

Militant

The Marxist Paper for Labour and Youth 30p

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Inside...

Soweto
Centre pages



For a socialist South Africa

ON MONDAY 16 June there was an eerie atmosphere in Johannesburg, silence in the busiest city in Africa. The streets were deserted, but on every street corner stood the army and riot police in groups of three or four, armed with rifles and machine-guns.

This was Botha's South Africa 10 years after Soweto.

Millions of black workers defied the state of emergency enforced on Thursday 12 June and the guns of the regime, in the largest political strike in South African history.

Soon after midnight on that Thursday the police and the army had descended on the homes of youth organisers, trade unionists, and even church leaders. Houses were ransacked and hundreds taken into detention.

Savage attack

The police and army then moved in on the offices of the youth organisations and the unions. The new headquarters of COSATU (Congress of South African Trade Unions) at the bottom of Jeppe Street were emptied, army guards placed at the entrances, and cartons of files were removed.

All this was part of a systematic attempt to behead the working class by taking action against the best organised sections. Their activists were the organisers of the general strike called by COSATU, the community organisations and the youth.

The clampdown flung a wide net to trap the activists. But the difference from last year's emergency is that there has been a savage attack on the democratic trade unions.

With the formation of COSATU last year, the trade union fighters

have deepened their awareness of the bloody link between apartheid and capitalism. As the general secretary of the Metal Union, Moses Mayekiso, recently said:

"They (the liberal capitalists) want to secure a future for their profits. They want to change the face of governments and put black capitalists forward. We want a socialist society where workers are in control... the whole thing!"

Workers are right now fighting the emergency with a wave of strikes, the most effective action at this stage.

Botha has made a major blunder in attacking the unions. For this provides the labour movement internationally with the means of building a massive solidarity movement to force him to release the union detainees. This pressure, in turn, will force his hand with the youth detainees, who are least protected against the state.

A programme of action must include:

- ★ A commitment by the trade union leaders to give official support to workers' sanctions against South Africa
- ★ The adoption of detainees and their families by union branches
- ★ Action by the Labour Party and Young Socialists to send in resolutions to Walworth Road and MPs to fight for imprisoned workers in South Africa rather than waste time on the witch-hunt

★ Demands from trade unionists for the immediate convening of the International Committee of the TUC to issue a call for action on the detentions

We can no longer wait for Thatcher to think up a token measure against apartheid. We want direct action now to get trade unionists released.

By a banned Natal trade unionist



Release these workers

THE NEWS of trade union detentions in South Africa has been disgracefully censored by the British capitalist media. Although the facts were made available to journalists by SALEP (Southern African Labour Education Project) after being received from COSATU sources in the country, the newspapers and television have reported that no information was available. Here is the current list from SALEP.

COSATU MEMBERS detained include:
COSATU officials (9):

J Mthombze, chairman, Empangeni, Natal. N Williams, regional vice-chairman, Western Cape. C Khumalo, regional secretary, Pretoria. M Olifant, regional secretary, Empangeni, Natal. D Hartford, editor of planned COSATU paper. B Najedi, Bloemfontein. Vemabantu, Bloemfontein. Mzuzani, Bloemfontein. H Maqua, Cape Town.

Metal and Allied Workers Union (27): J Vilane, National Vice-president, Natal. W Mchunu, Northern Natal. L Mamabolo, shop steward at Robert Bosch, Pretoria. J Mohakwe, organiser, Pretoria. P Dantjie, branch secretary, Transvaal. A Bird, education

secretary, Pretoria. S Mauna, shop steward, Bosch plant, Pretoria. M Mabuyakhulu, organiser, N Natal. B Mtshali, organiser. J Miya, shop steward. J Mthimba. B Modisapodi, Johannesburg. Makhathini, SARM-COL striker, Howick. Mbeje, SARM-COL striker, Howick. V Mkhonza, organiser, Empangeni. Jizela. P Tom, organiser, Sharpeville. A Pilane, steward, Brits. F Mtshali, organiser. J Moropa, organiser. H Ebohome, shop steward ATC. M Lekoba, Brits. D Tladi, organiser, Sebokeng. J Magarwe, organiser, Brits. Moroke, organiser.

Continued on back page

March to the High Court

Called by Liverpool Labour Group of Councillors

Monday 7 July Assemble: 8am Temple Lane (by Temple Tube)
March 9am via Fleet Street, to lobby High Court, Strand.

Liverpool 1986
Poplar 1920

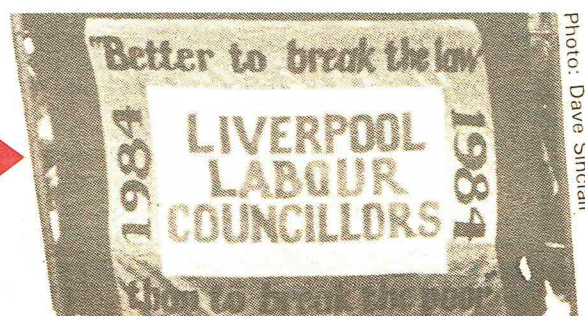


Photo: Dave Sinclair



Young Socialists' Soweto rally

TYRONE SIMPSON from the Southern African Labour Education Project was loudly applauded when he spoke to a 100-strong Young Socialists' rally in Brixton to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the Soweto uprising. He said that blacks in South Africa understood the need to build links with workers in other countries. They had

already raised the demand for a future Labour government to aid their fight by imposing full sanctions and providing them with arms.

Local youth were clearly moved by the heroic struggle of South African blacks. A young West Indian girl who had never before attended a YS meeting contributed £10 to the financial appeal.

Two others gave all they they had on them, £1 each and took an address where they could send a further donation. Altogether the collection raised £250. 30 people were interested in joining the Young Socialists.

By Neelam De Freitas (Norwood LPYS)

Nottingham rally

ONE HUNDRED and fifty young workers, unemployed and students took part in a march and rally organised by YTURC and the East Midlands Young Socialists in Nottingham on Saturday.

Paul Levenson, of Chesterfield LPYS told the rally: "I'm a fully qualified electrician and have been on the dole for nearly a year. Because of the Tories there is nothing left for me to service that's why we have got to get organised to fight for socialism".

John Gray, a 17 year old student from Scredington near Sleaford wanted to build a Young Socialist branch after coming to the rally: "It was brilliant, especially Nimrod Sejake. I've always been sympathetic to Labour. Last year I left school with no money. The alternative was the dole, YTS or school. £20-£28 a week or nothing. I stayed on at school because there was always the possibility of something but I live with my parents and if I want to go to a disco or something I have to ask them for money—it's humiliating".

Linda Douglas, the LPYS delegate-elect on Labour's NEC, Paul Astbury, Liverpool city councillor, Jim Mason a striker from Wapping and Margaret Kelly, a nurse and COHSE shop steward at the Queen's, also spoke at the rally.

Nimrod Sejake from the Southern African Labour Education Project got a standing ovation for his speech linking the struggles of youth in Britain to the struggle of black youth in South Africa. The collection raised £109 to add to the hundreds of pounds raised from the Labour movement in the build up to the rally.

40 copies of *Militant* were sold on the march and at the rally. £41 was raised at a *Militant* readers' meeting.

Kent miner loses parole

CHRIS TAZEY, a young Kent miner imprisoned for 18 months for fighting for his job is to be released on Tuesday 8 July. A special welcoming party is to be organised at The Welfare Club, Cowdray Square, Deal, Kent, on Friday 11 July. All those who helped the miners during the historic year long strike are welcome.

But Terry French, a miner who was jailed for five years—he says "one year for GBH and four years for being a miner"—recently lost his parole. Betteshanger branch NUM have produced a leaflet circulated to trade union and Labour Party branches urging letters of protest to: The Home Office, Abell House, John Islip

St, London SW1P 4LH. Terry French's birthday is on 14 July and he would appreciate cards and letters of encouragement. Send to: Terry French, Weald Wing, HM Prison, County Road, Maidstone, Kent.

By John Ellen
(National Chair LPYS)

Pork pies from the bosses

GARY FREEMAN, a well known *Militant* supporter in Nottingham, was arrested on Sunday morning for alleged theft. He was released at tea time without being charged, after protests from all over the country and a lobby of the police station.

He told *Militant* what happened:

Two CID men knocked on the door at about 10.30am. They asked if I was the owner of a certain car and when I said "Yes", they told me I was under arrest for stealing property from Pork Farms. They asked if they could search the flat but when I asked if they had a search warrant I was told they didn't need one because I was under arrest. There was a bit of an argument but I could see I wasn't going to stop them. Apparently the law now allows them to do that.

As they came in, I went straight to the phone, but one of the CID men wrestled me to the floor and the other snatched the phone. Apparently this is also quite legal now.

"You do nothing unless we tell you," they said. They searched the flat thoroughly, even the bins and washing-machine, then the car. They were looking for a Pork Farms bag or any meat pro-

ducts from Pork Farms, but there weren't any.

They took me to Pork Farms factory where I regularly sell the *Militant*, to see where I parked the car, apparently to "get more evidence".

Just before we got to the police station, it came over the car radio that Dave Nellist MP had phoned in about me. "You've got influential friends" one of them said. At the station I wasn't allowed to make any calls; the police did that themselves—again 'quite legal'.

Trust

During the interview I explained I didn't condone stealing, that I had been selling the *Militant* at the factory for a year and that stealing would only break the trust I was trying to build up with the workers. I think that surprised them.

I was seen arriving at the factory at about 5.45 and left at 7. So someone must have been watching us for an hour and a quarter. I have since been informed that video cameras scan the area. If I had come out of the factory, as was alleged, they would have had the evidence.

After some time the solicitor told me that Paul Vizard, the other comrade who was at the factory with me, had been arrested (he

had come to join the lobby and was arrested when he declared himself as a witness). The police had gone to search his house. When they came back empty-handed (Paul is a vegetarian), we were both released.

Outside I told the 25 or so *Militant* supporters and other Labour party members who were waiting that I thought it was an attack by Pork Farms on the *Militant* (a *Militant* supporter was victimised and lost his job after a strike several months ago). But this wouldn't stop us; we'd be back with papers and leaflets to build support for our ideas even more.

I believe the case was only dropped because of the pressure put on to the police. There were over 70 calls from around the country, jamming the switchboard at one point, including from Labour councillors and three MPs, Dennis Skinner, Dave Nellist and Terry Fields. When Dave Nellist phoned a second time a note was brought into the interview room. The two coppers looked at each other, then one passed me the note and the other said "There's a football team waiting outside for you."

I'd like to thank everyone for their support, particularly the *Militant* supporters who organised the lobby and kept the pressure up. 9

Report reveals union-bashing

WALKOUTS occurred all over the civil service last Friday and Monday in protest at the Tories' actions in fining those who rejoined unions at GCHQ. Further action is likely but a 24 hour strike, followed by further action, is necessary to stop victimisation.

Tory union bashing has been revealed in a government report on the industrial action at the Newcastle Central Office DHSS computer centre.

This eight month long strike was provoked by government plans to save £700,000 by cutting the wages of computer workers. It ended up costing the government a minimum of £170 million. One member of the Committee of Public Accounts which produced the report said: "On any sane analyses that cannot be justified."

Sir Geoffrey Otten, the DHSS second permanent secretary in charge let the cat out of the bag: "I would like to record that one of the reasons it was intractable was that we were dealing with the *Militant* Tendency at the Longbenton site in Newcastle and it was clear from one stage to another of this dispute that there was a sizable faction amongst the strikers who did not want a settlement."

It clearly could have been resolved quicker otherwise, including through the ACAS machinery."

It is clear from the comments of the Tories who gave evidence to the committee that had it not been for the leadership of the Broad Left dominated Newcastle Central Office branch, the strike would have been sold out at an early stage by the national union leadership.

The Tories have a long term strategy to computerise the DHSS, but in Sir Geoffrey Otten's own words: "All I can say, however, is that at the end of the day there is no way in which one can prevent the system breaking down if there is enough industrial action aimed at the material parts of it."

The Tories have failed in their plans to break union power in the civil service as a result of the determined leadership. The effects are still reverberating through the whole of the DHSS and are being used as an important lever in the present battle of 15,000 extra jobs within the DHSS local office network.

Political suppression

ON 16 and 19 June 1986 Peter Bruinvels, (MP for Leicester East) named CPSA branch secretary and *Militant* supporter Tony Church of Leicester DHSS in the House of Commons and asked whether it was proper that members or supporters of *Militant* should be allowed to be active members of the CPSA.

It is an indication of what we can expect in the future, with the Tories' attempts to stamp out political opposition within the civil service.

Unable to do so by force of ideas or argument, they will attempt to do what the West German government has done through the system of Berufsverbot (socialists and radicals are not allowed to work in the civil service). All trade unionists should therefore take these warnings seriously.

By Bill Boyle

Wapping police debate

SIR ELDON Griffiths, Tory parliamentary spokesman for the Police Federation, has agreed to debate with Dave Nellist MP on the public order aspects of the Wapping dispute.

The motion to be debated will be: This house supports

the role played by the Metropolitan Police at Wapping. The debate will take place on Wednesday 9 July at 7.30pm in Committee Room 14 in the House of Commons. Details from Andy Bevan, The Labour Party, Walworth Road, SE17.

MEXICO86

WATCHING THE World Cup on TV has only been possible with the sound turned down to escape the racist rubbish talked by most commentators.

Most of them still seem amazed that these "funny foreigners" are allowed to play football at the top level. "How can you take a team like Morocco seriously when they've got names like Merry?" asked Emlyn Hughes. I wonder what Emlyn means in Arabic. Jimmy Hill called every foul by a South American team "typical Latin American viciousness" while Euro-fouls were just "overenthusiastic".

Things got worse as the match where England were knocked out of the World Cup approached. Greavesie reminded

viewers of "what a small task force did to Argentina in the Falklands war". The papers got hysterical. "Bring on the Argies" and "It's war, senor" headlined the scabby *Sun*.

If England's footballers had beaten Argentina, the *Sun*, the sick parrot of Fleet Street, seems to have planned to revive their infamous 'Gotcha' headline from the sinking of the Belgrano. As Argentina won, they had to fall back on "Outcha".

Aren't these the papers that complain that anti-apartheid activists who want to stop cricket and rugby tours to South Africa are bringing politics into sport?

By Emlyn Who

Spanish socialists get grudging support

THE SPANISH socialist party (PSOE) was returned to power with an absolute majority in Sunday's elections. Yet this majority was less than in the 1982 elections—they won 185 seats instead of 202.

Only 69 per cent voted, instead of the 80 per cent in the last elections. This was a conscious abstention—a vote of censure against the policies of the PSOE government. The government has enforced austerity and wage constraint—the wholesale closing down of industries. Unemployment has soared.

As living conditions worsen there has been a growing radicalisation amongst the working class.

Results in the Basque country showed an absolute rejection of the PSOE. The Herri Batasuna coalition (the political wing of the guerilla group ETA) more than doubled its number of seats. Workers in the Basque country who voted in this way were showing their contempt for the PSOE which has done nothing for them.

After the experience of the

PSOE government there is no other left alternative in the Basque country. Unfortunately with the lack of a Marxist alternative some youth look to Herri Batasuna, see that it is at least active and some even see individual terrorism as a solution.

As workers look for a clear alternative to solve their problems, the centre parties are being pushed out of the picture. The centre right Reformist party spent almost £10 billion on its campaign and didn't succeed in winning one seat nationally.

The increase of Suarez's Democratic and Social Centre party (from 2 seats to 20) was due to the fact that his campaign was seen as more radical than that of the PSOE. Certain of losing, he stood on a campaign of pure demagoguery: using such proposals as closing down US military bases in Spain and reducing the compulsory military service from 12 to 3 months.

By Soraya Lawrence



Unemployed shipbuilders from Oviedo demonstrating outside Socialist Party rally. Photo: Julia Etchart (Report)

Liverpool parties stay defiant

LIVERPOOL LABOUR Party and the council's Labour group remain defiant in their opposition to the expulsions. The Labour group voted by 30 votes to eight, a bigger majority than last time, to continue to recognise expelled councillors Tony Mulhearn and Derek Hatton. The eight who voted against then walked out of the meeting.

A full meeting of Broadgreen Constituency Labour Party's general committee voted not to accept the expulsions of Derek Hat-

ton, Tony Aitman and Roger Bannister with only eight votes against.

An informal meeting prior to the general management meeting allowed Derek Hatton to speak for half an hour. When he entered the room after fighting his way through the press he got a long ovation.

He felt that it was necessary to address the Broadgreen party to explain that he thought it more important to deal with pressing council business than to go to the NEC's disciplinary

hearing in London.

He said that the NEC should have been in parliament attacking the Tories at the time.

During the discussion Jane Kennedy, representative of the misnamed Liverpool Labour Left, opposed the executive's resolution against expulsions.

West Derby constituency party's executive voted by eight votes to two to back those parties who continue to recognise expelled members (none are in West Derby).

Garston and Walton constituency parties have voted overwhelmingly not to accept the expulsions. The only ward party so far to support the NEC is Grassendale where the NEC's 'policeman' regional organiser, Peter Kilfoyle is a member. But a resolution from the ward supporting the NEC's action was thrown out by the Mossley Hill general committee.

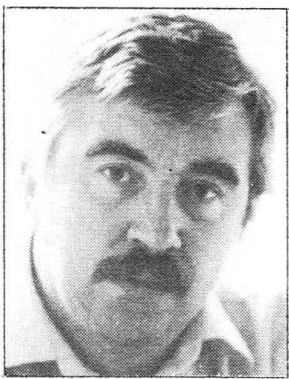
By Militant reporters

Right attempt to hi-jack party's controlling body

THE TEMPORARY co-ordinating committee, set up by the NEC to replace the suspended District Labour Party in Liverpool has voted to keep expelled member Tony Mulhearn as chairman against moves to elect a new chair.

This is despite the fact that the right wing and party officials have been attempting to sway the committee away from the influence of the left and the rank and file of the party. Some left-wing delegates have been replaced by delegates appointed by trade union officials, bypassing the normal procedure for election at branch meetings. Tony Byrne, the council's finance chairman and AUEW TASS delegate to the TCC has been replaced and UCATT delegate Gus Gorman was replaced by a right-wing delegate.

