right platform—youth unemployment—and I must thank the Young Socialists for the vital part they played in our success." Norman Buchan added that, "We won today because the young people came out. Our campaign was fought predominantly with the young people in mind and they rallied to the call."

In the aftermath of perhaps the worst defeat ever for the Labour Party the labour movement must draw the conclusion to turn to the youth. The LPYS, instead of being hindered by attacks on its resources, must be given the go ahead and financial backing to launch a massive campaign to win youth, not just to drive out the Tories but also to build a socialist society.

Letters



People's marchers pass Downing Street, June 1983.

Photo: Militant

People's Marcher speaks out

Dear Comrades

Like Ali Hughes (see issue 655) I was also expelled from the People's March—the South West leg. My leg was also controlled and organised by the "Communist" Party and their sympathisers. The Chief Marshal, who was appointed, was a CP member.

We were banned from shouting "Tories Out!" and other political slogans, again

as on other legs. We were even told not to wear political badges or give clenched fist salutes as they were "intimidating".

I was expelled, after walking 300 miles from Lands End to Bristol, for the "crime" of speaking at a factory gate meeting of 300 and urging them to vote Labour on June 9!

Just to finish with I give you a few choice quotes from some of the "Communist" Party members, all with at least three years membership:

"I don't hate the Tories—that would make you as bad as them." Asked if they had read *State and Revolution* the reply was, "who wrote that, Trotsky?"

Or "Karl Marx had some good ideas, but then so have the Liberals".

If this is what the CP call Marxism no wonder their membership is in the doldrums.

Yours fraternally
P Bishop
Bath LPYS

Build the Labour Party

Dear Comrades

The general election was a disaster for Labour and the working class as a whole, but in my own constituency ward a notable victory was achieved. Woodhouse Close Estate in the town of Bishop Auckland has more characteristics of an inner-city area, than what is supposed to be a market town. Bad housing, lack of facilities and a male unemployment rate of 60-70% are a few typical examples.

Despite the almost exclusive working class composition of the estate, council seats have been won on occasions in the past by the Tories, largely due to the former moribund nature of

the local Labour Party. Until 1983 the estate was never properly canvassed by Labour and the turnout in local elections has been as low as 13%.

During the last 18 months we have had a steady influx of new members and now have a healthy, active ward party. We were determined not to take the voters for granted and in the two weeks before the election every house was canvassed and issues debated on the doorstep. Despite the lies and smears of the capitalist media and the stabs in the back by some of our own leadership we were able to swing back many votes to Labour. The turnout increased from 49% in the 1979 general election to over 70%, of which we estimated 80% were cast for Labour.

In addition we received 25 applications for member-

ship. This was entirely due to the determined effort put in by party activists including *Militant* supporters.

It was noticeable that many right wing members were conspicuous by their absence.

I am naturally disappointed with the results of the election in general but the 'victory' in Woodhouse Close proves to me that if we get off our backsides and leaflet, hold public meetings and particularly argue class issues on the doorstep then great advances on the road to socialism will be made. We must build a mass party of activists committed to that goal.

Yours fraternally
John Gilmore
Secretary
Woodhouse Close Branch
Bishop Auckland CLP
(Personal Capacity)

Influence!

Dear *Militant*

On election day, I went to help with the election of Dave Nellist in Coventry South East. The response was excellent. The most quoted phrase I got was "good luck".

One woman I came across told me she always voted Labour and wasn't at all put off by the supposed "extremeness" of the candidate.

She told me about the local elections where a Tory councillor came round and she showed him a repair job which needed doing in her house. She had been waiting

to have this done for a long while.

He said he happened to have some influence in that area and being election time, the very next day someone came round and did the job. Come polling day, he even arranged for a car to pick her up and take her to the polling station.

She thanked him kindly, went in—and voted Labour!

Comradely,
Pauline Maniscalco
Leicester

Two-time Wembley failure

Dear Comrades

Did you know the new

football "superstar" Charlie Nicholas has disgraced Scotland twice at Wembley this year?

The first was when he gave an awful display against the English soccer team, and the second was when he appeared on the platform at the Tories' so-called "Youth Rally" during the election.

Whatever happened to the working class boy from the Wyndford in Maryhill, the heartland of Labour's support in that area?

Charlie now seems to have turned his back completely on his working class roots and the many young people who escaped the miseries of Toryism for a few hours on

Mortgages—now the election is over...

Dear Comrades

About one month before the general election, I attended, as a representative of BIFU, the annual presentation of accounts meeting of Barclays Bank. The panel for the bank consisted of high ranking officials from Barclays Bank PLC and Barclays Bank International Ltd, (of whom I am an employee), including Mr Deryck Van der Weyer, vice-chairman of Barclays.

Since Barclays have joined the home loans and mortgages market, in competition with the Building Societies, the return on small and medium loans has, on the banks own admission, been disappointing. In view of this fact, said a senior spokesman for Barclays, the bank would certainly be considering raising its interest rates.

However, he went on to say, "It would be a very bold management indeed who would raise interest rates at the present time, causing other banks and the Building Societies to follow, in the light of the pending general election."

Neither Barclays, nor any other bank, believe that a rise in mortgage and interest rates, under a Tory government, would be in the least detrimental to the socialist cause. It is no wonder then, that the banks applaud the non party-political constitution of BIFU, the principal finance workers' union, whilst laughing up their sleeves and helping the Tories' capitalist cause blatantly and in every way possible.

It is a measure of the banks' support of the Tory party, that they, organisations intended solely for the making of profit, are prepared to "lose money" for weeks on end in order to further that capitalist cause?

Yours fraternally
Janet Walker
Shipley Labour Party
Personal capacity

Worker's wage—reply

Dear *Militant*

I have just had drawn to my attention a letter which appeared in your edition of 17 June. It attacked me personally and implied that, unlike Dave Nellist, I would not have been prepared to live on a worker's wage if elected to the House of Commons. It also told your readers that, as a 'lecturer', I have expensive tastes.

