

Militant

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Inside...

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Smash apartheid

- South African whites earn ten times more than the blacks.
- Seven times more is spent on white education than black.
- For each one million whites there are 3,000 doctors, for each one million blacks only 11.

WHILE THATCHER tried to block any meaningful sanctions at the Commonwealth mini-summit, in South Africa up to 190 people a day are being detained, by the apartheid regime. The names of 3,400 detainees have been published, but the Detainees Parents' Support Committee has calculated that up to 8,000 have been taken in since the state of emergency was declared.

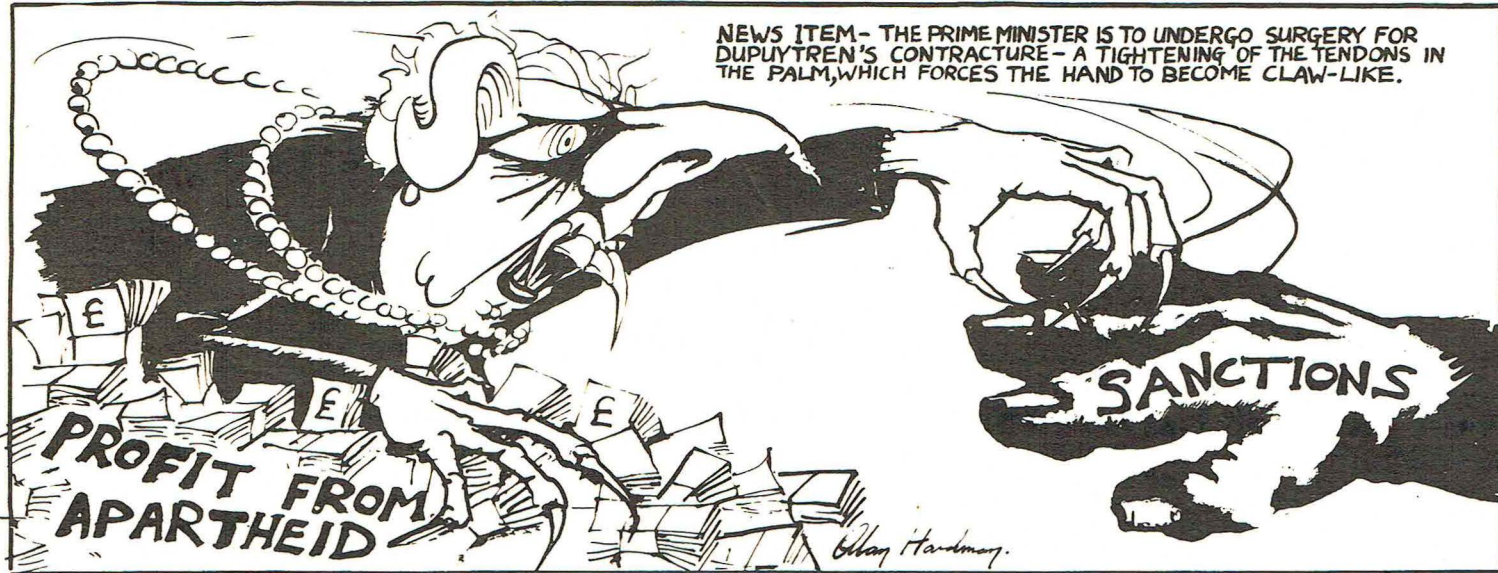
At the summit Thatcher was in a minority of one. She was only prepared to go along with 'painless sanctions', like the voluntary restrictions on tourism and investment. But with economic decline and social crisis in South Africa, British investment had already dried up to just a trickle. The ban on coal, iron and steel only applies if the Common Market endorses it, in September.

Thatcher believes sanctions are 'immoral'. But her morality is strictly the cash-register kind. When she resists sanctions, ringing up before her eyes is British capitalism's £1,200 million visible trade income and £2,500 million invisible (finance, shipping etc) trade with South Africa. Direct British investments total £12 billion, attracted by the slave wages that can be paid to the black South African workers, who have no more rights than slaves.

The British bosses that Thatcher represents have profited from the blood of South African workers. The labour movement in Britain must now have its say. It has the power to cut off all links with South Africa through workers' sanctions.

It must live up to its international responsibilities to the working class in South Africa, who are fighting to topple apartheid capitalism.

NEWS ITEM - THE PRIME MINISTER IS TO UNDERGO SURGERY FOR DUPUYTREN'S CONTRACTURE - A TIGHTENING OF THE TENDONS IN THE PALM, WHICH FORCES THE HAND TO BECOME CLAW-LIKE.



**£10,000
raised in
one week**

£40,164 FOR *Militant's* Fighting Fund raised in the last three months. No other paper in the labour movement has such support amongst the working class. Readers and supporters have shown their determination to back *Militant* against the Tories and Labour's right wing. £5,424 has been received in the last two days alone, including £1,000 from a redundant shipyard worker, — the best answer to our enemies. Now forward to the new £70,000 target by 30 October.

By Nick Wrack

On the run from Botha's police

Exclusive

I WAS standing in the sunshine, in the small garden of my friend's house when the car pulled around the corner into the street. It was about 150 yards away and in other times I would have paid no notice. After all, it was Sunday morning, the sun was shining and there was not a cloud in the sky.

But this was Sunday 15 June. The day before 16 June. 10 years on from Soweto 1976. The fourth full day of Botha's most recent state of emergency. So I saw the rifles sticking out of the back windows of the car immediately.

It is the security police, State Security, and I know they are coming for me.

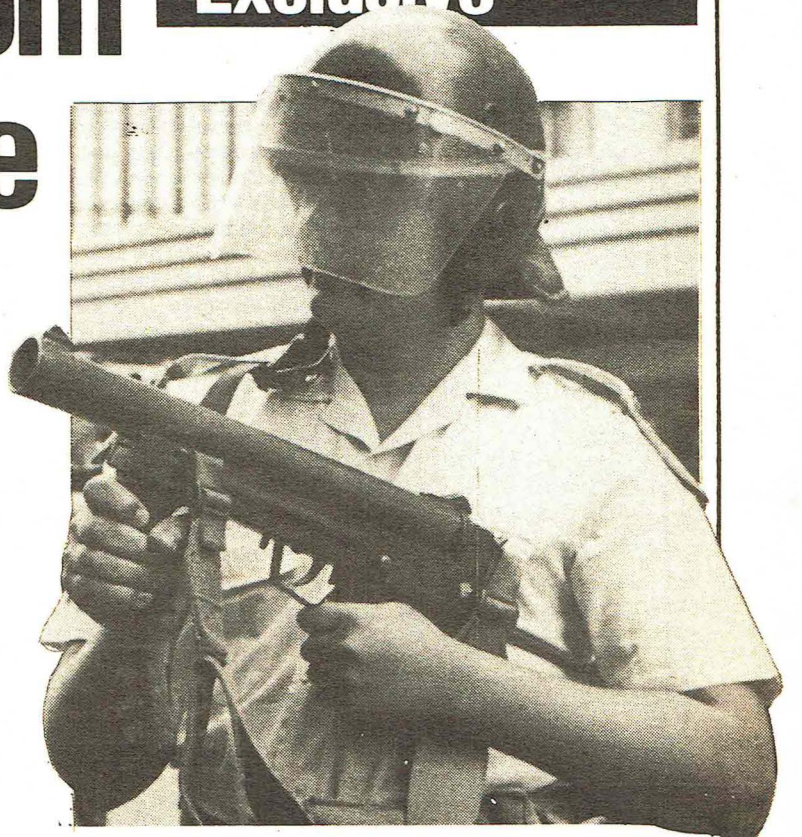
They are coming for me or for my friend, who is in hiding next door as he is a leader in the UDF.

The car seems to be moving in slow motion but its progress has me mesmerised, like the swaying of the cobra before it darts to kill its prey. You get transfixed by fear. It's as simple as that. "They are coming for me."

Images of what it was like the last time in prison flash before you. Memories of stories told of broken bodies seem to stream through the mind. And all of this is losing vital seconds. You don't seem able to move. I felt numb from the waist down. No stomach and no legs and the car just keeps on coming.

Twenty seconds ago I was drinking cold beer in the sun in a mixed neighbourhood in one of South Africa's biggest cities. Now I'm

Continued on back page



Militant

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British unions must impose workers' sanctions

THATCHER'S FIERCE opposition to sanctions has isolated her from other Commonwealth leaders. Even her loyal ally Reagan is under intense pressure to take some action against South Africa. Either Congress will compel him to introduce some sanctions, or he will be forced into some face saving measures of his own. Then Thatcher would really stand alone.

She has only accepted the most minor 'voluntary' measures and additionally "very, very reluctantly," the EEC's ban on coal, iron and steel. Her main concern is British profits from South Africa. But she is eager to give the impression of nudging Botha's regime to reform.

Even the association representing British companies with South African interests has recently urged her to introduce some very gentle sanctions. Anything less and then they would be viewed as nothing but apologists for the apartheid state by their own black workforce.

But there is a strong element of truth when Thatcher, hypocritically, declares that sanctions do not work. Enforced merely by capitalist governments, there will always be a thousand loopholes to exploit. Oil continued to elude sanctions against white Rhodesia, with the connivance of firms like Burmah Oil, with which Dennis Thatcher was associated.

It is true that now within the Commonwealth, Australia, itself a coal and mineral exporter stands to gain from sanctions against South Africa. Canada has only a marginal economic link with apartheid, while the stance of some of the black African leaders has a lot to do with placating the oppressed masses at home.

But most of all these advocates of tougher measures are terrified by the gathering revolutionary storm in South Africa and its international impact. Malcolm Frazer writing in the *Observer* repeated the warnings of the Eminent Persons Group, of which he was a member. A black government brought to power by armed struggle "would probably nationalise Western commercial and financial interests. All of Southern Africa would be embroiled.

"As a result, United Kingdom, indeed all Western strategic and commercial interests in Southern Africa would be destroyed."

These capitalist leaders see sanctions not as a means to overthrow the apartheid regime, but to propel Botha more firmly towards the negotiating table.

But what is there to negotiate? The struggling black workers and youth will accept nothing less than majority rule within a unitary South Africa. But faced with this prospect, on the basis of capitalism the four million whites would fight to preserve their privileged status. The white state forces whose considerable firepower has still nothing like been fully deployed, would resist too.

Even if Botha wished to respond to the sanctions pressure, or to the gentle tap on the shoulder from Thatcher, he is constrained by the all-out opposition that would break out, from the very forces upon which he relies.

The struggle for liberation from apartheid and from capitalism that spawned it, are one. South African miners' leader Cyril Ramaphosa expressed it clearly: "It is too late to save the free enterprise system in this country. The alliance between big business and the apartheid regime has gone on too long and is soaked in the blood of workers." Only a revolutionary socialist fight by the black workers can create the necessary divisions amongst white society.

It is still probable that Thatcher will be dragged into line with other capitalist governments in a few months, intensifying sanctions. But she will be no more concerned about the plight of the blacks or the detainees, than she is now.

But for the labour movement in Britain and internationally, their own sanctions are an elementary act of solidarity with the South African revolution. They are to help force the release of those detained.

The most pitiable sight at the mini-summit was Norman Willis and Ron Todd meekly standing outside, carnations in hand, to lobby the Commonwealth heads, when potentially they have the authority to cut off links with South Africa. They should be campaigning amongst the dockers, airport workers etc describing what they saw in the townships when they visited South Africa and what the black workers told them.

Trade union enforced sanctions would bite. Along with financial and material assistance they would represent real fraternal assistance to the South African workers' struggle.

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Northern Ireland workers demand:

'Defend our areas'

THE DERRY branch of the Fire Brigade Union (FBU), has passed a resolution which shows how urgent the question of the defence of workers' areas has become to rank and file trade unionists in Northern Ireland.

Martin Duffy, who was a recent victim of a loyalist assassin, was a member of that union.

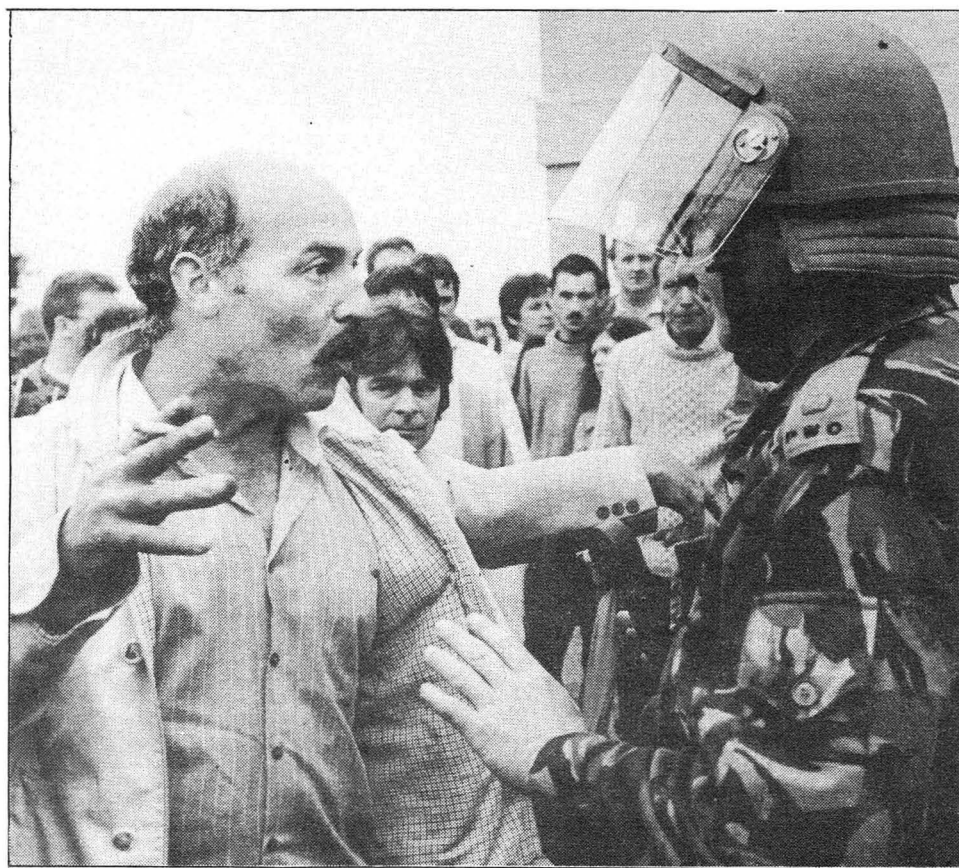
The resolution calls on the Northern Committee of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions "to immediately convene a delegate conference of rank and file and full-time officials in order to discuss what the movement can do to protect its members from sectarian attack and further to set in motion a mass trade union campaign based upon the original demands of the Better Life For All Campaign."

The recent spate of sectarian killings and the growth in the number of sectarian attacks are a direct consequence of the signing of the Anglo-Irish Agreement. Marxists explained when the agreement was signed that its only result would be an increase in sectarianism.

In the North Belfast area, where seven killings have taken place this year, a siege mentality has begun to develop amongst Catholics who live there.

Following the killing of Militant supporter Colum McCallan and a number of other sectarian attacks in the Ligoniel area, local residents, seeing the inability of the so-called "security forces" to defend them, have set up their own Community Watch Committee which had begun to organise patrols aimed at preventing sectarian attacks.

Indeed, two weeks ago, a twenty-two year old Ligoniel man on patrol narrowly escaped with his life when gunmen opened fire. Despite the claims of the RUC and the SDLP, the security



Angry local residents in a predominantly Catholic area of Portadown protest at the Orange march through their area. The 'security forces' can not stop sectarian provocation and attacks. The labour movement must take action.

forces are incapable of defending working class areas. It is also clear that the paramilitaries are unable to do so.

A recent article in a local paper, the *Sunday Tribune*, quoted "an informed source" who said: "There will be another few killings in the same area over the next while, then the police will make arrests, but there'll be no proof. Then the killings will move out of this area because it's getting too hot and to show that the UVF can strike in places apart from Belfast."

The article's author then claims that numerous sources are able to identify the killer gang and says: "It is probably Belfast's worst kept secret, the identity of those responsible for the last wave of sectarian killings."

Comments like these make

it obvious that only the local labour movement, bringing together tenants' groups, workers and young people, can ensure that sectarian killing squads are isolated and sectarian threats countered.

The labour movement must do more than just condemn the murder of FBU member Martin Duffy and Amalgamated Transport and General Workers Union member Colum McCallan.

The Labour and Trade Union Group recently issued a press statement calling on the labour and trade union movement to organise the defence of working class areas, pointing out that "the labour movement is the only force capable of linking across the sectarian divide."

Amalgamated Transport and General Workers Union (ATGWU) leader John Freeman's response to this

statement was "if the security forces cannot stop sectarian killers, there would be little hope that the trade union movement could."

But in the present climate, when workers cannot rely on the security forces, they must organise to defend the areas where they live, under the auspices of the labour movement, particularly when there is the prospect of a further escalation of sectarianism in August, with the anniversary of internment and the loyalist parade in Derry.

It is vital that other union branches and bodies pass resolutions similar to Derry FBU's, demanding action from the union leaders on this question. Sectarianism must not only be condemned, it must also be resisted.

By Militant reporters

The British Commonwealth - the friendly family?

THE COMMONWEALTH Games are over and the athletes have returned to their countries. Their skills have been admired by millions of people across the world as have Robert Maxwell's amazing financial abilities.

These games were dubbed the "unfriendly games". Many nations stayed away as governments came under pressure to act against South Africa; the boycott made a big political impact.

But have these heads of state really got the interests of South African workers at heart? What is the Commonwealth? Is it really the "friendly family" that the press would have us believe?

It is the remains of the British Empire. The Commonwealth was first established when Canada became a dominion in 1867. At that time, and until the Second World War, Britain ruled with the iron fist of direct colonial government.

The economic basis of continued empire was however withering away. British imperialism was steadily being replaced by America as the world ruler.

What is more, the mass movement of

the colonial revolution, of the hundreds of millions who had gained nothing but slavery from the British Empire, threatened not only British political interests but capitalism itself.

So in 1949 the "goalposts" were shifted to allow former parts of the Empire, such as the newly independent India, to remain part of the Commonwealth. The direct control of the British Raj was swapped for the control of British monopolies.

Since those days, Britain has slipped steadily down the economic league table of world powers and the political importance of the Commonwealth also declined. The contempt felt by US imperialism for this body was shown by the invasion of Grenada, a member of the Commonwealth in an area known as "Uncle Sam's Backyard".