The new rightward tilt of the committee meant that many opponents of the district party and council policy have been accepted on to the new panel of council candidates. Ian Williams, a prominent opponent of the council who was rejected by his Riverside constituency party, was interviewed by the committee, yet dozens of supporters of the council's stand are still waiting to be interviewed.



Peter Kilfoyle

The party organiser Peter Kilfoyle had said, according to Radio City, that he would call the police if Derek Hatton and Tony Mulhearn attempted to attend the TCC meeting. But both were at the Labour group meeting taking place at the same time.

Riverside

RIVERSIDE Constituency Labour Party does not support the NEC's ruling on expulsions, contrary to reports in the *Guardian* on Saturday.

Although a resolution was amended to remove demands for reinstatement of expelled members the amended resolution accepted that the Labour Party does and should include many shades of socialist opinion.

It said that: "different shades of opinion have the right to organise pressure groups, newspapers and caucuses within the party", clearly defending *Militant's* role in the party. "Such democracy is the best basis for unity against the common Tory and SDP/Liberal enemy".

The meeting which also voted for the party's officers was fraught and full of tension. After a ruling by national officer Joyce Gould, voting for positions was done by secret ballot. But the left maintained control and representatives of the rightward moving Labour Co-ordinating Committee and Liverpool Labour Left got derisory votes. Existing officers were returned with sizable majorities, a pattern repeated for the trade union delegates.

In the absence of the district party, suspended by the NEC, the GMC also voted for the panel of councillor candidates. Ian Williams, still acting as delegate from NUR branch No 5, but better known for his diatribes against *Militant* and Liverpool council in the upwardly mobile *New Statesman*, was decisively rejected by the party.

By Cathy Wilson

Union opposes purge

THE UCATT conference 16-20 June overwhelmingly passed a resolution against witch-hunts.

It called on the union executive to use its influence to stop the Labour leaders' "divisive expulsions", but rather to "unite all the forces of opposition to the Tories and big business."

Unprecedentedly the Executive member replying to the debate, Jack Rogers, attacked Eric Heffer, a UCATT sponsored MP. This was for walking out of Labour's NEC when it was trying to expel Liverpool socialists.

But a shop steward from the Liverpool Direct Labour Organisation had already told the conference about the city council's building record—1,000 building workers having been taken off the dole, and a fully unionised DLO.

Successes against the witch-hunt were also recorded at the Eastern Region Labour Party conference on 21 June. Three party members who have been threatened with expulsion were re-elected to the Regional Executive—Teresa MacKay (Ipswich) topped the poll in the women's places, and Steve and Janice Glennon (Stevenage) got on in the union and Young Socialists sections respectively.

Speaking tour

DEREK HATTON, Tony Mulhearn and Terry Harrison, as part of the campaign against expulsion from the Labour Party will be speaking at venues around the country, explaining the campaign of Liverpool City Council and the ideas of *Militant*. Speakers from the *Militant* Editorial Board will also be attending these meetings, aimed at increasing the support for *Militant's* ideas in the labour movement.

Terry Harrison

Harlow 3 July
Luton 4 July
Peterborough 8 July
Kent 12 July
(Miner's Gala)
Hastings 15 July
Portsmouth 16 July
Chesterfield 21 July
Exeter 22 July
Plymouth 23 July

Bradford 16 July
St George's Hall
7.30pm

Tony Mulhearn

Ashton Under
Lyme 2 July
Hull 3 July
Trades and
Labour Club,
Beverly Rd
7.30pm

Derek Hatton

Coventry 3 July
Sunderland 9 July
Durham 11 July
(Miner's Gala)
Bolton 15 July

Greenwich 10 July
Bridgend 16 July
Neath 17 July

Come to LPYS Summer Camp

SOUTH AFRICA will be the main theme of 1986 Labour Party Young Socialist's Summer Camp with discussions ranging from Soweto to the trade unions and a chance to debate the

way forward to defeat apartheid. Speakers include John Presscott MP; Andy Bevan (National Youth Officer), Dave Nellist MP and many more.

Sat 26 July to Sat 2 August

At: Bracelands Campsite, Nr. Coleford, Forest of Dean, Gloucestershire

Cost: £35 per head. £80 'family' price.

Cheques payable to: LPYS Summer Camp Fund (£10 deposit)

For brochure and more details contact:

Andy Bevan, National Youth Officer
LPYS, 150 Walworth Rd, London SE17 1JJ

Militant

Editor: Peter Taaffe
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Phone: 01-533 3311.

Socialist internationalism for South Africa

THE SOUTH African revolution is a challenge to the British labour leaders. The Thatcher government has refused to make more than the most trifling gestures of opposition to Botha's apartheid police state. Like Reagan, she is too concerned to protect the investments of big business to bother about the oppressed black majority who are suffering under the state of emergency.

Other capitalist leaders, and even some spokesmen for South African big business, are now calling for some form of world-wide action to force concessions on Botha. This view was reflected in the report of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group which strongly condemned apartheid and favoured selective measures, to put pressure on Botha for a 'negotiated settlement'.

EPG co-chairman Malcolm Fraser, however, let the cat out of the bag as to why these measures are being proposed when he warned Thatcher that if action was not taken urgently, "in eight or ten years... a radical black government is bound to emerge, whose first action would be to nationalise all Western interests, and Britain would lose all."

It is this same fear—of the socialist aims of the magnificent movement of black workers and youth in South Africa—which drives the South African bosses to plead with Botha for a negotiated settlement. "We all understand" said South African monopolist Zac de Beer in London recently, "how years of apartheid have caused many blacks to reject the economic as well as the political system. But we dare not allow the baby of free enterprise to be thrown out with the bath water of apartheid."

In their appearances on TV recently, both Neil Kinnock and Roy Hattersley praised the efforts of big business to promote change in South Africa. In parliament, frontbench spokesperson, Dame Judith Hart, put the position quite precisely: "When the South Africa Chamber of Commerce talked to us, it made it quite clear that it considered the future of business in South Africa as dependent upon the existence of a multi-racial democracy... Only by... disinvestment... shall we strengthen the hand of the business community in South Africa."

But every section of the business community has made it clear that it is implacably opposed to the fundamental democratic demand of the workers' movement in South Africa: one-person-one-vote in a united country. They realise full well that the masses seek political power to get decent wages, jobs and homes—and would use majority rule to dismantle the whole slave labour system and challenge capitalism. Rather than concede majority rule, the capitalists will cling to the existing regime.

The mass of the four million whites would turn to a desperate ultra-right revolt rather than give up their privileges to a black government propping up capitalism. The capitalists depend on these whites to defend their system and cannot afford to alienate their support.

Equally, the mass movement, uniting under the banner of the ANC will rest content with nothing short of one-person-one-vote in an undivided South Africa.

These facts alone rule out the possibility of achieving a negotiated settlement—whether through 'constructive engagement' or selective sanctions.

For the black majority, therefore, the struggle for majority rule is a revolutionary struggle, inseparably linked to the struggle to end capitalism. Socialist policies are indispensable also to split and win the ranks of the whites.

It is behind this revolutionary struggle for democracy and socialism that the Labour leadership should be mobilising support. Rather than praising the 'liberal' South African bosses they should be exposing their tricks. Rather than endorsing the recommendations of the EPG, which have the purpose of sabotaging the South African revolution, they should be organising and supporting a campaign of workers' sanctions to give concrete support to the trade union struggle against big business and apartheid. No confidence can be placed in any mild sanctions imposed by capitalist governments.

Thatcher the job snatcher hypocritically warns of the threat to British jobs from sanctions. The Labour and trade union leaders must reply with the guarantee of a fight against any threatened job losses or victimisation, resulting from solidarity action.

The next Labour government must be pledged to reinstate and reimburse any workers so penalised. It must nationalise all firms with interests in South Africa and institute a complete economic boycott under the vigilance of the trade unions. A Labour government must give financial and material assistance to the revolutionary movement in South Africa, particularly the non-racial unions, and as last year's party conference demanded, back "the struggle for national liberation, democracy, non-racialism and socialism."

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Profiteering from cheap labour

THE THATCHER government is resisting pressure to step up sanctions against apartheid capitalism. No wonder when: ★ Britain accounts for 40 per cent of direct foreign investment in South Africa, the highest from any single country.

★ Over half the 2,000 foreign owned companies in South Africa are controlled from Britain.

★ 34 Tory MPs have interests in companies with assets or subsidiaries in South Africa.

AT LEAST 15 per cent, and possibly two-thirds of black workers employed by 135 British companies in South Africa are paid "significantly below" the minimum wage level laid down by the EEC code of conduct.

This emerges from a report by Ethical Investment Research and Information Service (EIRIS), a church-funded foundation.

Most of the 135 companies dealt with in the report paid minimum wages of less than R380 per month, instead of the R525 which the EEC regards as a "minimum living level" (£1 = 3.92 Rand).

Fifteen companies paid minimum wages of less than half the EEC minimum. A further three—Sun Alliance, Trusthouse Forte and Siebe—refused to give any information about the wages

they pay in South Africa.

The Department of Trade and Industry has connived at this wage slavery by crudely doctoring the EEC requirement. The EEC code calls for a wage at a "minimum living level"—i.e., "at least 50 per cent above the minimum level required to satisfy the basic needs of an employee and his family".

Delete living

But DTI officials have deleted the word "living" from the EEC agreement, leaving a blank space in the document. This has the effect of cutting the minimum wage expected of British companies by R70 per month.

When questioned, the DTI were unable to provide a reason for the change. But this did not stop Trade and

Is your employer on this list?

Companies paying minimum rates at less than half the EEC target

BET	R257
Thorn EMI	R252
McKechnie	R251
Alfred	
McAlpine	R250
National	
Employers	
Mutual	
General	
Insurance	R247
BBA	R229

Frank Fehr	R228
BPB	
Industries	R206
Babcock	
International	R205
Pritchard	
Services	R199
British	
Petroleum	R198
Lonrho	R197
Electronic	
Rentals	R180
Low & Bonar	R156
Union	
International	R153
Hickson	
International	R93

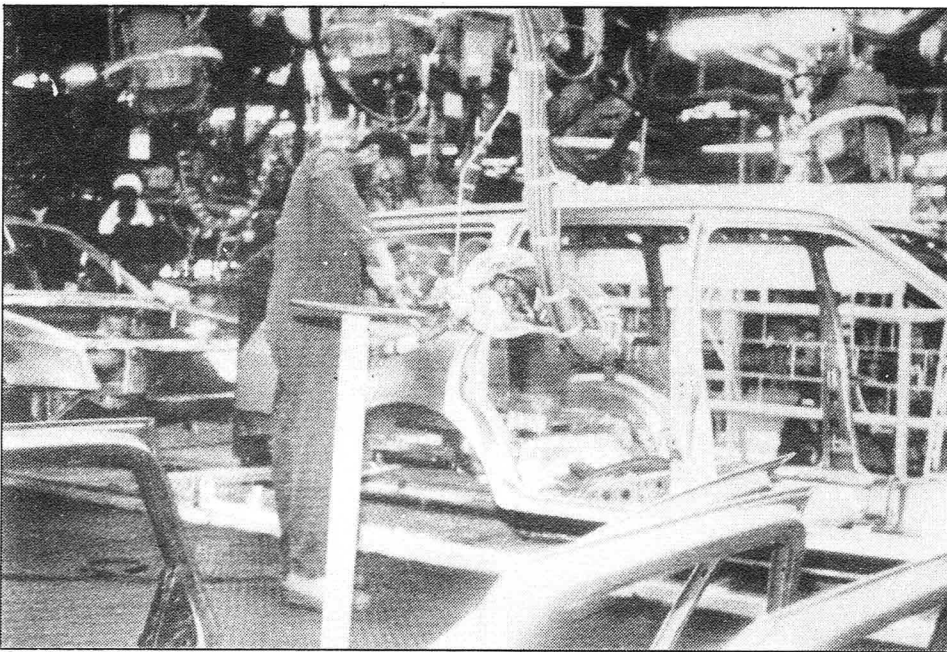
Industry minister Lynda Chalker from trumpeting in Parliament on 17 June:

"I am glad to say that British companies have responded to the code and

have set example after example."

Some of the examples that workers will be interested in are given in the table above.

They cry because they are hungry



On the track in a Port Elizabeth car factory.

MULTINATIONAL COMPANIES claim to promote progressive change in South Africa. But their black workforce know the truth: "they come here because it is cheap".

Vumile Mpuntshe is a redundant Ford worker in Port Elizabeth, who used to make Granada and Escort cars. He tells what it is like:

"We workers work very far from the people in the offices. We knew nothing about the company. We were just there to work. We made 127 cars a day.

"When they wanted us to work short time,

the foreman just said: 'Gentlemen, we are only working until 12 o'clock today. *Itshayile* (knock off) 12 o'clock.' And when the bosses told us to go, all they said was: 'Gentlemen, business is bad. Thank you and goodbye.'...

"I feel very sad but I don't worry so much about myself. I am used to going without anything in my stomach. But the small children don't understand what is happening. They need milk. They want bread. But they don't get it. They drink water before they go to sleep. And then they cry the whole night. They cry because they are hungry."

Barclays—banking on South Africa

BARCLAY'S BANK has one tenth of its worldwide assets lodged in South Africa, and it is the fourth largest corporation there employing 26,300 people.

Back in 1982 Barclays in South Africa sacked a prominent black political activist. Although under pressure they took him back, they sent a circular to all their employees in the coun-

try, stating that they would not "employ or continue to employ persons who are unable to maintain an impartial image, or who participate in political activities."

Of course no such restrictions apply to Barclays' directors, who in Britain donate the company's money to the pro-Tory Economic League.

Police recruits

THE SOUTH African forces seem to be convinced that the British Police Force have become experts in dealing with riotous behaviour, and are trying to recruit senior officers as mercenaries.

A retired superintendent has claimed that he was offered £10,000 tax free for a six-month contract in South Africa as a colonel, his job would be riot control. He said that ten other former top ranking officers are already working in South Africa.

Tories' apartheid trips

SOUTH AFRICA is by far the most popular destination for Tory MPs' 'sponsored' foreign visits, doubtless assisting them to form an entirely impartial view of the oppression of the black majority.

In 1984 for example Christopher Chope (Southampton, Itchen), Ivan Lawrence (Burton), Eric Forth (Mid-Worcestershire) and Michael Knowles (Nottingham East) were guests of the South African Foreign Affairs Department. While Tim Smith (Beaconsfield) and Tim Eggar (Enfield North) were paid for by the South African Forum.

Another visitor was Sir Patrick Wall (Beverley), chairman of the Britain-South Africa parliamentary group. He told the Commons last week: "I believe that one man, one vote is unacceptable in South Africa."

Apologist for South Africa John Carlisle (Luton North) visited twice—once courtesy of the South African government, once courtesy of the South African Press Club. It was Carlisle who wrote a pamphlet 'South Africa and the West' declaring: "The myth that the Republic is a police state and the non-whites are an oppressed race should have been buried long ago."

Carlisle actually proclaimed in the Commons debate: "Some of our great companies such as BP and Barclays Bank have done an enormous amount of good in South Africa. They have lifted black employees into much better conditions than they would otherwise have enjoyed."

Health Service feature

Your life in Tory hands

THATCHER CLAIMS the health service is safe with the Tories. Both the dry statistics and the living experience of NHS workers and patients show that this claim is nonsense.

Neelam de Freitas looks at the facts and two correspondents give a patients' eye view of Britain's hospitals.

ON 5 June the Office of Health Economics produced figures showing that Britain spends less per head on health care than any other Western European country except Italy and Ireland.

By Neelam De Freitas

Deans and consultants from twelve teaching hospitals in London want an immediate rethink of government policy.

Dr Croft of St Thomas' said that cuts had brought health care to: "A crisis that is a national disgrace". Even the chairman of the London Tories John Wheeler MP has written to tell Thatcher that her policy on the NHS is "sheer madness".

Thatcher has been forced to acknowledge that there are "genuine concerns" about shortcomings in the NHS. However, the Tories still defend their health

record.

Health minister Barney Heyhoe claims that spending on the NHS has gone up 24 per cent since the government took office. But health service prices have risen faster than prices in the economy as a whole. The true growth rate according to the National Association for Health Authorities was only 3.2 per cent. This is not even enough to look after the increase of old people in the population.

The government also tells us that 11,000 new hospital beds were opened between 1980 and 1984, but ignores the facts that in the same period the total beds available actually dropped by 12,900 because 24,000 beds were either closed or mothballed.

Statements about the massive increase of nurses in the NHS don't mention that the nurses' working week has, quite justifiably, been reduced from 40 to 37½ hours, so that the increase in staff has merely maintained

the existing level of service.

Health ministers insist that an expanding private health sector is beneficial because it reduces the pressure on the NHS and attracts more resources for overall health care.

However, the professor of dermatology at Newcastle University believes like many others that: "private medicine depends on the state service". In fact even when Mrs Thatcher went into a private hospital in Berkshire, its staff had to call on the NHS hospital in Windsor for help.

Skipping

The former president of the Royal College of Physicians and the BMA, Sir Douglas Black has said: "at every hospital one knows there are one or two doctors skipping on their public work for the sake of their private patients".

Even the government's policy of health cuts in Lon-



A caring Tory?

don to allocate more resources outside the capital in the name of "regional equality" does not seem to be working. Newcastle is part of a region that should be gaining under this policy, but it is still making cuts.

More than a thousand patients in Newcastle are waiting for orthopaedic surgery, but there have been closures of at least 80 beds in orthopaedics, pediatrics and surgery. Even more closures are expected later in the year.



Fighting to keep the NHS alive.

"It should have been knocked down years ago"

Starved of cash

TORY MINISTERS should be forced to spend some time in Hackney hospital as I recently had to.

The hospital is an ex-workhouse and over 100 years old. To register at the admissions desk, a volunteer takes down the details and takes you up to the allotted ward where I waited for two hours after being told: "Sorry your bed is not empty yet".