I wish to state to your readers that the letter is a lie from beginning to end and a total slander. I was not asked a direct question on the said matter during my election campaign. If I had been I would have stated unequivocally that I most certainly would have been prepared to live on a worker's wage.

Your readers should know the facts. I am 41 years of age, but never in my life have I earned more than two-thirds of the national average wage. For the last four years I have been registered unemployed, and I have been drawing supplementary benefit for most of that time.

The 'lecturing' I have done has been a single evening class, and since on supplementary benefit one is only allowed to earn £4 per week, I have had to give the

rest of my earnings back to the state. So much for my expensive lecturer's tastes. A skilled worker's wage would represent for me an immense fortune. I would happily settle for that.

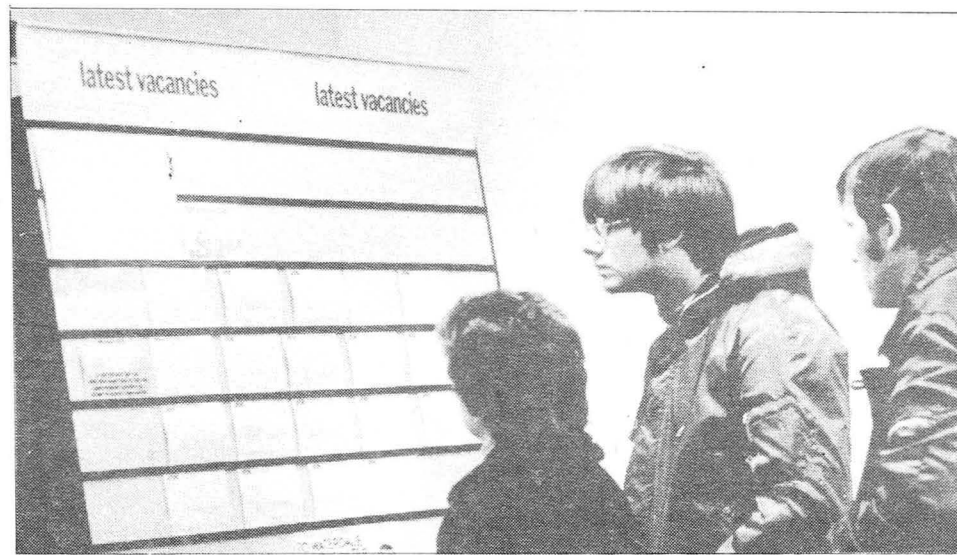
As secretary of Warwick and Leamington Constituency Labour Party, I have consistently opposed the register and the witch-hunt. I have publicly stated that I would accept expulsion myself before I would play any part in expelling others.

Under the circumstances, one might feel that I have the right to expect a recognition of this stand from the comrades of *Militant*, not the kind of vicious innuendo being put around. I must have been one of the very few unemployed Marxist parliamentary candidates standing in this election.

I have to tell you that I prefer the comradeship of some who opposed my views, but worked loyally for me and the party here in Leamington and Warwick, to the despicable sectarianism of those who seek to ruin political reputations of fellow left wingers by lies and falsehood. Ordinary common decency is important in every sphere of life, not least in politics. I note its absence in the words and actions of *Militant* towards other party members.

Yours sincerely
Richard Chessum
Parliamentary candidate for Warwick and Leamington in the General Election and Secretary Warwick and Leamington CLP.

EDITORIAL NOTE: Our letters' column is open to all, and letters are not necessarily in agreement with *Militant's* policy.



In the "no jobs" centre.

Photo: J Sutton (Gamma)

Stark choice for youth

Dear Comrades

During the successful Coventry campaign a 14-year old girl told me that if Labour got in she would take her exams and try to do well because there would at

least be hope and chance of a job.

But, if the Tories got back in, then there would be no point, because she definitely wouldn't get a job afterwards.

With another five years of Tory/capitalist squander and cuts ahead of us, what chance have youth got? Every chance! A rapidly

growing socialist movement provides our hope for the future. Work to build and strengthen it is now vital, so don't give up.

Yours fraternally
Mag Weare
Warwick and Leamington LPYS

a Saturday afternoon, watching him play football.

I don't wish to appear bitter but I hope Nicholas and his new manager Terry Neil have a terrible season because by supporting the Tories they have condemned the very people upon whom they make their living, the working class, to a life of misery under the Tories.

Yours fraternally
Stevie Lees
Glasgow

'You've got our support'

Dear Comrades

As a former army conscript during World War II,

I like millions of other young men tried to change the world we were born into. Life for me began as an orphan from the age of 2½ spending 15 years in an orphanage and two more in a boy's home in London during the blitz.

After being conscripted into the army, from North Africa to Italy I saw the real horrific effects of war.

Being born into a slum I have always been a Labour supporter and I have always been a rebel against the Tory masters, because a rebel sees and understands what society is all about, like *Militant*. I want a truly socialist Labour government and

policies that are not watered down, and people voting for the policies of Labour and not because the candidate is very nice and good looking man or woman, which unfortunately many people do.

Both my wife and I will support *Militant* because it gets to the truth and spells out socialism loud and clear. We both wish you well as I'm physically disabled and we are both old and unemployed so we need your paper to support us.

Yours fraternally
Mr and Mrs J
Maxwell-Taylor
Coventry

Low Pay

Fighting for a national minimum wage

THE issue of a national minimum wage is being raised increasingly in the labour movement.

One of the major lessons of past legislative attempts to improve the position of low paid workers such as the Equal Pay Act, is that without a campaign by the labour movement, without strong class organisation prepared to take on the bosses, legislation can remain a dead-letter.

This is particularly underlined by the experience of the Wages Councils which fix a minimum wage for 14% of workers and whose decisions are backed up by law (see article below). The link between achieving what's yours by law and trade union organisation is particularly underlined by the position of homeworkers, who are isolated from one another and almost totally unorganised.

ACAS looked at the wages amongst homeworkers who are covered by the Wages Council for the toy industry and discovered that 80% weren't receiving the rate for the job. Legislation can never be a substitute for class organisation and action.