What is true in the Caribbean is also true elsewhere. Only 13 per cent of Britain's trade is now with the Commonwealth. Even if Britain were outside the EEC, it could never compete with Japan and the USA.

The Commonwealth is however maintained by British imperialism for

several reasons. It is seen as a necessary "overhead" to help grab lucrative contracts. It also buys off and trains a layer of middle class government officials across the world in the ways of capitalism. The Technical Co-operation and Training Programme and other educational aid programmes are mainly for this purpose.

Most of all it enhances the status of British imperialism. Thatcher and the Queen can still delude themselves that they rule the waves. These are now 48 members of the Commonwealth with a combined population of one billion.

Across these countries the massed millions of workers and peasants have felt at first hand how "uncommon" the "wealth" really is. Strike waves in India and civil war in Sri Lanka are the taste of things to come.

Workers in Britain have more in common with these workers than we have with Thatcher and her class. The Commonwealth's days can be numbered by the growth of workers internationalism across the world. And we will win.

By Pete Watson

Ruling class judges condemn Liverpool councillors

THREE unelected Court of Appeal judges last week confirmed the Liverpool District Auditor (DA) in his edict that 47 Labour councillors, recently re-elected, are unfit to hold office and must personally repay £106,103 losses.

By Lynn Walsh

In written judgments, Lord Justices Lawton, Dillon and Wolf ruled that ample evidence of "wilful misconduct" by the 47 justified the Divisional Court's decision to uphold the DA's surcharge certificate—despite any unfairness in the way the DA proceeded.

"The majority party seem to have had their thinking dominated by the mandates on which they had been elected" remarked a scandalised Lord Justice Lawton, but: "pursuit of their political objectives was not a valid excuse for not performing their statutory duty..." As in the Divisional Court, the judges brushed aside the fact that the "losses" arose from the government deliberately withholding DHSS housing rebate and Crown Property payments—on which the Treasury collected the interest until they were eventually paid.

Even though the Court of Appeal accepted that in 1984 Liverpool gained more cash from the government after delaying setting a rate, while the DA took no action, 1985 was completely different in their view. "By 16 April 1985 no rational member of the majority party could have believed that there was any hope of persuading central government to make further grants out of central funds."

The judges made a stream of hostile comments during the trial. Referring to the councillors' written statement to the DA, Lawton remarked: "It's a matter of human experience that political zealots, as some of these councillors are, so

delude themselves about reality that lying is unnecessary for them."

He dismissed the council's budget preparations as meaningless. They were simply drawing up spending plans without knowing where the money would come from. "It would be like me, deciding that I would like to buy a Rolls Royce and rent a Caribbean island for my holiday without worrying how I was going to pay for them."

The Liverpool councillors may well ask where his honour does spend his holidays and how his money troubles compare with those of the workers the councillors represent.

After the judgments, the Audit Commission issued a statement which itself underlined the absurdity of the whole proceedings. Not mentioning the councillors' costs, which already exceed the alleged "losses", the Audit Commission complained that "the total eventual legal costs falling on the public could well exceed £300,000 for this authority alone." The legal process was "slow" and "ineffective" and "the main thrust of the audit effort in Liverpool has been disrupted for a year or more."

Ominous warning

But the Commission ominously warned that: "In the light of today's judgement auditors will now have to consider whether to take action over any losses that may have been sustained in Camden, Greenwich, Hackney, Islington, Sheffield, Southwark and Tower Hamlets, where rates were not set in 1985 until May or June."

"There is a strong case", concluded the Audit Commission, "for reviewing the whole process". For the labour movement this can only mean sweeping away the undemocratic penal powers of the District



Liverpool councillors Tony Byrne and Tony Mulhearn outside the High Court.

Auditors and lifting surcharges and disqualification on any councillor for implementing policies upon which they were elected.

One small comfort from the Court of Appeal, however, was that two judgments contradicted the Divisional Court on the issue of "natural justice". This may be important for any councillors threatened with surcharge in the future.

Two of the three judges actually conceded the key point of the councillors' appeal—that they had not been given a fair hearing by the DA. The auditor McMahon had rejected their reasons for delay in setting the rate, in effect calling them liars. When issuing the certificate of surcharge, he had made new allegations.

Contrary to the long established, invariable practice of auditors, he had not

offered them an oral hearing at which they would have the chance of explaining their actions in person.

Lawton and Dillon agreed that McMahon should have allowed an oral hearing. But having accepted that the DA had acted unfairly, they then decided that the hearing in the Divisional Court (the first high-court appeal against the surcharge) was capable of "curing" the unfairness.

Serious threat

The Appeal Court gave leave to appeal to the Lords and this will probably be heard in early October. The councillors' lawyers still consider that there are strong grounds for appeal.

The Appeal Court's decision, however, is a forceful reminder of the role of the judiciary. Judges no doubt

feel the need to maintain public confidence in the law. This requires a certain level of consistency and impartiality. In some cases, therefore, it is possible for labour movement activists successfully to defend their rights through legal action.

But Marxism in Liverpool was a much more serious threat because the Liverpool councillors dared to challenge the apparatus built up by the government to impose cuts on Labour councils and have aroused massive working-class support.

So the judges show no hesitation in upholding the government and giving the District Auditor free rein. It is clearly a class duty for them to exercise their wide powers of interpreting the law to unleash the state apparatus against opponents of their system.

Injustice in the T&G

THE NEED for more accountability and democracy has raised its head in the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU) again. Along with several other *Militant* supporters, I held a paper sale outside one of our local factories in Wrexham.

Since then the local TGWU District Secretary—acting on a complaint from some union members about my part in the paper sale—blocked my democratic election as a delegate to the General Management Committee of Wrexham Labour Party from the new 4-1008 T&G unemployed branch of which I am the chairman.

Under the District Secretary's direction, this complaint and the blocking of my delegation were put to the local District Committee who endorsed the complaint. I had not been present at that meeting, or even informed of it. Is this not a blatant case of prejudgement? How can these people complain of injustice when it is already rife within their own ranks?

Wrexham suffers an unemployment rate of 20 to 22 per cent. Workers are paid well below the national average, while some factories are still working seven days, twelve hours a day. Would our union dues not be better spent fighting for more pay, a shorter working week, and an end to unemployment?

Being a trade unionist for thirty five years in the major industries of this country, NCB, steel, the motor industry and electricity cable making, I feel very concerned for the future of socialism in our stride for a Labour government.

I'm the way I am because I'm a socialist; we're in rebellion; we've got to be. If fighting for socialism and democracy means I'm a militant, then so be it. Stop the witch-hunt against socialists in the TGWU.

Resolutions and letters of protest to MJ Jeffreys, District Secretary, TGWU and M Hughes, Secretary, Trades Council, c/o Transport House, Regent Street, Wrexham, Clwyd.

By Bill Marsh

Grimsby's warm welcome for Militant rally

A MARVELLOUS total of £616 was raised at the Grimsby *Militant* rally last Monday! It was the biggest labour movement meeting in the town for years, with a hundred people turning up.

They heard John Rathbone, a young worker at a frozen food factory, and

Bill Brewster, threatened with expulsion from Grimsby Labour Party, appeal to youth to join with the LPYS and fight for socialist policies in the Labour Party.

Tony Aitman, one of the expelled members of Liverpool Labour Party, had the audience captivated with an ex-

cellent contribution, while Bev Simpson gave a moving and detailed account of events in South Africa.

One rank and file member of Cleethorpes Labour Party gave a marvellous £100 to the collection.

Obituary—Steve Hemingway

LAST THURSDAY 31 July, *Militant* supporters in Nottingham were saddened to learn of the tragic death of comrade Steve Hemingway from cancer. Steve was only 27 but had been suffering from lymphoma for two and a half years.

We first met him during the NHS pay dispute in 1982. He was a chef at the university hospital and a member of NUPE. He became a *Militant* supporter in the 1983 general election and worked hard to build the sales of *Militant* at the hospital. He was an active member of his union branch before his illness.

Since then he looked forward to his regular copy of *Militant* and contributed what he could. On one occasion he used his talents as a chef to organise a social in aid of workers in Chile.

Whenever he met the comrades he always asked how things were going and never complained about his illness though he was in pain. He was an inspiration to others to persevere whatever the problems and will be missed by all.

Our condolences go to this wife Debbie and three children Syd, Luke and Lori.

By Chris Ridge

Tragic bereavement for miner's family

WE WOULD like to convey condolences to Ann and Albert Bowns and their family on their recent tragic bereavement.

In the early hours of Saturday 2 August, their NCB house was gutted by fire and their daughter Tracey burned to death.

Albert was on strike for 12 months and imprisoned during the miners' strike. He is NUM branch secretary at Kiveton Park colliery. They were not insured and have lost all their possessions, as well as their eldest child.

If you wish to send a donation, please contact: Ann Jarvis, 22 Storth Lane, Kiveton Park, Sheffield. Phone 0909 773245 or Jenny Whysall, 102 South Terrace, Walesbar, Sheffield. 0909 770990.

THIS YEAR marks the 50th anniversary of the Spanish revolution. To commemorate the heroic struggle of the Spanish workers we have produced a special poster.

£1 including postage and package; orders of 10 or more at 50p each to World Socialist Books, 3/13 Hepscoot Rd, London E9 5HB.



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Labour Party reports

"Best thing he's done for Kirkby"

Silk parachutes out for top job



"I'm surprised that he had time to write a book, representing one of the most socially deprived areas in Europe"
Rene Rankin, NUPE member

Robert Kilroy-Silk MP for Knowsley North, double-barrelled former university lecturer now has a new career. He has resigned as MP to take a lucrative job with the BBC hosting a chat show *Day by Day*.

The pilot programme caused a stir last week when it included naked men dancing with balloons. However, it was Kilroy-Silk who was really exposed. His careerist attitudes were there for all to see. He will more than double the £17,900 salary as an MP.

"Our gain is the BBC's loss"

Joe Carberry TGWU branch chair, Birdseye

Kilroy-Silk has always hankered after the media, apart from his dramatic outbursts in the press about 'Trots', he boasted in his election leaflet that he wrote for *The Times* and *Guardian*.

He has obviously kept some of his links as he will be earning £100,000 from super-scab Murdoch for serialising his book in *The*

Times. No doubt Kirkby families will be rushing to buy copies of this great literary work, *Hard Labour*, to find out what hard labour he ever did for them.

He has already rushed in to print, with an open letter to Kinnock in *The Times*, the paper blacked by the whole labour movement. If anyone is "bringing the Party into disrepute", surely it is Silk. Yet on TV last week, he announced he was staying in the Labour Party.

Although Silk had a 17,000 majority for Labour he was never democratically selected by Party members in Knowsley North. He was MP for Ormskirk, a largely middle-class suburb until reorganisation in 1983 when he was foisted on Knowsley North. Since then there has been a running battle with the Party to make their MP accountable.

Silk's lifestyle hardly reflects that of working class families in Kirkby and Knowsley North. While he lives in a roomy house in leafy Buckinghamshire, families in Tower Hill and Cantrell Farm have had to face life in shoddy estates with few repairs, shops, bus services and other facilities.

Silk has not been seen much fighting alongside the tenants of Cantrell Farm when it was privatised, or with Tower Hill tenants who now face a similar threat.

The last time he was seen in Kirkby was with six cameras trailing behind and he has not been to a GMC since last October.

He claims that he has had to leave the constituency, but most Kirkby people will ask "Was he ever here?"

"Best thing he has ever done for Kirkby"

Jimmie Bradshaw, Northwood LP member

This man openly said when he first became an MP, he wanted to be Prime Minister. He left the front bench he said, to spend time on his seat. Party members are still looking for it. Silk says his three year battle with his Labour Party and *Militant* dampened his enthusiasm for politics. His own CLP have been lacking in enthusiasm for his policies, which have been at odds with the CLP on every major issue.

"He's a traitor isn't he? we're well rid of him"

Maria McGurk

Silk maintains he has been bullied and vilified. Does he think himself a bully because while he was still a Labour Party spokesman on law and order, he put a fellow delegate to Labour Party conference through a plate-glass window for supporting the right of reselection.

Kilroy-Silk has been an embarrassment even to Kinnock in his hysterical paranoia. Kinnock is angered at Silk's lack of loyalty, resigning without consultation. But Neil shouldn't be surprised at that from Roberts. He consistently warned if he lost reselection, he would stand as an Independent candidate against Labour.

Now he has said he would like to see Peter Fisher stand in his place. Fisher isn't exactly known for his loyalty to the Labour Party either, as he has been expelled twice from the Party, the second time for standing against an official Labour Party candidate in the May elections. Fisher has just announced that he will be standing against Labour as an independent.

"Brilliant, glad to see the back of him"

Billy Caldwell, TGWU member, Birdseye

Silk and Kinnock were agreed on at least one thing - they supported the expulsion from the Labour Party of life - long socialist Tony Mulhearn. However, for self-seekers like Silk leaving the Labour Party is no more difficult than trading in a used car.

By our Knowsley correspondent

ANOTHER INFILTRATOR has just been exposed. Even Neil Kinnock has now been forced to agree with what *Militant* has said all along about Kilroy-Silk, that he "is leaving to line his own pockets and to keep himself in a style to which he has grown accustomed." Unfortunately, he is not the first, and won't be the last Labour right winger who set out to be the scourge of *Militant* and ended up deserting the party:



Shirley Williams: Resigned from Labour's NEC in February 1981 because she opposed moves to democratise the party; proved she was part of a well organised and well financed entrant group by leaving the party and, with her collaborators, forming the SDP.



Neville Sandelson: Former Labour MP; on joining the SDP complained that "his local GMC was full of communists, trotskysts and young supporters of *Militant*" and that his party's Labour hall "had degenerated to the atmosphere of a snake pit like a non stop party conference."



Reg Prentice: Actively anti-CND and on the right of the party; in 1975 called for a government of 'national unity'; de-selected by Newham North East Labour Party; then resigned from the Labour Party, joined the Tories and became a Junior Minister in Thatcher's government.



Ben Ford: After his deselection as MP for Bradford North said: "I may well open a register of known Trotskyist members of the party to prepare for the reconstruction of the constituency party;" stood against the official Labour candidate Pat Wall in Bradford North in 1983 and received 4,000 votes compared to Pat's 14,000; then showed his real colours and joined the SDP.



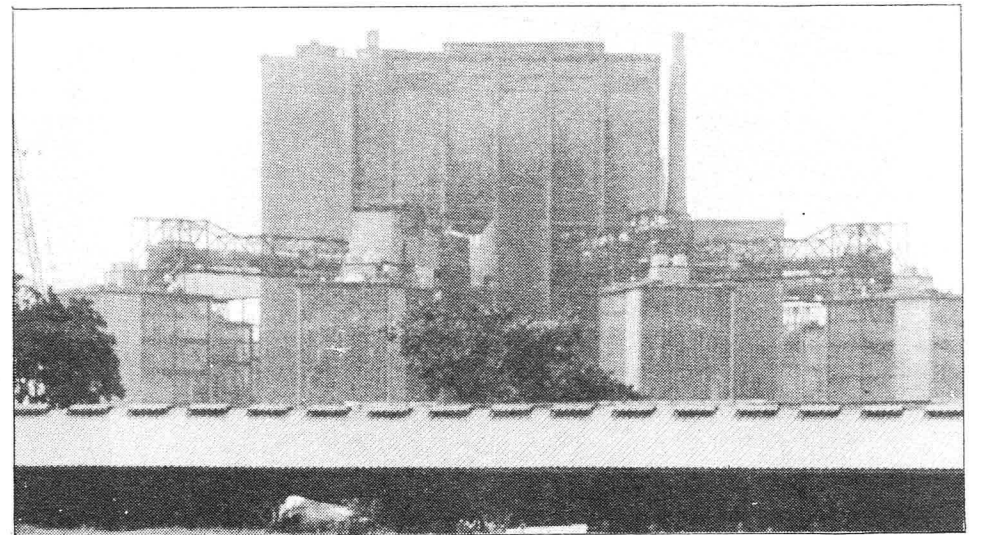
Sid Weighell: Warned in 1981 that there would be "physical confrontation in the streets if the supporters of *Militant* were in a majority in the Labour Party"; launched a campaign to get rid of the *Militant* from the Labour Party; was forced to resign as General Secretary of the NUR after he broke his union mandate and voted the wrong way at Labour Party conference and then lied to his members about it.



Alistair Graham: Demanded expulsion of all *Militant* supporters from Labour Party; was architect of "New Realism"; resigned as general secretary of CPSA; took £50,000 a year job with Industrial Society.

Who next?

Nuclear power-conference must act



A nuclear power station: radioactive waste is deadly for generations.

THE DISASTER at Chernobyl showed the horrifying dangers of nuclear power. Even in this country, thousands of miles away, lamb was taken off the market and high levels of radiation were found in milk and the atmosphere.

Yet despite these facts Labour's last National Executive Committee once more showed a rejection of Party members' views on this subject.

An overwhelming majority at conference voted for a non-nuclear energy policy, but the NEC has now committed the Party to build a new nuclear reprocessing plant at Sellafield. It was moved by Neil Kinnock, against his constituency policy, and supported by Michael Meacher.

The party leadership now have a highly "sophisticated" policy on Sellafield. They will build the Thorp reprocessing plant but not use it! While "research" goes on into acceptable ways to dispose of the waste the Thorp plant supposedly will stand idle. But what is the point of building the place if you don't use it? What could it be used for? A tourist attraction?

Workers are worried about job prospects in an area of high unemployment. But the genuine fears of trade unionists in the nuclear industry about their future can be answered by a job creating non-nuclear energy programme and a massive increase in house building and heavy construction.

There is no "acceptable"

way to dispose of nuclear waste through such reprocessing plants. Senior party figures have called the original policy of halting construction as "a genuine mistake". But what mistake can there be in preventing the nuclear pollution of the Irish Sea and of Cumbria.

Research into nuclear power should go on under proper socialist control but not the building of "white elephants" and the production of waste which is so deadly for so long.

The vote at this year's conference is a vote not just to save this generation, but our children and children's children. Surely Chernobyl has taught us that.

By Pete Watson

Build the Young Socialists

Politics and leisure

"ANYONE WHO didn't come to this camp must be mad. I love it, it's the best way to recruit to the LPYS."

That was how Carmen from Manchester and Sonia from Bermondsey summed up last week's Labour Party Young Socialists (LPYS) camp in Gloucestershire.

The mix of politics and leisure was just right. The discussions, debates and rally describing the revolutionary movements in South Africa were complemented by entertainment such as the five a side football competition.