Having been given a bed, I was first seen by an obviously over-worked and exhausted doctor at 11.30 that night, for a routine check-up and then told she would return the following morning to discuss my case in more detail.

Three days later I was seen again by her for an examination. In the meantime the effects of the cuts were becoming very clear. Firstly no butter or jam for the bread in the morning. Then the unbelievable cases amongst the other patients. It was after all a general medical ward, with patients returning from the operating theatre with serious complaints.

Physical danger

They clearly need rest, quiet and time to recover. They got none of it. For on this ward were many old men, some senile. One old man simply spent the day asking where he was and why he couldn't go home.

Medically the hospital was doing nothing for him. He needed a home. None was available so he was simply put in a hospital bed. A more dangerous situation was the patient who clearly needed psychiatric help but the psychiatric ward was full. So he was stuck in a corner of our ward. He had violent outbursts, throwing bottles, cups, medical equipment, anything he could get his hands on, around our ward. It was a physical danger to those who had operations.

Reflecting the problems in the area was the alcoholic who had drunk a bottle of brandy every day for the previous eight weeks, "because I was desperate and could see no way out. As a result I am destroyed".

The doctor returned and apologised for the delay. "It is not our fault. I am now doing the work of two doctors. . . This place is so demoralising, it should have been



Above: in the grounds of Hackney Hospital Below: NHS workers from Hackney district council protest at cuts

knocked down years ago. In the cold spell we had old people in camp beds in the corridors. It was like a scene from MASH."

That night a patient who had been operated on and was worried and agitated by the noise and disturbances on the ward had a haemorrhage. One doctor worked on him until two in the morning. Blood was all over the floor and upsetting the older patients, especially when he screamed that he wanted to die.

The doctor had been in the hospital since about nine the previous morning. The patient was transferred to intensive care the

following day and clearly should have been there a lot earlier. Rumour had it that it was full.

New premises, insufficient staff

A few days later I was transferred wards to be referred to another surgeon. In this ward were three victims of a mugging, one with a broken back, a 17 year old who had attempted suicide, and one of the thousands of Londoners who sleep rough, who was found to be suffering from the early stages of gangrene.

The hospital was crumbling

apart and despite the attempts of the cleaners, dirty and full of disease. Buying the cheapest food meant a massive amount of sugar and fat, despite the high number of patients suffering from heart and other diet-related problems.

The hospital will close down in July and move to newer premises. However one doctor informed me that they have totally underestimated the number of staff that will be needed. The benefits of a new building will in effect be lost. So much for no cuts.

By a Labour Party member

I FELT as if I was in a Third World country when I visited the eye clinic in Coventry recently.

There were not enough seats for the 200 or more people waiting to see the three doctors on duty. About a third of these people were elderly, some of them frail enough to have to be brought by ambulance.

On average you wait two to three hours in rooms which get stuffy because they're not built to suit the numbers in them. Kids run round because there's no crèche, and there's no privacy when you are interviewed.

There are no interpreters for Asian patients. If you want a drink you have to go to a different building where the WRVS serve you because the hospital has stopped doing its own refreshments for patients.

All the units of the hospital are like this, because they don't have enough staff. The eye unit has been a "temporary unit" for all the 30 years I've lived here and the only changes have been some partitions.

We are supposed to have a Health Service which is free when you need it. The least you'd expect would be to have a purpose-built building and a proper appointments system. Some people had to come out of work to see the doctor and were losing time.

The Health Service is starved of funds. Coventry and Warwick hospital has had an appeal for a proper accident unit for about the last 10 years! All the building that is done is done on the cheap. For example in the x-ray unit the seats are falling apart because they've used the cheapest possible materials.

Because the NHS doesn't make a profit, this system is destroying it. Already the private medical firms won't insure you if you have a terminal illness! Will the Health Service run down like in Chile where you have to provide everything yourself when you go into hospital?

Socialism will mean that ordinary people control the Health Service for our own needs.

By Ella Manley
(Coventry SE Labour Party
Women's Section)

Blackburn MP splits anti-racism drive

DIVISIONS IN the labour movement in Blackburn, caused by the expulsions of six Militant supporters from the Labour Party are now damaging the movement's ability to unite against increasing racist attacks against the Asian community in the area.

Jack Straw MP and Frank Higham, leader of the local Labour group, have refused to speak at a public meeting, against racism, due to be held on Friday 27 June, on the same platform as Peter Harris, one of the six expelled members. But the Blackburn Party's general management committee has overturned the boycott recommended by the executive committee.

The public meeting has been organised by the Action against Racism (AAR), of which Peter Harris is secretary and was planned after increasing racial abuse in the town. Last week an Asian shop keeper had his windows broken three nights in a row and death threats



Peter Harris—expelled from Blackburn Labour Party.

and racist comments made on the phone. Racist graffiti has also been on the increase. AAR has seen a doubling of membership recently and a quadrupling of affiliated groups, including the trades council and the well-women's centre. Jack Straw himself is a member.

One of those urging Labour speakers to boycott the meeting is Blackburn party's chairman Martin Guinan, an ex-Communist

Party member and keen advocate of the witch-hunt. He himself has appeared on the platform of a public meeting of the ultra-Stalinist New Communist Party.

At the party's general management committee meeting which rejected the boycott call all the Asian delegates voted against the executive's recommendations. Many in the meeting commented that the executive seemed 'paranoid' about *Militant* and condemned those taking the witch-hunt into such a vital area of work. The vote was a blow to Straw who spent much of his time making malicious and unfounded allegations about Peter Harris and *Militant* supporters.

Rather than fighting racism Straw seems more worried about being photographed on the same platform with *Militant* supporters expelled from the party. AAR is confident that the public meeting will go ahead and will be a success.

By a Militant reporter

Sell Militant

YOU ARE now reading a copy of the best socialist paper there is—but don't keep it to yourself. Try selling *Militant* on the door step on your local estate or street, people tend to have more time to talk. Sell after work but before everyone's settled down in front of the telly.

Use the petition against the expulsions as an introduction and a way of explaining what *Militant* stands for. Keep a note of the addresses and go back next week to build up a regular round. Find out what people think of the paper, and forward the comments to us.

One supporter in Ringland ward in Newport, South Wales has sold 250 papers on his estate in the past few weeks, and now has a permanent sale of 25-30. Let us know how you get on, even modest successes can give inspiration to the rest of us.

Don't comply with purge says rally

OVER 70 delegates attended a Conference organised by Hackney North and Hackney South Labour Parties against the witch-hunt.

One of the speakers, Frances Curran, LPYS representative on Labour's National Executive called on party leaders to demand a general election now instead of spending 51 hours on expulsions.

"Every NEC is concerned with disciplining socialists, we have not discussed the EETPU role at Wapping"

Frances Curran attacked the Liverpool Inquiry as little short of super-grass tactics.

"At least you know in Northern Ireland who has fingered you, here the NEC

won't tell you. The left in the Party must stick together and fight the attacks on socialists."

Expelled Liverpool Labour Councillor, Tony Mulhearn told Conference that the bosses are mortally afraid of Labour implementing Clause 4 Part 4 of the Constitution.

"That is translating ideas into action as we are doing in Liverpool"

Conference agreed to support any constituency Labour Party whose members are expelled and who refuse to accept such decisions and continue to regard them as members.

By Peter Wharton

"Fight the Tories"

NEWHAM NORTH East Labour Party has called for an end to the expulsions of socialists in the Liverpool Labour Party.

The party also called for Labour's leadership to lift the suspension of the Liverpool District Labour Party.

In a motion proposed by the Young Socialists a demand was made for the leadership to support retrospective legislation for

those councillors surcharged in Lambeth and Liverpool.

The Party's general committee at its meeting on 19 June also called on the National Executive to take advantage of the Tory government's setbacks. It urged the NEC to give priority to a national campaign around the theme 'General Election now; elect a Labour government; repeal the anti-union laws.'

Concannon out in the cold

DON CONCANNON, right wing MP for Mansfield said, at a recent Labour Party meeting, that getting Britain back together would be "a very slow process". He told the meeting not to expect too much on jobs, changing the anti-trade union laws or on renationalisation.

During the discussion, *Militant* supporters asked Concannon on his views about the use of plastic bullets—he was the Labour government minister for Northern Ireland who introduced them there. He replied that plastic bullets

"were better than lead ones".

When asked whether he would be attending the UDM conference he said that he would. Despite the fact that this 'union' was set up by those who scabbed and organised against the miners' strike, Concannon did attend. Also attending were coal boss Ian MacGregor and Tory Coal Minister John Hunt—this is truly a bosses' union.

Militant supporters are continuing to fight for socialist policies in the Mansfield party despite the

recent threat of expulsion against five activists. They are determined that the witch-hunt will fail. Some of Concannon's previous loyal supporters have now seen through his suicidal policies.

Several copies of *Militant* have been sold to members of the party who had never bought it before, and some gave money to the fighting fund who had previously pledged their support for expulsions.

By Alison McDonald (Mansfield LPYS)

Kinnock inspires the right

MICHAEL NOAR the new general secretary of the right wing Economic League, told a lunch for industrialists that the League is "getting a little help at the moment, from a perhaps unlikely source, namely the current goings on in the Labour Party".

The Economic League is notorious for its pursuit of 'reds under the beds' in the trade unions.

"Clearly Neil Kinnock", he said: "feels that there are

some reds under his bed and equally clearly he feels that it is perfectly right and proper to find them and boot them out. *I am sure we all welcome that move and support him in it.* Indeed if he wants any help he may like to get in touch.

"If it is right for the Labour Party to adopt such a policy, it must be right and perfectly acceptable for other organisations to take a similar view without being

branded as particularly extreme or right wing"

By Pat Craven

LEON TROTSKY: *History of the Russian Revolution*. Special offer £5 single copy (£6.25 including postage). Normally £9.50. Limited period only. From World Socialist Books, 3/13 Hepscoth Road, London E9.

New Militant pamphlet—out now

Liverpool expulsions

WHILE strikebreakers and scab organisers Eric Hammond and Robert Maxwell remain members of the Labour Party, the right wing dominated National Executive Committee has expelled Tony Mulhearn, Derek Hatton and other leaders of the Liverpool Labour Party.

These repugnant organisational measures, after 'show-trials' style investigations, are the right wing's response to the heroic struggle of the Liverpool labour movement, led by the city council, to defend jobs and services against the Tory government's attacks.

What are the political issues behind the shameful expulsions? What is the answer of the Liverpool Labour Party leadership to the organisational charges of which the right wing found them 'guilty'?

Marxism on Trial records the NEC frame-up, outlines the outstanding political record of the eleven charged, and reproduces the key statements, by Tony Mulhearn and Richard Venton, answering the organisational charges and explaining the real political motives behind the expulsions.

MARXISM ON TRIAL



Militant
Defend the Liverpool socialists

50p & 20p post and packaging

From World Socialist Books, 3/13 Hepscoth Road, London E9 5HB

Urgent notice to Militant supporters

Bulk supplies of this important new pamphlet can be collected from our van at the Anti-Apartheid rally on Saturday 28 June, at Clapham Community Project, Venn Street, London SW4 (see advert for Readers' Meeting) between 3.30 and 5.30pm.

Left and Right

Healthy living

OVERWEIGHT yuppies should think about a visit to Stobo Castle—a secluded health farm in the Scottish Borders. *Militant* readers feeling a little jaded by regular lobbies of Labour's NEC might like to try its spa bath, underwater massage, sunbeds, facials, hairdressing salons, etc.

A typical evening meal consists of stuffed cucumber with kiwi fruit, duck with orange slices served with baked potatoes, courgettes, etc, followed by strawberry cheesecake. That's a diet? What do these people eat normally? It costs £611.80 for a week so you probably won't be able to afford to eat for another month. That's probably the healthy part.

A load of orchestra stalls

"THE OLD fashioned musical soirée is not completely dead". *Debrett's Magazine* informs us. Providing you have a large enough room you can now have a complete opera performed at home, live—not a nasty common video. Lady Caroline Blois took advantage of this service recently at her 14th century home. She had always wanted a home opera, "but until now I have only managed the odd recital and a fashion show". £1,200 brings you well known operas accompanied on the piano. What—no orchestra?

The Tories' harsh new order

VERONICA PATTERSON continues her examination of the Public Order Bill which will strengthen police powers over public order offences.

One area of particular concern regards demonstrations and rallies. Police power would be extended to cover 'static demonstrations' held in the open air.

The government defines these as "meetings, counter-demonstrations outside meetings, demonstrations outside embassies, lobbies of parliament, pickets and demonstrations in support of pickets".

They say that: "Since 1980 some of the most serious public order problems have been associated with static demonstrations—at Greenham Common, the picketing at Warrington, and of course the mass pickets during the miners' dispute". (White Paper 1985).

The police would be able to limit the location, numbers and duration of a static demonstration. For example, in the Wapping dispute, the police could not stop unions holding a demonstration or picket but they could instruct it to be held in Trafalgar Square rather than outside the Wapping plant!

The Bill provides for new offences of riot, violent disorder and affray which would carry maximum

prison sentences of from six months for affray to life imprisonment for riot. It is interesting to note that the new minimum number of persons required to constitute a riot is twelve, the same as was formerly required for the reading of the Riot Act of 1714 which was abolished in 1967.

Battery of charges

Additionally the government are proposing that some lesser offences should be available as alternative verdicts to any of the more serious charges without the defendants being charged with the lesser offence or being given any particulars of the lesser charge.

This will lead to defendants having to defend themselves for all public order offences rather than merely the one they have been charged with!

The Bill provides the government and police with a whole battery of offences

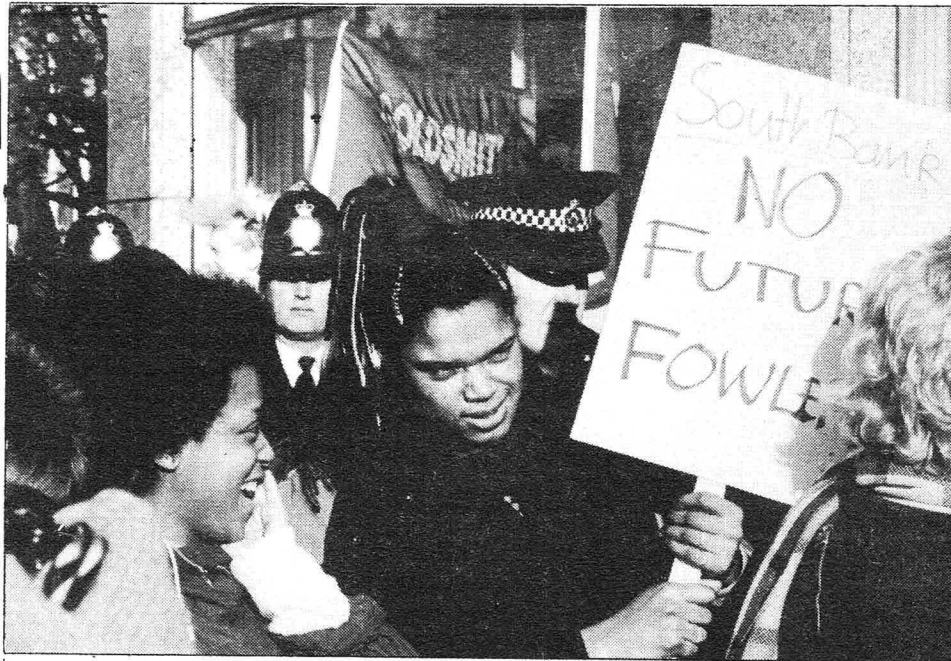
with which protestors can be arrested and charged and which can be used to limit or ban demonstrations.

Yet it seems likely that all the rubbish being spewed out by the Tories and the press may lead to a further strengthening of the proposals.

The Bill is presently going through its committee stage before going to the House of Lords, bastion of private property and Conservatism, which will undoubtedly look favourably on even tougher measures.

If the establishment have their way, neither the hippies and their peace convoy, black youth in the inner city ghettos, strikers or labour movement activists are going to be left in peace.

As protest against poverty, injustice and oppression grows, the Tories are preparing with draconian powers for police and courts to maintain the "order" of their sick society.



An illegal activity? Demonstrating against Fowler.

No to cash register education

THE TORIES plan to revive the idea of loans for higher education students, to at least partially replace student grants. They will report next summer and with luck will be out of office before they can make their ideas reality.

In 1984, government plans to increase parental contributions to the grants were thrown back by a backbench revolt. Tory MPs were scared of losing the votes of the mainly middle class students' parents.

This time they have tried to soften the opposition. Fowler announced that the government had abandoned the idea of reducing students' right to housing benefit, but they are still intent on stopping students getting unemployment or supplementary benefits in the shorter holidays.

Student loans would hit students from working class or middle class backgrounds. In a time of crisis the Tories' cash register mentality tells them to cut back on education spending. Never mind if, like cutting back on apprenticeships it hits skills and knowledge and reduces British capitalism's capacity to compete in new technology on the world markets!

Quick returns

The Tories want students to return the pitifully small investment in them as soon as possible.

Student grants are already lower in real terms than when many present Tory ministers were at their elite colleges. And the upper-crust students will still survive. The death of cabinet minister's daughter, Olivia Channon, at Oxford University showed how the tops

finance themselves at University.

Olivia Channon herself had an annual allowance of £40,000. Their set, including members of the Guinness and Bismarck families, spent thousands on jolly japes and May Balls. They won't be affected by Tory plans.

Very few working class students get to university. These proposals could put a barbed wire fence round higher education marked 'for the rich only'. All the universities except the Oxbridge colleges are now said to be in danger of bankruptcy. The working class and middle class have again been chosen to pay for the crisis.

Student Unions and trade unions must campaign to stop these reactionary proposals and must fight for a socialist education policy to develop the skills of the whole population.



Student grants are already at a very low level.

Bankers chase Labour shadows

ROY HATTERSLEY, Labour's deputy leader and shadow Chancellor of the Exchequer, has recently been wined and dined by the Bank of England.

In fact Mr Hattersley and other shadow ministers have their diaries full of lunches, speeches and informal meetings in some of the most unexpected places.