The labour movement must launch a concerted campaign

By Margaret Creear



Margaret Creear

for a national minimum wage of £100 with pro-rata payments for part time workers, using this demand as the spearhead of a campaign to recruit workers to the union and to involve them actively in the movement.

● The Tories claim that British workers are "pricing themselves out of jobs".

If that were true then unemployment would be falling rapidly. In '79 when the Tories came to power two-thirds of manual workers' wages fell below what the EEC calls "fair remuneration" i.e. 68% of average earnings—now that figure is three-quarters.

The number of families who rely on Family Income Supplement to supplement their wages has doubled.

Some members of the ruling

class seem to be conducting their own personal campaigns to make sure workers don't "price themselves out of jobs".

Ian McGregor, who receives £48,000 from British Steel alone, pays his cleaner 78p an hour. The firm which Princess Diana buys her clothes from at £500 a time employs women who take home £40 a week.

These are not isolated cases. 65,000 women who work as sewing

machinists in the rag trade take home on average £66.71 for a 38-hour week.

A third of adult workers earn less than £90 a week or £2.25 an hour. This amounts to seven million full and part-time workers, three-quarters of whom are women.

These figures don't include young workers, 95% of whom earn less than £90, homeworkers and handicapped workers in sheltered workshops.

● 11% of families now rely solely on a woman's income for their survival.

Concentration of women into low paid work means a struggle to provide the basics of life not just for the women themselves but also for the 1 in 10 children who are brought up in single parent families headed mainly by women.

Unless the problem of low pay is tackled then other measures to improve the position of working women will be undermined.

Under the last Labour government much of the attention was on Equal Pay. Welcome though this legislation was, it was limited by the segregation of women into certain industries or departments.

Half of all women workers are concentrated into three sectors; miscellaneous services such as hair-dressing or catering; professional and scientific; distributive trades,

mainly shop workers. Even if they could find a man to compare their work with, these are the very sectors which have the largest number of low paid men.

Unless the struggle for equal pay is combined with an attack on low pay it will generally mean that the majority of women who gain equal pay will get the same low wages as low paid men and will not significantly raise their living standards.

● The bosses argue that low pay is the result of low productivity and that redundancies would result if they had to pay a living wage.

Why should workers pay for the bankrupt policies of British bosses who have refused to invest, leading to low productivity?

Many inefficient firms have asked their workers to hold back on wages, and in some instances to take a pay cut, but these sacrifices

have not saved a single job.

The bosses continually claim poverty, yet in sectors where profits have increased they have not rushed forward to increase the wages of their workers.

11,000 farmworkers' families rely on FIS. Their increase in

January was 7%—the farmers announced income increases of 45%. Of the top 15 companies in the retail trade, all increased their turnover last year. Only 3 in the 15 had no increase in pre-tax profits.

When the Wages Council awarded a claim of £67.50 minimum, for 500,000 workers, Tebbit intervened and reduced the award to £66.25!

● Many workers fear that Labour's demand for a national minimum wage would involve wage restraint for higher paid sections of the working class.

That strategy undoubtedly still has strong support in the PLP. In a recent debate on low pay in the House of Commons Frank Field MP said, "If those earning the lowest pay were earning the same proportion of average earnings today as they were towards the end of the 1970s, they would be £5 a week better off. Of course, that £5 a week would have to come from

the rest of us who earn more."

In other words the bosses hang on to their wealth whilst leaving the workers to organise the distribution of poverty amongst themselves! The labour movement has repeatedly made clear its opposition to wage restraint and any attempt to introduce it in this guise should be opposed by low and better paid workers.

The implementation of a minimum wage should be overseen by the trade union movement with representatives having access to all firms suspected of not complying, as they should at present in the industries covered by wages councils.

If the bosses use the old argument of low productivity, that they can't afford the minimum wage or simply refuse to comply, then the next Labour government must back up the campaign with the nationalisation of such firms, opening their books to demonstrate the responsibility of the bosses for the state of the industry.

Such a campaign would get an enormous response from low paid workers. In particular it would draw millions of working class women towards active participation in the movement, strengthening it in the struggle to end poverty along with the capitalist system which gives rise to it.



Women workers, concentrated in low-paid jobs, are particularly in need of a minimum wage

Who needs the Wages Councils?

Peter Mumford reviews 'Who needs the Wages Councils?' Low Pay Unit Pamphlet No 24, price £1.50. Available from Low Pay Unit, 9 Poland Street, London W1V 3DG.

The Tories are giving hundreds of firms the green light to break the law and exploit low paid workers. That is the message of this pamphlet by the independent Low Pay Unit.

Wages Councils set minimum wage levels, backed by law, for more than 2.7 million workers in low paid

"sweatshop" industries such as catering, clothing and retailing, where unionisation is weak, banned, or difficult to maintain due to the high turnover of staff.

The Tories have already raised the possibility of abolishing the councils completely if they get back into power, but meanwhile they have shown their seriousness in dealing with the problem of low pay by their leniency towards those who break the law.

In 1982, almost half the retail, Food and Allied Trades establishments in-

spected were underpaying over a quarter of their workers.

In the same year there was a total of just seven successful prosecutions of employers, although 9,000 were found to be breaking the law.

The total amount collected in fines was a meagre £1,425. The maximum fine for each offence is just £100—half the maximum for not having a TV licence!

The number of inspectors who check that the law is being adhered to has been cut by one third since the Tories

first came to power in 1979.

Employers are now asked to confirm by written questionnaire that they are not underpaying their employees!

To keep within the law employers in hairdressing had to pay their full-time adult workers a 'massive' £52.50 a week gross! The figure for adult shopworkers was £66 per week.

The Wages Council minimum for 18 year olds was just £50 a week (1982), although, as the report points out, young cashiers and shelf stackers do exact-

ly the same work as their adult counterparts.

This firmly nails the lie that young workers are "pricing themselves out of jobs".