The main topic of conversation at the camp was the national demonstration organised by Bermondsey LPYS on 18 October. This campaign against the Tories (see *Militant* 1 August) can attract young peoples' anger against the Tories into a campaign to elect a Labour government and build a mass socialist youth movement.

Discussions on Ireland,

Hungary and Latin America showed the internationalism of the LPYS, further demonstrated by the visitors from Germany, America and Ireland who gave fraternal greetings from youth organisations in their own countries.

"A lot to gain"

The final rally called for unity for a Labour victory. Terry Fields MP for Broadgreen warned Labour's leaders not to try to 'manage' the system. Capitalism would end up managing the next Labour government unless they got rid of it.

He also warned against witch-hunts and expulsions which only gave ammunition to the ruling class' fight against socialism.

Frances Curran LPYS rep on Labour's NEC compared the attack on the YS with the witch-hunt against the Labour League of Youth in the 30's. In building a movement in the face of these at-



The LPYS summer camp—one of the highlights of the Young Socialists year.

tacks, Frances stressed the LPYS had "a lot to defend but a lot more to gain."

By Helen Watson



Frances Curran, LPYS rep on Labour's NEC

Labours right want a tame youth section

YOUNG WORKERS, unemployed youth, students and school students could be decisive in winning the next election for Labour.

But the right wing leaders on the party's national executive (NEC) seem to be prepared to let the anti-Tory potential of youth go unchannelled. Last week they made a blatantly political attack on the Labour Party Young Socialists (LPYS).

As *Militant* reported (25 July) the first proposal was to lower the upper age limit to 21. "How can that create a stronger LPYS?" asked Linda Douglas who will become the LPYS representative on the NEC this autumn. "We attract a large number of people under 21 and they play a leading role. But many workers only get active in politics when they have got involved in their trade unions in their twenties."

The new proposals talk of

youth campaign committees at regional and national level which "would be representative of the whole of Labour youth". This is an obvious attempt to by-pass the influence which *Militant's* ideas have within the LPYS.

Political ideas

Linda Douglas commented: "They want to stop *Militant* by stopping the LPYS. They want to stop our political ideas. No section of the labour movement is more 'campaigning' than the LPYS."

"Regional youth committees which are democratically elected already exist. The new committees would just be ways for the right wing to try to control the youth."

The plans also talk of changing conference to include delegates from constituency parties, student bodies and unions. They

would elect the NEC representative; this is also a blatantly political decision.

The Young Socialists' campaigning socialist ideas will be essential in getting the youth vote for Labour. The LPYS needs resources to build and expand.

But last year Neil Kinnock derided the Young Socialists as 'dafties' for organising school students, they were 'too young'. This year over 21s are too old, including presumably most of the members of the trade unions, Labour Party branches and womens organisations they say they want to involve.

The proposals come before Labour's conference in Autumn 1987. The best answer will be to carry on and step up the campaigning work. This is the proof that the LPYS's socialist policies will attract support and votes for Labour from working class youth.



"SHARING THE House with Mother" two Labour Party members from Balham, London, Simon and Richard, sent their debut single "Star Wars" in to *Militant* for a review.

They said that they would be willing to play for any labour movement cause. "Star Wars" is in opposition to Reagan's Strategic Defence Initiative.

I thought that the single was reminiscent of the original Bronski Beat, with a strong dance beat and political lyrics; "Star Wars the video game, total control of a senile brain, Star Wars the video game, self destruct in Reagan's name."



The 12" has been well-produced and packaged, with two dub-mixes on the B side, which are unusually different. Their next single in September, deals with South Africa, which will hopefully coincide with their debut album.

It's a sign of the times that good young bands are producing political material that's attractive to young people. It's a pity that groups like this don't get national radio airplay, which seems to be taken up by the big record labels and by "safe" groups.

If any labour movement causes want to contact the group, ring 01-673 5726.

On the streets of Coventry

ON 16/17 August, Coventry South East LPYS will be holding mass street meetings, leafletting and doing a youth canvass.

All West Midlands LPYS and Labour Party members are urged to attend. We will be hitting the streets with banners, red flags, megaphones and placards, to encourage young people to fight back against the Tories—there is no alternative.

We will be using a ques-

tionnaire to get the real views of Coventry's youth, and to recruit them to the YS, in the fight for socialism. On the Saturday night, there will be a disco to raise funds for the YS, and on Sunday afternoon, the YS challenge other LPYS branches to a 5-a-side football competition.

For details contact: D Mutton (Coventry 304497) or P Sharry (Coventry 451476). Get active! Get organised! Get to Coventry!

Youth rally in Dulwich

DULWICH LPYS rally "Smash apartheid—for a socialist South Africa". Friday 15 August 7.30pm Dulwich Baths, East Dulwich Road, London SE22. Speakers from Southern African Labour Education Project, LPYS and Maudsley Hospital. Disco by King Tubby. Price £1, 50p. Buses 37, 184, 185, 176.

Militant Marxist Weekend School

September 13/14 London

Courses on: Theory of Marxism, Russian Revolution, South Africa and Colonial Revolution, Ireland, Marxism and the trade unions, Women and the struggle for socialism, Black struggles, Marxist Economics.

Militant International Review, rally: Hungary 1956 and the struggle against Stalinism today.

★ Debate: A representative from *Militant* and Monty Johnstone (Communist Party) on "The socialist way forward".

Film: Battleship Potemkin

Video: Kemira—Diary of a strike (Australian miners stay-down strike).

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Tory MP challenged

BRIGHTON LPYS and Brighton Labour councillor, Gordon Wingate have called on Tory MP Julian Amery to resign his directorships of Vaal Reefs and Western Deep Level mining companies in South Africa, or to debate the issue in public.

In a letter to Amery, they point out the oppressive nature of Anglo-American who own both companies.

They accuse Anglo-American of sacking striking black miners and sending them back to tribal homelands, instigating inter-tribal fights in their mines to weaken the South African National Union of Mine-workers (NUM); using tear smoke systems against their workers; and supporting apartheid.

In April 1985, at Anglo-American mines at Clarksdorf and Vaal Reefs, 14,000 black miners were sacked for striking over the dismissal of 92 shaft stewards of the NUM. The workers were sent back to the homelands. This was the largest number of workers ever sacked in a South African strike.

Anglo-American has a large stake in Gencor, which manages Impala platinum mines. In January this year, Impala sacked 20,000 workers following strike action. Anglo-American still retains its shares in Gencor.

In March, six miners died in fighting at Vaal Reefs goldmine, between Xhosa and Basotho miners. According to NUM Shaft Stewards, Vaal Reefs' management used Basotho teamleaders to start fights which would be seen as inter-tribal, but which were in reality aimed at breaking the unity of the NUM.

The press reported last year that Anglo-American admitted that they had installed tear-smoke systems in some buildings at the Western Deep Levels gold mine.

Dudley Edwards—a front line class fighter

DUDLEY EDWARDS has been a front-line class fighter for most of his eighty years—and has no intention of stopping. His 80th birthday party in Brighton last month was attended by comrades from as far afield as Wales.

Dudley, born in Reading, remembers lucidly past battles, victories and defeats. These arm him with a perspective for the future—and a goal, the socialist transformation of society.

He spent most of his early life in London—Southall and Ealing—joining the Independent Labour Party Guild of Youth in his early teens.

“But I was not conscious then of the class nature of society,” Dudley admits.

Rich scabs

The General Strike of 1926 made the true nature of society clear in Southampton where he went in search of work.

“I saw Oxford and Cambridge students driving down to scab on dockers. I saw armoured cars and soldiers protecting them”.

That early baptism in the practices of the ruling class steered Dudley for the struggle ahead: the great depression, battles against the fascists in Brighton, disillusion with the Communist Party meekly following Stalin's treachery and finally, conviction of the correct-

ness of Lenin and Trotsky's writings.

He remembers the time William Joyce (the traitor Lord Haw Haw) was due to speak at a Blackshirt rally in the Dome, Brighton, in 1934. An enterprising electrician wired up the interior of the hall about a week before the fascist meeting.

As Joyce entered the Dome, scurrying past protesting workers outside, and as the Union Jacks fluttered in the aisles, the *Internationale* burst forth from the roof! The meeting ended in chaos.

Dudley remembers the comrade picked in his place for the International Brigade to fight in the Spanish Civil War. Dudley was turned down on medical grounds—he has a crippled leg. The comrade fell in one of the early battles of the war.

He also recalls the long daily struggles as a victimised shop steward in the Nuffield motor works at Cowley and later in Park Royal, London where he saw the lack of support from the Communist Party for workers' struggles.

“I didn't finally leave the Communist Party until 1958. It was a long process—Hungary, the 20th Congress and Khrushchev's secret speech showed the true nature of Stalin's regime.”

“After I left, I shopped around the sects (ultra-left groups) but soon came to the conclusion they hadn't a clue what they were talking about! So I joined the

Labour Party to avoid being cut off from developments”.

Dudley moved back to Brighton in 1963–4 and soon was arguing with a group based around a new *Militant* paper, meeting at the Eagle public house.

“I was hostile at first and argued—so I was invited to speak at the next discussion group where my arguments were completely knocked down”.

Dudley has read *Militant* since the second issue and has seen the ideas take a strong hold in the labour movement.

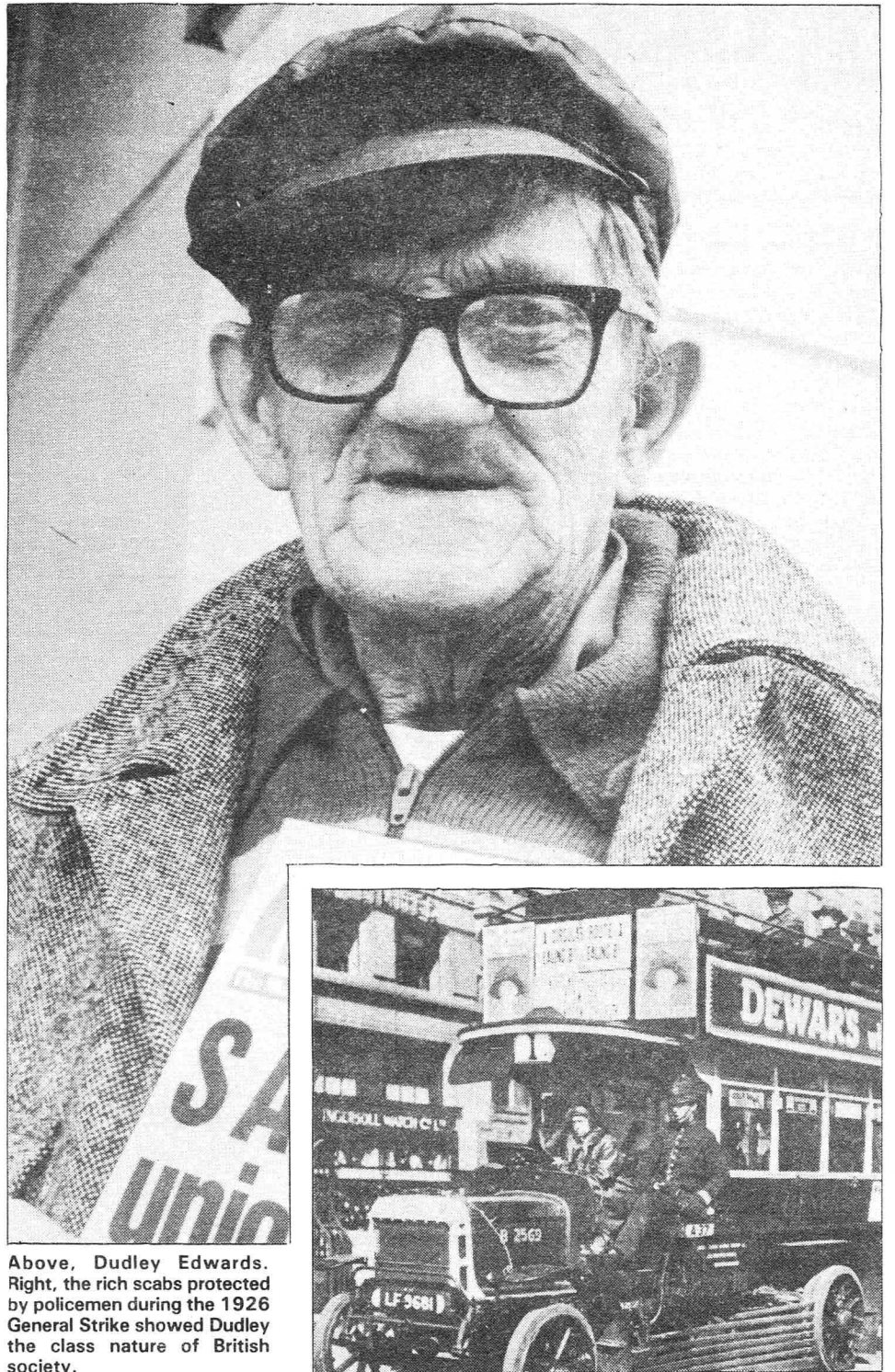
Labour leaders

And he is clear about the position of the Labour leadership with their bankrupt witch-hunting tactics.

“I think Kinnock and Co are scared of Marxism and know in their hearts that they can't deliver the goods under capitalism. They could get away with cancelling out reforms if it wasn't for *Militant*.”

Dudley has just returned from a fact-finding tour of Northern Ireland where he was impressed by the work of socialists and convinced of the need for radical change, there and on a world scale.

“I look forward to the future when Marxism will strike a chord with more and more workers. There will be a socialist transformation of society.”



Above, Dudley Edwards. Right, the rich scabs protected by policemen during the 1926 General Strike showed Dudley the class nature of British society.

Left and Right

Charity begins at home

DO YOU seriously want to save money? The *Financial Times* recently told us how. All one needs is a big enough income to pay at least 50 per cent tax on the top slice of one's income. One's accountant should tell one how to avoid paying more.

Then give say £5,000 a year to a registered charity, a public school like Eton would do. The tax relief you get will exceed your outgoings by £1,232 in the first year, though the profit will go down after that, so a gift spread over four years is the best bet.

Think of the advantages. Less money for the government to waste on educating the working class, more money for the public schools and, the *FT* reminds us, it will reduce the amount of inheritance tax one's heirs will have to pay on one's estate.

If you can't afford £5,000 a year or your "estate" is run by the council, the *FT* thinks that's tough. No millions, no comment.

Follow my leader

AT ITS last meeting, Knowsley South Constituency Labour Party's right wing managed to push through a resolution that *Militant* should not be allowed to hire council property. A similar motion had previously been defeated at a Knowsley council meeting—when it had been moved by the Tory opposition!

Peasants (and pheasants) revolt

THE NINTH Earl of Dartmouth (former husband of Princess Diana's stepmother if that interests you) reckons he owns two-thirds of Blackheath, the historic common in London. Lewisham council disagree with him. The Earl quotes records than an ancestor bought the heath in 1640 just before the English civil war. The council quote the transfer of land when the Tories destroyed the Greater London Council.

Ownership would give his lordship forestry, mineral and shooting rights. The council accuses the Earl, who is an old Etonian and banker, of feudalistic folly. If he starts blasting pheasants out of the London skies or open-cast mining, a councillor warned him to remember that Blackheath was where the forces of the people gathered under Wat Tyler in the Peasants Revolt of 1381.

A dog's life

PASSING AN estate agents a *Militant* reader in Sussex noticed that only one flat was less than £27,000. An average Victorian terraced house fetched £39,950. But one interesting property could be just the job—a dog kennel for just £250. Perhaps this is the dynamic new solution to Britain's housing problems.

Thanks to Clive Walder

You can sell Militant anywhere

WE'VE OFTEN said it's possible to sell *Militant* anywhere, at any time.

A supporter in Leicester tells us that one local seller was in a crowd waiting for two royal visitors to go past. One more class conscious member of the throng shouted 'bloody royals' whereupon the *Militant* was duly brought out and four copies were sold on the spot. Thank you ma'am.

At the "fag end of the British Empire" Games in

Edinburgh, 20 papers were sold amongst the crowd who came to 'greet' Thatcher.

At Wapping about 50 papers were sold, after which our sellers marched to the plant. On arrival at the main gate, printers and sellers defied the court order and continued to greet the 'workers' there with the comradely greeting 'scab, scab, scab'. Police seemed unwilling to implement the judges' ruling.

At YS summer camp the

grand total of 180 papers were sold. This included a sale in the local town of Colerford of 14 *Militant*'s and 16 *Socialist Youth*'s.

The solidarity price has had a good response especially in London where some sellers are asking every buyer to give one pound and are getting it about half the time. Make sure people in your area take this up, it's an easy way to reach your fighting fund target.

Homeless hit once more

THE TORIES want to hit the homeless again. They are cutting the DHSS single payment for furniture—now anyone making a claim for furniture will be entitled to: a single bed, a reconditioned cooker (for which the DHSS estimates £80 when in fact you can't buy a safe one for under £150), an electric or gas fire and £75 to furnish the rest of your home.

But those outside the 'special needs' category will not receive this £75. What constitutes 'special needs' is also not clear. If you are 'lucky' enough to receive this phenomenal sum, on DHSS estimates it will buy you the following: a wardrobe, a kitchen table and chair, some crockery and cutlery and a

few pots and pans.

Apparently the Tories seem to think people on the dole shouldn't have "essentials" like carpets, curtains etc.

Welfare rights workers and housing workers will feel the extra strain. A south London resettlement worker said: "Ever since the Tories came to power they have been eroding the social security system and making my job all the more difficult. "How can they expect vulnerable people in this country to cope in their own homes when they're not even able to properly furnish them?"

A claimant said: "I just got a flat after four years of sleeping rough and living in

breakfast hotels. Now the Tories tell me I can't get any furniture. I might as well have not bothered."

"We have to make sure the next government reverses these laws. I think only a Labour government will do that."

All socialists and trade unionists should join the campaign to have this decision reversed by a Labour government. And it wouldn't do Neil Kinnock and his front bench friends any harm to spend their time in the Commons fighting against Tories who put these bills forward instead of going to royal weddings on the day they are passed.

By John Quate

Two nations in Thatcher's Britain

The Tories' poverty trap

POVERTY. THAT word was supposed to have disappeared from the English language during the '50's and '60's.

But the latest figures, which the Tories tried to hide from the gaze even of members of parliament, show how wrong that idea is.

Poverty has returned with a vengeance at all levels. The poverty line has not been fixed at an unrealistically high level, as some Tories claim. It stands at £29.40 for a single person, and £49.80 for a couple.