Their hosts are well known champions of workers' interests, such as Midland Bank, Schroeder Wagg, the Italian International Bank, the Prudential, the British Venture Capital Association, BAT and ICI.

It appears that the key industrial and financial figures want to know what they are up against if Labour forms the next government.

The shadow economic team were thrilled recently when the chief industrial economist for one of the banks declared his support for Labour's strategy.

Shouldn't the Labour Party be a little suspicious of praise from their enemy's ranks? In reality, Labour's

plan to create a National Investment Bank can hardly strike fear in the hearts of the bankers. The idea is of a state-owned bank which would invest institutional money (pension funds and union funds etc) in industry.

Under the capitalist system that means investing where there is a certain profit and that doesn't necessarily mean creating more jobs. What would the Labour government do if there were a strike of capital as under the Wilson government of 1964-70? Without financial backing all the plans in the world would come to nothing.

Purse strings

While the bosses control the purse strings, they will use them to strangle Labour's plans. And why should big business be any friendlier towards Labour than towards its own representatives, the Tories?

John Smith, shadow Trade and Industry Secretary says: "We are try-



Roy Hattersley.

ing to convince the industrialists that we have sensible, well structured alternatives." Sensible for which class? The bosses think it is "sensible" to close down hospitals and schools, and to have people living below the poverty level.

Labour's leadership should spend more time considering what is "sensible" for its supporters than sitting down to banquets with the implacable enemies of the working class.

By Soraya Lawrence

Fighting Fund

This week £2,200

Area	Received	% of target achieved	Target
1 Humberside	1007		2300
2 South East	682		2400
3 London East	889		3550
4 London West	693		2900
5 East Midlands	631		3050
6 Scotland West	777		3850
7 Manchester/Lancs	807		4150
8 London South West	260		1500
9 Wales West	556		3350
10 London South East	360		2250
11 West Midlands	716		4500
12 Merseyside	1080		7000
13 Southern	468		3100
14 Eastern	474		3450
15 Yorkshire	751		5600
16 Scotland East	295		3200
17 South West	139		2150
18 Northern	247		4550
19 Wales East	116		2150
Others	5426		5000
Total	16373		70000

THE PETITION against the witch-hunt is a great success. On street sales, on estates and at work people are not just signing but donating money as well.

Sellers in Wirral have collected a further £35.55 through using the petitions with collecting tins. One petition from SOGAT members raised £17 from only 13 names. If you have finished all your petition sheets or if you have not yet signed write to us and we'll send one for you to take around to all your friends and relatives.

Help us in the fight against the attempted purge. On the streets with the tins, papers and petitions we will get a great response from passers-by who want to have a go at Thatcher.

With less than six weeks to the end of the quarter we need a massive increase in weekly income to meet our target. Why not send us a donation to show your support? This week E Maxted from the Isle of Wight has sent £5 in opposition to Kinnock's attacks and an anonymous donation of £17 has come from the Black Country. A reader in New York has sent \$200. Supporters in the trade

unions are sending in their expenses: £10 NALGO in Grimsby, £10.20 IRSF in Cumbernauld and £10 ASTMS in Liverpool.

What fund raising activities are planned in your area? Parties, discos, meals are all excellent ways to raise money. One comrade in Hackney has raised £39.28 from running a sponsored half-marathon. Other comrades raised £52 from catering. The Northern Marxist Weekend School took a collection of £247 and the first ever Readers' Meeting in Slough raised £54.79.

Don't forget all the stickers for raising money on demos and paper sales. The 'For a Socialist South Africa' sticker especially will sell well now. Use tins at all local events and meetings on South Africa.

There are hundreds of ways to raise money but by far the easiest is just to ask.

Donations include: D Moulds Melton Mowbray £5; C Robinson Melton Mowbray £5; Delegate to GMBATU conference £104; J Eagleton Hackney £5.27; J Evans Mansfield £1.20; D Watts Hull £5; A Reed Grimsby CPSA £5; B Howgate Birkenshaw £2.

SOWETO

1976 - 1986

Ten years of heroic struggle

AS SOUTH Africa's workers and youth are once more fighting back against the bullets of the apartheid state, BASIL HENDRICKSE looks back at the momentous events of ten years ago in Soweto, a turning point in the struggle to crush apartheid and build a socialist South Africa.

AT ABOUT 7am on 16 June 1976, thousands of African school students in Soweto gathered at more than a dozen pre-arranged assembly points for a demonstration. They launched a movement that began as a local expression of opposition against the imposition of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction, and developed, over a period of 20 months, as a country-wide youth uprising against the apartheid regime.

This movement cost the lives of more than 1000 youths—shot by the police. But, like an earthquake, it opened up a huge fissure in South Africa's history, separating one historical era from another. It politicised a whole generation of youth, and consigned beyond recall the era of defeats in the 1960s. It announced the recovery of the youth and the workers and their determination to end one of the most barbaric examples of modern capitalist slavery.

Since February of that year, anger had been mounting over the attempt by the regime to enforce Afrikaans—an anger very rapidly directed against the whole system of Bantu education.

The Afrikaans issue was only the spark that lit the fire of rage burning in the hearts of the youth—who could not accept daily humiliation through racial discrimination, and were determined to fight for a society in which there would be democracy and equality, and in which poverty and exploitation would be ended.

First introduced in 1955, Bantu education was consciously designed to place every possible obstacle in the way of the intellectual and academic development of Africans.

The underlying philosophy of Bantu education was best expressed by Dr Verwoerd, who presided over its implementation in 1955: "When I have control of Native education, I will reform it so that the natives will be taught from childhood to realise that equality with Europeans is not for them. . . . What is the use of teaching the Bantu child mathematics when he cannot use it in practice? That is quite absurd. The school must equip him to meet the demands that economic life will impose on him. There is no place for him above the level of certain forms of labour."

The regime was now adding the insult of the enforced language of the oppressor to the injury of an inferior education fit only for slaves. The attempt to impose Afrikaans sparked off opposition even amongst the conservative elements on the school boards created by the state to oversee Bantu education.

BY FEBRUARY students at Thomas Mofolo Secondary School clashed with the principal over Afrikaans. In March parents at the Donaldson Higher Primary School voted unanimously to support their children's refusal to be taught in Afrikaans.

Beginning with boycotts of Afrikaans classes, the action of the students rapidly escalated into boycotts of classes altogether. By early June several thousand pupils, from a total of seven schools were on strike. Not surprisingly, five of these were higher primary schools (into which primary school pupils would graduate for secondary school education).

By now the police had begun to become involved. On 8 June two security policemen, one white,

visited Naledi High School, which played a key role in the subsequent struggles.

The policemen were trapped in the principal's office, the telephone wires cut off, and their car burned after a study had been made of the documents found in them. Reinforcements were fought off by the students although, luckily for the policemen, they managed to get away. The story of this incident has since acquired the proportions of a legend. It spread like wild fire throughout Soweto. Like the small stones which roll down a mountainside before an avalanche, it was a sign of the resentment and hatred that was to be unleashed against the police.

Freedom songs

To lead the campaign, the Soweto Students Representative Council (SSRC), was elected, with delegates from each school. Meeting in secret and using pseudonyms, it selected more than a dozen schools as meeting points for the marches from which they would proceed to Orlando Stadium for a mass meeting.

The columns would depart from each assembly point at a specified time in order to maintain discipline, and to stretch police forces as much as possible. Despite brushes with the police en route, most marchers managed to reach the last meeting point in Orlando West from where they intended to proceed to Orlando Stadium for the mass rally.

However, as hundreds were still marching into Orlando, a large contingent of police arrived in vans and spread out in front of the marchers. Defiantly, the students kept on singing freedom songs.

Suddenly a white policeman threw a tear gas canister in front of the crowd of students. The pupils retreated slightly but stood their ground, singing and defiantly waving placards. The placards read "Away with Afrikaans", "Blacks are not dustbins", "Afrikaans is a tribal language" etc..

Then, to the horror of reporters and onlookers, a white policeman drew his revolver and shot straight at the unarmed, singing students. Hector Peterson, the first victim of the uprising, fell in front of his comrades.

The students, many of them girls as young as 10 or 12 years old, were stunned at first and stood looking at the bodies of the dead and wounded. Then their rage and fury erupted. Picking up stones, bricks

or any missile they could lay their hands on, they advanced towards the police lines and threw them at the police. As one journalist commented: "What frightened me more than anything else was the attitude of the children. Many seemed oblivious of the danger. They continued running towards the police, dodging and ducking, despite the fact that the police were armed and continued shooting."

An estimated 100 people were shot dead that day, but the precise figure is unknown.

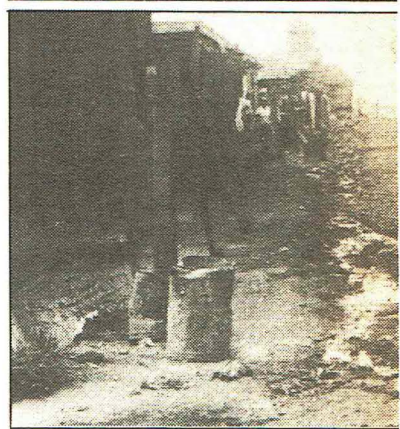
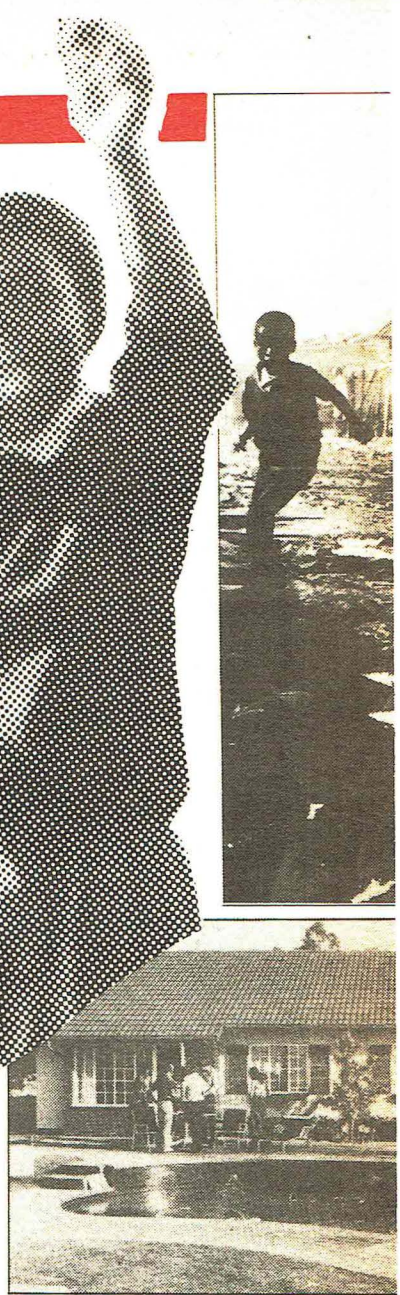
The police retreated, pursued by the stone-throwing youth. All buildings associated in any way with the state-administration board offices, post offices and especially beerhalls—were attacked. The youth requisitioned, in the name of the revolution, petrol from garage owners in the townships to set fire to these buildings and to make petrol bombs. Bottle stores were attacked and the liquor emptied into the streets.

Two army helicopters circled over Orlando West dropping tear gas, and bringing in reinforcements. Two special counter-insurgency units from Pretoria and Johannesburg, created only a few months earlier, were brought into action.

Very rapidly the uprising spread throughout Soweto. By that evening, 14 personnel carriers, known as Hippos, arrived. Designed to withstand landmines in the guerrilla war on the borders of Namibia and Zimbabwe, they were now to become a natural part of the township environment. The myth that their purpose was to defend SA against external aggression, as against their real purpose—to defend the regime against the working class internally—was beginning to be exposed.

By the second day, 17 June, 1500 police armed with sten guns, automatic rifles and hand machine carbines, were called into Soweto. Army units were placed on standby and the police used the advantages of the lay-out of the townships to shoot unarmed demonstrators who could fight back only with dustbin lids and stones. The casualties were higher than on the previous day, possibly hundreds dead. Raising a clenched fist and shouting the slogan 'Amandla!' was sufficient to warrant a bullet in the head.

Many parents, returning home from work the previous evening to find the townships in flames and their children either dead or missing, exploded in spontaneous anger. Many stayed away from work on 17 June. White students



(Top) Soweto in its early years, the slum carrying the body of Hector Peterson,

at the University of Witwatersrand staged a demonstration, with, as one of the slogans: "Don't start the revolution without us".

By Friday, Soweto was effectively sealed off, saturated with police in armed convoys, firing at any people they saw on the streets.

Thus took place the political baptism—with teargas and bullets—of a new generation of working class youth in struggle.

The lessons of this first serious clash with the state were learned very rapidly. In Alexandra township to the north east of Johannesburg, the youth realised that they had to appeal to their parents, the workers, to support them in the struggle. On Friday 18 June they tried to persuade workers to stage a strike in support of their children, by mounting pickets at bus and railway stations. Without proper preparation, these first efforts were not very successful.

Strike action

In the meantime, clashes had broken out in Tembisa, Kagiso and elsewhere along the Witwatersrand. At the tribal universities of Ngoye and Turfloop, there were Soweto solidarity boycotts of lectures and Turfloop was closed on 18 June. In Soweto itself the schools were closed by the Minister.

On Monday 21 June, after a relatively quiet weekend, the townships near Pretoria joined with their fellow students in Soweto. By 22 June, over 1000 workers at the Chrysler car factory near Pretoria stopped work, concerned for the safety of their homes and families in the township of Mamelodi. This was the first strike

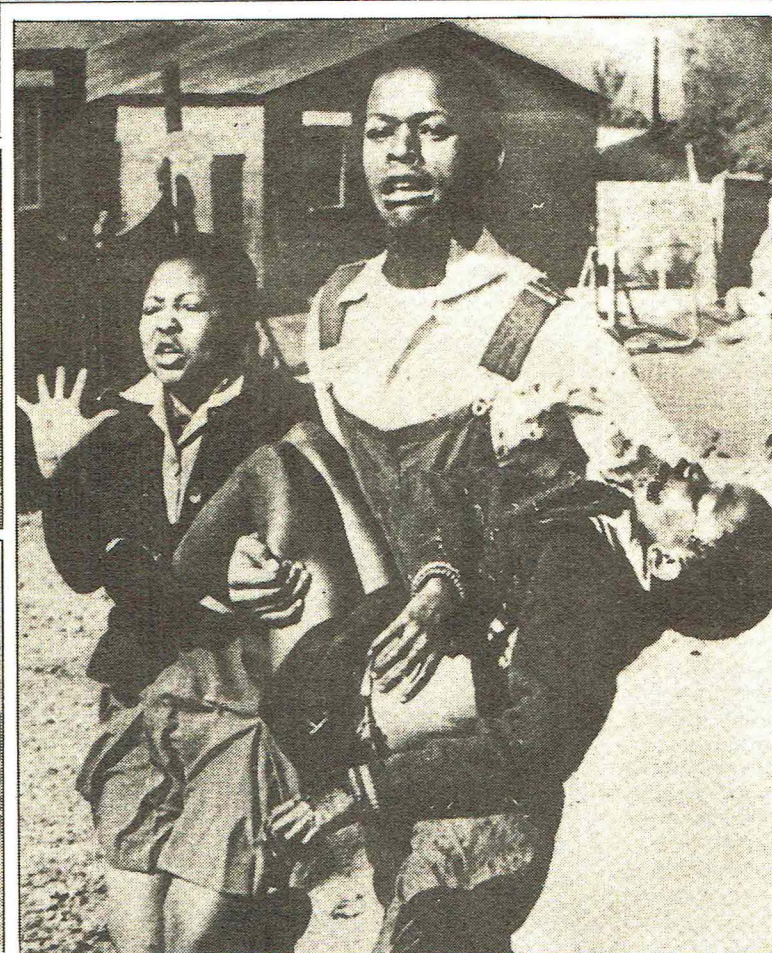
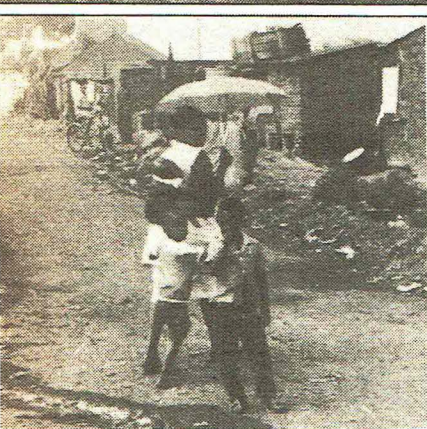
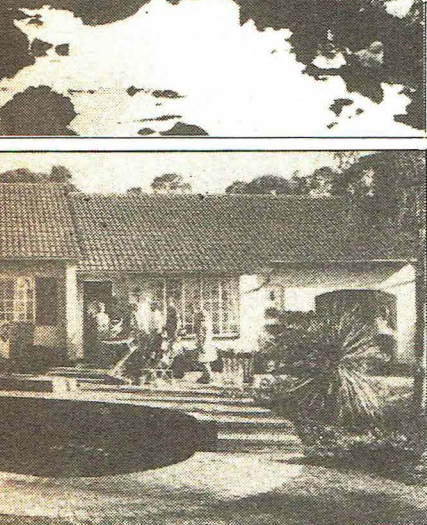


A commuter train from Soweto to Johannesburg

Designed for death

The lay-out of the townships was based on military calculations to suppress working class revolt. Provision was made for the marshalling of armoured cars at convenient vantage points and houses always built in low lying areas where they could be kept under surveillance.

In an interview with the city engineer of Durban in 1957 a group of young white architects were told that a number of conditions had to be observed in township layout. Three of the conditions which particularly struck one of them, Alan Lipman, were: 1. the width of the roadways had to be sufficient to allow a Saracen (tank) to execute a U-turn; 2. the distance between houses had to be kept above a given minimum and the houses aligned so that firing between houses would not be impeded and so that there would be no shelter for a fugitive; 3. the distance between the boundaries of the township and the main highway had to be beyond the range of a .303 rifle (*Year of Fire, Year of Ash* p184).



ns which bred the fighters of 1976, (Left) the glaring contrast between homes for the whites and the blacks, and (Right) Soweto's first victim

By later in August 1977, however, twenty members of the SSRC had been arrested and the last declared president of the SSRC, Tromfomo Sono, had fled into exile. On 19 October the government outlawed 17 organisations, most of the organisational structure of the Black Consciousness movement.