This graphically shows the need for a national minimum wage high enough to give workers a decent standard of living, as part of a socialist planned system.

Even the Council of Europe specifies a "decency threshold" below which it considers workers are not receiving a "reasonable standard of remuneration." This they say would be equal to

68% of average earnings, or £93 a week in Britain.

Seven million adults currently earn less than that figure. A minimum wage of £100 at 18 would transform the lives of those workers and their families.

A Marplan poll found recently that 85% of Trade Unionists surveyed supported the call for a statutory national minimum wage.

Workers are willing to fight. For the low paid the question is a burning necessity. Labour must ensure that it champions their cause.

TGWU Conference

Crisis demands new strategy

TGWU Bi-ennial Delegate Conference (BDC) takes place from 4 to 8 July in the Isle of Man.

Over 1,000 delegates will attend, representing 5,000 branches and 1.8 million members.

Coming so soon after the general election defeat, the major topic is bound to be how the union can best defend its members from the onslaught of the Tory government.

The need for maximum unity has given this conference a special meaning.

The TGWU in the past, particularly in the post war boom of the 50s and 60s and early 70s, encouraged the policy of localised, factory based trade union organisation.

Now in a period of generalised crisis the limitations of purely local and plant trade unionism are increasingly obvious.

Past BDCs have had a reputation of a holiday type atmosphere. This is now changing.

There has been more competition than ever before for delegates places. A side effect of this has been to reveal major faults in the election system. Some Branch Secretaries have cast their whole branch block vote when these Branches have not even met.

Defending union members

One of the major issues coming up will be the election of the Labour Party leadership. The General Executive Council is calling for support for Neil Kinnock. *Militant* supporters will be moving the support of Eric Heffer because of his stand on the witch-hunt and the 1981 Labour Party Deputy leadership elections when Kinnock abstained, effectively helping Healey.

The Conference Agenda consists of 522 resolutions covering almost every topic that affects a union spread across nearly every industry and service in the economy.

Thirty-three resolutions re-affirm the union's policy on unilateralism, armaments spending and opposition to nuclear bases. But reflecting the presence of TGWU members in the defence industries resolutions 286 to 290 call for protection for these members' jobs. An amendment points to the 1982 Labour Party conference decision to nationalise the defence industries and turn to the production of socially useful products.

Unemployment related resolutions (even though somewhat dated because of the general election) number in the dozens.

There are seven on a reduction in the working week, twenty on early retirement, sixteen on the alter-



Moss Evans, TGWU General Secretary



Ron Todd

native economic strategy and eight calling for import controls.

Resolutions 208 and 192 point the way forward, calling for the implementation of clause IV part 4 of Labour's constitution to begin a real plan of socialist production.

A lot of discussion will centre around the ten resolutions demanding a minimum wage. If the TGWU support this then it will have every chance of being in the next Labour Manifesto.

The Conference will probably maintain its tradition of opposing any wage restraint, with fourteen resolutions calling for opposition whilst only three call for support.

Again reflecting the growing fears of its membership the conference has before it twenty resolutions opposing the Tories' privatisation plans.

The Conference was switched from Blackpool to the Isle of Man because of the Tory-Controlled Blackpool Council's privatisation plans for the refuse collection department.

The section of the agenda dealing with the Labour Party will probably be the highlight of the week.

No to witch-hunt

Nineteen branches and two district committees have sent in resolutions opposing the witch-hunt against *Militant* supporters, demanding the ending of the register and the re-instatement of the five Editorial Board members.

Resolution 230, supported by eleven different branches states. "That this conference re-affirms the decision of the General Executive Council at its March 1982 meeting to oppose witch-hunts and expulsions from the Labour Party and believes purges of socialists from Labour's ranks only play into the hands of the Conservatives.

"Conference calls therefore, for the re-

instatement of those expelled from the Labour Party for their association with the socialist paper *Militant* and instructs the General Executive Council to place before the next Labour Party conference a resolution along these lines."

Reflecting a reaction against past manoeuvring by right wing full-time officials. Resolutions 450, 451, 452, 453, and 454 seek to increase lay member representation on the union's delegations to Labour Party and TUC Conference.

As resolution 451 points out, appointed full time officials correctly do not have a vote inside the unions structure, but when it comes to the Labour Party Conference they do. This meant, for instance that at the 1981

LP Conference, full time officials outnumbered lay members in the TGWU delegation.

For the last few months the union has abounded with all sorts of rumours about the position of Moss Evans, the general secretary. The right wing (mainly the Regional Secretaries) have been organising a campaign to get their candidate, George Wright, Welsh Regional Secretary, into the post, if Moss Evans retires.

Not a peep has been heard from the Broad Left. *Militant* supporters in the TGWU call upon the left to sort itself out before the Conference starts, and put forward a candidate of its own. *Militant* believes that the Left candidate with the best chance of beating the

right wing would be Ron Todd, National Officer.

Conference has the opportunity of mobilising the enormous strength of the union against the Tories and their plans. The left in particular have a duty to come together on an agreed set of policies and turn the union in a fully socialist direction.

By Bill Mullins
(TGWU, personal capacity.)

Militant Conference Meeting. 6.30pm to 8.30 pm. Tuesday 5 July, at the Villiers Hotel, Loch Promenade, Douglas. Speaker: Peter Taaffe. Chairman Alan Quinn, TGWU General Executive Council.

BOWATER WANDSWORTH

IN THE last two years Bowaters, Summerstown (Wandsworth) has reduced its workforce by around 30% with another 200 redundancies on the way in July.

Bowaters seem to be withdrawing from the solid case market. Over the last five years they have closed down the solid case division in their plant in Newport, Summers-town was the only plant making the solid board.

This seems to be a conscious decision by Bowaters' management, as we have been told that a £2 million order has been given to their major competitors in this market, Thames Board Mills.

At the present time the packaging industry is working at about 50% capacity, therefore there seems to be no future for the workers within the industry who are being made redundant.