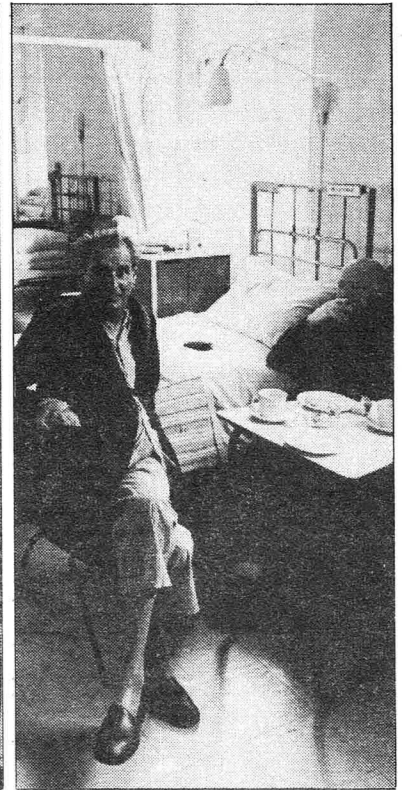
Yet Labour MP Frank Field has calculated from official figures that over 10 million are on or below the poverty line. A further six million are within 40 per cent of this dire level of poverty. That's one third of the population approaching what even this government calls poor.

British society is now a gigantic poverty trap for

many workers. About half of all engineering and financial employers have increased their use of temporary staff. More and more workers can only get low paid, insecure, part time jobs.

What does this level of poverty mean? It means building society repossessions going up by 54 per cent last year. It means borrowing as a way of life. A recent survey suggested that three quarters of families on social security had to borrow weekly to get by. Sharks, large and small, prey on the poorest families.

Poverty means being dependent on an overstretched, understaffed social security and social services. It means bad health, as the article below shows. It can also mean death. A recent report suggested that unemployed people in Oxford were twelve times as likely to commit suicide as people in work.



Tory Britain: Left: Unemployed young workers with next to no money warm themselves under the heaters in Barnsley's shopping centre. Right: Poverty means poor health, and attacks on the NHS have made this worse.

The rich live longer and healthier

"IF LIVING was a thing that money could buy, the rich would live and the poor would die" American spiritual.

THERE IS a huge and possibly growing chasm in the health and death rates between rich and poor.

Thatcher can afford a private operation for her minor hand ailment (which afflicts about 40 per cent of the elderly and generally goes untreated). But thousands of people throughout Britain face years long waits for serious operations.

Only in May, the Office of Health Economics released figures which show that Britain spends less per head on health care than any other nation in western Europe except for Italy and Ireland.

The new figures however, show that semi-skilled and unskilled workers are more than twice as likely to die before they reach middle age than men in top managerial and professional jobs.

A similar inequality faces working class women who are up to 70 per cent more likely to die young than middle and upper class women.

These figures reflect a huge decline in the standards of living and health care for those at the lower end of the social scale since the Tories came to power.

The figures cover from 1979-'83 when



Tory attacks on the NHS together with unemployment have caused declining health standards for workers.

as the recent figures on poverty reveal, (see article above) the differences in the standards of living between rich and poor widened, the rich got richer while the poor got poorer.

In a blatant attempt to try to cover up this class division, the government delayed releasing the report until after the Commons 'broke up' for the summer. But more importantly they did not include these differences in the main report, the facts are hidden in over 22,000 pages of tables published on microfilm, which cost £40 to buy and can only be read if you have the right equipment!

What can be extracted from these

figures is disturbing enough. Since 1972 and '82 the difference in the risk of dying before retirement between those at the top and those at the bottom of the scale increased by 31 per cent for men and 14 per cent for women.

The figures also showed that women's risk of cervical cancer may be linked to their husbands' occupations. Those at greatest risk are married to those in manual jobs like welding, scaffolding, driving, the army or navy.

Also electricians in power stations are twice as likely to contract leukaemia—yet, conveniently for the government, the report does not differentiate between nuclear and fossil fuel stations.

The high living standards, foreign holidays and private health care with the latest technology, equipment and drugs are now available only to the rich. This is reflected in the longer, healthier lives that these figures show.

They prove that life for us all could be longer and freer from disease if we all enjoyed similar conditions.

But what's most worrying is that this report shows the results of only the first four years of Tory government. As Michael Meacher said as reality unavoidably smacked him in the face: "... God knows what the figures will be for 1986".

By Anne McKay

No hiding the truth

I HAVE just been on a "Restart scheme" another of Norman Tebbit's great ideas. (He does have some beauties, doesn't he).

By the Tories' usual sleight of hand, any long-term unemployed person who takes a training course, no matter how short, is immediately reclassified as short-term unemployed. This reduces the official numbers of long-term jobless.

To get this scheme working before the election, the government have put a lot of pressure on Job Centre staff who in turn subtly pressure people on to these courses (see *Militant*, 1 August).

Once there, it was quite an eye-opener to realise how many people are forced to live in squalor in my area. The course became farcical when they tried to tell us we should all go into business in Brixton, which, it seems, is an entrepreneur's paradise!

The tutors were soon brought back down to earth when we started talking about the problems of getting a job with a living wage

in London. An elderly man told us he was sent to a porter's job in a catalogue firm. 200 other people had gone for the same position.

He will soon be 60 and by another of the Tories' con-juring tricks he won't then be included in the unemployment figures. Another five years officially not looking for a job to look forward to.

Even more desperate was one man who was sometimes reduced to petty shoplifting if his dole cheque was late. Some business you would be able to open in this area with poverty and desperation like that.

All these people know something is chronically wrong with this society. You can't hide the truth of the highest unemployment for 50 years.

If any other readers of this paper get on one of these courses, tell your classmates that their unemployment and poverty will only be eradicated when you get rid of Tebbit and his classmates.

By a Lambeth correspondent

Keep up your support for the next quarter

IN THE last three months *Militant* has again raised more money for its Fighting Fund than any other paper in the labour movement.

Support for Marxism comes regularly in pounds and pennies from ordinary working class people on the streets, estates, at work, in colleges and school.

The £40,164 total for this quarter represents tens of thousands of donations, the vast majority small sums from workers or passers-by indicating their solidarity.

The collecting tins are a vital part of any Marxist's kit encouraging thousands of workers to participate.

Last weekend sellers in Walton, Liverpool, decided that the tins were too small and took a bucket on their sales. They collected over £9 in a shopping centre and £2.50 at Jacobs biscuit factory.

The money raised this quarter from the unions has been especially good due to the conferences. Some union leaders may be rushing to the right but our grass roots sym-

pathy is shown in more than £6,000 collected. This excludes the money raised in conferences held before May. Small workplace collections and extras on factory sales have built up support amongst trade union activists.

Over £1,112 was raised at LPYS summer camp. Attacks on the independence and campaigning ability of the YS because of its continued support for the Marxist ideas of *Militant* will only spur the youth to raise even more for our funds.

A comrade living in India, on seeing the terrible conditions of the land workers has responded in the best way she knew and sent a donation of \$850 (£539). This is turn encouraged a comrade in Britain, Clive Jones, to donate £100.

We now begin a new quarter. Never have we needed the money more than now. We must spread our ideas to every single worker and youth in Britain. To do that we need your support. Help us to raise the cash which finances all our work.

Fighting Fund

This week £10,056

Area	Received	% of target achieved	Target
1 London North East	3974		3550
2 Humberside	1995		2300
3 Southern	2430		3100
4 London South West	1134		1500
5 London South East	1488		2250
6 South East	1576		2400
7 London North West	1703		2900
8 East Midlands	1524		3050
9 Wales West	1435		3350
10 Eastern	1419		3450
11 Merseyside	2487		7000
12 Scotland West	1400		3850
13 Yorkshire	2043		5600
14 West Midlands	1594		4500
15 Manchester/Lancs	1318		4150
16 South West	623		2150
17 Northern	1237		4550
18 Scotland East	828		3200
19 Wales East	506		2150
Others	9452		5000
Total	40164		70000

British capitalism plunges to catastrophe

BRITISH ROYAL spectacles like last month's wedding have become more and more extravagant as the British economy sinks deeper and deeper into crisis. The latest trend survey from the Confederation of British Industry reveals that manufacturing firms expect to lay-off about 6,000 people a month over the next quarter. As export orders fall, all sectors of manufacturing industry are less optimistic than four months ago. **ROB SEWELL** examines the prospects for British capitalism.

MILLIONS OF workers, men and women, youth and unemployed, are looking forward to a new Labour government. Haunted by seven years of Thatcherism, despair and insecurity, they seek respite from the capitalist crisis that has deeply affected their lives.

However, unlike any other post-war government, this new administration under Neil Kinnock will face an horrendous economic situation, worse than in the 1930s. As in 1924 or 1929, Labour will be faced with the stark choice: either break with capitalism or capitulate to the demands of big business. There will be no middle road.

Contrary to Thatcher's ludicrous economic optimism, British capitalism is experiencing an organic crisis. Once the workshop of the world, Britain has been reduced to a third rate power, economically, politically and diplomatically.

The manufacturing basis of the economy, the powerhouse of wealth production, has been shattered over the past 10 years. Manufacturing is the whole basis of the British economy. Without it the rest of the economy—service industries, banking, shipping, insurance... would collapse in the long run.

Its demise will undermine the foundations of society and the way of life that has been experienced in Britain for the past 50 years.

It was this dire prospect that prompted the House of Lords to establish a select committee on overseas trade in July 1984. Its report, together with its voluminous findings, published in 1985, was the most staggering condemnation of British capitalism ever produced.

One hundred and twenty-six individuals and organisations, ranging from the Chancellor Nigel Lawson and the Ford Motor Company to the Bank of England and the CBI, gave detailed accounts of the collapse of British industry and the precipice that lies before working people.

The committee stated bluntly that "these prospects constitute a grave threat to the standard of living of the British people". And then concluded: "It is neither exaggeration, nor irresponsible, to say that the present situation undoubtedly contains the seeds of a major political and economic crisis in the foreseeable future". (Such a catastrophe) "could have a devastating effect on the future economic and political stability of the nation".

These honourable gentlemen are alarmed that the economic crisis of capitalism will leave Britain ungovernable. The mass unemployment and massive cuts in living standards that are posed if capitalism continues will lead to social unrest unparalleled in the history of Britain.

The report paints a black picture of economic decline. Britain's balance of trade in manufactures has always been in surplus. For the first time in history, it moved into deficit in 1983. The deterioration was sharp, falling from a surplus of £5.5 billion in 1980 to a deficit of nearly £4 billion in 1984! Manufacturing industry was collapsing. Its output is still 6 per cent less than its 1979 level.

"If you go to the Midlands today you will find acres of factories with roofs off because the roofs had to be taken off to stop them having to pay rates when the firms were already going bust. This had a disastrous consequence because some of our best machinery was in fact, sold to overseas competitors at knock down prices and the roofs ripped off the buildings and now if we really did have a boom you

would find, in many instances we would be short of productive capacity"—Quinton Hazell, CBE.

Despite this contradiction manufacturing even now represents over a fifth of all economic activity in Britain and provides over 40 per cent of UK's overseas earnings. "Its performance is therefore crucial in an economy which depends upon imports of food and raw materials" says the report.

"Manufacturing is Britain's jugular" stated Sir Charles Villiers. However the share of the UK world market in manufactured goods has continued to fall:

UK share of world market	
1913—	30.2%
1950—	25.4%
1964—	14.2%
1984—	7.6%

This lack of competitiveness of British industry is due primarily to its failure to invest, modernise and re-equip its factories in comparison with its main rivals, West Germany, Japan, USA, France, Italy, etc. Whereas Japan invested (as a percentage of the Gross Domestic Product) 28.5 per cent, the UK only invested 16.5 per cent, which was less than all its main OECD rivals! Manufacturing investment is still 18 per cent less than in 1979 in real terms. UK overseas investment, however, has grown since 1979 from £43 billion to £122 billion.

Sir Terence Beckett described the collapse of UK investment as "a Cresta run, going down from 1964, right the way through to an all-time low in 1981". Although there has been a partial recovery, the CBI

discovered (October 1984) that 77 per cent were investing to improve efficiency and only 20 per cent were investing to expand capacity.

According to Sir Hector Laing, who let the cat out of the bag: "People had done all the easy things to rationalise and become more efficient, which is basically getting rid of people...". Michael Edwardes confirmed that the investment "is unlikely to produce a number of jobs and may even reduce the number of jobs. That, I think, is a fact".

The reason why the capitalists don't invest in British industry is simply that it is not profitable. In the words of Beckett: "This is absolutely central to the problem in my view, the profitability. It is, of course, the mainspring of the system... I continue to stress that unless we get this right nothing else will work in a free enterprise system".

In Sir James Cleminson's view: "I have no evidence of there being a shortage of money in this country for people to invest in worth while projects. Where there is an opportunity for a good return there is every evidence that the money can be found. I have no evidence that where the investment is worthwhile you cannot find the money".

Such evidence undermines the argument of the National Investment Bank put forward by Hattersley and Co. The finances are there. It is their profitable use under capitalism that is the problem.

In a situation where in a slump only 70 per cent of capacity can be used, or in a boom only 80 per cent, why should the capitalists invest to increase their capacity? On the contrary they are destroying capacity by destroying factories, machines and sacking workers.

The collapse of manufacturing

industry has been offset by the massive increase in the production of oil. From a deficit on the balance of trade in the early 1970s, oil was in surplus to the tune of £6.8 billion in 1983, £7.1 billion in 1984 and £8.2 billion in 1985.

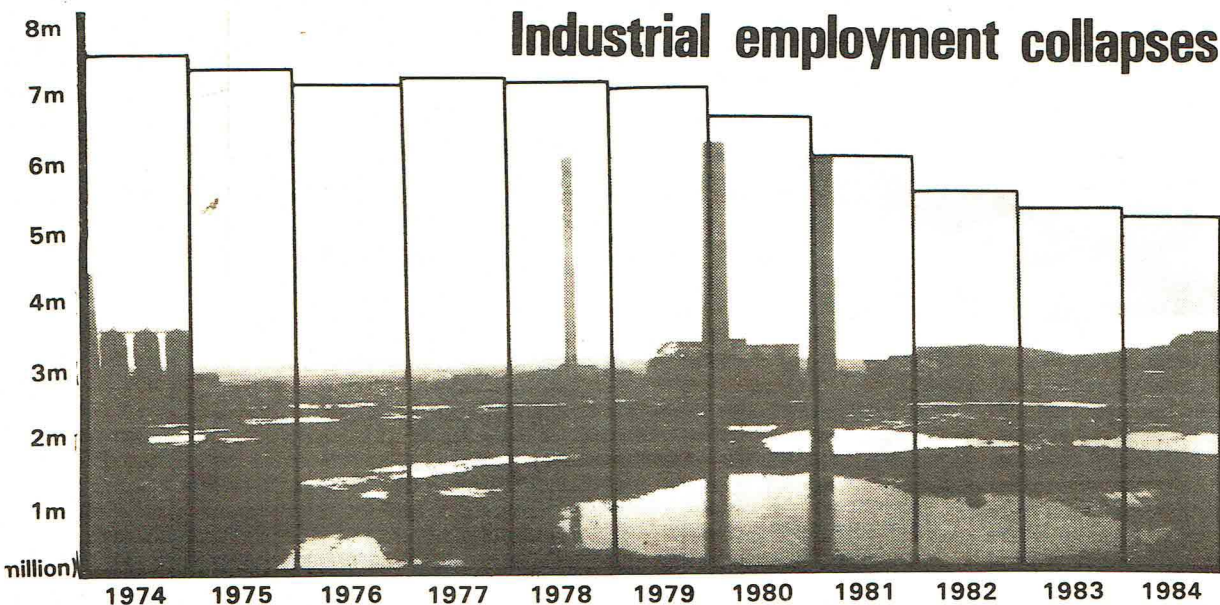
If it were not for the discovery of North Sea oil, British capitalism would be experiencing an unparalleled debacle. But oil will run out. Its price can fluctuate dramatically. According to the report: "So far as trade balances are concerned, Britain may have no oil surplus by 1990: indeed by the end of the century we may be in deficit in oil once again. Within the next five years (by 1990) the effect of the decline in oil production both on GDP and on the balance of payments could be marked... The effect on government revenues is also likely to be profound".

"It is rather like hearing the broadcast on the death of King George V: 'British industry is moving peacefully towards its close'. There are flickers of life now and again, but by and large the slow relentless decline is going on."

—Lord Kearton

The collapse of oil prices from \$30 a barrel last December to \$9 a barrel today has meant a massive fall in government revenues and the balance of trade surplus. The low price of oil, which threatens to fall to \$5 a barrel, will force some producers to shut down. Oil companies have already deferred further exploration on the UK continental shelf. According to the *Financial Times*, the "North Sea exploration bubble may be about to burst" (13 March 1986).