THE 1976/77 uprising had come to an end with more than a thousand dead. Leaderless for the moment, the youth movement receded and the reaction gained a temporary upper hand.

But, unlike the 1960s, when the savage brutality of the regime inflicted a defeat the effects of which were to retain their hold over the class for more than a decade, the recession which the movement entered towards the end of 1977 did not at all indicate a decisive victory for the state and reaction.

Far from being intimidated, this new generation of working class youth were merely hardened by the barbaric actions of the regime. The whole of society understood that the lull that was now setting in was merely the prelude to even bigger confrontations between the classes in the future.

In this lull the youth digested the experience and drew the lessons of the struggle. In search of a programme and organisation there was growing support for the Freedom Charter and for the African National Congress.

The youth had drawn two important conclusions from the experience of 1976/77: that for the state to be defeated, firstly they would have to ally themselves in future with the most powerful class in society—the working class. Secondly the movement would have to be armed.

Throughout the battles of 1976/77 the youth had fought a hopelessly one-sided battle against the state. Against the shot guns, sten guns and carbines of the state the youth could resist only with dustbin lids, stones and petrol bombs. Without any military training or guerrilla skills, they yearned for arms to defend themselves.

The leadership of the African National Congress may have been caught by surprise by events in June, and in the first few months afterwards. But the uprising lasted for 20 months and still the arms were not placed in the hands of the youth. This flowed not so much from the inertia by the leadership but from its method—its pursuit of the bankrupt policy of 'guerrillism', which had succeeded, despite the heroism of the cadres of Umkhonto we Sizwe, in being no more than an irritant to the regime. The preparation of the mass movement itself was subordinated to this policy.

The immediate practical consequence of the failure of the leadership to adjust its policy and bring it into line with the realities of the struggle, was that the armed struggle remained separate from the mass movement.

Thousands of youth crossed the borders of the neighbouring countries for arms and training, hoping to return, as other guerrilla movements in other countries had, and liberate the oppressed through guerrilla war. Thus many youth

were needlessly diverted from the essential task of mass mobilisation.

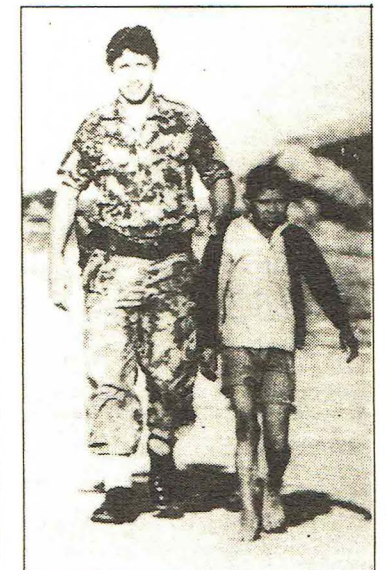
In the field of struggle the youth sought closer links with the workers. COSAS was born—the first national organisation for students in South African history—and AZASO (Azanian Students Organisation) decided formally to break with black consciousness and to stand for non-racialism.

In the meat and Rowntrees boycotts, the first consumer boycotts sparked by the struggle of the workers (as opposed to the youth) the youth offered their services to the workers.

The 1980 school boycotts heralded a new era of struggle among the youth, preparing and steeling them for the revolutionary upsurge of 1984/5/6.

The outlook of the youth became firmly anti-capitalist.

Whereas the necessity for arms remains undiminished, the impact of the developments in neighbouring countries, like the Nkomati Accord, has brought the youth to realise that the main area of struggle is in the industrial centres of South Africa itself. In contrast to



The state v the youth

the 1976 generation, the new generation do not cross the borders in search of arms. The cry from the youth now is "Umkhonto we Sizwe, we are waiting for you. Arm us."

The present generation, leading the township insurrection of 1984-86, inspired by the pioneers of 1976, could not have built for them a better monument, not of stone but of commitment to the ideals they laid down their lives for.

It has been the youth who have forced the regime to show the naked brutality on which its rule rests. But they have by so doing rendered the working class as a whole an enormous service. It has at one and the same time forced the ruling class to begin to exhaust its reserves of reaction and enabled the tasks in front of the working class to be posed more sharply than ever before: to build the ANC on a socialist programme; to overthrow apartheid and capitalism simultaneously; to smash the state and to bring about the socialist transformation of society and replace it with a regime of workers' democracy.

kilometres outside Soweto. The stay away over the next two days was equally successful.

Encouraged by this, the students prepared to organise a second three day stay-away for 23 August.

In the meantime the revolt spread to coloured students in the Western and Eastern Cape for the first time. The regime tried new tactics; a nation-wide clampdown was unleashed against the leadership of the students with scores placed in indefinite detention.

Divisive tactics

To prevent the second stay-away being successful, the regime tried to sow disunity. The migrant workers housed in hostels and physically and socially separated from the township residents were incited to take action against the youth. This anticipated the tactics used on an even larger scale in 1985/86.

Using leaflets and loud hailer, the police told the Zulu migrant workers that the youth were about to attack them, and encouraged them to carry knobkerries and sticks to fight them. On the second day of the stay-away, one of the hostels housing Zulu migrant workers was burned, probably by an agent provocateur. The police blamed the students.

The workers charged into the townships, chasing and attacking the residents and burning their houses, raping and looting—all under police protection.

The youth themselves had learned from the experience of the first stay-away that insufficient preparation had been done. In the days before the stay-away, an intensive house to house campaign was con-

ducted in which the youth explained the issues to their parents and appealed to them to stay away.

The consequence was an 80-90 per cent success rate. Although the second and third day were less successful, it was an important conquest for the youth. It began to sow the seeds of the understanding that it was necessary to join forces with the working class in order to conduct the struggle against the regime. Significantly, while the first stay-away was confined to Soweto, the second received support in other areas of the Witwatersrand. A third stay-away was called in the Transvaal. A solid 75-80 per cent was sustained for three days. In all, three quarters of a million workers participated in this near-national action.

Significantly, this time the Zulu migrant workers gave almost total support. The youth had approached them beforehand, explaining that they had been used by the state previously, appealing to them to support the struggle.

A two-day stay-away in Tembisa, north east of Johannesburg, followed. But a fourth stay-away, called for five days, failed to materialise. The youth had overreached themselves and the workers could no longer see the point. Despite this setback the youth remained undeterred.

The last wave of the upsurge followed after 17 September 1977, when students came out nationwide in reaction to the news of the death of Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko in prison. This led to a massive outpouring of rage by students, with riots spreading throughout the country, and particularly in the Eastern Cape.

action taken consciously in support of the students.

The ban on public meetings imposed by the government was circumvented by the organisation of mass funerals, which took place on 22 June and were used as political rallies.

Like their counterparts in Alexandra, the working class youth of Soweto quickly sensed the need to involve their parents. They also began to sense that the confinement of the battle front against the state to the townships was a limitation. Consequently, the Soweto Students Representative Council, now thrust into a position of leading not just a student revolt, but a township-based rebellion, took on the responsibility of organising simultaneously for 4 August a march into Johannesburg by the students and the first political general strike in South Africa since 1961—called for three days.

Such was the mood in the townships that the regime's concession on the language question on 6 July made absolutely no difference. Afrikaans had been the spark and no more. The revolt was now directed not just at the Bantu education system but against the government itself.

To ensure the success of the stay-away a key signal box for trains from Soweto into the city centre was sabotaged, and all Soweto trains came to a standstill. The youth mounted pickets at bus stops and railway stations and in many instances tried to force workers not to go to work. They achieved a 60 per cent success rate.

Between 20,000 and 40,000 marched to Johannesburg, but the march was dispersed a few

Mexico

Powder-keg on US doorstep

A CARTOON at the time Mexico was nominated for the World Cup showed a hungry peasant asking: "Now we've got the circus, where's the bread?"

But what happens when the circus leaves town, when there are no more distractions from the continuing poverty?

Behind the glitter of the World Cup in Mexico lies an economic and social nightmare. While the attention of the masses is riveted on the football, leading officials of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) are having emergency meetings with the Mexican government about interest payments on its crippling foreign debt of nearly \$100 billion.

On 1 July Mexico is due to pay foreign bankers \$1.8 billion interest. Even before the collapse in the price of oil—Mexico's main export—President De la Madrid complained that "45 per cent of Mexico's export earnings are required to fulfill interest payments this year".

Hardening

No wonder that sections of the ruling party, the PRI, are calling for a freeze in debt repayments. The replacement of Finance Minister Silva with Petricioli signals a hardening of Mexico's position on repayments. But Petricioli, like Silva, is a Yale economist intent of enforcing IMF-dictated domestic policies of savage austerity.

Even so, the crisis in Mexico is sending shivers down the spines of the world's bankers. The \$2.3 billion repayments due in the first quarter of this year could only be met by bleeding the economy white.

As Paul Volcker, US Federal Reserve Board chairman commented: "A default by Mexico alone would be manageable for the banking system. The danger is that the debt problems of major nations are all interrelated."

In other words: failure by an important debtor state to meet its obligations could start a chain reaction that might end with the collapse of major banks in the imperialist countries, opening up the danger of a 1929-type world economic slump.

As a result of the economic uncertainty hanging over Mexico, the peso has plunged to a low of 730 per US dollar in the last few weeks. In 1981 it still exchanged at 23 per dollar.

The result is a new spiral of inflation as the cost of imported goods is pushed up by

By Alejandro Rojas

the collapse of the peso. Inflation is now running at 75 per cent, and rising.

If the talks with the IMF break down, the value of the peso will collapse even further.

The Mexican ruling class hoped that a successful World Cup tournament would boost the country's international reputation and enhance the popularity of the ruling party. But as President De la Madrid learned to his cost when his opening speech was drowned by whistles and jeers, even this diversion cannot hide the deep frustrations which have been building up during the recent years of crisis.

Tensions were also revealed in the riots which broke out amidst celebrations of the home teams' victory over Belgium, turning into pitched battles between youth and police. What would have happened if the home team had lost?

Undoubtedly, last year's earthquake and the recent collapse in the oil price have accelerated the decay of Mexican capitalism. But even before these disasters, the country was in a desperate position.

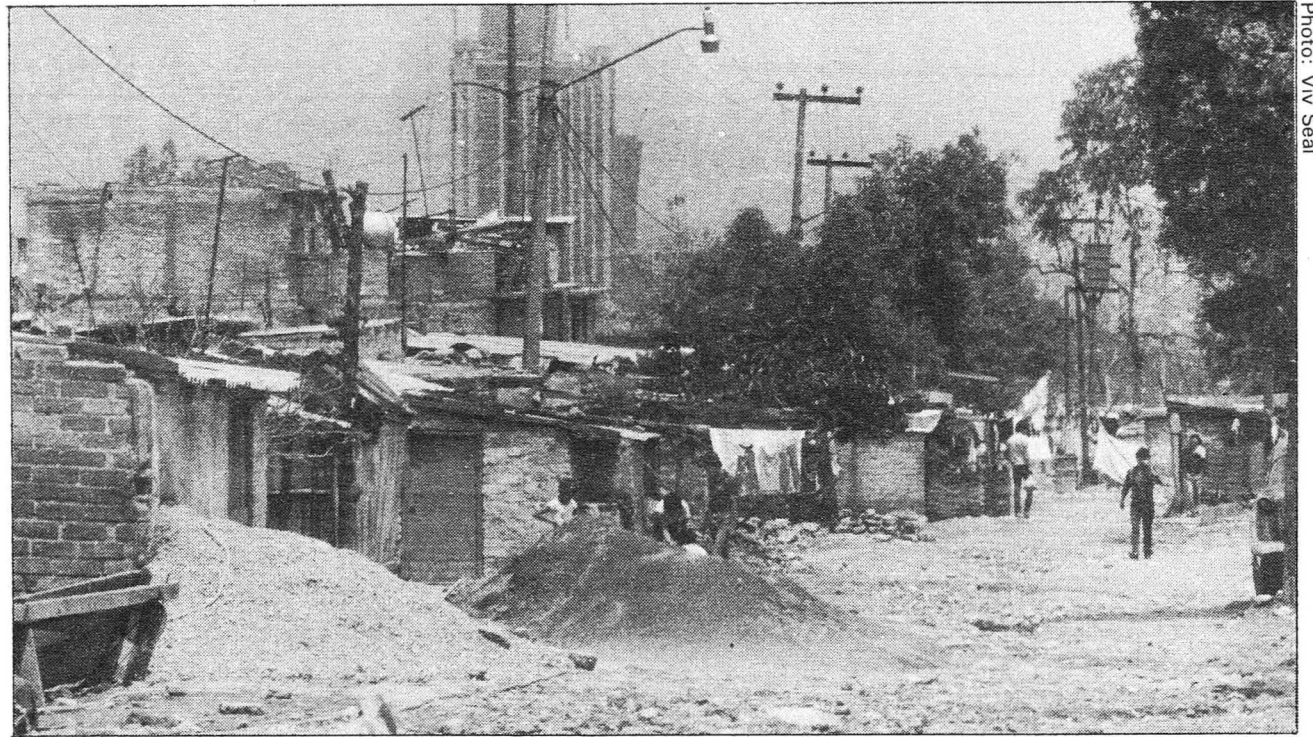
At the peak of the oil boom in 1982, according to official figures, there was a shortage of 5.5 million homes. The Mexican Congress of Labour estimated that 13 million Mexicans never ate meat, 25 million could never afford milk, and eggs were a luxury for 14 million.

With the economy bowed down under the second biggest foreign debt in the world, the government has been pressurised by the international bankers to impose severe austerity measures on this already overburdened population.

Today, 50 per cent of working-age people are unemployed or underemployed. Fifty per cent are undernourished. Since 1982 real income has dropped by half for the middle class as well as the working class.

What will be the effects now that the oil price has been halved?

The oil boom of 1976-1982 strengthened Mexico's economic dependence on the advanced capitalist countries, making



Millions live in festering slums, while the rich enjoy a life of luxury

its economy more vulnerable to changes in the world economy. Thus, the consequences of the approaching world recession will be catastrophic.

Yet, despite these appalling conditions, Mexico has been a relatively stable country by Latin American standards. This has been due mainly to the role of class collaboration played by the trade union leaders.

The official trade unions are affiliated to the ruling PRI ("Institutionalised Revolutionary Party"), which has been in power since 1917.

Private enterprise

The PRI has carried out some reforms to appease the working people, particularly in periods of boom. At times it has intervened on the workers' side to resolve industrial disputes. It is a government which balances between the classes.

But, at the end of the day, the real beneficiaries of the "Mexican revolution" have been the capitalists and landowners. The trade union leaders have always ensured, through their support for the government, that wages are kept down.

This 'stability' seemed to come to an end in the mid-1970s, when large sections of the working class defied the union bureaucracy and pressed for better wages and conditions. This seemed to mark the beginning of a period of deepening unrest.

The ruling class couldn't believe their luck when the oil boom started precisely at that stage, turning Mexico into the third largest oil exporter in the world. The PRI and the bosses gained a breathing space, as illusions were fostered among workers and peasants that conditions would improve if they cooperated with the ruling class.

Thus, the Mexican revolution was delayed. The government again relied on the trade union leaders to control the workers.

But, with the end of the oil boom, and the economic disasters of the last few



years, the basis for Mexico's relative stability has been destroyed. The economy is expected to decline by five per cent in 1986. The country has entered a period of deepening upheaval.

The first warning to the ruling class came at last year's congressional elections when, for the first time ever, the PRI was faced with the danger of losing two regional seats. It only managed to hold onto them by blatantly rigging the vote.

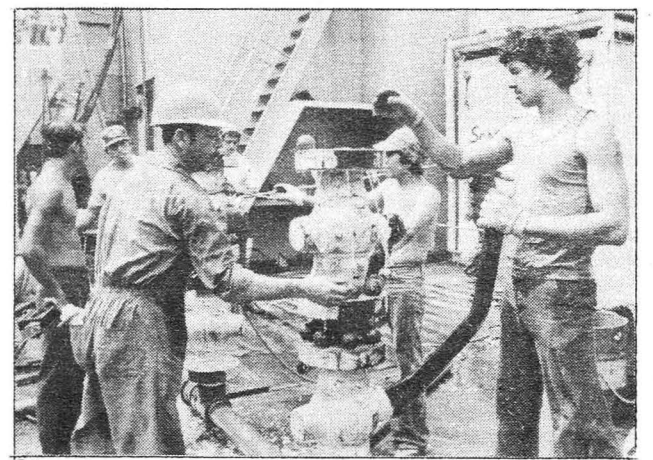
The popular opposition candidate for the governorship of Sonora found on election night that even in his home town the PRI had won by 800 votes to 0. "Look", he said, "not even my mother voted for me!"

The gains by the right-wing PAN (National Action Party) was mainly a protest vote against the PRI, as there are no major left-wing parties which seem capable of challenging the government. Eleven left-wing parties and groups between them control only 15 per cent of the vote.

On the other hand, the PAN gained its support mainly from the disgruntled middle class by concealing its real policies and clamouring against corruption and the lack of democracy, thus distinguishing itself from the PRI.

Since these elections, discontent has multiplied tenfold. Following President De la Madrid's public humiliation at the World Cup, he has ordered an inquiry into his government's popularity!

The real measure of the crisis in Mexico is the concern with which US imperialism is viewing the situation. Reagan's ad-



Oil workers: producing most of Mexico's wealth

ministration have made a priority of streamlining their policy towards Mexico.

A virtual veto has been placed on actions or criticism which could add to the pressures on the Mexican regime—even where serious problems such as massive drug-running and illegal immigration from Mexico into the US are concerned.

US imperialism

This is ironical, considering that Mexico refuses to support Reagan's policies in Central America, and in recent years has voted against the US in the United Nations on more occasions than any other country outside the Soviet bloc. The answer lies in the key importance of Mexico for US imperialism.