This leaves the Summers-town plant with only the corrugated division on site. There is speculation at the moment on how long

Facing closure?

management will keep the site open with Bowaters plant at Croydon so close by.

Summerstown is an example of the way British capitalism has not invested in manufacturing industry. Much of the machinery is pre-war and the largest machine—the mill—was bought in 1918 and was then second-hand from Ireland.

The second largest machine—a Board Laminator—was bought in the 1920s. Spare parts are impossible to find, any major repairs have to be skilfully made using any materials found on site.

Bowaters like many of the other multinationals have been using the argument of low profits and a shrinking market to justify redundancies. If we look at the Summerstown site we can see this is completely false.

Bowaters have been operating a system of price transferring which means that sites like Summerstown have been paying above the market price to Bowaters subsidiaries in Canada for

goods which they could buy on the open market at lower prices.

This has tended to boost Canadian and American subsidiaries' profit while reducing the profits of Bowaters Packaging UK.

If it was run under a planned economy profits would have been used to diversify within the packaging industry to provide work within the modern packaging industry using new technology and materials which have replaced the traditional cardboard packaging.

What is required is for workers to have full control over their industry, having complete access to the books of the firm. Public ownership with the introduction of workers' control and management is vital.

This is the only way in which redundancies can be saved and the well-being of workers and their families be secured.

By Mick Rogers
(Ex-convenor at Bowaters Summerstown) and Mick Suter

Last shift in Hartlepool

OVER 500 people worked their last shift at British Steel's Hartlepool works on Friday.

A further 250 will be phased out during this week.

Many more will be joining the dole queue when the closure takes its cancerous course during the summer.

Management have circulated rumours of an order from Shell which would have guaranteed six months more work, a rumour quickly scotched when it came to light that the order has already been placed elsewhere.

The town now faces the undesirable prospect of having the highest unemployment figures in the country when the steelworks' closure has its inevitable effect on its customers in local industry.

Paul Turns, a welder, who had worked at the plant since leaving school, told me, "We went for a few pints on Friday just like we always did at Christmas, but it wasn't the same, the atmosphere was bad. Some of the lads realised that this was probably the last time for years that we will be able to afford a few beers."

EETPU Press branch

At the EETPU night press Branch meeting (21 June) It was revealed that 454 resignations had been received by EETPU Head Office.

The Secretary of the London Machine Branch of SOGAT, John Mitchell is reported to have sent a letter saying that the resigning EETPU Press branch members would be "welcome" into SOGAT.

Circulars from the EETPU EC and a letter from Len Murray have been sent to SOGAT's General Secretary pointing out that this transfer into SOGAT breaches the "TUC principles concerning TUs".

If the resigning members are blocked from joining SOGAT, which seems virtually certain, without returning to fight within the EETPU they will eventually become 'Nons' (By the fact of non payment of subs alone). The crunch will come when new rounds of negotiations start with the employers.

The Press Branch Committee now have the sole right to the employing of labour on Fleet Street. This is a major concession by the EETPU EC.

It was felt by the branch that this issue should be used as part of a campaign to win back the ex-members to the EETPU. A resolution was passed to this effect.

Despite the anger of some branch members at the splitting of the union the general feeling is that bridges must be built. It was also reported that all AUEW FOCs are in support of the Press Branch.

31 Militants were sold with the press branch article and £3.40 collected for the Fighting Fund.

By Bob Faulkes
(EETPU)

Industrial Reports

TGWU fights Schweppes closure

JIM HOLLINSHEAD talked to Transport and General Workers' convenor **TONY HAYES** and branch secretary **KEITH McDERMOTT** about the proposed closure of the Schweppes factory in Aintree, Liverpool

What has happened since the closure announcement on Friday?

We contacted Eric Heffer straight away in London, and Terry Fields came up to the factory that night to address the night shift. Terry Fields, Eric Heffer and Eddie Loyden are backing us up all the way.

We've arranged a meeting with Norman Lamont (from the Department of Trade and Industry) for Thursday which should be interesting.

We've arranged a meeting of all the convenors of T&G workers in Schweppes nationally for Wednesday and then we'll be meeting management. This isn't the end of one factory but the beginning of a whole series of attacks.

Management on Friday were telling us all about their plans up until 1985. They must think we're stupid or they made a mistake.

The company is like an octopus with the eight factories around the country its tentacles and they're all pulling

in towards Birmingham and the south.

Why the long waiting period between the announcement and the actual redundancies?

Well that is Schweppes' big problem. In the past they've had a six month run-down period, but they just can't do it. They need to get the fruit juice line in the factory up to East Kilbride and in production. East Kilbride has had a new line for the last eight months and it's still not working right. Drinks production lines are a complicated thing and take a long time to set up.

Management have said they're not moving the plant 'til December. We've told them they're close—they aren't moving it at all. Until all negotiations are finalised in our favour nothing moves out of this factory.

We're going to win this one for us and for all the factories in Schweppes as a whole. Most important now is that if we show we can do it others will follow.

What tactics will you be adopting now?

Our main job is getting the support of other factories. Without that it will be very difficult. With it we can't lose. We'll be going around

all the factories addressing the factory workforce and I'm confident if we get to the people they'll support us.

We're approaching this not from the point of view of "let's keep Aintree open and bugger the rest", but from the standpoint of "we've got eight factories now and we want to keep eight factories". We've got to all fight together for every factory and every job, to keep it going.

No one in the Schweppes drinks group should think they're safe if we close. We're just the first. We've made concessions. We even gave work to Bristol two years ago. And look what we've got now.

We've got to see this as an injury to one is an injury to all. We're made up by the proposal that's come from the Liverpool District Labour Party and Liverpool Labour Group, for a massive Merseyside demonstration and rally to launch a campaign, not just by the unions, but also by the council and MPs and against all the closures in Liverpool. That will draw all the unions and workplaces together and provide real strength.

NUR Conference: all change

THE MOOD of change, a desire for progress and democracy which has swept through the National Union of Railwaymen with the election of a new general secretary is immediately noticeable at this year's Annual General Meeting.