There are forecasts that the



Number of employees in manufacturing

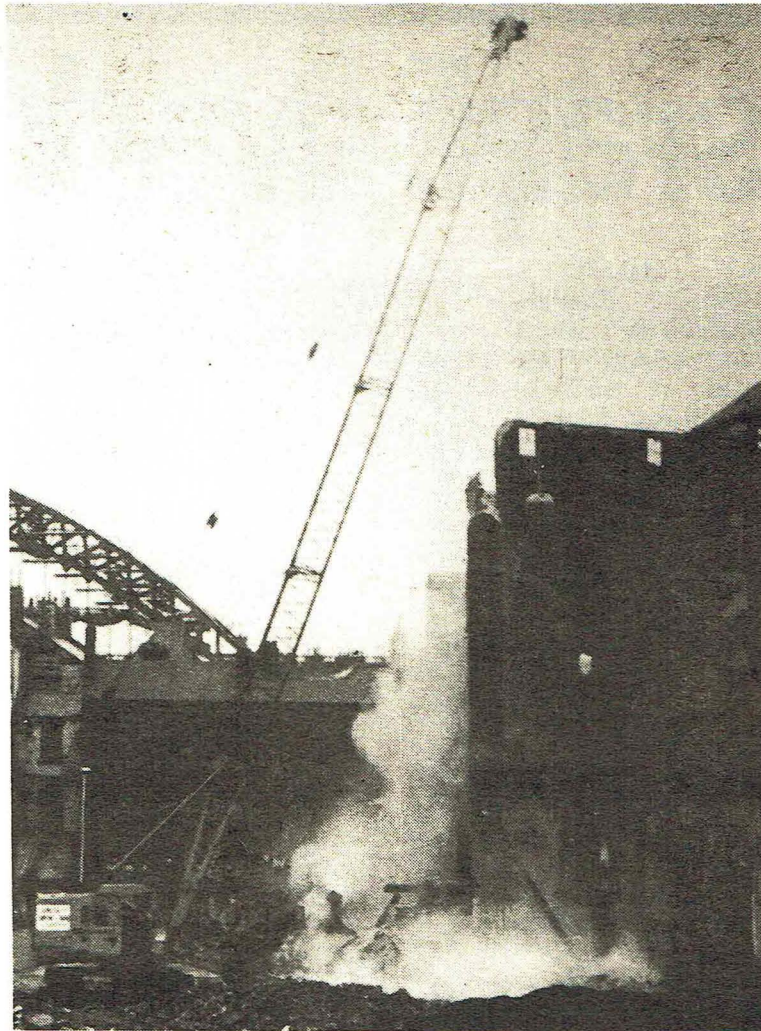
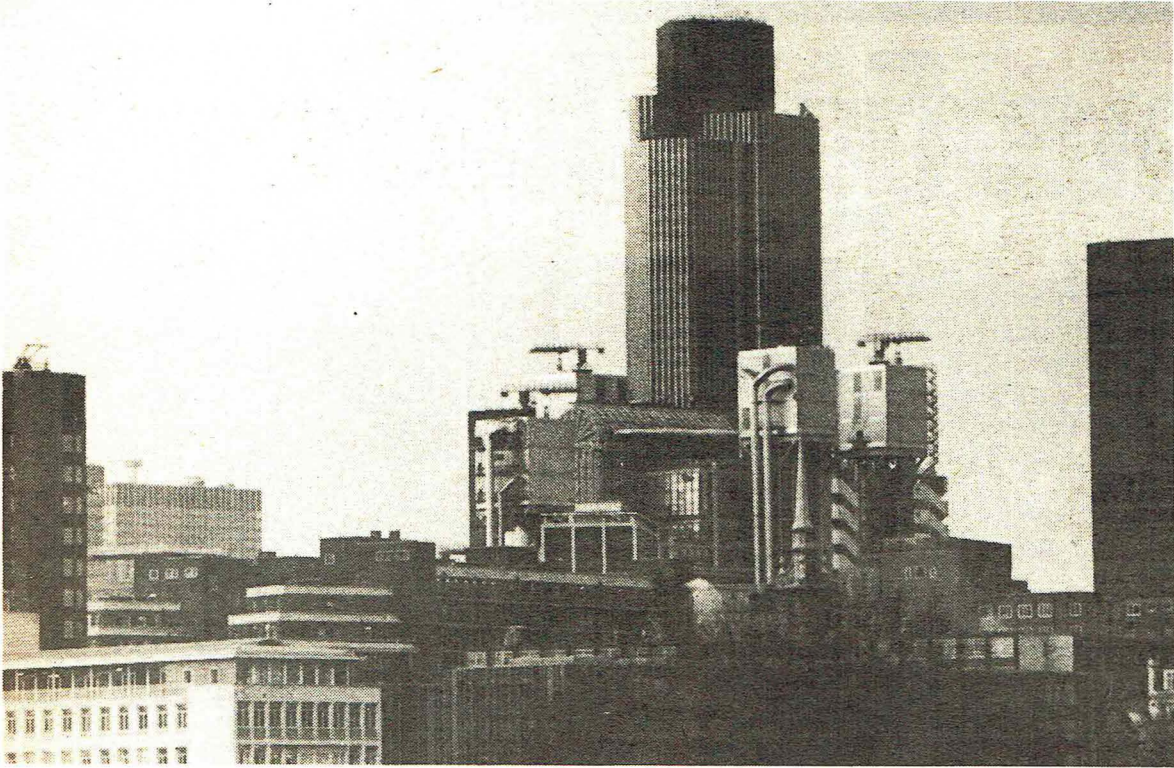
"It is very difficult to

LORD BESWICK behind closed doors exploded the myth about the greedy British worker:

"Can I go back to the question of wage rates: the present government, and indeed the CBI, always lead off with wage rates being the most important factor in our competitiveness but when we get down to cases we find that the wage rates in this country are lower than elsewhere. In the case of your own previous industry the wage rates, and I quote the Ford motor company, in this country are 60 per cent of what they are in Germany and lower than in France and Belgium and in the United States. Are we not tempted to use this more as an excuse without looking a little further at the problems?"

This view is backed up by Sir James Cleminson: "Our wage rates are lower than most wage rates at the current exchange rates

in Europe "Howe we can on profits to 1 of increas nonsense" Sir Hec "We en is fairly l fussed by couple of in a coup time". It i that in Au



A tale of two cities—while banking prospers in the City of London (left), factories are demolished in the City of Newcastle (above).

balance of payments will go into the red next year! According to the Cambridge economist, Professor Godley, the continued deterioration in industry will lead to an annual deficit on manufacturing trade of £23 billion by 1995. This can only mean drastic deflationary measures: massive cuts in social services, public spending, etc. and a gigantic leap in unemployment to 8 or 10 million. That is the kind of prospect facing a new Labour government on the basis of capitalism.

The idea that Neil Kinnock or Hattersley can patch up the crisis is sheer madness. In no way will Kinnock, despite his boasts on *Weekend World* in February, be able to copy Roosevelt's New Deal and reverse the decline in Britain's manufacturing base within 10 years on a capitalist basis. It is a malaise of the capitalist system itself. No amount of "pump-priming" will alter this fact. The Treasury view, like Thatcher's, is equally utopian: of a gradual natural readjustment of the economy that will revive manufacturing industry.

Lord Kearton asked a Treasury representative (Mr Sedgwick): "The assumption is there will be some industry there to take up the slack in the balance of payments when the oil or something goes. How do you know that an industry will be there if we go on as we are going?"

(Mr Sedgwick): "Are you saying some manufacturing industry?"

"Yes".

(Mr Sedgwick): "We have become a lot more competitive in recent years..."

(Chairman Lord Aldington interrupts): "We are not as competitive. We must get the facts right: we are not as competitive as we were in 1979 and we are very very much less competitive in relative unit labour costs than we were in 1973".

Lord Beswick added: "We can fool ourselves with labour unit cost figures. If you have a company which cuts down on apprenticeships, if you have a company which cuts down on research and development, which closes down certain factories and concentrates on why the costs are so high then

unit costs will improve. It is not improving the general competitiveness of this country and our general base in this for future manufacturing is declining..."

"Clearly you, in the Treasury, do not think manufacturing is important?..."

"The impression Mr Sedgwick's answers have given to me is 'What are we worrying about? It's inevitable. There has just been a decline going on and on and it will just continue to go on'..."

"How do you in the Treasury see the trade gap then being filled? Are our services going to take it up? Are our exports of food going to take it up? What is the sort of way in which we are going to meet our import bill in the 1990s? Are we just going to import less?"

Sir Charles Villiers made a more realistic appraisal of the situation: "If the oil failed for any reason or

"All of those in this room were alive and watched it happening in 1939 and 1940 and will feel anxious lest the same thing will happen now. I am setting out the markers of what we will do when our citizens have looked over the precipice and said: 'By God, we had better look out'."

—Sir Charles Villiers

if the price went out of range, we would be in a most frightful mess, we are living off oil. We would have to do something quickly. The International Monetary Fund would be in here. We would be staring at bankruptcy and unemployment would be at even higher levels. Something like that is going to happen unless we do something about it in time".

But there is nothing they can do on a capitalist basis. The crisis is endemic in the system. The only alleviation the strategists of capital can think of is to further unburden the crisis on to the shoulders of the working class. The basis for lasting reforms is at an end.

The ruling class, in strengthening the state apparatus, realises the social and political convulsions that

lie before it. Thatcherism is not an aberration, but a symptom of the disease of British capitalism in its death agony.

The pious hope of the Labour leaders that the system can be patched up in some way is completely utopian. They completely underestimate the economic catastrophe opening up before capitalism in Britain which will be further compounded by the move towards world slump in the next few years.

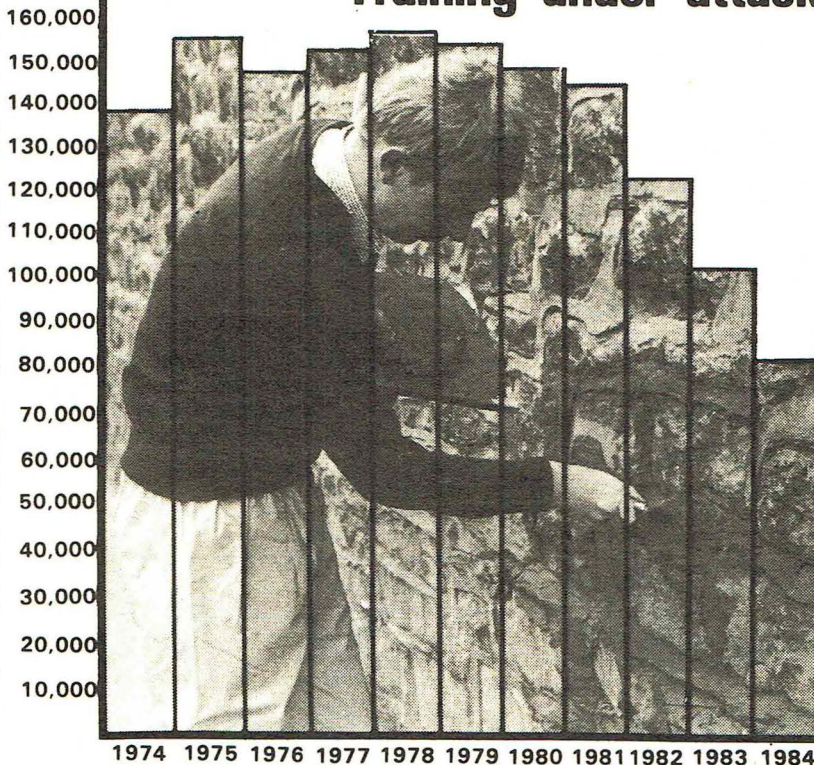
Under these conditions of social upheaval a new Labour government will be put to the test. Attempts to unburden the crisis on to the workers will be met by big opposition in the trade unions and party. The "winter of discontent" of 1978-79 will be as nothing compared to the movements that will take place in the future.

There is no escape for the working class but the complete socialist transformation of society. The policies of reformism are now "impossibilist". The reorganisation of the economy on socialist lines by taking over the top 150-200 monopolies under workers' control and management is the only road that can guarantee a future for working people. Then the massive resources of Britain can be used not for the interests of a tiny handful of monopoly capitalists, but for the benefit of the mass of the population.

With the democratic planning of these giant resources, the problems of unemployment, homelessness and poverty can be overcome in a measureable period. The prospects under capitalism are no less than a living nightmare.

A new Labour government operating under capitalist crisis, will open up mass opposition in the ranks of the trade unions and Labour Party. Such was the case with the 1929-31 Labour government which led to the growth of a mass left wing around the ILP. A deepening economic crisis will see the beginnings of the transformation and re-transformation of the workers' organisations into fighting weapons that will place the socialist transformation on the order of the day.

Training under attack



Number of apprentices in manufacturing

"We will become a curiosity"

THATCHER HAS based the government primarily on finance capital. That is why she has been prepared to see manufacturing industry go to the wall on such a scale. Her idea was a regeneration of the economy based on the service industries and "invisible trade". But even Lord Weinstock, representing the industrialists, is forced to ridicule the Treasury view:

"I have heard this argument about service industries going to replace manufacturing before, and asked myself what will the service industries be servicing when there is no hardware, when no wealth is actually being produced. We will be servicing, presumably, the production of wealth by others. We will supply the changing of the guard, we will supply the Beefeaters around the Tower of London. We will become a curiosity. I do not think that is what Britain is about. I think that is rubbish. What service industries

are there going to be in Wigan, or in Bolton, or at Smethwick? They are places where there are no tourist attractions at all. How are those people to live if there is to be no manufacturing industry?"

Manufacturing

Lord Kearton added: "A quick point on services and manufacturing, I heard Mr Butcher (junior government minister) a few weeks ago at a meeting pointing out that about 80 per cent of manufactured goods are internationally tradeable. He said the figure for services is less than 20 per cent internationally tradeable. Therefore, if any country is going to get the balance of trade right, it has got to be competitive in manufacturing. Each of us could have a laundry, I could take in his laundry, he could take in mine, we would have an increase in services. So what?"

Get domestic staff

... we can't afford more... we should get wages up but get them up in those industries that can produce high pay for them, and therefore any idea of a standard rate is a total anathema to me; comparability is a load of

Laing has a similar contempt for low paid workers: "I employ 14,000 people in our restaurant businesses. That's paid, but it is certainly better than the dole. I am a number of people who come to work for us for a few months and say: 'That is enough. We will come back in a few months, but will take the dole for that period of time. It is too many for comfort. I think I am right in saying that after so many weeks you have to take a job. It

is very difficult to get domestic staff, gardeners and so many people because the work is socially unattractive or the wages are not sufficiently above the national benefits levels for people to think it is worth while working because moonlighting, the black economy, plays a major part in all this".

Lord Beswick asked him: "Is the solution to increase wage levels or reduce the social benefits?"

"I think what the Chancellor has just done has been a help in this area. I will get into trouble by saying this perhaps, but I would also abolish the Wages Councils" he replied.

The perspective of the capitalists is to create a low-wage slave-labour economy as a means of boosting their profits.

Israel, Greece, MIR, Chile

Israeli workers fight back

LAST MONTH'S nurses' dispute highlighted the crisis of Israeli society. After months of fruitless negotiations Israel's 11,000 hospital nurses defied a court order and threats of imprisonment and took strike action.

Nurses' pay had declined by over 40 per cent in real terms since 1984, and many nurses left the hospitals as a result, causing intolerable work pressures on those that remained.

The government hypocritically claimed that they agreed with the nurses' pay claim, but in reality were terrified that giving them a rise would launch an avalanche of demands from other low-paid workers whose pay has been eroded over the past year.

Workers strike

The nurses were finally compelled to strike, in defiance of the demands of the union leadership for patience and restraint. The nurses no longer have any confidence in the union leadership and are demanding far-reaching changes.

The nurses' strike was set against a background of an austerity programme which, according to the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics, had cut living standards by 17 per cent in six months, and placed the bulk of the burden of the economic crisis onto the shoulders of the poorest sections of the working class.

The introduction of the austerity programme by the Labour-led National Unity



Peres addressing Labour rally.

government one year ago, was marked by spontaneous protests and rioting. The Histadut (Israeli TUC) leadership were compelled to call a national one-day strike, but refused to put forward a socialist alternative, instead telling workers that they had to make sacrifices in order to fight inflation (then 400 per cent). Inflation has been reduced, but at the expense of rising unemployment, bankruptcies and polarisation in Israeli society. (The assets of Israel's capitalists rose by \$2 billion over the last year).

Despite the role of the Histadut leadership, this year has been marked by a whole series of strikes, as workers moved into action to defend their jobs and living standards.

The workers of the textile company Ata fought a long battle to prevent closure.

The campaign of the Haifa shipyard workers against redundancies involved strikes, lockouts, demonstrations, occupations and the storming of the Transport Minister's office. A two-hour general work stoppage in February was almost totally successful, and National Insurance Institute and airport ground workers have also held strikes this year.

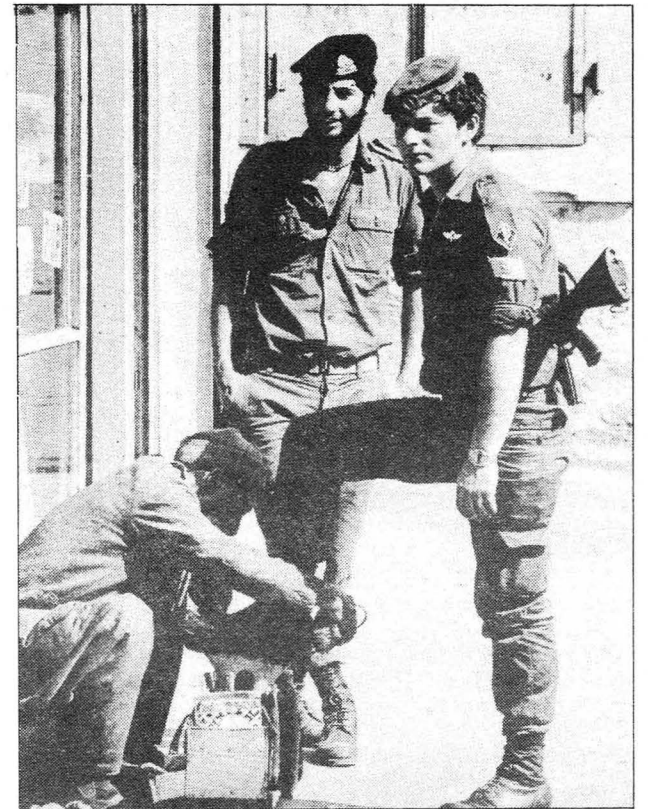
"Israel's Soweto"

The austerity programme has done nothing to improve the long-term prospects for Israeli capitalism. The Israeli government receives a total of \$4.3 billion per annum in American aid, yet is incapable of using it for the benefit of ordinary people.

25 per cent of government expenditure goes to the

military and 40 per cent goes to debt repayments (past military spending), while only 10 per cent is used for non-military items such as welfare, education, the civil service, etc. The American administration recently announced a \$1 billion cut in aid to Israel, which will give a further twist to the economic crisis.

The Arab workers, being concentrated in the lowest paid jobs, have been the hardest hit. In Nazareth unemployment amongst Arabs is 30 per cent, three times the national average. The Knesset's Labour and Social Affairs Committee reported cases of children who had not eaten for two days, and described the situation in the town as "a pressure cooker with the lid coming off". Arab councils are at the moment on strike demanding government help



The Israel state: a constant presence for Arab workers.

to pay off their debts of \$15 million.

The conditions endured by workers in the occupied territories are even worse. Meron Benvenisti, one of the most sober strategists of Israeli capitalism, published a report last May where he described the Gaza Strip as "Israel's Soweto".

Class unity

The report catalogues the terrible conditions of this area, which has the highest population density in the world, concentrated in eight refugee camps, and whose earnings are 40 per cent less than those of the average

Israeli. Just to provide a decent level of housing for the Strip's 525,000 inhabitants, would cost \$5 billion.

Clearly Israelis, Arabs and Palestinians will be forced to struggle to defend their living standards, and this struggle will tend to draw these different sections of the working class together. A leadership must be built which can unite the working class in the fight for socialism, the only alternative to a deepening cycle of wars, poverty and sectarian hatred in the region.