Eighty per cent of Mexico's imports come from the US, and 75 per cent of its exports went there in 1983. US multinationals make huge profits in Mexico. But these economic ties are only part of the reason why Washington is watching the crisis in Mexico with growing alarm.

Revolution in Mexico

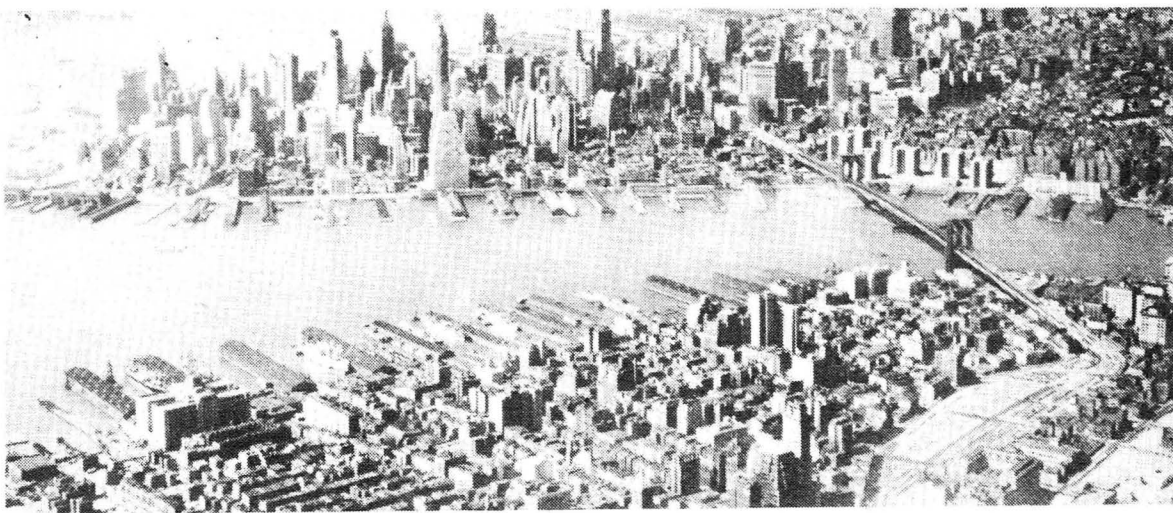
would cause a social earthquake throughout Latin America, and would have enormous repercussions in the US itself, where over 20 million Spanish-speaking people live. These include up to 12 million Mexicans who are used as cheap labour, and suffer appalling living conditions. Together with the black population, they are potentially the most explosive section of US society.

This is also the real driving force behind Reagan's aggressive policy against the developing revolution in Central America. The US capitalists would readily let Nicaragua, El Salvador and other small republics go, if only the revolution would stop there.

But clearly, Mexico has now become a gigantic powder-keg on the doorstep of the US which could be set on fire by the sparks of revolution from the south. Once this happens, the size of Mexico and its population of 80 million rules out the possibility of a US invasion to 'restore order'. Instead, the Mexican revolution would 'invade' the USA.



Photo: Viv Seal



New York: the capitalists' Manhattan . . .



. . . and the workers' Bronx

USA: Workers learn in struggle

THE USA is presented in the European media as the land of Reagan, Rambo, Dallas and Dynasty. I recently spent a few weeks there and found things slightly different.

I was walking downtown in New York when I spotted a picket line. It was TWA flight attendants picketing a hotel where scabs were staying.

I joined the pickets. It was an education.

The mostly female picket, attired in elegant TWA uniforms, screamed their rage at the scabs and pushed past the police to get at them. One picket, provoked by a management flunkey, spat in his face and struck him. "We've been too nice for too long", one of the pickets said.

Later that week I was asked to speak at a rally of the flight attendants. Two hundred were present.

By a recent visitor to the USA

The first speaker was a Teamster leader who summed up the position of his members: "They fight every day because that is America for workers!"

When I spoke I called for the books to be opened, nationalisation of TWA and the 500 corporations which rule the USA, for a Labor Party, a socialist USA and a socialist world.

Seven times I was interrupted with applause, and at the end received an ovation with over half the meeting rising to their feet.

Who says you cannot talk about

socialism to American workers? People learn in struggle. As the vice-president of the flight attendants' union said: "My membership has changed more in the last two weeks (since the strike began) than in the last 50 years."

I also attended a meeting in Lower Manhattan in support of the P.9 meatpackers' strike in Austin, Minnesota (see *Militant*, 9 May). It was the biggest labor meeting in New York for years.

The mood to fight was evident. Workers, black and white, young and old, chanted and clapped together. Speaker after speaker called for unity and struggle. The audience rose to shake their fists and applaud, again and again.

Looking around, I could imagine what it will be like when millions of New York workers march down Manhattan demanding a socialist America.

Unfortunately this great fighting spirit was given no clear lead. The theoretical primitiveness of the US labor leaders was evident. Four people were quoted by various speakers—all of them religious leaders.

The meeting was almost over when a tiny Latino woman worker from the cannery strike in California called for an end to capitalism. Tremendous applause erupted.

Mandela

Before leaving New York I visited a black liberation bookshop in Harlem. During my ten minutes there, four separate customers bought Winnie Mandela's autobiography, and two young blacks bought posters of Malcolm X.

Walking back to the subway I looked around me. Dozens of

unemployed on every corner, the area rundown and dilapidated, yet with energy and a developing anger below the surface.

A new movement among US blacks is coming. One black worker told me: "More people are talking of South Africa than ever before". She went on: "They beat down the black movement, but there is a new resurgence coming slowly".

Driving through a small town, I saw an old man lying unattended on the road where he had been knocked down by a car. I suddenly realised that I had almost passed him by. You see, in New York people lying on the streets is a daily part of life.

As Bruce Springsteen put it in a TV show when he dedicated Woody Guthrie's song *This land is our land* to the unemployed, the poor and the homeless: "Do they still believe this land is their land?"

Telecom workers on strike

THE GIANT telephone conglomerate AT&T has again driven its employees onto the streets.

On 31 May approximately 200,000 members of Communications Workers of America (CWA) went on strike in what most likely will be a very hard-fought battle.

AT&T was split up by court order in 1984 and divested of its local telephone companies. This split the 500,000 CWA members into two halves: 200,000 in AT&T and 300,000 in local companies.

The union bureaucrats agreed to change the expiry date for the contract of members in AT&T to 31 May, and bargain separately for them. The expiry date for the local companies' contracts remains 9 August 1986.

This means that workers in the local phone companies are now forced to work with the managers and scabs who have taken the places of their striking brothers and sisters in AT&T. The Company has stated that any employee who refuses may be dismissed.

Bargaining started in April but AT&T refused even to discuss the major union demands on job security, wages, shorter hours and pensions. Instead they stalled and put out very unsatisfactory offers with the obvious intention to cause a strike.

There was still no offer on economic demands as late as four days before the deadline. Then the Company offered an 8 per cent wage

increase over three years, but no COLA (compensation for inflation). This was rejected.

The Company then made their final offer: elimination of COLA, downgrading system technicians' jobs with a pay cut from \$646 to \$346 per week, and 17 other demands, every one amounting to a cut in earnings or conditions.

Profit surge

AT&T's profits were up 13.6 per cent between 1984 and 1985, and they had a profit surge of 49.7 per cent in the first quarter of 1986 over the first quarter of 1985. They declared \$1.6 billion net profit in 1985. They have the money to meet the union's demands.

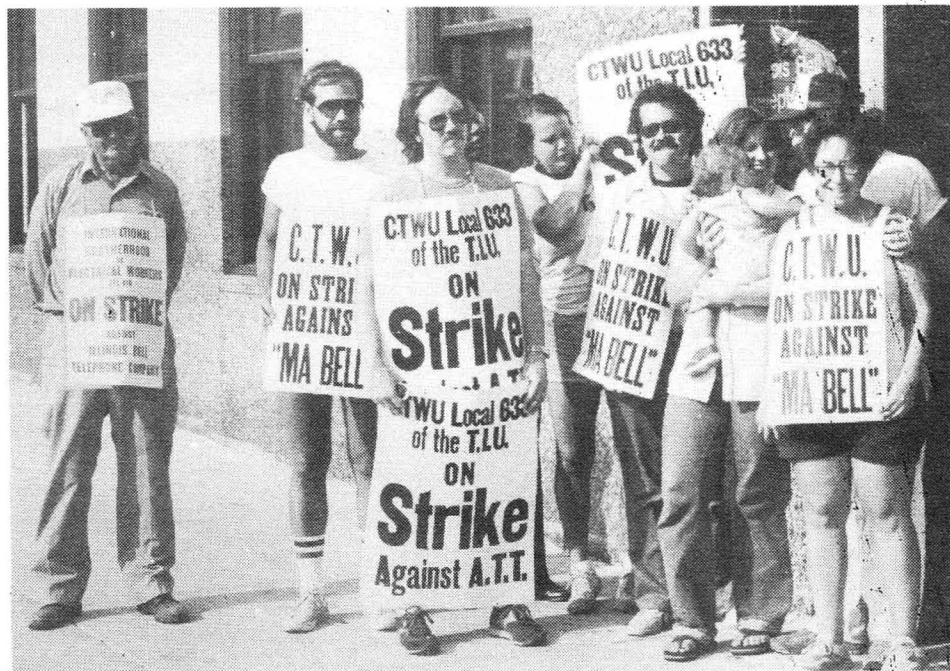
But the Company is losing money in their new ventures into computer sales. They made a bad decision to invest \$35 billion in that field, at a time of overcapacity.

Now AT&T wants its workers to pay for the Company's bungling by having their living standards slashed.

Our demands should be for what we need—not what management say they can afford. We need:

1. A 32-hour week with no loss of pay to open up jobs and prevent lay-offs.
2. Union control of the workload.
3. No lay-offs.
4. No subcontracting.
5. No concessions.
6. A full, uncapped cost-of-living clause, and a wage increase.

The union bureaucrats should not have changed the expiry date of the AT&T



US telephone workers on the picket line in 1983.

contract. But their big mistake in separating the two groups of CWA members was worsened by the tepid campaign they conducted to prepare the membership for the strike.

Their slogan was "You've got to stand for something", emblazoned on posters, along with buttons that said "JUSTICE".

Another separation of the workers happened when the bureaucracy of the other union involved in AT&T—the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, with 41,000 members—went their own way at the bargaining table. After the CWA team walked away a few hours before the midnight deadline, the IBEW team stayed until 5am and the Company gave them

a bad offer which they sent to their members for a vote.

These 'leaders' lack the most fundamental understanding of unionism: solidarity.

Nationalised

The reality the union leaders don't see is that there is no longer any secure future for their members without a fundamental change in the way the economy is structured. The telecommunications industry must be nationalised along with the other major corporations, all of which attack the living standards of the working people in this country.

But neither the Republicans nor the Democrats, the parties of big

business, could carry out such a programme. Nationalisation could only succeed if the unions form a political party to give workers political power, and control over nationalised industries.

Workers in most other industrial countries have built Labor Parties. It is going to be essential that we have such a party if we as workers are going to defend and improve our living standards.

By a shop steward (Local 9410 CWA)

Messages of support to:
1. CWA, 1925K Street NW, Washington DC 20006
2. CWA Local 9410, 2nd Street, San Francisco, Ca. 94105

Students on the streets

REAGAN'S EDUCATION cuts has turned life into a nightmare for students from poorer homes trying to work their way through college.

An estimated 3,000 students at New York's City University alone are homeless because only two of its 21 schools are able to provide dormitories. They are forced to sleep in men's shelters for the down-and-out, railway or bus stations, church halls and all-night movie houses.

One student tried to sleep in college hallways, until the security guards threw him out. In the shelters he came up against violence, drink and drug abuse, and some of his books were stolen.

A woman student he knows spends her nights in a sleeping bag in abandoned buildings.

Ironically, Poland—held out by the US ruling class as a prime example of 'socialist' (ie Stalinist) backwardness—offered 5,000 sleeping bags and blankets to help New York's homeless. An embarrassed Chamber of Commerce president insisted that the Mayor must turn this down.

But what do the wealthy bosses and capitalist politicians have to offer to youth, workers and the homeless in this "land of opportunity" except deepening hardship and humiliation—until the parasitical rule of big business is ended?

Nothing to fear from nuclear power?

Dear Comrades,
In the wake of the Chernobyl disaster and the imminent commissioning of the Torness nuclear power station in East Lothian a few miles from Edinburgh, the *Edinburgh Evening News* on 11 June carried out an independent opinion poll. The results should alarm the Labour Party shadow cabinet's decision to deviate from the 1985 conference policy to phase out all nuclear installations. In answer to the question "Do you agree or disagree with the use of nuclear power?" 57 per cent said

they disagreed and 31 per cent agreed. Only 28 per cent thought Torness should go ahead as planned. The question of a referendum brought an overwhelming response with 75 per cent in favour. The South of Scotland Electricity Board's reaction was that "The SSEB have a superb safety record, and Torness is the safest nuclear power station ever built". Perhaps this is because it hasn't produced nuclear power yet. Yours fraternally
D Paterson
Edinburgh



Thousands still homeless in Mexico

Dear Comrades,
Although I like watching football and the World Cup is hailed as the showpiece of soccer, I'm amazed at the rampant national chauvinism this brings out in ordinary people, and the way it is orchestrated. Of course the power elite will use this to direct people's

attention away from their day to day lives, unemployment, low wages etc. It does seem to me, as much as Mexicans appear to like soccer, insensitive to hold a world carnival in a country where thousands are homeless from an earthquake just months ago. Maybe FIFA will hold the

next World Cup in Ethiopia, where millions of pounds could be spent on stadiums which the starving millions of North Africa would be proud. Yours fraternally
Ian Masson
Eastbourne

Letters

Send us your views, comments or criticism.

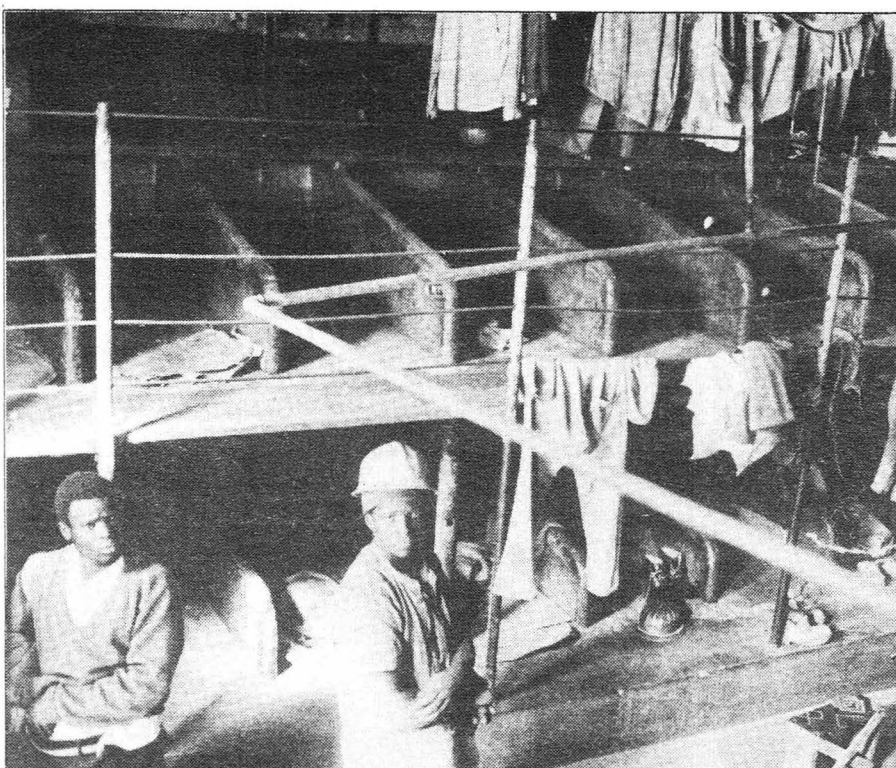
Militant, 3-13 Hepscoot Road, London E9 5HB

Engels' prediction against opportunism

Dear Comrades,
In *Militant* 802, we were told of Larry Whitty's 'public weariness with expulsions' and admission that there is 'a near obsession with Liverpool'. I would like to draw readers' attention to a passage in a letter written by F Engels in 1891 (*The State and Revolution*. VI Lenin), in which he wrote: "This forgetting of the great, the principal considerations for

the momentary interests of the day, this struggling and striving for the success of the moment regardless of later consequences, this sacrifice of the future of the movement for its present, may be 'honestly' meant, but it is and remains opportunism, and 'honest' opportunism is perhaps the most dangerous of all!". Yours fraternally
DP Monk
Tiverton Labour Party

Race divide in South Africa



Some of the appalling conditions facing black migrant workers in South Africa

Dear Comrades,
The courage of youth in South Africa is plain to see on our TV sets each day, even so it does not portray the truth that is a lasting experience for anyone who has been to the country itself. Before the troubles I visited the country whilst in the merchant navy, before I was at all a *Militant* supporter. I saw the trains, whites in the front two thirds, and blacks packed in the back. I saw cafes where blacks had to stand outside and eat even if it rained, and park benches divided blacks and whites. The system's tool of race divide is a powerful weapon, a friend who I grew up with returned from South Africa and had been convinced of the apartheid system that he worked in. I met a black worker recently who agreed with the system as well! With finance and direct links we can be part of the final transformation to a socialist South Africa, ending hundreds of years of savage imperialist domination. Yours fraternally
Mike King
Southampton

Classified ads

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

○ *Militant* - for a socialist South Africa stickers. Order now for the 28 June mass demo in London, and for local events. Cost £1.25 per 100. From Fighting Fund Department, 3-13 Hepscoot Road, London E9 5HB.

○ Address Books 60p, Bookmarks 40p, Plastic sleeves 20p, Sew on badge 40p, plus post to *Militant*, 8 Woodside Court, Woodside Rd, Portsmouth, Southampton.