Compared with past conferences when the platform imposed an oppressive atmosphere upon the whole conference, this year's discussions are being held in a frank and fraternal way.

Moving the resolution opposing the Tebbit proposals John Hanson (Neasden 1 branch) said that the Tories' Green Paper reads like an editorial from the *Daily Mail*.

"Tebbit wants the membership to make their decisions under the influence of the television and press, rather than the so-called subversive influences in the branches" he said.

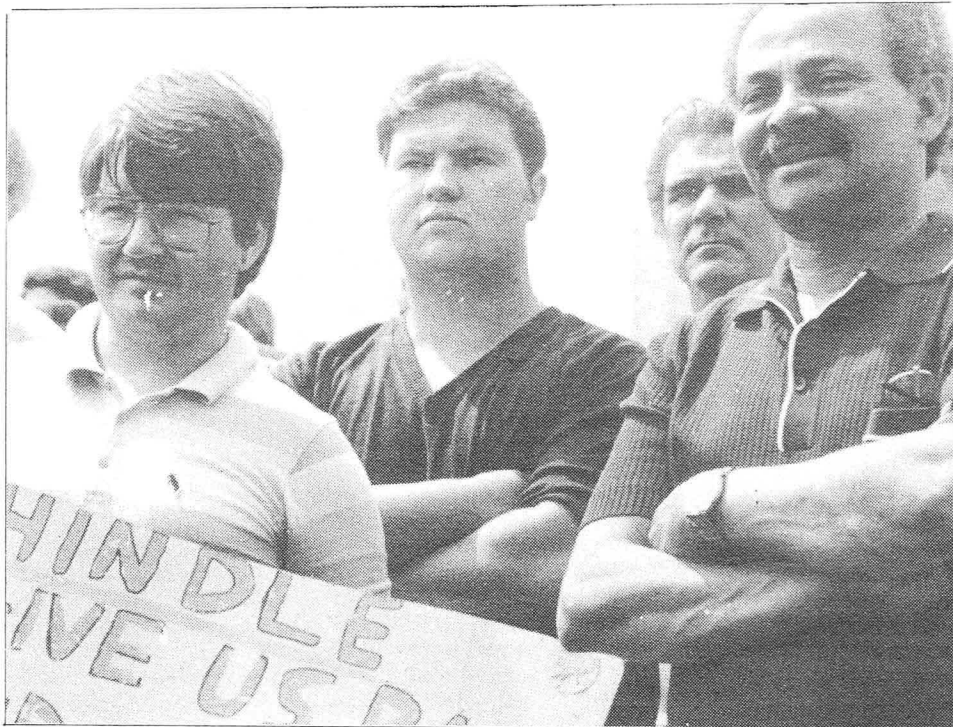
An amendment from Blackpool & District was heavily defeated after the mover had claimed that the legislation would be brought in and the only thing to do was to get the best out of it.

Unity was a constant theme of conference. Moving a motion on Federation and the triple alliance, Willie McGee (Glasgow No 5) pointed out that individual unions had fought alone and lost. Therefore it was essential to take joint action against the Tories.

Brother Allen (Sheffield City Branch) moved an amendment calling for a campaign to build links between the triple alliance unions at local level and a national triple alliance delegate conference to be called to review policy documents. Both were carried unanimously.

Glasgow No 5's successful motion calling for the NUR to affiliate to the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament marked an end to the NUR's days as a bastion of the right wing in the labour movement. A cheer went up from delegates at that result.

Another vital decision was the rejection of the right wing's witch-hunt in the Labour Party (see page two).



The workers suspended by the Hindle's management on the picket line. PHOTO: John Smith (IFL)

HINDLES Bradford solidarity strike

TWO to three thousand Bradford engineering workers came out on strike last Wednesday afternoon in support of their brothers at Hindles Gears.

For fifteen weeks these forty workers have been on strike, and briefly in occupation, against an employer who well understands Thatcher when she talks about "Victorian values".

The workers asked for a mere 5.6% pay rise—the management answer was a list of thirty-five redundancies! The workers struck for the first time ever, apart from the national AUEW strike. The management quickly replied.

Using Tebbit's laws they told the strikers to return to work or be sacked. The workers have held out since then, despite being declared "out of work".

The Bradford strike is

then an important fight against a reactionary employer and a vicious government. At the mass rally on the picket line Les Holland, an employee at Hindles for twelve years, declared that moderation had not worked.

"We were never a militant union. But I think that if we had been militant over the years then we would not be in this situation today". Ronnie Fieldhouse, vice-president of Bradford Trades Council, spelled out the need for national TUC backing for this dispute.

This has to be the next step forward. The fight cannot entirely rest on the shoulders of the local movement. The dispute has official AUEW backing, but there must be decisive action by the National Executive to ensure success. All Perkin's subsidiaries must be con-

tacted to black the movement of goods to the Bradford plant. In this the TGWU can also play a decisive role.

When the latest anti-trade union laws were brought forward by Tebbit the trade union leadership pledged millions of pounds and outright opposition to them. Here is a chance for the TUC to prove its words in action. If the full power of the trade union movement were used against Hindles this tinpot employer would have to concede defeat within a matter of days.

Donation and messages of support to: Hindles Strike Committee, c/o AUEW Headquarters, 2 Claremont, Bradford 7.

By Pete Watson



Phil Holt, new POEU NEC member speaking at the Central London meeting.

POEU - 'No piratisation'

POST OFFICE engineers from Central London turned out in their thousands last week to back union action against 'piratisation'.

Suspended union members were applauded at a special meeting of the Central London POEU branches. The meeting, packed to overflowing, with hundreds more turned away, gave total support to the current industrial action and pledged to fight privatisation at every step.

Union members had refused to connect up the privatised 'Project Mercury' service for big business. The workers were sent home and a handful of management scabs did the job themselves. In reply the POEU have called out all its local Datel staff.