By A Cohen
(Cambridge LPYS)

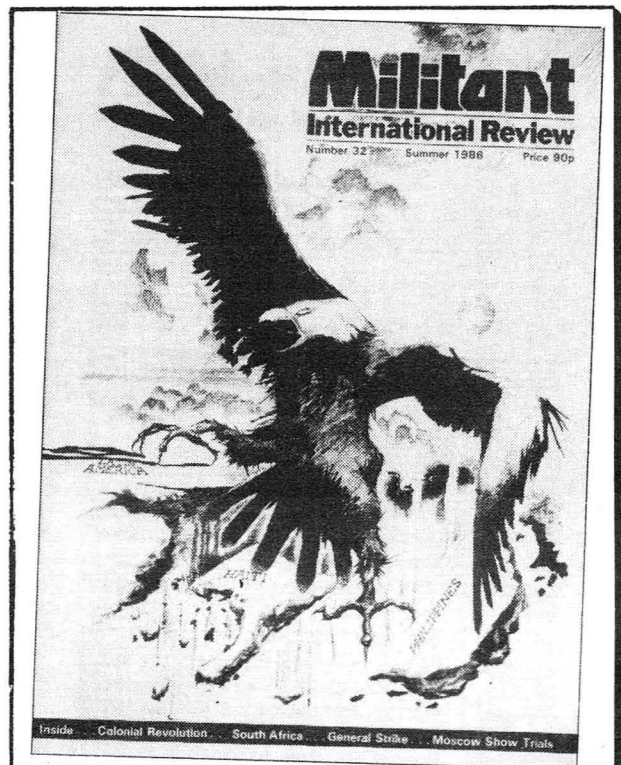
Greek cover up

THE CHANNEL 4 film about the 1945-9 Greek Civil War has hit a raw nerve with the British establishment as Tim White's article (*Militant* 808) showed. By coincidence the *Guardian* of the same day had two letters on the same theme.

One from Basil Davidson, himself a former Special Operations agent in Yugoslavia, confirms that "the British Army went in to destroy EAM/ELAS (the Greek resistance-IH) as soon as the Germans were ready to quit." Churchill was determined to prevent the left-wing resistance coming to power and "to send back to Greece a king whom the majority of Greeks either detested or rejected."

Death of democracy

"British officers", he says, "who backed the policy of destroying EAM/ELAS have understandably disliked being told that they backed the death of any possible Greek democracy in the immediate wake of the war." Historian Tom McKitterick in the other letter further emphasises "that the Greeks



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have a longing for democracy. They do. But the sad thing is that time after time that longing has been put down by the right."

But why was EAM/ELAS not able to complete the social transformation that would have swept the right away? Davidson is forced to

comment on the "political weakness of the EAM/ELAS leadership" and particularly the "inertness or worse of the Greek Communist component in EAM/ELAS."

By Ian Hunter

Defend Chilean trade unionists

THE CHILE Socialist Defence Campaign (CSDC) has received the following appeal from San Antonio dockworkers, to take up the case of 7 of their imprisoned comrades who are due to stand trial in front of a military tribunal for their trade union activities.

It is the second appeal which the CSDC has received from these workers, in the aftermath of their 80 day long strike last year, which was brutally suppressed by the military regime of General Pinochet, and which resulted in the death of at least seven dockers.

Already financial aid has been sent by the CSDC to these trade unionists to enable them to rebuild their organisation.

But as well as helping them financially, the labour movement in Britain must defend fellow workers who are being persecuted.

We therefore urge the Labour Party Young Socialists, trade unionists and Labour Party members to take up the case of these young workers.

We therefore print below their appeal:

"Freedom for political prisoners from the port of San Antonio.

In Valparaiso jail there are many political prisoners, including seven of our young

workmates. They are:

Manuel Antonio Meza Tapia, Jose Ruperto Maldonado Alarcoin, Cristian Raddatz Barra, Luis Cabellos Aros, J Pablo Pino Salgado, Abel Montanares, Ruperto Ampuero.

Our union is concerned at the precarious situation in which these colleagues of ours find themselves.

The so-called charges which are laid by the military attorney would imply a prolonged trial which could mean years of imprisonment.

Political prisoners

For the protection of the life of these youth and all other citizens who are languishing in Valparaiso jail, we appeal to article No 28 of the "universal statement on human rights", which says:

"All persons have the right to the establishment of a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms herewith proclaimed are effectively guaranteed."

According to the regime, there are no political prisoners in Chile, so they do not have the rights or recognition which they should. They also do not have the right to be set free

conditionally or on bail.

At international forums, the regime always gives an undertaking to respect the rights of political prisoners, but those agreements have never been carried out.

The trials do not offer enough safeguards since it is the regime who accuses, charges and condemns them.

Finally, we would like to add that all political prisoners of the Fifth Region, men and women, are people who are fighting for a return to democracy and have been put in jail because of their ideas, for demanding a better future for all Chileans and an end to this oppressive regime.

We therefore demand the immediate release of all political prisoners, not only in the Fifth Region, but in the country as a whole."

Send messages of protest to:

The Consul General
Chilean Embassy
12 Devonshire Street
London W1

The Secretary of State
Foreign Office
Whitehall
London SW1

I Sevastio
(Secretary, CSDC)

Vietnam 1945—the derailed revolution

Pages From LABOUR HISTORY

IN 1975 the Vietnamese people gained an historic victory, driving out the US army and liberating the South. Only after 28 years of liberation war, costing two million Vietnamese lives, the country could be reunited and capitalism and landlordism abolished.

With these heroic sacrifices, the Vietnamese workers and peasants paid the price for the defeat of the revolution of 1945, when they had power in their grasp.

JIM HENSMAN explains why this opportunity was lost, the shameful role played by the British army in Vietnam, and the lessons of this defeated revolution for the workers' struggle today.

VIETNAM HAD been a French colony from the mid-19th century. From the 1920s, nationalist groups emerged to struggle for independence. It was from within this movement that the Indochinese Communist Party was formed in 1930, led by Ho Chi Minh.

The CP was critically influenced by developments in the Soviet Union where Stalin had crushed the forces of genuine Bolshevism.

The Russian bureaucracy were terrified of the impact that genuine workers' revolution anywhere in the world would have on their own privileged position. The interests of the bureaucracy were reflected in the so-called 'Two-stages theory' applied to revolution in the underdeveloped countries.

First there was supposed to be a 'bourgeois-democratic stage', based on an alliance of workers, peasants and 'progressive' capitalists to achieve independence and democratic rights. Only 'later' would the workers' struggle for socialism be on the agenda!

But as Trotsky explained, the capitalist class in the underdeveloped countries was too weak to play any progressive role. Faced with a mass revolutionary movement, they would support the forces of reaction for fear of losing their privileges.

Trotskyist movement

In opposition to Stalinism, political groups developed in the 1930s supporting Trotsky's ideas. In Vietnam the CP for a time worked together with the main Trotskyist organisation in a group known as *La Lutte* (The Struggle).

From the mid-1930s Stalin sought alliances with anti-German capitalist powers, in particular French imperialism. In Vietnam, CP slogans such as "Down with French imperialism" and "Confiscate the land of the big landowners" were "temporarily withdrawn".

This opened up splits between the Stalinists and Trotskyists. Increasingly the latter gained dominance in the growing trade union movement, and won control of "The Struggle" group.

In 1939, three Trotskyist candidates were elected to the Colonial Council with 80 per cent of the vote, defeating the CP and capitalist candidates. The CP split, and many of its working-class members joined the Trotskyists.

But with the outbreak of World War II in 1939 all the workers' parties were banned and severe repression unleashed.

In 1940, Japanese armies occupied Vietnam. In May 1941 the Vietminh (League for the Independence of Vietnam) was formed on the initiative of the CP. They launched a guerilla war against the Japanese from bases near the Chinese border in the rural north.

By 1945 conditions had become desperate and famine ravaged the

north, killing two million people.

When Japan was defeated in August 1945 and its administration collapsed, the stage was set for a massive social explosion. In the north the Vietminh, dominated by the CP, took over relatively easily. On 2 September independence was declared in Hanoi formally on a bourgeois constitution. But real power rested with the only armed force—the CP controlled Vietminh.

In the southern cities "People's Committees", equivalent to the soviets of the Russian revolution, sprang up and began to take over. In the countryside peasants seized land from the landlords. The prospects for the establishment of a democratic workers' state could not have been better.

But this was opposed by the leadership of the CP, imbued with the spirit of class collaboration implicit in the "Two stages theory." In addition, the CP leaders uncritically supported the Allied powers, who had fought on Stalin's side in the war.

On 21 August, after mass demonstrations by the workers of Saigon, a provisional Central Committee for the People's Committees was created. Most of the political parties in the south came together to form a United National Front (UNF). A situation of dual power was arising.

The CP was relatively weak in the more developed South with its militant working class. Desperate to keep the revolution within bourgeois limits, it formed an alliance with the right wing of the UNF.

On 23 August the CP seized power in a coup. It used the prestige of the Vietminh to give itself credibility, and pressurised various nationalist leaders to enter a coalition government called the "Committee of the South".

This CP-led government immediately set out to crush the mass movement. A CP leader declared: "Those who incite the peasants to take over the estates will be severely and mercilessly punished... Our government, I repeat, is a democratic and middle-class government, even though the Communists are now in power."

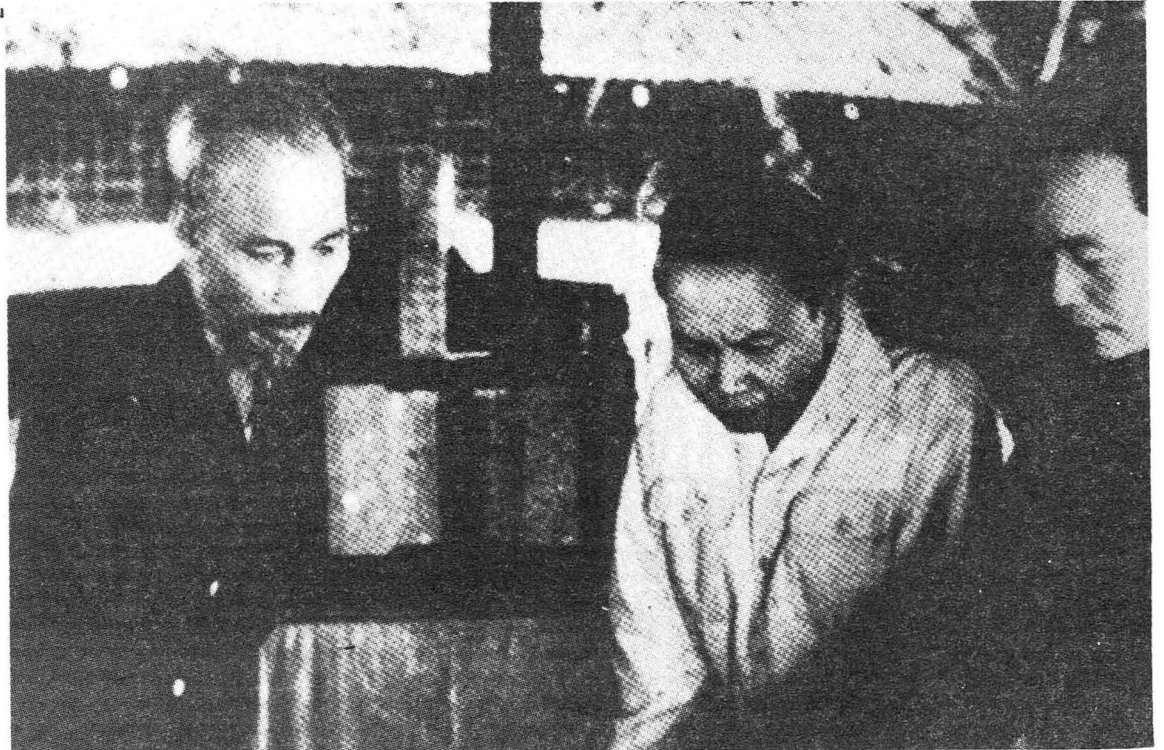
The working class had created a number of workers' militias to defend the revolution. In the Saigon area they united to form a Workers' Guard under Trotskyist leadership.

This was viewed with horror by the CP. "Those who incite the people to take up arms will be considered saboteurs and provocateurs, enemies of national independence", they screamed.

Instead, they declared, "our democratic liberties will be guaranteed by the democratic allies"—ie, US and British imperialism!

In fact, Stalin had reached agreement with Roosevelt and Churchill on the post-war division of the world into "spheres of influence". Under this agreement Vietnam was split in two, with the north assigned to the reactionary Nationalist Chinese generals, and the south to a British army to supervise the Japanese surrender.

From 12 September British



Ho Chi Minh (left) and guerilla organiser General Giap (right).

forces started to arrive, and were greeted by Vietminh demonstrations with the slogan (in English) "Welcome to the allies!"

The People's Committees denounced the Vietminh's collaboration with the British forces. On 14 September the Vietminh police chief sent armed men to break up the People's Committees and arrest the leaders.

The British commander Gracey, however, did not share the CP's illusions in class compromise. As he later remarked, "I was welcomed on arrival by Vietminh. I promptly kicked them out".

Gracey declared martial law, released and rearmed the French troops from jail, ousted the Vietminh government and arrested its leaders. Thus Vietnam's four-week independence was ended.

Insurrection

Despite the utter confusion of the CP leadership, the masses responded magnificently to the reimposition of colonial rule. An insurrection took place and most of Saigon was taken over by the workers.

Faced with revolution, Gracey now rearmed the Japanese troops. The Vietminh leaders, still trying to curb the mass struggle, negotiated a cease-fire in early October. This allowed the French to bring in more troops. When the cease-fire broke down, the British, French and Japanese forces launched a savage offensive.

In the slaughter that took place, the "democratic Allies", admitted that 2,700 Vietnamese were killed. The true figure was many times higher.

While the workers battled desperately to defend the revolution, the main concern of the CP leaders was to wipe out any opposition to themselves.

So-called "honourable squads" were formed with the task of exterminating opponents. The leadership of "The Struggle", meeting in a temple to coordinate the fighting against the French, were surrounded, imprisoned and shot.

Heroes of the struggle such as the Trotskyist leader Ta Thu Thau, one of the leaders of the 1927 Chinese revolution, were among those murdered.

While murdering their opponents, the CP leaders were try-



Famous sixties Vietnam war photo: Young girl flees US napalm.

ing desperately to appease the colonial powers. Thus, in November 1945, the CP voluntarily dissolved itself!

The CP's explanation for this act took the "two-stages theory" to its logical conclusion: "In order to complete the Party's task in this immense movement of the Vietnamese people's emancipation, a national union conceived without distinction of class and parties is an indispensable factor".

In March 1946 the Vietminh signed an agreement, accepting Vietnamese independence within the French union, in return for allowing French troops to occupy the North. But the realities of the class struggle soon shattered the CP leaders' dreams of compromise. Once they had consolidated their position, the French could turn on the CP. The March agreement was finally destroyed in November 1946 when the French bombarded the port of Haiphong, killing an estimated 20,000 people.

The false and treacherous CP policies had fatally weakened the mass movement. The French were now able to oust the Vietminh relatively easily throughout the country.

While Ho Chi Minh pathetically petitioned the Allied powers, the Pope and others, the Vietminh were forced back into the countryside to start what was to be a 30-year guerilla war.

The tragic defeat of the Viet-

name revolution and the struggle for independence was due to the false policies of Stalinism—which, to this day, no CP leadership has corrected or renounced.

Leaders of the Labour Party in Britain and the Communist Party in France—both in government at this time, the latter in coalition with capitalist parties—must share the responsibility for this disaster.

Military budget

'Communist' MPs in France in 1945 and 1946, for example, repeatedly voted for the military budget including funds earmarked for the repression of the Vietnamese workers' struggle. They opposed Socialist Party attempts to reduce this budget, and supported the sending of congratulations to the French Expeditionary Corps in December 1946 after it bombed Haiphong!

The subsequent struggles of the Vietnamese workers and peasants, in spite of this savage repression by their enemies and betrayal by their 'friends', will always be an inspiration to socialists everywhere. And the record of the CP leadership in the defeated 1945 revolution will fill every socialist fighter with resolve that these treacherous policies need to be rooted out of the workers' movement, in order to prepare for victory in the new and greater battles that lie ahead.

Priorities of the leadership

Dear Comrades,
In the *Sunday Telegraph's* city section of 20 July they report on the "chief executive of a successful merchant bank" who wined and dined Bryan Gould, a Labour spokesperson for Trade and Industry.

Commenting on Gould, the banker said: "That man would have done excellently with a Conservative selection committee in the country". Indeed the *Financial Times* commentator Rutherford recently suggested "It might now be possible for Britain to have a Labour government without immense discontinuity. It could even be a candidate to supply the quiet life..."

However, one broker warns: "...they sound so nice, perhaps for the first time in history their bite will be worse than their bark".

How much the profiteers are impressed by Labour's guardians of profit is another matter. One key advisor is Lord Williams of Elvel who resigned last year from the managing director's post at the Henry Ansbacher bank under a cloud of loss making!

Yours fraternally
Phil Frampton
Manchester



Kinnock arrives at Walworth Road for another round of expulsions.

Photo: Dave Sinclair

Dear Comrades,
On Thursday I went to the Labour Party headquarters to protest at the expulsion of two Liverpool socialists. That evening I attended my local General Management Committee where Ted Knight was speaking on the plight of the 31 surcharged

councillors who have to pay out £206,000 or face bankruptcy. He said the national Labour Party was prepared to give them £10,000, the rest they would have to get from the Labour movement. The Party leadership can find over £100,000 to expel

socialists but cannot find that sort of money to defend socialists who were carrying out the official Labour Party policy.
Yours fraternally
Kieron Weir
Bow and Poplar Labour Party Young Socialists

Letters

Send us your views, comments or criticism.

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

Decent reading material

Dear Comrades,
I am a Marxist doing time. I have just finished reading two copies of *Militant* which I had sent to me by my sister. They make interesting reading compared to so-

called newspapers like *The Sun* which gives us no news except capitalist bullshit. Unfortunately these are the only papers I am able to read unless my sister manages to pick me up a copy of *Militant*. I would be grateful if you could send me any copies you can't get rid of, with the

view that I will be making an order when I am released, hopefully in August or September. Keep up the good work and I hope you can help me with some decent reading material.
Yours hopefully
Bored prisoner
in youth custody

'Champion' of the slaves

Dear *Militant*,
As a footnote to Tony Aitman's article on parallels between the American Civil War and South Africa today (*Militant* 808) readers will be interested to know that even Abraham Lincoln did not in principle oppose slavery! Lincoln's inaugural address a year after the civil war broke out reassured the slave holders with these words: "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of

slavery in the states where it exists". He only became the so-called 'champion of slave emancipation' when the slave holders rejected his calls to 'save the Union'. Lincoln then jumped on the emancipation bandwagon to gain the support of black slaves, thus weakening the separatist Southern slave holders.
Yours fraternally
RS Bishop
Cheltenham

New reader

Dear Comrades,
This week I bought *Militant* for the first time. I knew the Tories were pretty awful but I didn't know they are as disgusting as your paper seems to outline when it states economic facts. The only conclusion I can come to is to ask why anyone who is working class votes for them, all working class folk should stick together and not think they're not working class when they are.
Yours fraternally
A socialist (15)
Manchester

Seller arrested

Dear Comrades,
Most Saturdays for the last year, along with other supporters, I have sold *Militant* and *Socialist Youth* in Andover town centre. I have even sold papers to police officers. Until about three weeks ago there was no indication that the local police were concerned by our presence. However, on 26 July I was arrested following a complaint from the manager of the Building Society outside of which we sell papers. I was arrested for

'obstruction' on a street closed to traffic for the market. Quite honestly, I could have been sat in a tank and 20 people abreast would still have had no trouble passing by! It was obvious that under pressure from local Tory businessmen, the police have been ordered to try and get rid of us by threats and bullying if possible. Looking forward to my day in court.
Yours fraternally
Stuart Knox
Andover Labour Party

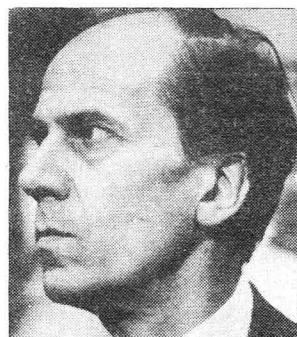
Shallow victory

Dear comrades,
Llin Golding, just as right-wing as her witch-hunting husband John, scraped home with just 799 votes to spare over the Liberal, Alan Thomas. Thomas, a member of CND, often boasted that in this election he was the most left-wing candidate. Newcastle has been a

hollow victory for the leadership and the right-wing, so called 'moderate' section of the Labour Party. The result clearly shows that the working class of Newcastle-under-Lyme have as little confidence in Llin Golding as they had in husband John.
Yours fraternally
Phil Ashmore
Newcastle-under-Lyme

Tebbit's plans for the unemployed

Dear Comrades,
Norman Tebbit's plan, unveiled last week, to reduce unemployment would be laughable if it were not so serious. His idea is to cut the benefit of people living in areas of low unemployment and distribute the money saved to areas where unemployment is highest. If this is implemented, presumably we could see people in Liverpool living rather 'comfortably' on £40 a week, while we in the 'prosperous' South have to try to exist on £20 a week. As Tebbit says, we are obviously finding it a bit too cushy living in London on £26 a week. I mean to say,



I almost went to the dinner and dance at the Savoy Hotel last week to celebrate the wedding, but couldn't quite get the entrance fee of £85 together.
Yours fraternally
An unemployed *Militant* supporter

Dear Comrades,
Tory chairman Tebbit's latest outburst really lets the cat out of the bag. As though his ignorant and offensive remarks about the unemployed weren't bad enough, he is now saying that if you're 'lucky' enough to be in work then you should make sacrifices, such as not going on holiday, to prepare for hard times—as if Tebbit himself would be prepared to make any such sacrifice!
Yours fraternally
Dave Thompson
Southampton
Labour Party

YS hounded

Dear Comrades,
Despite repeated attempts it has proved virtually impossible to establish a Young Socialists' branch in the Newcastle-under-Lyme constituency. The original branch was deemed non-functioning at the beginning of the year, and although the branch has continued meeting, it has yet to be officially re-established. Despite this however, Young Socialist members were amongst the hardest workers in Llin Golding's recent election campaign. Several university students in the YS gave up two weeks of their holiday for the campaign. Right wing officials were put up in expensive hotels, whilst one YS member, on social security, was told he could not claim for the £10 worth of petrol he had used during canvassing. Llin Golding said during the campaign that she did not mind losing the support of left-wingers. It is as well that YS members did not take this to heart, or much of the door-to-door work would have been left undone. In recognition of this work, *Militant* supporters within the YS expect the re-establishment of the branch to be high on the new MPs agenda...
Yours fraternally
Newcastle-under-Lyme
YS member

The 'anti-apartheid bank!'

Dear Comrades,
As you reported in *Militant* 808, members of Poole Labour Party organised a meeting calling for workers' sanctions against South Africa. Hundreds of leaflets were given out and a demonstration was organised outside Barclays International. Over 2,000 people work at the place, and several took interest. A letter was given to the manager which protested at the South African links of Barclays. A few days later we received a reply which said that Barclays was known in South Africa as the anti-apartheid bank (!) and that they had opened a branch of Barclays in Soweto, and even employed black cashiers and managers! A few days later the UN Association held a poll in Poole High Street—over 85 per cent were in favour of sanctions.
Yours fraternally
J Hayes
Poole Labour Party

Thousands apply

Dear Comrades,
An engineering firm in Birtley recently advertised vacancies for 25 welders at their county Durham factory. A friend of mine filled in an application form at our local job centre. The counter assistant told him that nationally there had already been 14,000 applications for the 25 vacancies. So much for workers not being willing to travel to get a job.
Yours fraternally
John Cunningham
Ashington

Seeing through Tories

Dear Comrades,
As a regular reader of *Militant* I have decided to send you a poem written by my 13 year old daughter Bernadette:
I wandered today through the streets, Maggie wondering what I'm going to do,
My kids have no clothes and no food, Maggie and it's all because of you.
They say you're a bitch, and it's true, Maggie Look what you have done to me,
If I had a gun I would shoot Maggie And then working class would be free.
You're playing with the tax and the rates Maggie and maybe the MOT With all the cash that you get Maggie You could pay them all for me.

By Bernadette Loughran, Walsall

GMB Branch 5 - the facts



THE LEADERSHIP of the General, Municipal, Boilermakers' and Allied Trade Union (GMBATU) are pressing ahead with an attack on their Liverpool No 5 branch. A member of the branch replies to charges against the branch's static security force members and he contrasts the healthy democracy of Branch 5 with that of another branch in the city.

ONE OF the worst smears against a section of the movement in Liverpool is the "Hatton's private army" smear against the Council's security staff.

This story, peddled by the anti-Labour *Liverpool Echo*, alleges that a hand-picked 'politically appointed' private army of thugs intimidated District Labour Party meetings. This myth has even been echoed by individuals within the labour movement.

John Whelan, Liverpool regional secretary of the GMB, in a disgraceful attack on his own members, claimed that the security force have been used in a "most disagreeable manner" at DLP meetings. But he has not, and cannot, produce a shred of evidence to back up this claim.

Originally the 'Watchmen' were not part of branch 5. Under an agreement negotiated by the full-time officials currently investigating branch 5 members' "lack of representation", they worked 105 hours a week at 50p an hour, single time Saturday and Sunday. They were not issued with uniforms and the majority of the 85 'Watchmen' were over retirement age, the oldest being 92.

In 1980, a few months

after coming into branch 5, a four week strike resulted in a 56 hour week, £1 per hour, time and a half on Saturdays and double time on Sundays being won from the then Liberal council. The settlement included back pay amounting to £4-5,000 in some cases.

When Labour came to power, private security was abolished and further improvements gained for the workers. As a result of taking on jobs previously covered by private security firms, the static security force was increased to 150. To the credit of the council many were blacklisted trade unionists from past battles at Dunlop's, Meccano's, BAT, Cammell Laird's, etc.

Loyalty

This is the real origin of the 'political appointments' smear. The security officers are now issued uniform, paid £160 for a 35-hour week with five week's holiday. This is a record of successful struggle any trade unionists would be proud of. So why the attacks?

During these struggles tremendous loyalty to the branch, the Labour Party and its Labour council has been forged. Many of the security force are DLP



Liverpool GMBATU leader Ian Lowes addressing meeting with deputy council leader Derek Hatton.

delegates and over one third are Labour Party members.

All those opposed to the Labour council's stand have made great play of "uniformed security officers" being present in "some numbers at DLP meetings". This was claimed to be "intimidating."

What is the difference between security officers coming straight off shift in uniform to a meeting and a nurse, or a fireman or a bus driver doing the same? This very point was made by the NEC's minority report.

The truth of the matter is

that what some Labour Party members opposed to the majority of the DLP found intimidating was a battle with the government.

Strength

What they found "disagreeable" about the security force was that they remained loyal to the council's policies; that they maintained their support for the councillors; that they voted unanimously for strike action in September last year; that they refused, again unanimously, to support the



Trade unionists rallying in support of Liverpool City Council.

Stonefrost Report; and that they have important industrial strength due to the nature of the jobs.

This is why they have been subject to abuse and attacks. This is why the union

bureaucracy wants to split them from branch 5. They will not succeed. The 'statics' will remain part and parcel of branch 5 and the struggle for a democratic GMB.

THE 'INVESTIGATION' into Liverpool GMBATU extends into the council's Education branch No 80. *Militant* supporters are completely opposed to this bureaucratic investigation by full-time officials who do not enjoy the confidence of the membership.

The irony of the situation, however, is that Education branch convenor, Peter Lennard, has tried hard in the last eight months to ally himself with the union's full-time officials in attacking *Militant* supporters and the left in the GMBATU.

He has accused *Militant* supporters of being "undemocratic". Yet contrast the magnificent 76 per cent vote for strike action of branch 5 members last September with the fact that branch 80 was the only GMB branch to reject the all-out strike call. This points to a fundamental weakness—the leadership of branch 80 have for far too long failed to involve the membership. This has resulted in increasing criticism by members of the lack of democracy in the branch.

Appointed

For example, in the Education branch 80, the shop stewards are appointed by the branch committee, not elected by the members either on site or at branch meetings as prescribed in the GMBATU rule book.

During the protracted council crisis, branch 80 held only three mass meetings in three years compared to 20 or so in branch 5 where *Militant* supporters hold leading positions. They have always consulted all members they represent if any action is

needed. Branch 80 members, on the other hand seem to be taken for granted.

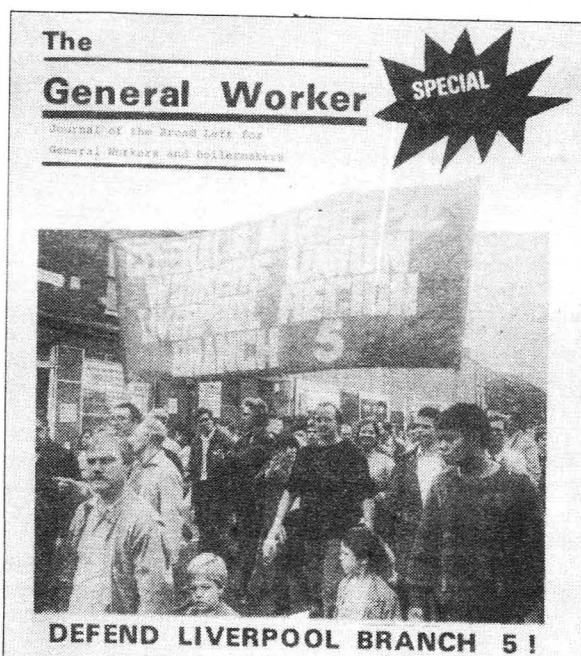
This lack of democracy was shown in the way the branch 80 stewards' committee withdrew from the Joint Shop Stewards Committee of council unions and the GMB's own senior representatives' committee without consulting the members until afterwards—and then at a meeting of only 100 from a membership of 4,500.

Such antics threaten to split the GMBATU in Liverpool City Council at a time when unity is more important than ever. GMB Education members will be worst hit by Tory and Liberal attacks if the courts disqualify our Labour councillors. Their jobs are the first in the firing line!

The consequences of such divisions were shown when the JSSC called a one-day strike in support of the councillors after the first court decision against them.

Peter Lennard decided to call on his members to ignore the call. However, many branch 80 members were

- Broad Left for General Workers and Boilermakers**
- ★ Unity against the Tories and the employers. No witch-hunt against *Militant* supporters in GMBATU
 - ★ Regular election for all full-time trade union officials by the members they represent.
 - ★ No full-time official to receive more than the average wage of their members.
 - ★ Minimum wage of £120.
 - ★ For a fighting socialist leadership of GMBATU.
 - ★ Oppose the witch-hunt of socialists in the Labour Party.
 - ★ For a Labour government committed to socialist policies and a planned economy based on need not profit.



15p per copy. Orders to 94 Richard Kelly Drive, Liverpool L4 8TJ.

angered that a branch committee which had cheered the councillors was not now prepared to give them concrete support.

It is the membership, who are growing increasingly disillusioned with the leader-

ship of branch 80, who will force through the democratisation of the branch, not stage-managed 'enquiries' by unelected full-time officials which are in reality a cover for attacks on the left.

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.

○ Colette and Alan, Liverpool, wish to announce the long awaited arrival of a 9lb 3oz Bolshevik, Daniel Martin-Williams. Born 7 June 1986. He who holds the rattle holds the future—forward to socialism. (Apologies for late publication)

○ Mally and Madge of Wakefield are happy to announce their wedding on Saturday 27 September. Watch this space for more details!

○ SALEP broadsheet *Workers and youth direct links campaign 1986*, 20p plus p&p from: PO Box 77, London E8 4TB.

○ New video *The launch of COSATU* available for hire from: PO Box 77, London E8 4TB.

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

○ *Towards the Political Revolution. Perspectives for Poland of the Trotskyist workers' tendency of Solidarity.* Available at 50p each from "World Socialist Books", 3/13 Hepscoot Rd, London E9 5HB.

□ *Merseyside Militant* in Southport. Sunday 17 August. 10am central station or 11am Southport station.

□ *MERSEYSIDE Militant Women's Day School.* Sunday 10 August. 10.30am-4pm. MTUCURC, Hardman Street, Liverpool. Crèche provided. Sessions on: Northern Ireland, domestic violence, can Labour afford a minimum wage, young women.

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

Militant Summer Camps

○ **Northern:** 22-25 August in Edale (Peak District, Derbyshire). Leading Marxist speakers, crèche, trips, folkknights. £10 waged, £5 unwaged, £3 children. Cheques to: MSDC, c/o J Hartley, 21 Carrforge Cl, Sheffield, South Yorkshire.

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

○ **Labour Party Conference Greetings.** Closing date for copy: 18 September. Rates: semi-display, 3 coll. centimetres £6, 6 coll. centimetres £12. Display, sixteenth of page £20, eighth of page £30, quarter of page £60. POs/cheques to 'Militant Publications'. Send copy and money to: *Militant*, 3-13 Hepscoot Rd, London E9 5HB.

Industrial Reports

Price of Tory pit plans

HERALDED AS a personal triumph for 'Big Mac' the 1985/6 annual report and accounts for the National Coal Board announced an overall deficit of £50m.

Claimed to be a "financial performance, which was the best for seven years" the dry figures nevertheless indicate the cost of the Tories' assault on miners and their industry.

"27 collieries ceased production during the year, representing annual capacity of around nine million tonnes. (Note no mention of exhausted and 'uneconomic' pits—CH) 17 collieries were merged into eight single units. This reduced the number of operating collieries to 133 at the end of the year." 33,000 jobs were destroyed in the process.

And hypocritically, MacGregor has the nerve to say in his chairman's statement that: "This significant adjustment in the structure of our industry has been achieved by the agreement of all concerned."

Huge losses

His remit was to reduce the industry's deficit by whatever means and to transform the NCB into a suitable operation for selling off cut-price to a new generation of coal owners. He has failed.

Despite all the boasts of a 'leaner, fitter' industry and the ominous change of trading name to 'British Coal', the promise of profitability has been postponed. March 1988 becomes the new target date.

Yet the industry was thrown into turmoil for a full twelve months to force through the government's plans. Capacity (not simply exhausted pits) had to be cut,

By Chris Herriot
(sacked Monktonhall miner)

manpower massively reduced.

This exercise in Tory 'industrial relations' cost the taxpayer no less than £2,225 million to bail out the NCB in 1984/5—not to mention the costs of policing, legal costs, etc.

On top of that there is the £566m in redundancy payments over the last year. The Redundant Mineworkers Payments Scheme ends next March, miners will then be covered by the normal national scheme.

The Board have reached an impasse. The books look healthy at first glance, with a substantial operating profit of £535m. Closer inspection reveals £342m set aside from last year as 'strike recovery costs'.

The final deficit is caused by social costs, taxation and massive interest charges of £437m—always an albatross around the industry's neck. But it is the workers who must pay. And there can be no question of suspending or waiving interest payments to the government's masters in the City of London.

Meanwhile the drive on productivity is to continue. More coal is to be produced by fewer miners from less pits. More coal, more cheaply. But the cost will be paid in human kind.

The Health and Safety Commission have produced a series of consultative documents outlining their



Interpretations of the Plan for Coal (referred to by Jim Mortimer at Birmingham rally, left) hid the class nature of the strike

proposals for alterations to safety regulations. Standards have already been affected by the pressures of the productivity incentive scheme.

Any further relaxation of safety rules or practices will prove catastrophic. Accidents involving major injury are the highest in the last six years (since the definition of 'major injury' was adopted). The fatality rate continues on a par with recent years.

Privatised

Coal mining is still a vital element of the economy, providing nearly 36 per cent of total energy consumed. Coal accounted for 77 per cent of power station fuel consumption as against a mere 5 per cent oil and 18 per cent nuclear power. Chernobyl must have affected the prospects for the nuclear programme. King Coal can be expected to regain some of its former glory.

An editorial in the *Financial Times* (30 July) pointed out that: "the industry will have to run faster this year and next just to stand still" but warns: "government must make sure that, in taking a long-term view of coal, it does not allow the momentum for cost reduction to slow down."

In other words the capitalist class are thirsty to see a streamlined coal industry based on profit and not the needs of society. With oil prices volatile and nuclear power increasingly discredited, a hi-tech coal industry with a ready-made market must appear lucrative. Privatisation is already in process.

More and more private contractors are being brought into mines to do development work and other traditional NUM work. Canteens have been put into private hands in some pits. Workshops have been closed and maintenance and repair work given out to mining supply firms etc.

If the Tories have their

ownership. Why should the money lenders, mining suppliers, distribution companies and all the leeches be allowed to suck the industry dry of its essential funds? Why should the miners bear the brunt of a crisis not of their making?

The demands of the Durham Area NUM, unanimously carried at national conference, must be brought into immediate effect:

a) prevention of the further extension of private contractors and operations within our industry;

b) abolition of existing private operators within coal mines by nationalisation or incorporation into the NCB;

c) nationalisation of all supply and distribution industries connected with coal;

d) collaboration with other trade unions fighting the menace of privatisation;

e) the election to power of a Labour government committed to re-nationalisation of all privatised industries as a priority, with compensation to be paid only on the basis of proven need.

Energy plan

But Big Mac has got the wrong end of the stick of the "high degree of common interest" referred to. It should be developed into a common plan not free market anarchy. The coal board, the electricity board and all of the energy industry should be worked on the basis of common interest as part of a plan of production for the economy as a whole.

This cannot be achieved on the basis of private

Left must spread overtime ban

THE MINERS of South Wales have had enough. The attack on Tredegar workshops, following the closure of Ammanford, was the last straw. An overtime ban started last Monday.

Job losses in South Wales reached 6,014 in the year following the national strike. Some eleven pits were closed. The Welsh miners have paid dearly for their loyalty and solid support for trade unionism.

Miners throughout Britain are incensed at the butchery of their industry. Total manpower now stands at 138,500 as opposed to 171,400 at March 1985.

Bosses' union

And despite record productivity levels the National Coal Board are refusing to pay NUM members the £5.50 per week wage increase. It has already been given to the UDM where they are in a supposed majority. Management are also refusing to negotiate on the wages issue.

To add insult to injury, the Employment Appeal Tribunal have not only ruled in the NCB's favour against paying the wage in-

crease to NUM members, Mr Justice Popplewell has also decreed:

"An employee does not now have the right to belong to a union of his choice, he only has the right to belong to an independent trade union." It seems the courts are prepared to rule in favour of a closed shop only when the it concerns a scab union.

Branches in Yorkshire and other coalfields are considering following the example of, South Wales. Undoubtedly the Marxists in the coalfields will be raising the issue at rank and file level with a view to pressurising the other Area Councils and delegate conferences to also introduce overtime bans. South Wales must not stand alone.

The coal board has been able to steamroll their vicious policies through precisely because individual coalfields have been left in isolation. Only concerted action on an organised basis throughout the coalfields can successfully turn the tide.

Indeed, it has been the atmosphere of isolation and weakness since the 1984/5 strike which has led to certain Area leaders losing confidence in the capacity of the rank and file to enter into

struggle.

But as the *Financial Times* stated on 30 July: "Arthur Scargill and his militant supporters are down but not out..." The ordinary miners are beginning to face up to the tasks that lie before them.

The spread and development of the overtime ban will be the first step in the struggle to secure better wages, safeguard conditions, prevent job losses and end victimisation. It will be a hard struggle and will require brave men and women to lead it.

Organise

It is not enough for Arthur to announce "...the likelihood of NUM Areas taking industrial action similar to that due to start in South Wales is inevitable." The campaign of resistance to the Coal Board and their Tory paymasters must be properly organised.

The strategy and tactics must be clearly worked out and explained. Above all, the rank and file activists must be fully involved if the mass of the membership are to be called to action.

The inaugural conference of the rank and file Miners Broad Left in Barnsley on 20

September will be an ideal opportunity for the left to thrash out its programme and strategy.

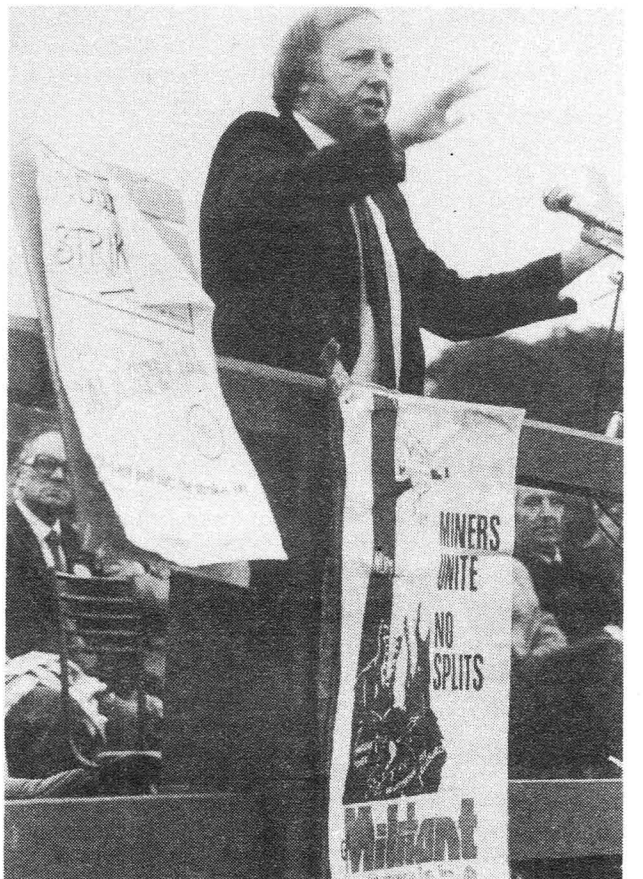
Unity of purpose and unity in action are essential. The Broad Left is the only possible vehicle for linking up the rank and file throughout the industry, cutting across craft and Area divisions.

No doubt those who would prefer to beg the support of the churches than to trust to the resolve of ordinary miners and their families will attempt to pour cold water on these developments.

But the more they attack the idea of the involvement in the running of the union of those who fought in the front line in 1984/5, the more isolated and unpopular they will become.

The Broad Left conference has been organised by rank and file miners and will be open to all members of TUC affiliated mining unions and activists in Women's Support Groups.

Transport is now being arranged in the localities. Anyone interested in further details of the conference should contact: Miners' Broad Left, c/o 39 Gold Street, Barnsley, S. Yorks. Phone 0226 200 605.



Miners' Broad Left Conference
Barnsley 20 September
Details from 39 Gold St,
Barnsley, S Yorks. Tel: 0266
200605

Teachers say reject pay deal

A PAY deal looks likely between the teaching unions, (except NAS/UWT), and the Local Education Authorities.

Teachers must mobilise to defeat this settlement. There is no doubt it involves selling all the conditions of service issues at question over the past two years.

NUT members will be alarmed that the leadership have settled over their heads. Five extra working days and an increase in the working day have been accepted in return for a temporary pay offer.

This is what the union leaders always said they would reject—a temporary pay increase for worsening of conditions on all fronts.

The NUT Special Salaries conference will be held to rubber stamp this deal. Whatever the government's response to the extra cash required (£2.5bn has already been put aside for it) and despite the summer holiday period it is necessary to begin organising opposition now.

Post workers ballot vote prepares confrontation

THE POSTAL workers' vote to accept the 5.8% pay offer has been completely misinterpreted. We are heading for a confrontation with management in the near future.

The vote was 81,840 to 66,060, a majority of 15,830. It means basic pay rises to £107.05 to £113.26.

The vast majority who voted against did so for three main reasons:

1. after tax the rise is worth very little even with the 5.8% increase also in overtime, bonus and other allowances;
2. once again management have refused to lower the working week from 43 hours;
2. back pay will not include

overtime worked from 1 April 1986. The new rate of overtime will not come into effect until 1 October and will remain in force until 10 June 1987 thus saving the Post Office thousands of pounds.

Post Office chairman Sir Ron Dearing has announced record profits of £136.8 million, of which the government will take £93m. Dearing earned £70,953 last year—£1,365 a week.

The leadership of the Union of Communication Workers must start to fight now against the threat of privatisation, the influx of part-time workers and management's aim to hold down wages.

We must join forces with the National Communications Union. They are already going for a 32-hour week). Our basic demands must be £120 for a 35-hour week and full-time jobs not casualisation.

By Andy Scott
Maidstone UCW, personal capacity)



NALGO

IN AN unprecedented attack, retiring Nalگو executive committee member Graham Burgess, chair of Liverpool City Nalگو and Communist Party member, has issued a circular, under the official branch letter heading, urging members to ignore the decision of the Broad Left to support Roger Bannister in an executive by-election and to support another candidate.

The circular has been used in several attacks on Roger Bannister in the media. It tells a number of lies. For example, that the Broad Left meeting which endorsed Roger Bannister was: "Packed by a large number of Militant and SWP members".

In reality only one member of the Socialist Workers Party attended the meeting and the majority of people who voted for Roger were not supporters of Militant but simply ordinary Nalگو members wishing to see a class fighter elected to the NEC.

Graham Burgess also states that Roger Bannister: "Would not gain the support of any branch outside of his own." Again totally untrue, since he already has the nomination of



Roger Bannister

the Lancashire Polytechnic. Hints are then made that the Broad Left should be "organised...to avoid packing", a clear indication of the attempt of the Communist Party to ban ordinary rank and file activists from the Broad Left, restricting membership to self selected groups.

Despite these disgraceful attacks Roger Bannister will continue to contest the election as the official broad left candidate.

He fights on a programme of opposition to cuts and privatisation, for a campaign against low pay in all services, a fighting democratic leadership for Nalگو and the return of a Labour government committed to socialist policies to save the public services from Tory attacks.

Liverpool schools' new agreement

THERE HAS been some confusion in press reports over the agreement negotiated between Liverpool council and its teaching unions.

In terms of the conditions of Liverpool teachers the deal has been welcomed locally and nationally as a major step forward though due to inter-union concerns it has not yet been finalised.

The deal guarantees 12½ per cent preparation time for all teachers ie. five free 45 minute periods; a permanent pool of specially selected supply teachers; staffing to be on the basis of a published curriculum; the normal teaching situation to be of no more than 30 pupils—inevitably exceptions such as invigilation, choirs, temporarily large groups on outings, will occur.

The preparation time figure specifies a minimum. In practice, when calculating teachers' class contact time it is done on the basis of 32

periods out of 40—giving 20 per cent preparation time.

And many teachers have extra time allowed. Every community comprehensive has teachers appointed as co-ordinators on race, equal opportunities, special needs, libraries and parents. They, along with heads, deputy heads, heads of departments and heads of year have lower class contact times bringing the overall figure down further.

Many of these issues are complicated by different local traditions and practices and would be better dealt with by national negotiations bringing every area up to a base of at least the best existing local deal.

Nevertheless Liverpool council's determined attempts to do its best for workers and services despite the appalling financial and political problems it faces provide a fighting example for the labour movement throughout the country.

Bus drivers strike over Walthamstow assaults

WALTHAMSTOW BUS garage in East London staged a 24-hour strike last Wednesday following an assault on a driver who had his cheek slashed.

This was the fifth assault in two months on drivers at the garage. All buses from Walthamstow are one-person operated but as yet have not been fitted with screens to separate drivers

from passengers.

They have been promised by management for this month but work has not even started. Representatives of the drivers were meeting senior management on Wednesday to discuss the incidents and the need for driver protection. After that further action will be decided by a mass meeting.

NETPU rank and file meeting
Friends House, Euston Road
12 August 7.30pm

Realities behind MP's allowances increase

LABOUR MPs' secretaries and researchers have scored two notable victories over low wages and poor conditions in the House of Commons.

For the past two years TGWU (ACTTS) 1/427, representing Labour MPs staff has been campaigning for meaningful recognition by the PLP. Labour Party members will be horrified to learn that many Labour MPs do not pay their staff trade union rates and some do not even give them contracts of employment. These 'representatives' of the labour movement are breaking the very employment legislation they voted for under the last Labour government!

For example, recently a senior Labour MP sacked his secretary without a proper explanation, without notice, and it was discovered that he had not given her a contract of employment, even though she had been working for him for over five months!

Matters came to a head recently when Max Madden, MP for Bradford West, supported by left wingers including Terry Fields and Dave Nellist, sponsored a motion at the Parliamentary Labour Par-

ty's weekly meeting calling on all Labour MPs to issue their staff with a TGWU model contract of employment and resolving to establish a committee made up of TGWU members and Labour MPs to negotiate pay and conditions.

By an MP's secretary

This motion was *opposed* by the Shadow Cabinet, who put up a woolly alternative, meekly suggesting that MPs should give their staff a contract, but not specifying its content. This was the only concession they were prepared to make after two years of requests from the TGWU branch.

After a heated debate, during which arch-witch-hunter Ray Powell, MP for Ogmire, opposed the TGWU branch's position (George Wright, please note), the Labour leaders suffered a humiliating defeat when Max Madden's motion was passed 31-26 and their proposal was defeated by the same margin.

This is an enormous breakthrough for Labour MPs' staff, some of whom have suffered appalling pay, long hours and employers who exploit their com-

mitment to the Labour Party and constituents.

It may seem from the outside that working for an MP is a glamorous occupation, but Labour secretaries and researchers often work more than 50 hours per week without overtime pay, dealing with constituents' problems, preparing questions and speeches, being on call throughout the night to prevent the removal of immigrants under the Tories' racist legislation and arranging MPs' appointments and general work. Their wages and National Insurance, as well as the MPs' phone bills, office equipment and running costs all have to be paid out of the secretarial allowance of £13,000 per year.

This means that MPs without a second income from business interests, can only afford to employ one member of staff on decent wages or two on lousy wages, which is often the case.

Last week, however, on a Labour amendment, MPs voted against the government and in favour of increasing the secretarial allowance to £20,000 per year. The Tory press was outraged and hysterical headlines screamed that MPs had voted *themselves* a

massive pay rise. This is not the case—none of the increase will go to the MPs unless, of course, they employ their partner as a secretary (only 39 out of 650 do). The increase can only be spent on secretarial and research facilities.

In the case of Terry Fields, Dave Nellist and many other socialist MPs, the extra money will be used to improve the service they provide to working class people and the labour movement—by expanding their back-up team and opening constituency offices that they could not afford in the past.

It is understandable that many working class people are outraged by what has been portrayed as yet another example of career politicians lining their own pockets. However, the increased allowance should be welcomed in the labour movement if it is used for the movement's benefit. Labour Party members around the country should ensure that their MP can account for the use of this money and demand that this unexpected, if only minor, victory over the government is used as part of the campaign to achieve the bigger victory of an early defeat of the Tories.



Militant

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Printers

Six months of struggle

THE TORIES' legal system has struck again. Not content with backing the surcharge of Liverpool councillors and preventing John Macreadie the democratically elected CPSA General Secretary taking up his job, the courts are now after the unions again.

By Dave Conway
(SOGAT, personal capacity)

In a judgement decided last week, pickets at Wapping were reduced to six. In other words, if you have an effective picket it will be an illegal picket. Demonstrations were to be allowed to Wellclose Square near Fort Murdoch, "unless police directed otherwise" and in addition "the commission of wrongful acts" was banned.

The printworkers however are unbowed. Six months of police attacks, six months of press lies, six months of picketing have failed to break their resolve. And on Saturday night the national women's demonstration attracted over 5,000 people in solidarity with them.

Workers, printers' wives and families marched united against Murdoch and his rich pals in the courts and Tory Party. Women against Pit Closures were there from South Wales. Working class women from all the over country showed the anger and support that can be tapped.

This law is class law. It is not handed down on high like the Ten Commandments as some in our movement believe. It is there to protect the bosses' interests and not ours. These rulings and judgements are only as effective as we let them be; mass picketing at Wapping would make the limitations set by the courts unworkable. This was indicated on Saturday night where the rally was forced to take place on the Highway, technically against the judge's ruling. Imagine the effect if the print unions spread industrial action in Fleet Street and the TUC gave the full backing that the printers so richly deserve. Tens of thousands could be mobilised and Murdoch would be brought to his knees.

This battle is not just for the sacked printers. It is for something greater than News International itself: it is for the right to work. The fight is now on for all printers' jobs.

The Observer has announced that it will be moving to Battersea with the loss of 550 printing and warehouse jobs. Other papers are on the move from Fleet Street. The reasons for travelling are clearly nothing to do with the nicer climate, or with the beautiful view of barbed wire editors can get from their windows. It is a concerted attempt by Fleet Street employers to break the print unions. The massed power of the trade unions can defeat the print bosses, but of do that our leaders must act.



SOGAT casuals demonstrate down Fleet Street.

On the run

Continued from front

black in what I know is really a white neighbourhood, where I stick out like a sore thumb. And my mouth is dry.

The car is now less than 50 yards away and in the danger zone. They will be looking at the houses and gardens ahead. Should I move into the house or would that look obvious? Would a black going through the porch door attract attention? Is it too late?

By the time I move I can see their light blue shirts and navy blue forage caps.

The bastards seem close enough to smell the polish on their boots. I lift the tray with the coffee cups on it and before I know it I'm at the back of the house ready to jump the fence and run if they stop. The numbness has all gone replaced by exhilaration. I'm coiled ready to spring ready to seek escape if they don't pass.

This is a "safe" house. But then most of the people detained thought they were staying at "safe" houses. Sometimes they know what bedrooms to go to, never mind what house to check.

I'm not really important enough to be detained I think. But I've been detained before and so I'm cautious, not going to my usual haunts, not staying at home. Stay-

ing at "safe" houses.

You can learn to live with it but it takes time. Fear concentrates in the dark, in bed. When it's dark and you are alone and lying, thinking you realise you are important enough to be detained and wonder if they will come for you tonight. Every car or van that stops nearby in the night could be them, coming for you.

Tension

Everybody gets affected by the tension in political circles. In the first few days when the mass swoops were on people were talking permanently to each other in italics. Every name you hear of people detained makes you wonder

how much further down the list they will go and when they will reach your name.

I went into my office on Thursday morning as usual and the army arrived half an hour later. They just told everyone to get out and began systematically to take the desks and filing cabinets apart. We did not expect it. We did not think they would hit the unions.

"What is your name?" the commanding officer barked. "I have no need to give my name unless you state the purpose of your enquiry." "Where is the boss?" he asked further as his men emptied one of the filing cabinets. "Do you have a search warrant for this?" I asked. "Are you a lawyer?" he demanded. Then angrily he pushed me

towards the door, "Out, get out. Now! This is a state of emergency".

I looked round the corner of the house and saw the car turning the corner out of the street. It has passed. You actually get a physical release. You can feel relief spreading through your body like a wave running up the beach.

"Christ, I thought they were coming for me then" I said to my friend. "I knew they would not stop. You are becoming paranoid" she replied. I smiled at her dismissal. You can afford to smile when the car passes by.

From a South African trade unionist

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