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

○ GLASGOW LPYS 'Festival against Apartheid'. Friday 27 June, 7pm-12pm at the McClelland Galleries. Speakers include: Dave Nellist MP, Nimrod Sejake (SALEP), a Dunnes striker, ANC rep, Dave Archibald (LPYS). Tickets £1

Militant Meetings

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

□ *Militant/Inqaba* public meeting on South Africa. Tuesday 1 July, 7.30pm. Friends Meeting House, Euston Rd. NW1. Admission 50p. Speakers: Derek Hatton, Nimrod Sejake (former secretary of Iron and Steels Trade Union in Transvaal), Dave Nellist MP and Tyrone (exiled South African).

including slide show, bar and bands.

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

○ Marxist Summer-camp in Sweden 6-12 July. Come to Raa Vallar campsite in Helsingborg, Swedens door to Europe a stones throw away from Denmark! Enjoy the beach, the socials, the football and the political discussions!

Seminars on South Africa, Nuclear power, socialist youth work and much more. One day visit to Copenhagen. Cost: around £15 if you bring a tent and costs for food and travel. Write to: *Offensiv*, Box 21076, S-100 31 Stockholm, Sweden. Phone: 08-34 87 38.

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

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

□ Halifax "Fight back against privatisation". Tuesday 8 July, 7.30pm. AEU club, St James' St (near Halifax bus station). Speaker: Kevin Mullins (COHSE personal capacity).

□ Huddersfield "Fight back against privatisation". Friday 4 July, 7.30pm. Zetland Hotel, Queensgate (opp. Polytechnic). Speakers: Kevin Pattison (NCU personal capacity), Ann Lomas (COHSE personal capacity).

Ian Williams—from Maoism to careerism

IAN WILLIAMS, for years an NUR delegate on Liverpool District Labour Party, never opposed the platform of the DLP during the meetings. It was only towards the end of the city council's campaign and the beginning of the witch-hunt against *Militant* that he began to voice his criticisms. Williams still refused to raise his criticisms in District Labour Party meetings, but preferred to use the media outside. His attacks on the DLP were not supported by his NUR branch.

Williams now works for *New Statesman* in which he has a regular column full of snide and purile jibes at *Militant* supporters, such as his recent dig in the 6 June issue about a *Militant* supporter seen in a health food shop. Below are extracts of Terry Harrison's reply to *New Statesman*:

In a recent Diary item by Ian Williams, he reported the sighting of a "*Militant* expellee" in a wholefood shop. I have to admit it was me.

On behalf of the local labour movement I have been researching the eating of brown rice and its relationship with the decline of political principles.

Comrades in Liverpool became worried about



Neil Kinnock demonstrates some of the unfortunate side effects of large-scale consumption of brown rice—the emission of quantities of hot air.

political transformations of people concentrated in the area around this shop, Arundel ward, Riverside constituency.

Your own diarist, Mr Williams, is one of the saddest cases. Over an eight year period he has changed from a Maoist revolutionary into a Kinnockite careerist.

There are equally serious transformations in the area from being members of the CP, SWP, IMG, WRP, Bush Baptists and even the Big Flame.

The common denominator in this decline, we decided, was the consumption of brown rice.

I was particularly worried about Mr Williams, and did some deeper research. One of his ex-comrades in the Maoists said "It wasn't

brown rice, it was genetic; he was always an opportunist!"

Ten years ago Mr Williams used to harangue me about the need to leave the Labour Party, you have to admire his consistency, because today, he and many of these sad cases, can be seen to be assisting Mr Kinnock to achieve the same.

Your readers may know that I've had a bit of trouble myself vis-a-vis my party membership. I must admit that in my earnest desire to remain in the Labour Party, I consumed a pound of brown rice myself, before I met the NEC. It didn't save me, but maybe this was due to the fact that my hearing was on Friday 13th June.

Yours fraternally
Terry Harrison

Dear Comrades,
Your recent item mentioning Liverpool Labour Left secretary Ian Williams prompts me to write and tell you of the shock I got when I saw this 'left-winger' on TV calling for the expulsion of *Militant* supporters. When I saw his face I realised that he was a student at Liverpool University at the same time as me. While I and others were trying to build the Labour Club and the Labour Party, our Ian was a member of a tiny Maoist sect called the Communist Party of Britain (Marxist Leninist).

I remember Ian telling me that I couldn't possibly be a Marxist because I was a member of the 'capitalist' Labour Party. Now he says I shouldn't be allowed to be in the Labour Party because I am a Marxist. There's just no pleasing some people.

In the occasional discussion *Militant* supporters would quote Trotsky's saying that "reformism and ultra-leftism are just two sides of the same coin".

How galling it must be for ex-Stalinist and anti-*Militant* Ian to be living proof of the correctness of these ideas.

Yours fraternally
Alan Runswick
Birkenhead Labour Party

Privatisation in the dock

The Tories are looting every section of the public sector. Workers from around the country send in their reports. make sure you attend the BLOC anti-privatisation conference in Birmingham on 12 July.

Rolls Royce Confed campaign

A CAMPAIGN against privatisation of Rolls Royce was launched on Monday 9 June by the Confed (of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions).

Factory gate meetings were held at all Rolls Royce factories to explain the trade unions' point of view. 4,000 workers at the Bristol meeting voted almost unanimously to support the campaign. Thousands also gathered in Derby. Similar support is reported from every other RR site.

Rolls Royce crashed spectacularly in 1971. It was nationalised in a single day by the Tory government. No compensation was paid at the time. Since then millions of pounds of public money have been pumped into the company.

The Guardian reported

(24 April) that the government will have to inject a further £100m on top of writing off £372 million of accumulated losses to make the company attractive to private speculators. Yet it is expected that RR will fetch only £500m if it is sold off.

RR trade unionists visited the House of Commons on Wednesday 11 June to attend the select committee on RR privatisation and meet the parliamentary aerospace committees.

Full support

The Labour aerospace committee fully supported the unions' campaign. Dave Nellist MP said that the Parliamentary Labour Party must give notice to private speculators that a future Labour government will take

RR back into public ownership if the Tories succeed in selling it.

Recent press speculation that British Airways will place a major order for engines with an American manufacturer, when another nationally owned company can supply them, further underlines the absurdity of the Tory free market philosophy.

The Tories' plans to hive off RR can be defeated. The support of Labour MPs is very important but the most important factor is support from RR trade unionists.

The Confed has got the campaign off to a good start. The Labour Party and trade unions must develop it and begin to formulate an integrated plan for a nationalised aerospace industry by workers for workers.

By Alistair Fraser, secretary of the Joint Staff Union Committee, Rolls Royce, Bristol, personal capacity.

Britoil workers bitter

SEVERAL NEWSPAPERS reported on Friday 21 March the record profits announced by Britoil (formerly the exploration and production arm of the state owned British National Oil Corporation).

The privatisation of Britoil was only completed in August 1985 when the remaining 49 per cent share of the government was sold off.

The profits earned were £731 million before tax, £188 million after tax or £515,000 a day. In addition there were record cash balances of £350 million and dividend payments of £65 million.

However, at the same time it announced it was cutting

back by £100 million on its exploration due to the recent collapse in the oil price.

Also that it intended to cut its staff by 10 per cent by the end of 1986. This means the loss of approximately 270 jobs and if applied mainly to its Glasgow Offices, as reported, would mean one in six workers losing their jobs.

The details of the planned cuts were issued to employees as a directors' press conference was issuing the statement to their city friends in London.

It came without any prior warning or any negotiations with the recognised trade union APEX. They showed a complete disregard for the

workforce.

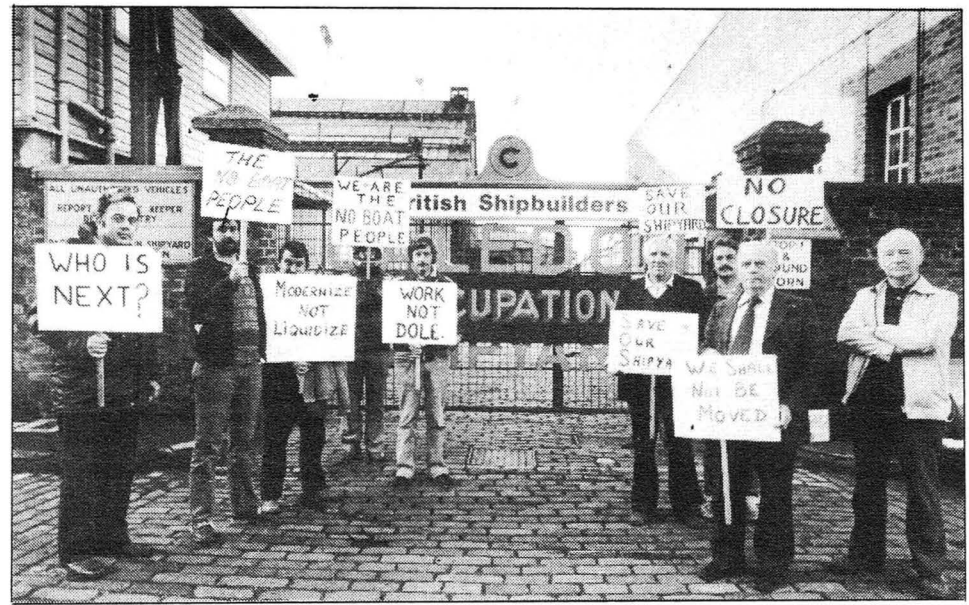
The statement contained no details of how the cuts are to be implemented other than possibly by natural attrition, constrained recruitment or by offering special reparation terms.

Certainly the statement was not designed to put the minds of the workforce at rest in what previously looked like fairly secure long term employment.

This attack on workers after privatisation takes place also raises wider questions.

What does the future hold for water workers, health workers and local authority workers whose industries cannot match the huge profits generated by an oil company.

By a Britoil employee



Shipbuilding and repair being dismantled and sold off.

Scrap the Tory shipwreckers

THE TORIES' shipbuilding strategy has met howls of derision from workers and even management in the yards. Privatisation has already proved a disaster.

The mass redundancies recently announced in the merchant sector of the industry are once again centred on the north-east, where shipping and shipbuilding have been devastated.

Thatcher's ministers recently praised the initiative of the workers of Redhead's yard in South Shields when they bought and then re-opened as a workers' co-operative. The Tories stood back and ignored them when the yard collapsed with massive debts.

This was in 1985 when Thatcher criticised workers

in the north east as moaning minnies whilst up here opening a new offshore platform yard.

The yard, significantly built on the site of the old Clelands yard, now faces run down, along with its sister yard on the river as North Sea oil dwindles and investment into the offshore field has been cut.

Indiscriminate cuts

The cuts are not just in the merchant sector, the profitable naval yards are also being hit.

Swan Hunters was also sold in a management buy-out in late 1985 at less than half its true value. This was justified by saying the yard would close if not sold.

Tory traitors to NHS exposed

'DECEITFUL', 'Traitors'. Strong words to describe the government—especially coming from that very respectable medical journal *The Lancet*.

They recently ran a leader article attacking Mrs Thatcher personally, and the government in general, for its destruction of the National Health Service.

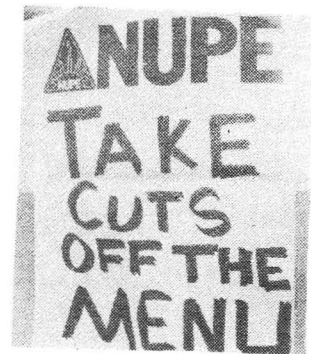
The article said Thatcher has: "deceitfully contrived the decline of the NHS", and asks why the General Medical Council is "so reluctant to call these traitors to account", referring to doctors who are paid by the NHS but are devoting "much" of their time to private practice.

It goes on to attack the

"repellent splendour" of the new private London Bridge Hospital and says the government continues to "deceive" people that private medicine helps the NHS.

Don't we know it here in Tower Hamlets. And we shall soon be finding out how much the 'benefits' of the new private hospital on the site of the old London Jewish hospital are going to cost us.

The Lancet concludes: "The public may once have been lulled into believing that Mrs Thatcher had given her blessing to the NHS and wanted it to flourish. By now there can be few who are thus deluded. The government must change its



course—or be itself changed."

Why did the editor spoil a good article by getting coy at the end. The government should save lives by resigning now! In the usual language of *The Lancet* it's the only "decent thing" they can do.

By Myrna Shaw, assistant district branch secretary, Tower Hamlets Health branch, NUPE, personal capacity.

North Devon bus stopped

NORTH DEVON busworkers brought their entire network to a standstill on Monday 2 June, for seven days.

The dispute between Red Bus Company management and the National Union of Railworkers (the busworkers' union in this case), was over the introduction of new working schedules connected to the concept of mini-bus service, that it was said would revolutionise public transport in North Devon.

No wage cuts

Colin Wood, of the North Devon branch of the NUR, said although the idea of mini-bus operation was accepted by the men involved they could not accept lower pay rates and worsening of working conditions.

He went on to list a number of grievances, including: low pay, increase in the standard working week, long spread-over days, insufficient running times, inadequate rest room facilities, proposed new operational network and routes not right for community needs.

The strike was the first significant stoppage, not only on the buses but in the entire area, since 1956. This single act indicated to the Red Bus management and other local employers that workers are prepared to fight for fair play.

The strike is now over and the men returned to work. Buses are operating as usual. This may only be a short break from battle though. The return was agreed pending the outcome of negotiations.



National Graphical Association

Decisive print conference

THE NATIONAL Graphical Association conference (BDM) in Blackpool this week will be the most important in its history. The bosses are attempting to destroy the print unions.

At the last BDM, two years ago, in the aftermath of the defeat at Warrington a motion calling for: "all forms of industrial action, including an all-out strike" to defeat the attack on the closed shop was rejected by 211 to 157.

That strategy, after two years of increasing attacks is more relevant than ever. And in rejecting the idea of further NGA involvement in the Murdoch dispute the leadership has advanced no clear alternative.

Since Warrington the attitude has been wait and see—hope that everything will turn out all right. This has allowed our enemies to take the initiative.

Fleet Street

A decisive lead should have been given. Fleet Street should have been involved in support of the sacked News International workers.

This call finds a greater echo now than at the beginning. The boycott and

propaganda campaign have proven inadequate. And we must prove our own commitment before others will respond to solidarity calls.

By Ian Warwick
(Oxon and Berks NGA delegate,
personal capacity)

Resolutions calling for amalgamation are again on the agenda. The News International dispute shows the immediate necessity of unity. It will only be through the combined strength of the unions involved in the media that the threat of non-unionism will be defeated.

Motion 84 and the amendments deal with "the violence of the police at Wapping...an armed paramilitary police force, and batons, guns and chemical crowd control weapons."

The NGA with its experience of increasingly violent police tactics at both Warrington and Wapping should explain the issue for the benefit of the labour movement.

This debate should act as the start of a campaign to force a halt to the police violence and make them democratically accountable.

The debate on Motion 82, will be interesting. This calls upon "the next Labour government" to re-nationalise those companies which have been sold off, with compensation to the owners to be paid on the basis of proven need."

Three amendments attempt to delete the last sentence. The Kent amendment goes further, it wants "priority being given to those companies which are needed to be expanded to provide services to the community and jobs for the unemployed."

Re-nationalisation

These should be rejected. There can be no excuse that funds will not be available. The rich found the money in the first place—which Thatcher paid back in the form of tax hand-outs.

At present water and gas are up for sale. £1.4 billion is the estimated loss to taxpayers. The *Financial Times* estimated that "the government has sold BT for some £1.3bn less than its initial stock market value." Why should we compensate the thieves who are also conspiring to destroy our union.



Photo: Mick Carroll

Tony Dubbins and Brenda Dean lead the marches but more determined action in the print is necessary to defend the unions.

Bemrose and how to beat Murdoch

EVENTS surrounding the unsuccessful ballot of Bemrose printers in Liverpool on solidarity action with sacked News International workers, and the subsequent picketing of the plant, show up many weaknesses in the conduct of the dispute so far.

If we are to move out of the deadlock, important lessons must be drawn and applied urgently.

At present why are only a handful of Bemrose workers refusing to cross the picket line, when the case for solidarity is undeniable?

In the course of any strike it is absolutely necessary at each stage to examine, analyse and re-analyse your strategy and tactics. Each event, big or small, success or failure, has a bearing on the future direction of the conflict.

Honest explanation and the involvement of the strikers is essential if morale and activity are to be maintained.

The nationally adopted policy of the boycott and financial pressure has only had modest success. The idea that these tactics, combined with public opinion could win the dispute on their own was false from the start.

The Sogat leadership, faced with the collapse of their strategy, began to run down the strike. They grasped in desperation at Murdoch's 'final' offer.

The strikers correctly rejected this offer. The question is then posed, what next?

At the start of the dispute sympathy certainly existed and this could have been turned into concrete action if handled correctly.

But the national leadership instructed Bemrose workers not to get involved in the battle.

Publicly it was stated that

if either Bemrose or *Sun* printers (Watford) went out of the door their jobs would be gone forever.

Privately it was claimed by the union leaderships that they believed the workers would not stop handling the colour magazines if either balloted or instructed.

Their refusal from the start to seriously campaign for solidarity when Bemrose workers expected the call has now caused grave problems.

Whatever the reasons their, national leaderships must take a fresh initiative to gain solidarity action from workers producing Murdoch's magazines at Sun Watford and Bemrose.

The issue has been posed more sharply as rank and file pressure has built up for action to stop the colour magazines.

The Sogat national leadership turned full circle and took the decision to conduct a ballot at Watford and Liverpool—but again there was no preparation.

A meeting was arranged but astonishingly no material circulated then or later. It was clear that the vote would be lost.

An astute leadership would have postponed the ballot and then re-assessed the situation. The fact that the NGA nationally refused to participate in balloting their members added to the confusion.

Bemrose, which is owned by Murdoch, produces more than *Sunday*, the *News of the World* colour magazine. Another magazine and the

colour pre-print are inserted into other national newspapers.

After the ballot, when the London Sogat branches set up the picket line at Bemrose this fact should have been taken into account. Any goods that leave the factory and cross the picket line should be immediately blacked.

The Sogat branches have so far been unable to deliver this elementary trade union action. In other words, at present Sogat members are crossing their own picket line, in handling scab material from Bemrose.