Project Mercury is run by Michael Edwardes. Barclays Bank, BP and the newly-privatised Cable and Wireless want to set up an 'independent' communications network, to cream off the most profitable parts of the British Telecom service. And they want POEU members to connect it up for them!

"We're like the nurses, except we are at the other end of the scale," John Monaghan told the packed hall. The health workers had tried to fight the Tories but lacked muscle: "We have our fingers on the button to Europe and America—Mr Reagan please note."

The Tories want the BT profits—£450 million last year. As one speaker put it, "There's money to be made and it's not going into the hands of the people who back Margaret Thatcher" ...yet.

Mercury was the Roman God of eloquence, skill and...thieving. Michael Edwardes to a tee. But POEU members aren't going to be walked over.

"I'm not going back to my wife and kids to tell them I haven't got the guts for a fight," Nick Nicholls

(LNCE) said in an emotional appeal.

Privatisation threatens jobs, working conditions, wages—and the union. As union executive member Phil Holt spelt out, Project Mercury will be used to provide a non-union scab service.

There were few illusions—taking on the Tories is a tough fight. But Phil Holt reported that the Executive were prepared to take any action necessary. That includes hitting big business where it hurts.

Jock Campbell, representing POEU workers in the City of London, got the biggest applause when he pointed to the Stock Exchange, the Gold dealers and Barclay's HQ: "If they want to be a party to the rape of the telephone service, we should cut their throat: go for the jugular!" He called on the Executive to build links with other public sector unions; the fight against privatisation is everyone's fight.

You could tell the POEU is changing. The local branch leaderships, the new National Executive and union officials are all supporting the action. But pressure must be kept up on the executive to give this fight all the backing it needs.

POEU members have seen what privatisation means. One third of the Cable and Wireless workers were sacked the day after it was sold off. But at British Telecom they know they're in a stronger position, and they aim to use that strength.

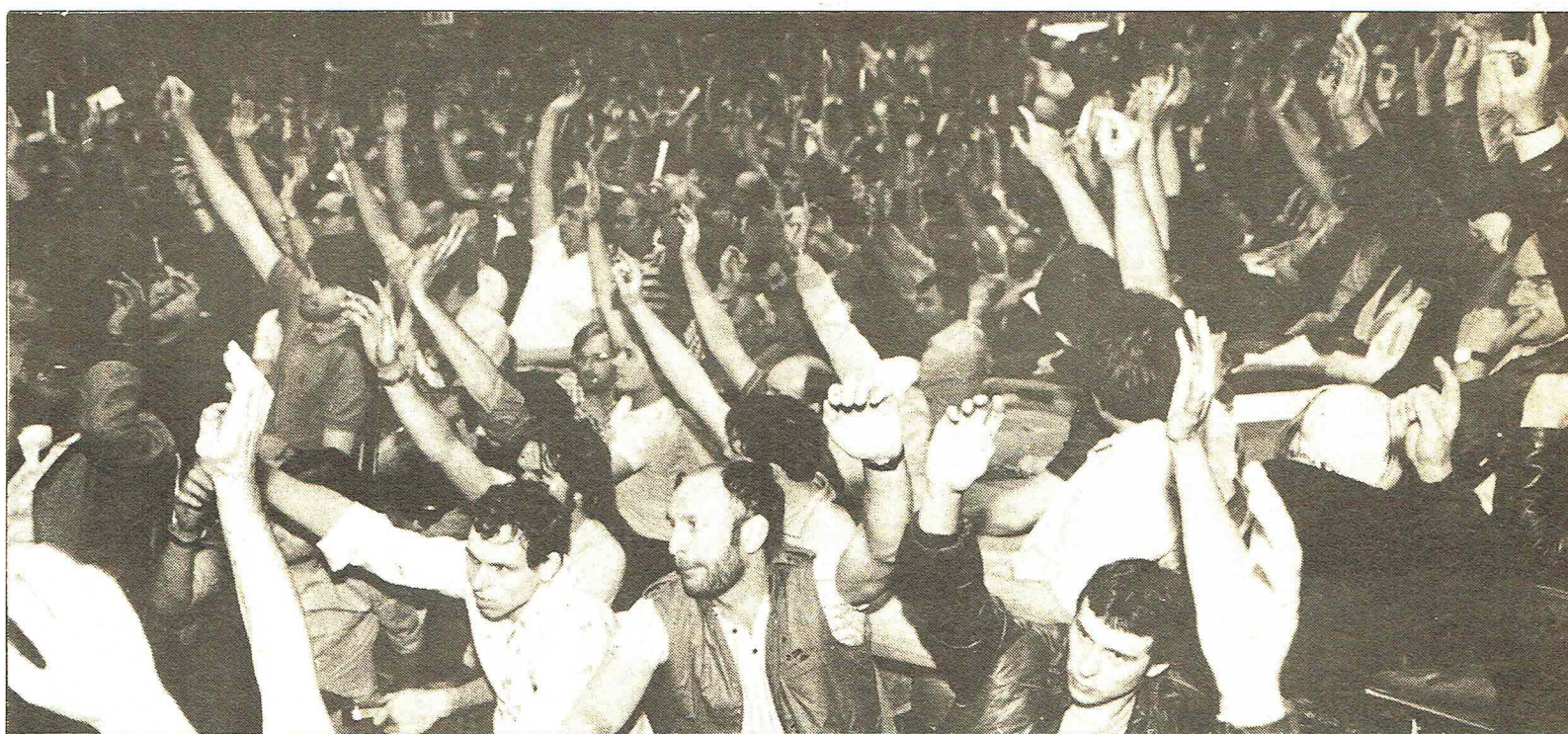
As Dougie Rice (LNCE) concluded, "There are no in-betweens. There are no rocks to hide under. Don't vote unless you're prepared to fight." The call to support industrial action was passed unanimously.

By Eileen Short

PIT CLOSURES-TELECOM

Militant

POEU members are determined to defeat Tory plans for the privatisation of British Telecom. Already engineers have been suspended for refusing to connect private communication networks in London. In reply the POEU pulled out all their DATEL staff. At an all-London POEU meeting (right) thousands voted in support of the suspended members and industrial action. Full reports on the meeting and DATEL strike see page 15.