This is a fundamental flaw in the campaign. Firstly, how can you expect solidari-

ty from others, when the people who are demanding sacrifice in Liverpool are not making the same demands on the members in London and elsewhere.

Secondly, there is a duty to the Bemrose workers who are honouring the picket line. They face the sack—and in the present economic conditions—permanent unemployment. More importantly, it leaves the best fighters outside the factory gates.

The picket is having little effect. What is needed is a national strategy. The latest ballot results must be used as the starting point.

The whole of Murdoch's British empire must be in-

olved. A campaign must be launched to extend industrial action to damage his other interests.

At Watford and Liverpool all the unions involved should instruct their members to stop handling the magazines. Before this the national leaders must go to the factories, along with strikers, to argue the case.

A combined campaign is needed, directed at all factories. Those being asked to join the struggle see they are not standing alone.

The strike is seen as a national newspaper dispute so action must be taken by other Fleet Street workers.

At present there is no clear direction being given. The

national trade union tops are appealing to the EETPU to use their influence.

Rather than turn towards our enemies, those who collaborated in sackings, an appeal should be made to the labour movement.

Only the combined strength of the movement in action will give us victory. The key is resolute national leadership and a strategy of action.

- ★ Stop Fleet Street
- ★ Black all News International material
- ★ Prepare a national print strike and wider solidarity action

By Peter Jarvis
London Region NGA



Photo: Dave Sinclair

Mass picket at Wapping—the struggle must be widened to the whole of Fleet Street.

Industrial Reports

Rail workers must prepare for battle

The National Union of Railwaymen's conference (AGM) starts with activists hoping for a yes vote in the workshops ballot. But the AGM's fighting talk must be turned into action.

An outline of the kind of campaign needed is given in the article on Brel on this page. The union must ensure that in every grade there is a campaign explaining where jobs are going to be lost and what can be done about it.

The campaign committee which helped achieve the yes vote in the political fund ballot could be dusted off to launch and co-ordinate this campaign.

Conference must not bow to the bureaucratic argument that we just hang on and wait for a Labour government. Those ideas spell disaster for the thousands of jobs under threat in Brel and elsewhere over the next year or two. Those workers cannot wait.

We should not be under illusions either about the prospects under a Labour government. Whilst straining every muscle to eject the Tories and return a Labour government we will have to exert enormous pressure to ensure it carries out policies in the interests of our members.

An immediate issue which conference must face up to in the Labour Party is that along with the abandonment of many of its commitments to reverse the Tory destruction of industry goes a vicious attack on socialists in the Party.

Even one of our members, a leading activist in the Sheffield area Geoff Bright of Tinsly NUR, has been expelled.

This plays into the hands of the media who wish to portray a split Labour Party and is an early attempt to block active trade unionists insisting that a Labour government does not bow to the pressure of big business yet again.

Conference must clearly condemn the witch-hunt and in particular the leading role in it of assistant general secretary Charlie Turnock.

The first section of resolutions on the agenda, concerning ballots, raises important

By Bill Esmond
(Derby works, AGM delegate, Nottingham, personal capacity)

issues.

We must reaffirm our opposition to the Tory anti trade union laws. We should not fall into the trap of allowing state interference in trade union affairs by accepting government money for ballots.

But to simply oppose ballots outright provides dangerous ammunition for our enemies. Understandably members will raise questions: 'Why can't I vote?'; 'Why does someone have to tell me what to do?'; 'Why are you frightened of the members?' It can easily undermine confidence in the union.

We should not be frightened of ballots. If a proper campaign is conducted the members will respond. We are in favour of the widest possible democracy based on the workplace.

Ballots

The Tories' legal interference in union affairs will be exposed for the hypocrisy it is in the course of struggle. There will be times when a ballot is not possible—when immediate action is required. We base our actions on the interests of the members not Tory class laws.

The system for electing executive members has already been altered by the EC from branch bloc voting to secret balloting, in accordance with Tory legislation.

At least the old system provided an opportunity for members to attend the branch and discuss the policies of the candidates.

If that is to be abandoned then the rules must be altered to allow candidates to produce election material and conduct a campaign throughout the union.

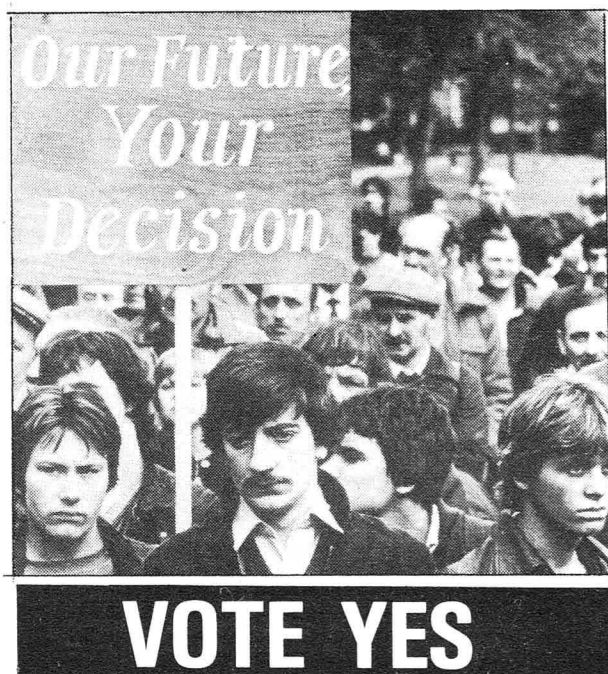
Instead of producing weak right wing leaderships as the Tories intend we can use their attacks to ensure the return of a fighting national leadership with the full support of the membership.

THE BROAD LEFT FOR RAIL WORKERS DEMANDS:

- ★ No closures of any Brel main works or BR regional shops
- ★ No job losses, voluntary or compulsory
- ★ No to the so-called 'restructuring' carve-up of Brel
- ★ Opposition to any transfer of work from works to another aimed at assisting plant closures
- ★ A guaranteed future for every apprentice
- ★ A 35-hour week for all Brel workers
- ★ An end to all contracting out of work to private companies
- ★ No privatisation of any section of BR/Brel
- ★ A massive programme of investment in BR for wholesale modernisation, new equipment and rolling stock. This alone would provide ample work for our workshops.



Photo: Jez Coulson (IFL)



THE BALLOT of all British Rail and British Rail Engineering (Brel) workshop staffs on 30 June and 1 July is probably the most important ever held in the industry.

At stake are the jobs of seven thousand workers and many more who will be hit subsequently if we fail to stop the planned closures.

That is why a massive yes vote in favour of industrial action is vital. However the fight back does not start or finish simply with the ballot.

In the run up to the vote meetings must be held in every

workshop. A massive campaign of explanation using every means of getting over the case for action must be launched.

Armed with a vote for action the next stage can start immediately. Every workshop and depot must produce its own leaflets and bulletins, hold its own local meetings.

Links must be established at rank and file level between all the works and regional shops to avoid any being isolated. This is a critical point in the struggle to defend the rail industry. Victory here is vital to every rail worker.

IF THE BOARD CONTINUE WITH THEIR PROPOSALS THIS MUST BE MET BY:

- ★ All out strike action of all NUR and Confed members in the workshops and depots
- ★ Prepare to involve the entire rail workforce who are facing similar attacks
- ★ Link up the campaign to defend jobs in the rail industry to those in the shipyards and coal industry

Yorkshire miners gala debate shows differences between members and exec

THE WEEK leading up to this year's Yorkshire miners gala was full of argument.

Hatfield Main NUM branch had passed a resolution calling for Arthur Scargill to be invited to the gala. When it went before the Area Council, the General Secretary, Sammy Thompson, said that the resolution was "Too late". So it looked as though Scargill would not be invited to the gala.

The press then picked up the story and consequently to save their faces the Yorkshire leadership were forced to invite their national president.

Hatfield Main branch were also upset to discover that a reception was to be held at British Coal headquarters—Coal House on the morning of the gala.

Eight members from Hatfield had been arrested whilst picketing Coal House during the strike and then had to suffer 12 months' of torment whilst waiting trial on riot charges as it was possible that they could have received life charges had they been found guilty.

Fortunately the charges against the eight were dropped half way through their trial but Hatfield Main don't forgive or forget—and threatened to picket the reception. The Yorkshire leadership were forced to call the reception off.

The gala itself was had a

massive attendance. When the platform was introduced at the rally Arthur Scargill was given a standing ovation and the entire audience demanded that he should be allowed to speak.

Jack Taylor refused to allow this. Whilst he was constitutionally entitled to do so, it is a disgrace that the union's national president (and former Yorkshire president) who has been subjected to so much abuse from the media should be denied the chance to speak.

Dennis Skinner received the best response of any speaker when he called for a future Labour government to reinstate all sacked miners and to return the NUM's money. He also won the audience's support for a clear condemnation of the witch-hunt in the Labour Party.

Despite the machinations of the Yorkshire leadership, the support for Scargill and the response to Skinner's speech show that the rank and file in this region remain determined to fight against British Coal's onslaught.

75 Militant's were sold, many signed the anti-witch-hunt petition and £20 was collected for the fighting fund. 32 Socialist Youth's were sold and a marvellous £75 was raised for the Chile Socialist Defence Campaign.

By a Hatfield Main NUM member

SUPPORT THE BAKERS

March and rally
1pm Elkes Biscuits
Gadbrook Road,
Northwich
Saturday 28 June

In support of the workers at Elkes Biscuits (Northern Foods) in their fight for jobs. This rally has been organised by the Joint Shop Stewards' Committee.

By Jim McGuiness
(delegate, personal capacity)

Building workers show shift to left

AFTER ALL the fraternal speeches Ucat (the building workers union) conference got off to a controversial start.

The resolution from London No2 Westbourne Plc branch said: "It views with deep concern the increased practice of branches failing to make proper returns in union elections."

The mover and seconder of the resolution made it clear they were referring to the election last year for a vacant executive position in which the right wing candidate, Brian Viel received 1,480 votes from just seven branches

in the Irish Republic.

The meeting place for the Limerick branch, where 204 people voted for Viel and not one for the left candidate, Dave Miles, measured only twelve foot by twelve foot. In the seven branches not one vote was cast for Dick Miles.

Only after the defeated candidate took the election result to the High Court in Dublin was the union executive prepared to hold fresh elections.

By this time the executive had complied with Tory trade union law. The right wing candidate

was elected by postal ballot.

The executive was defeated in its opposition to the demand for a £5 per hour wage rate and 35-hour week.

On housing and construction policy there was a call for a national working party of trade union and Labour Party members to propose a policy for the next Labour government.

Such a programme, conference agreed, should include: a massive programme of house building, maintenance and refurbishment, to provide accommodation for over one million

people and jobs for half a million unemployed building workers.

A call for public ownership of a national building corporation under democratic workers' control was carried, again against the executive's wishes.

Conference supported the extension of Direct Labour Organisations, but also saw the need to nationalise major private construction firms and suppliers of building materials.

Thursday was a good day for Labour Party members. A resolution demanding election of

Militant

**Inqaba/Militant public meeting
"Workers' Sanctions Against
Apartheid"**
Tuesday 1 July 7.30pm
Euston Road, London
Speakers include Derek Hatton
Dave Nellist MP



Fight privatisation
Saturday, 12 July
Digbeth Civic Hall Birmingham
Speakers include Dave Nellist MP

Only bona-fide trade union delegates accepted. £3 per delegate. Apply to BLOC, PO Box 464, London E5 8PT. Coaches from London: advance booking only. Fare £6 return. Contact: J Griekas, 25 Stirling House, Simmonds Roads, London SE18 6UP.

JOIN THE campaign to stop the threat of privatisation. Come to the Broad Left Organising Committee (BLOC), special conference on 12 July.

The Tories have been lining their friends' pockets the easy way. There's no need to invest in new industry which is far too risky. Big business interests are swooping like birds of prey on potentially profitable services.

Speculators made a fortune out of buying and selling shares, but the news isn't so good for the rest of us.

When a collection of parasites took over Cambridgeshire's services, half the workforce lost their jobs. Many services are made better 'investment prospects' by widespread redundancies even before privatisation. Many local authorities use the threat of privatisation to force through job-cutting

By Mick Barwood
(Treasurer, BLOC)

'in-house' contracts with their staff.

Wandsworth council employees who kept their jobs after Pritchards took over the bins took home half their previous pay for double the workload.

Again many public services use the threat of private contracts to lower their workers' wages.

Conditions are made worse. Only 'senior' members of Merton's privatised school meals staff get sick leave. Privatisation is favoured by the bosses as a way of smashing the strong trade union tradition of the public sector.

Incomplete and shoddy work is common. Corners are cut on health and safety. One privatised laundry even refused to handle foul laundry; that had to be done in

Fight Tory Pirates



Addenbrookes Hospital strikers—pioneers in the fight against privatisation—at Manchester low pay demonstration

the public sector; they want money for nothing. Privatised school meals have produced a catalogue of complaints about nutritional value, variety, quantity etc.

The Tories have got worse up their sleeves. Water, gas, public transport and many others are in the pipeline for sale at knockdown prices. The Tories are doing their

best to force other authorities to privatise services. A health authority in Kent was advised by the DHSS to lower its hygiene standards for a laundry contract when no contractor came up to expectations.

The unions must fight back now. Workers at Addenbrookes and Barking hospitals and many other

trade unionists have opposed sell-offs at local level, but they have been left isolated. **Local actions must be part of a national strategy with national action, including strikes, to stop privatisation.**

Make sure the fight-back starts now for the next Labour government to reverse all privatisation. The battle is on to build resources

for a massive programme of improvements in housing, health, education and other services.

The BLOC conference should be your first step in this fight.

Privatisation in the dock—see page 13

South Africa

(from page 1)

Brits. S Moyo, Brits. P Mabutsela, steward, Brits. National Automobile and Allied Workers Union (9):

S Ramakobye, organiser, Pretoria. V Ramakobe, shop steward, Firestone. V Mohakwe, organiser, Pretoria. J Lebesse, organiser, Mamelodi. M Shongwe, organiser, Brits. D Hoshe, steward, Willard Batteries. S Wilson, steward, Willard Batteries. P Pheku, Springs. K Dunjwa, steward, General Motors.

Food and Allied Workers Union (11):

T Mkwana, organiser, Natal. V Mehonza, shop steward. R Peterson, organiser, Bloemfontein. A Mentoer, organiser, Cape Town. V Macdonald,

organiser, Cape Town. W Zweni, shop steward, Cape Town. Lentor, shop steward, Beaufort West. One Un-named organiser in Pretoria area. P Makhudu, organiser, Hammanskraal. T Mkhana, branch secretary, Natal. M Nhlapo, branch secretary.

Paper, Wood and Allied Workers Union (5): S Khubeka, secretary, Transvaal. A Willem, organiser, Port Elizabeth. B Mnguni, organiser, Empangeni. J Nthilinga, organiser, Natal. Z Mthimkulu, organiser, Piet Retief.

Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union (20): B Vally, education officer, Johannesburg. O Maroelets, organiser, Bloemfontein. R Mnculwane, organiser, Harrismith. F Mazibuko, shop steward, Harrismith. M Cindi, shop steward, Harrismith. O Malgas, organiser, K Thibe, organiser. R Ncunwali,

organiser, Vaal. K Xulu, O K Bazaars, Rosebank. M Hlongweni, O K Bazaars, Rosebank. E Letswalo, Hyperama, Sandton. J Mhlongo, organiser, O Shebangu, Empangeni. E Mongale, O Marentsi. B Boikanyo. S Patsa. P Bekkers. Matsoso.

Chemical Workers Industrial Union (5): C Bonner, secretary, Transvaal. V Mavuso, organiser, V Mot-samai, shop steward. T Mkaliphi, acting chairman. L Ntlokoa.

National Union of Textile workers (11): S Mkhwanazi, branch executive, Ladysmith. P Maphalala, shop steward, Harrismith. A Nyathi, shop steward, Harrismith. O Ngwenya, organiser, Harrismith. M Mkhize, organiser, Harrismith. M Kheswa, shop steward, Durban. J Ntuli, shop steward, Durban. L Tsotetsi. S Marumo. Z Galela. K Dau.

National Union of Mineworkers (7):

J Phate, organiser, Kimberley. P Nkuna, regional chairman, Transvaal. V Bambini, regional vice-chair, Kimberley. M Dipico, organiser, Kimberley. V Ngcolo. M Gladli. D Mtuembula.

Motor Assembly and Components Workers Union (3): D Neer, general secretary, Port Elizabeth. Duze, organiser, Port Elizabeth. I Ngciana.

South African Allied Workers Union (4):

Z Mtshelwane Pretoria. P Molepo. J Masemula. C Seleke. Transport and General Workers Union (8):

R Lazarus, organiser, Cape Town. J Nthombela, president of TGWU, regional chairman of COSATU. N Marawu, organiser, Cape Town. L Ditsingho. N Maramu, organiser, Western Cape. E Ngubbane, Empangeni. J Maxambela, Port Elizabeth. T Mponjana.

Retail and Allied Workers Union (1):

D Khumalo, Mamelodi.

Clothing Workers Union (1):

L Erasmus.

Other non-COSATU Unions:

Media Workers Association of SA (2):

M Tseudu, chairman.

Pietersburg. Mathatha,

chairman.

National Education Workers

Union of SA (1):

D Dickson.

Council of Unions of SA (5):

Phiroshaw Camay, general secretary. James Mndaweni, president.

Mashlomolo Skhosana, assistant general secretary. Dale Tiflin, information officer. Joyce Sedebe, organiser, Pretoria.

Youth and Community Organisers (4):

Mzwanele Mayekiso, Alexandra Action Committee. A Vilikazi,

Alexandra Action Committee. C Hlatshwayo, Alexandra Action

Committee. O Baphela, Alexan-

dra Youth Congress.

ANTI-APARTHEID march on Saturday 28 June

★ *Militant*: collect papers etc at Speakers' Corner from 9am

★ Rally behind the LPYS banner

★ Come to the Militant Readers' Meeting at the end of the march (Details page 4)

This will be the most important solidarity demonstration since the Spanish Civil War.

We call on supporters everywhere to attend. Make sure all coaches and trains from your area are covered.

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Militant
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