Force Tories To Retreat

British miners face an onslaught on their jobs, wages and conditions of work.

The report of the Monopolies Commission study of the coal industry, published recently, confirms plans to slash over 50,000 jobs in an orgy of pit closures.

The report vindicates the repeated warnings by the National Union of Mineworkers of Tory and NCB plans for wholesale closures and massive job losses.

The enquiry, carried out without the co-operation of the NUM and APEX, concludes that widespread pit closures and lower wages are necessary for the NCB to achieve 'commercial' viability. It encourages the NCB to be more strenuous in resisting 'high wage demands' from the unions.

The livelihoods of thousands of miners and their families, the health and spirit of whole communities, are reduced to the sterile

By Ian Isaacs
(St John's Lodge, NUM)

strokes of an accountant's pen. The report suggests that £300 million could be saved by a 10% reduction in capacity, concentrating on the so-called 'high-cost' pits.

This would be followed by further closures. Privatisation of some sections of the industry is not ruled out. At least a quarter of mining jobs will go if the report's recommendations are carried out, and these will be in areas already hardest hit by previous closures in coal, steel and other industries.

In NCB defined 'travel-to-work' areas, male unemployment was already 25.1% in Wearside, 24.2% in Ebbw Vale, and 21.2% in Cum-

nock, Ayrshire.

No area, however, is safe. *The Times*, commenting on the report, states: "Even the most profitable mining areas in the Midlands have hopelessly loss-making pits on their books. There is no reason to save these. In other areas, notably Scotland, South Wales and the North East, the majority of pits would have long closed on conventional business tests."

Since nationalisation in 1947 there have been over 800 colliery closures, and over 500,000 jobs lost in the industry. In the same period productivity has risen from 1.09 tonnes per man shift to 2.40. In February 1981, the closure programme announced by the NCB was stopped in its tracks by swift, and unofficial, industrial action.

The threat of a national strike forced the Tory government to back down and grant the NCB additional financial support. The report concedes that it is fear of a breakdown in 'industrial relations'—fear of the in-

dustrial power of the miners—that has prevented the NCB from carrying out wholesale closures in the recent past.

The call by NUM President Arthur Scargill for a concerted union campaign of rallies, education and propaganda, in advance of a ballot urging support for the NUM Executive's opposition to closures, must be taken up now. Links must be forged, both locally and nationally, with other unions—particularly in the rail, steel and power industries.

It is clear that the closure strategy, aimed largely at the traditionally militant areas, is not just a question of balancing the financial books. As the NUM has pointed out, British coal faces competition from heavily subsidised foreign imports. No European coal industry is run like a corner shop, on 'strict commercial lines'. The strategic importance of protecting the future of such a valuable energy source is lost, it seems, on the blinkered

ideologues of the Tory government.

The NCB balance sheets are themselves the inheritance of decades of interest payments on inflated compensation paid to the former pit owners. The social costs of closures on such a scale would alone outweigh any 'financial' saving on the NCB's budget.

It is not a question of closing individual 'loss-making' pits, but the butchery of an

industry. The Tories have even appointed Mac Gregor, their favourite hatchet-man, as head of the NCB, fresh from his 'success' in devastating the steel industry.

Decisive national action now, in the spirit of the founders of the union, will ensure that the Tories, for all their Parliamentary strength, will follow Ted Heath's punch-drunk footsteps.



Become a *Militant* supporter!

Name

Address

Send to Militant, 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN

Jobs axe (Continued from front page)

with the corporation. But at the end of his time, there was no job. He had fallen victim to the vicious cut-backs imposed by the old Liberal-controlled Liverpool City Council. With wasted skills Brian too must face a future of virtually permanent unemployment.

Since the election the axe of unemployment has struck the other two sons. PHIL HAYES JUNIOR, a shift chemist in Liverpool Central Oil thought his future was more or less secure, and was

planning to get married in October. Yet, not less than one week after the Tory victory, the closure of Central Oil has been announced and Philip Hayes can look forward to his first Christmas on the dole.

Last Friday, the third brother, TONY HAYES, a T&GWU convenor, learnt that he too must join his brothers and father on the dole. On the very day that his MP, Terry Fields, was making his maiden speech in Parliament on the murder of jobs on Merseyside his employers, Cadbury Schweppes, announced the closure of their factory and the compulsory redundancy of their employees.

Married with two children, the prospect of years of unemployment in an area starved of jobs has driven him, like his brothers, into a fight to keep his job.

This picture of mass unemployment, of every wage earner in the family being out of work, is typical of thousands of families on Merseyside. Responsibility for the wages now rests on their mother, KATY.

If it had not been for Labour's victory in the May council election she too would have joined the rest of the family on the dole queues. As a cleaner in Liverpool Polytechnic, her job was scheduled for privatisation by the Liberal

council—a scheme abandoned by the Labour Party on taking power.

The Hayes family is by no means untypical. It could be multiplied by hundreds and thousands in an area of massive unemployment and cutbacks. The decision by the three brothers to join the Labour Party and to fight for the election of a Marxist MP in their constituency of Broadgreen comes out of this family's experiences of Tory reality.

It is a decision that more and more workers will follow as they come to see that a struggle against the Tories and their system is the only way to guarantee their jobs and their future.

SUBSCRIBE!

BRITAIN AND IRELAND 13 issues . . . £4.00 26 issues . . . £8.00 52 issues . . . £16.00	EUROPE (by air) 26 issues . . . £9.00 52 issues . . . £18.00
REST OF WORLD (by air) 26 issues . . . £14.00 52 issues . . . £28.00	

DONATE...

I would like to donate £ . . . each week/month to the Fighting Fund.

Name

Address

Sell...

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

Name

Address

Make cheques payable to **MILITANT** return to the Circulation Department, **MILITANT**, 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN.