# Solidarity price £1

The Marxist Paper for Labour and Youth

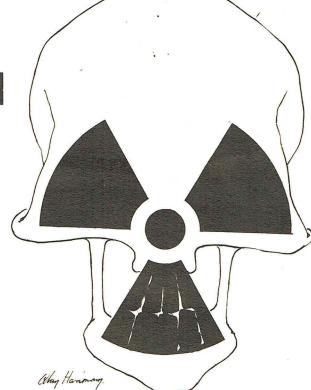
**30**p

ISSUE 814 12 September 1986

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# nour must sa

THE NUCLEAR disaster at Chernobyl brought home the horrific dangers of nuclear fission power. When Nirex, the government nuclear waste disposal firm have tried to make investigative drills in Elstow and Wilstead, Fulbrook. Killingholme and Bradwell, they have faced protests and blockades by entire village communities to stop radioactive waste being buried in their areas.

The labour movement must now lead the fight for a safe energy policy—and for guaranteed jobs for all energy workers. A policy opposing nuclear power and in favour of 'phasing out' nuclear power stations is likely to be passed at Labour Party conference. Delegates, however, should also back the call for the scrapping of nuclear power stations in the quickest possible time. This is the policy of many working class parties including recently the West German Social Democrats.

Workers at plants like Sellafield, in a high



Villagers of Elstow and Wilstead block the road to keep out Nirex.

unemployment, area are quite right to worry about their jobs. But the British Nuclear Fuels Ltd management and some union leaders are using this fear and the virtual gagging of staff in nuclear installations to cloud the issue in workers' minds.

An integrated energy policy, as part of a socialist plan, would create far more jobs and far safer jobs than capitalist nuclear power. Last year's Labour Party conference passed a resolution calling for funding research into alternative and

renewable sources of energy, for energy saving policies which could generate many jobs and for discussions with the unions about guaranteed alternative employment.

This policy must be restated clearly this year and become an unambiguous

part of Labour's manifesto for the next election. The lives and livelihoods of the next generation may depend on it.

See also page 4.

By Roger Shrives

#### **Shooting** rocks Chile regime

THE ASSASSINA-TION attempt on Pinochet General highlights the increasing tension in Chilean society, seen in the protest movements on 2-3 July and 4 September and the now permanent upheavals in the shanty towns.

It is not certain whether this latest incident will cut across the anti-government demonstrations on 11 September, the thirteenth anniversary of the coup which brought Pinochet to power. It is certain however that Pinochet has used the assassination attempt to impose a state of seige, with wholesale arrests of youths, trade union and opposition party members.

**Amnesty International has** estimated that 15,000 arrests have been made since May Day, and over 30 shanty towns invaded by armed police and soldiers.

This repression is not a sign of strength. Pinochet is now in a weaker position than ever. Open divisions have appeared amongst the armed forces. Even senior generals are now distancing themselves from president.

Every section of Chilean society stands against the dictatorship. In the July protests, for the first time barricades were erected in some of the wealthiest districts of Santiago. This latest incident will multiply these differences amongst the ruling class and military officers.

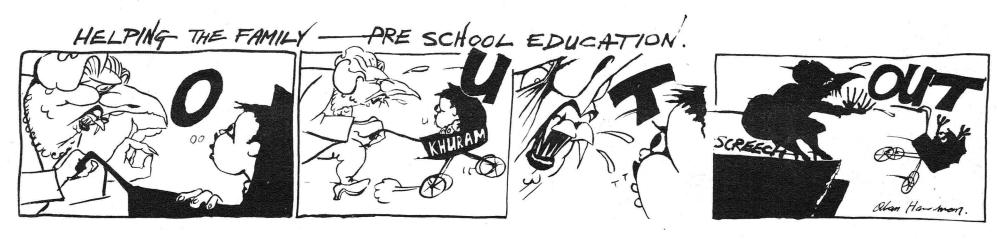
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#### **Marxist** weekend school

#### 13-14 September

University of London Union, Malet Street, London WC1 Including debate, Sun-day 2pm-"Which way forward for Labour?"
Peter Taaffe (Editor Militant) v Monty Johnstone (Marxism Today) Rally: Saturday 6pm—"Hungary 1956-1986, Alan Woods Cost for school £8 (£6 unwaged), for rally or debate only £1 at door. Bar, disco, crêche,

videos - don't miss it!



### Bradford protest at child deportation threat

400 HUNDRED people marched through Great Horton in Bradford on 7 September. They were protesting at the threatened deportation of two year old Khuram Azad, the adopted son of textile worker, Abdul Khaliq and his wife Anwar.

After being childless for sixteen years they were obviously overjoyed at having an adopted son. The Home Office and the so-called "party of the family", the Tories, decided to deport Khuram back to Pakistan, one of the most barbaric acts of even this miserable government. As Khuram's father put it: "There would be no social life without the child. We could not leave him for a minute. We wouldn't send him back at any cost."

The local community have been quick to act. A defence committee has been established at the Khaliqs'

house in Great Horton and both child and mother have gone into hiding.

#### Must stay

Max Madden, Labour MP for Bradford West has been active in the campaign reflecting the strong feeling that Khuram must stay.

All of a sudden in the face of this activity, the Tory minister respon-

sible, David Waddington, and the Home Office are trying to appear innocent parties, saying it is "inconceivable" that the child could be forcibly deported. They say stories about dragging a screaming child away are misleading.

But how else can you describe the forced separation and expulsion of a two year old? Khuram would have been forced to live apart from his adopted parents. The full weight of the Labour Party needs to be put behind this case and others like it. People who suffer from the barbarous racist decisions of this government have only their local community and the labour movement to look to. We must not fail them.

By Razina Bostan (Bradford West LPYS)

#### **CPSA** right snub N Ireland workers

CIVIL SERVANTS in Northern Ireland, both Protestant and Catholic struck against threats of sectarian violence.

Broad Left members of the Civil and Public Servants Association (CPSA) urged their delegation at TUC conference to send a message of support to their brothers and sisters in the North taking action on a matter of life and death. "This conference applauds the recent strike action by DHSS workers throughout Northern Ireland in protest at the sectarian threats at their workplace" the emergency resolution read. "Catholic and Protestant workers have shown their determination to stand together against the bigots of both sides."

But the delegation had a right wing majority of one

and the motion was lost. Right winger John Ellis, defeated in the general secretary campaign, opposed the motion on the grounds of protocol. The Northern Ireland Public Services Association which represents these workers had not been in contact he argued.

Bureaucratic manoeuvring is put before workers struggling in the most dire situa-

tion by the right wing. Broad Left members asked if members of NIPSA would be impressed by Ellis' argument. The defeat meant that the plight of Northern Ireland workers would not be heard at TUC conference—a disgraceful gap in the weeks' debates.

By Bill Boyle

#### Militant

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

### **Indiscriminate terror** is no solution

THE KILLING of twenty airline passengers at Karachi airport and of a similar number of Jewish worshippers in an Istanbul synagogue, have sharply raised again the question of individual terrorism, the intractable problems of the Middle East, and the fear of another American retaliatory raid against Libya or another country.

Rumours abound of US aircraft carrier manouevres in the Mediterranean, and of more F1-11s arriving in Britain, although it is highly improbable in the event of another American assault, that Thatcher would be foolhardy enough to allow Britain again to be used as a launching pad, after the public outcry last time.

The attacks were almost certainly the responsibility of one or another faction of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), perhaps that of Abu Nidal, who may or may not have links with Colonel Gadaffi. The continuation of Middle East terrorism, despite the savage revenge of US and Israeli state terror, confirms the absurdity of the idea that it is just the product of individuals, conspiracies, or the whim of any particular national leader.

Over years Israel has carried out retaliatory raids against Palestinians, especially in Lebanon, even a full scale invasion in 1982. Cynically some leaders within the PLO have in the past used terror deliberately to provoke brutal reaction, playing with the lives of ordinary Palestinians and Lebanese. They judged that this would strengthen Palestinian intransigence behind them. They held the forlorn hope that they could compel the major powers to enforce a settlement on Israel. But none of the major nations, nor most of the PLO's Arab backers, have any real interest in the establishment of an independent, potentially radical Palestinian state.

The Istanbul atrocity—which was the severest attack on Jews outside Israel since the murder of eleven Israeli athletes at the 1972 Olympics—seems tailor-made to invite the inevitable Israeli reprisals.

The source of terror in the Middle East is not any particular Arab leader, but the desperation of the Palestinian people at their unending plight. Dispossessed forty years ago, many have since been shunted from refugee camps in one Arab nation to another. A rece t opinion poll of a thousand Palestinians in the Israeli occupied West Bank, found 81 per cent backed the suicide attack against US marines in Lebanon.

It may be that the latest incidents were an attempt by more obdurate PLO elements to undercut Yassir Arafat's apparently moderate negotiating stance, accepting UN resolution 242, which implies recognition of Israel to exist. But his attempts to solve the Palestinian dilemma by diplomatic wheeler-dealing can be no more successful.

Marxism is implacably opposed to the methods of indiscriminate terror. It has brought the Palestinian people not one step nearer a solution. While supporting the Palestinian struggle for national and social liberation, Marxists are also sympathetic to the legitimate rights of the Israeli working class.

The complex national crisis in the area could only be resolved within a socialist federation of the Middle East, created by workers' struggle, both Jews and Arabs. The blind despair of the guerrilla fighter, can only cement the unity of fearful Israeli workers with their own ruling class, apart from repelling workers around the world.

The methods of individual terrorism have always been alien to the labour movement, which is based on mass struggle and workers' unity. A socialist fight, led by the labour organisations in the different countries of the Middle East could offer an alternative to the nightmare of national oppression, exploitation and the horrific cycle of bloodshed, terror and counter-terror.

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# NEC Lobby Expulsions must stop



Felicity Dowling

A LOBBY of the Labour Party national executive committee has been called for 8 am on Tuesday 23 September, when Felicity Dowling appears to defend herself against expulsion from the party. This is the last of series of 'trials' of Liverpool members which have already led to six expulsions and two acquittals. Liverpool party members are urging a big show of strength in support of Felicity Dowling, a party member for 19 years, secretary of the disbanded district Labour Party, vice-chair of Liverpool City Council's housing committee and a prominent activist in the National Union of Teachers.

# Labour Partyconferencegreetings

Closing date for copy: 18 September. Rates: semi-display, 3 col centimetres £6, 6 col 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 Hepscott Road, London E9 5HB.



South African military in streets of Johannesburg.

### Hanged for defying Botha's state terror

ANDREW ZONDO, an African National Congress guerrilla, refused to petition the South African President Botha for mercy and went o the gallows on the morning of Tuesday 9 September, with his comrades Sipho Xulu and Clarence Payi.

He had been sentenced to death for planting a limpet mine in a Natal shopping centre before Christmas, killing five, in retaliation for the raid by the SA military on Lesotho in which nine people were shot dead.

Zondo's defiance reflects the dedication of a whole layer of activists among the black workers and youth,

and their rage at the regime's atrocities against their people. It is the clearest sign of the revolutionary period that has opened up in South Africa.

But the methods of guerrillaism will not weaken the regime or bring victory nearer for the mass movement. On the contrary, it is the surest way of whipping up white racism to a frenzy, and solidifying the majority of whites behind the state. Botha has, for the moment, succeeded in cutting across the growing support for the fascist AWB by unleashing greater state terror against the blacks through the State of Emergency.

The ANC leadership have

the duty to abandon the futile policy of guerrillaism, and instead use their resources to help arm the workers and youth to defend themselves more effectively against the murderous attacks by state forces.

Splitting the whites and defeating the regime will be entirely possible in the period ahead with a revolutionary programme the enormous latent power of the working class and youth can be prepared for mass armed insurrection and workers' rule. This alone can create the conditions for democracy and socialist transformation.

By George Collins

#### **Broadgreen Party hits back** at 'shameful' investigation

THE ORGANISATION sub-committee Labour's national executive has voted by 11 votes to 7 for an investigation into Liverpool Broadgreen Labour Party.

The committee made the decision on the spurious grounds that the Annual General Meeting (AGM), held for the second time this year was unconstitutional. Expelled members Derek Hatton and Roger Bannister spoke at a meeting of the party but left before the AGM began. This prompted regional officials to submit a report of the meeting to the NEC even though they had left as soon as the two expelled members came in.

National party organiser Joyce Gould also claimed

that the membership records were false, but she could provide no evidence for this either to the officers of Broadgreen Party or to the members of the NEC. It is clear that the right wing need only the slightest excuse to attempt to dismember the Liverpool Labour Party.

#### Delegate

The Broadgreen Party see this as an attempt to prevent them sending a delegate to the party conference as the next full NEC meets only four days before the start of conference. The Broadgreen Party has issued the following statement: "We regard this decision as shameful and totally undemocratic. It was taken on the basis of unsubstantiated allegations about

'false' membership records which the constituency party officers have not been informed about or given the opportunity to respond to. We can have no faith in the investigation conducted by the NEC given the experience of the inquiry into the Liverpool District Labour Party. We believe this is an attempt to gag our Party by denying us a delegate to national conference and therefore a voice of opposition to the expulsions.'

The officers are organising a lobby of the NEC on 24 September, and at the conference itself. Broadgreen party members will be visited by activists to build up opposition to the suspensions, and there will be a drive to recruit new

#### Round Lon<u>don</u> jobs march

THE ROUND London march for jobs, organised by the Youth Trade Union Rights Campaign (YTURC), sets off on 4 October. It will cover 150 miles and pass through 22 London boroughs.

Over £200 was raised at a YTURC disco and £100 has been collected by Labour Party Young Socialists (LPYS) branches in Southwark. Every LPYS branch should organise days of action, street and door-todoor collections and approach their local labour movement for support and cash. £300 has already been pledged by Lambeth joint shop stewards committee and £150 by the TGWU 1/924 branch in South London.

\* Bermondsey LPYS has begun the campaign to win the youth vote to Labour. Last week a 15 year old member took part in a mock general election at his school. 25 out of 33 of his classmates said that they would vote Labour. Afterwards two friends said that they would join the LPYS. Two weeks ago a young TGWU member walked into the Labour Party rooms and has worked every day since on the campaign.

These examples show the potential to recruit young people to the Labour Party in Bermondsey and we are confident that they will support our parliamentary candidate, John Bryan, in the next general election.

Successes have been scored in getting cash for the round London YTURC march. A collection at the local sorting office raised £50. The NUPE branch at Guys hospital has agreed to organise the rally to see the march off on 4 October.

There are plans to canvass the young voters in four key Bermondsey wards with a LPYS meeting on three estates. Meetings are also being held for young Civil and **Public Servants Association** and National Union of Pubic Employees members and for meetings at schools and colleges in the area. Bermondsey LPYS hopes to get 3,000 young people on the national youth march on 18 October.

> By Sharon Gunning (Bermondsey LPYS)

★ In Coventry £3.90 was raised when LPYS members visited the local bus garage with Dave Nellist Mi'. Two stewards were delegated to go round and collect the money while others took the MP to the local social club when he talked to young Asians about the 18 October demonstration.

\* A Coventry branch of the Inland Revenue Staffs Federation has appointed a delegate to the demonstration and donated £6.50.

# young socialist campaign diary **Labour Party Young Socialists**

Cable Street 50th anniversary

against racism

Tony Benn MP Linda Douglas (1875) on 1800 Par Abbas Uddin Spranter control

Monday 22 Sept. 7.30pm The Crypt, St. George in the East, Cannon St Road E1

#### 22 September

Cable St Rally 7.30pm, The Crypt, St George in the East, Canon St Road E1



#### 4 October

Round London YTURC march starts: Rally Guys Hospital 10.30am



#### 18 October

National youth demo 11.30am Southwark Park

from activity in the Young Socialists if the proposal to lower the age limit to 21 went through. The union branch also matched the constituency party in backing the demonstration in London and agreed to send a

By Gwyn Morris, (ASTMS 577 branch, vice chair, personal capacity)

#### Reading rock

READING ROCKS again with the return of the rock festival after three years-courtesy of the new Labour town council.

The Labour Party asked the Young Socialists' branch to highlight the LPYS campaign against drug abuse

leaflets against drugs and sold £200 worth of books, badges, postcards and copies of Socialist Youth.

and run a stall in the party's tent. The LPYS dished out 2,000

They were not allowed to sell Militant but many people asked for it. The chair of the party even phoned up one member at midnight to complain about selling the paper. Forty-six people signed up who

were interested in joining the LPYS. By John Gillman, (Chair Reading LPYS)

#### **Hardy Hull**

HARDY MEMBERS of Hull Labour Party Young Socialists are holding a sponsored march to protest at support given by local Tory MP Patrick Wall to apartheid, and to raise money for the national youth demonstration

The money raised will be split two ways, half going to sacked Sarmcol oil refinery workers in South Africa and half towards the cost of coaches to London for the demonstration in

A hundred young socialists will aim to raise a thousand pounds. All sponsors welcome.

By Linda Irvine, (Hull LPYS).

#### **Sparkbrook** TWO LABOUR Party members expelled from Roy Hattersley's Birmingham Sparkbrook constituency party are to have their case re-examined by the na-

Reconsidering

tional executive committee (NEC). Amir Khan and Kevin Scally were expelled for the non-existent offence of 'bringing the party into disrepute' and the NEC's Appeals and Mediation committee rejected their appeal. The two then threatened legal action on the basis that their expulsion was in breach of natural justice. On Monday, after legal advice that the

expulsions might not be valid was reported by general secretary Larry Whitty, the Appeals and Mediation committee recommended that the NEC recon-

#### LPYS—what's going on

BEDFORD GENERAL ASTMS branch has followed the North Bedford constituency Labour Party in condemning the proposals moved by Tom Sawyer aimed at neutralising the campaigning strength of the Labour Party Young Socialists. The vote at the union branch was unanimous, and a copy has been sent to Tom Sawyer, National Youth Officer Andy Bevan and to the number 5 divisional council of ASTMS.

Branch secretary Ian Campbell called the attacks "scandalous" and said that he first became interested in the Labour Party through the Young Socialists. Bernie Schneider, a delegate to the constituency party, felt that many trade unionists in their early twenties would be debarred

# The case against nuclear power

SCRAPPING nuclear power, lost by a narrow margin at TUC con-ference, is likely to be passed by a big majority at Labour Party conference-possibly by the two-thirds needed to include it in the manifesto.

Without the clerical unions who opposed the non-nuclear NUM composite at the TUC, and with the anti-nuclear constituency rank and file, the Labour leaders would be in for a rough time if they maintained the pro-nuclear stance of the right wing.

The Party's latest policy statement is in favour of phasing out'. But for the Advanced Gas-cooled Reactors (AGR) this would be 'a long and complex process, taking several decades'. This is little different from the TUC's policy of a 'freeze', which would mean replacing nuclear stations ending their useful life with conventional

#### Loopholes

There are other loopholes in the Party's policy statement. The new AGRs at Torness and Heysham 2 would not be scrapped if they were on stream by the time Labour came to power. The THORP reprocessing plant at Sellafield, in environment spokesman John Cunningham's constituency, would also be kept.

The immediate effect would be to modernise the industry, and allow phasing out over the expected lifespan of AGRs-25 to 30 years-and the expected span of John Cunningham's parliamentary career, which so far has been highlighted by his support for nuclear power. "I have always believed that nuclear power has a legitimate role to play in any national energy policy", he said in the parliamentary debate in

But even a step towards a non-nuclear policy touches a raw nerve for capitalism. Nuclear power provides cheap energy for industry, and boosts profit margins. As Arthur Scargill pointed out at the TUC conference, nuclear power produced an energy surplus which helped the Tories ride out the yearlong miners' strike. But

above all it is the military link-the production of weapons grade plutoniumwhich ties nuclear power inextricably to the bosses' interests.

The right wing, whose blinkered perspective is fixed within these constraints of capitalism, enthusiastically back nuclear power. Like a recorded play-back they repeat British Nuclear Fuel management's claim that nuclear power is safe. John Lyons of the Engineers and Managers' Association said at the TUC that it was inconceivable that the Chernobyl accident could happen here.Gavin Laird, AEU general secretary, said that "the British nuclear industry was the safest of its kind in the world"

The right's argument is incredible. Because nuclear power stations are lined up on the other side of the channel, the "balance of danger comes from overseas" said John Lyons. So if we are all going to die a slow death when French nuclear power stations start spewing out radiation clouds, then we might as well carry on building them here!

The British nuclear industry is not safe. There have been 151 significant safety incidents at nuclear power plants since 1971. Many of the safety features, say experts, only assume one route of failure, not the multiple failures which happened at Chernobyl. Scientists have also learned that there is no safe level of radiation. For working people in general the risks are too high to continue with nuclear power.

Nor is nuclear power needed. The right wing maintain support for their position by playing on the fears of nuclear industry workers over their jobs, should Labour implement a non-nuclear policy. But other forms of energy production would provide many more jobs. Research in the USA showed that a programme of renewable energy sources would provide 6.6 times as many jobs as an equivalent nuclear programme.

Britain is rich in natural resources-enough gas to last 20 to 45 years, enough coal to last 350 years, and enough oil to last 30 to 50 years, at 1979 rates. Renewable sources such as

wind and tidal power could provide up to two thirds of Britain's energy quirements.

But nuclear power cannot be plucked from the system and replaced by alternatives without challenging capitalism itself. The alternatives also require huge amounts of investment. The CEGB estimate that if no new power stations were built between now and the year 2000 there would be a 15 per cent shortfall in capacity. By then even conventional power stations

would need replacing.
Labour's policy document backs further investigation and research into alternatives, energy saving schemes and modernising coal fired power stations but does not explain where this investment is going to come

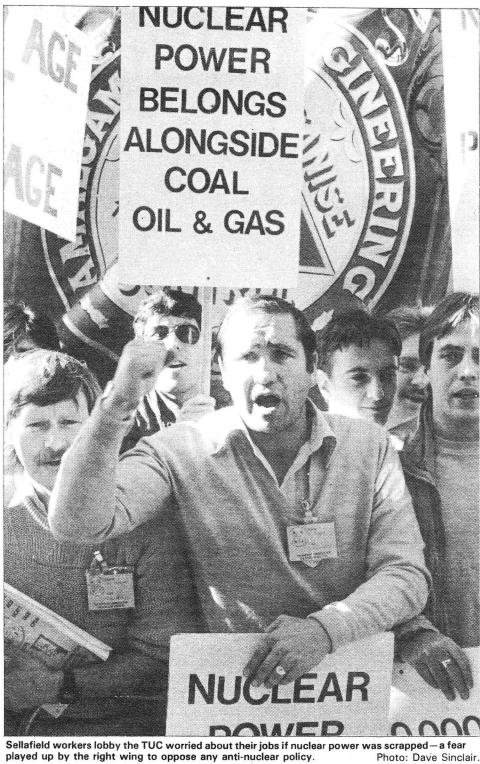
#### **Energy plan**

production demands central planning and integration—as opposed to the anarchic and wasteful competition between the industries under capitalism. A socialist energy plan would mean the renationalisation of British Gas, a fully integrated industry under the guidance and regulation of workers' control, and the production of energy for the needs of society within a planned economy to provide the necessary investment.

There must be an end to nuclear power, with guaranteed local alternative work at the same wages for displaced workers; a labour movement inquiry into the health hazards of nuclear power; investment into alternative forms of energy production and energy saving schemes; an expansion of the coal industry and development of more efficient coal power stations; an integrated energy plan, and nationalisation of the industry under workers' control and management.

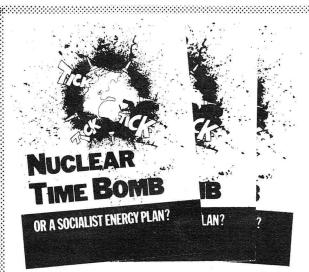
In the long term, and with the necessary research, safe nuclear fusion power may become viable, fuelled by endless amounts of 'heavy water' in the world's oceans and without the unacceptable risks of nuclear fission power.

By Ben Eastop



#### And here is the weather

Following the nuclear disaster at Sellafield, readers in Cumbria can expect to have a real scorcher, with a minimum temperature of 1000° C, so everyone should be getting nice and brown there. In the rest of northern England there's a bit of a breeze blowing: 500 miles an hour, so wrap up well. In the rest of Britain temperatures are well below the seasonal average, with a maximum of only minus 50° C and a lot of snow floating around that glows in the dark. You probably won't see much of the sun for the next 30 or 40 years, so if you do have to leave your fall-out shelter, make sure to wear your winter woolies.



BECAUSE OF the importance of the nuclear power debate at Labour Party conference, Militant is producing a pamphlet called Nuclear Time Bomb.

Cost is 60p including post, or five copies for £2.50. Available from World Socialist Books, 3/13 Hepscott Road, London E9 5HB.

#### nondsey campaigns where they stood—a sacked

**BERMONDSEY** Labour Party is serving notice on Liberal MP Simon Hughes. The Labour Party Young Socialists organised a mass back Labour drive in the Riverside ward.

This is supposedly a Liberal stronghold, which returned three Liberal councillors in May.

John Bryan, Labour's prospective parliamentary candidate, brought up in Riverside, was on the doorstep. Here are some of the comments from tenants of Lockwood Square.

We stopped Peter McCluskey in the corridor.

Only 19, he had been on a YTS scheme when he left school two years ago, working as a gardener for Bexley council. He didn't get a job at the end of it and had to find one himself in a timber yard. What did he think of YTS? "It's just to keep people off the dole and make the Tori s look good." He never voted but he thought "Labour should be working more for the people, giving young people more places to go, youth clubs and leisure centres. There is only an open air swimming pool round here and you know what that means with our summers.'

Mrs Allen, in her forties

with a teenage daughter, has voted Liberal and Tory recently. "The main issue for us is education. My daughter is in the sixth form and wants to study medicine. But it does not help when you have to travel from school to school for ten to 15 minutes in between lessons-the education system is in a mess". She did not approve of the YTS schemes either: "its just a cheap labour scheme for exploiting the kids.'

She voted Liberal in the local elections although the family had previously been Labour. "We cannot stand Thatcher but we saw Hughes on the telly and that's why

we voted Liberal this time." Mrs Knight was also a

Liberal voter but said: "I've no idea what the Liberal policies are. I did so because a relative got a housing transfer and said Simon Hughes arranged it". This was typical of Riverside residents' knowledge of Liberal policy and actions. A vote for the Liberals was a desperate vote for something different.

#### 'I should join'

But Peter and Sheila Bryan (no relation to John) on the old estate of Devon Mansions were in no doubt printer and his wifeunemployment was the most important issue for them. They thought the YTURC march for jobs through London was a "brilliant idea" and immediately gave £1 each for the march and agreed to join the Labour party. "After all I pay the political levy so I should join". Peter pickets "that bastard Murdoch" every Wednesday and Saturday and he had heard John Bryan speak at the recent Southwark led demonstration at Wapping and thought he was good.

Similarly Mrs Sezin Mustafa backed Labour. Housing was the big problem. "I have four kids in a two bedroom flat and have been waiting for a transfer for four years. I am interested in joining the Labour Party but what can I do with four kids?" She gave £1.50 to the YTURC march.

These comments show that Riverside is no stronghold of the Liberals and with the right policies and campaigning by Labour the Liberals can be ousted.

By Bob McKee (Bermondsey Labour Party)

# Awitch-hunter's bible

KEN SMITH reviews the new Michael Crick book *The march of Militant*.

SHAKESPEARE's quotation "slander proves thy worth" should be borne in mind when reading *The march of Militant*.

The book has conspiracy theories and slander enough for a dozen Shakespeare plays. But despite the aspersions cast about leading *Militant* supporters nothing can stop what Michael Crick describes as the "the forward march of *Militant*".

The author is a reporter with Channel 4, but he is hardly an investigative giant. He seems content just to repeat the worst excesses of Fleet Street editorials.

This book will be added to the armoury of every witch finder in the labour movement to use as ammunition against *Militant* supporters.

#### **New distortions**

Just like mediaeval witch-hunters quoted the Bible in all its different editions with their accumulated inaccuracies Michael Crick's books will be used by all the heresy hunters in the labour movement.

Like Sylvester Stallone, Crick is writing a series. But at least Stallone was honest enough to call his boxing epics Rocky 2, Rocky 3 etc.

The March of Militant would be more appropriately called Militant 2. I would not recommend buying this book. Except for a few chapters (all of which received massive advance publicity on Channel 4 News) the book remains the same as the earlier Militant, only with further inaccuracies and distortions.

In the preface the majority of those who are thanked publicly for their assistance are known political opponents of *Militant* of a varied nature including Alistair Graham, Patrick Jenkin and Tom Sawyer. The rest are an unspecified, unnamed host of former *Militants*.

This sets the tone for the whole book. Despite claims of impartiality, Michael Crick has set out to assert his prejudices. The ranks of the labour movement will see this as another crude hatchet job on *Militant*.

Using the sensationalised style which has become a trade mark, Crick informs the unsuspecting readers that one *Militant* supporter has had a criminal record, as part of a description of how Liverpool City council gave unions the right to nominate people for council jobs.

Militant supporters are accused of the heinous crime of depriving Tory cabinet ministers of their sleep! "Government ministers dreaded the idea of having to take the city over. Jenkin lay in bed at night fearing what would happen if he had to send commissioners in by helicopter."

More dangerously, *Militant* supporters are accused of "sheer vindictiveness" against anybody who opposes them and of creating a climate of fear. But Michael Crick has not a shred of evidence to support these monstrous allegations.

Knowing that he cannot substantiate his wild claims, Crick resorts to childish innuendo. Readers will no doubt be astonished to find out when interviewing Irene Buxton (who attacked Liverpool councillors on World in Action) that:

"Since leaving Liverpool she had gone to live in Potterton, a small village near Aberdeen and remarkably only a few miles from another village called Hattoncrook."

What is so remarkable about this gem of investigative journalism is not explained to the reader. But the smear is quite obvious.

The March of Militant is riddled with ridiculous inconsistencies. These mainly result from the author's lack of understanding of how the crisis of British capitalism is radicalising large sections of the working class. This is increasing support for Marxism.

Michael Crick hopes to convince his readers that *Militant* is less influential than it used to be due to the so-called "marginalisation of the left", alleged "tactical errors" and so on. Yet at the same time we are told that *Militant* has got problems because support has grown. A remarkable display of dialectical Militant II—Just when the SDP thought it was safe to go back into the Labour Party.





Members of Militant's editorial board at 1983 Labour Party conference where they were expelled.

thinking!

But facts are stubborn things and despite the boring repetition of conspiracy theories, the truth sometimes rises to the surface.

#### Stubborn facts

"Even if *Militant* had never existed in Liverpool a confrontation would have been likely between a Liverpool Labour council and the Thatcher administration. Liverpool has suffered particularly badly from the successive measures introduced by the government to curb local government spending." Crick writes on page 236.

Two pages later he points out that: "The policies upon which Labour came to power (in Liverpool) in 1983 were not simply *Militant* policies; they were Labour policies agreed upon by most of the Liverpool Labour party and fully supported by old-style Bevanites such as John Hamilton."

And in a grudging display of admiration on page 261, he admits: "the council seemed to have maintained, or even increased its popularity with the Liverpool voters."

"A poll carried out by Harris research for ITN's Channel 4 News in late September (1985) showed that almost equal numbers of voters favoured as disapproved of Liverpool's opposition to the government. 47 per cent of Liver-

pool voters thought the government was to blame for the Liverpool situation, while only 33 per cent blamed the council.

"Moreover 51 per cent said they would vote Labour in the next council elections, 5 per cent up on those who had actually voted Labour at the last election."

Crick nevertheless asserts that this could have been the beginning of the end for *Militant*. But surprisingly we learn some pages later that "*Militant* had made tremendous gains from the 1985 Liverpool crisis", has held mass rallies of thousands in all parts of the country and astonishingly (to Michael Crick at least) a *Militant* supporter was elected as CPSA general

secretary.

In his conclusion the author claims that all the recent publicity surrounding *Militant* has made all sides in the labour movement happy. Apparently Neil Kinnock has increased his popularity, *Militant* has increased its support and a Channel 4 reporter has been able to wring out another book to capitalise on all the publicity.

Fortunately for the future prospects of Mr Crick and his publishers, as well as for the future development of the labour movement:

"Militant looks set to stay in the headlines for some time to come. Militant's march .. has not yet been halted "



Last year's Militant rally at the Albert Hall showed the support for the paper

### Who's bringing Labour into disrepute?

LABOUR'S RIGHT wing are trying to introduce new disciplinary 'charges' to make their purge of Militant and the left easier.

Liverpool council's fight gained great support

The party's National Executive (NEC) got itself bogged down for months with challenges to its witch-hunting activities. So it will be presenting a new catch-all clause to the coming party conference, referring to "conduct prejudicial to the party" hoping to avoid these pitfalls.

But what are local parties expected to consider 'prejudicial'? The NEC recommends—'involvement in financial support for and/or the organisation and/or the activities of any organisation declared ineligible for affiliation to the party.''

This is nothing more than a manoeuvre for speedier expulsions of *Militant* supporters. Dropping

money into a *Militant* rattling tin, attending a *Militant* public meeting or organising a petition to protest against the expulsion of *Militant* supporters, could be 'taken into consideration'.

bs. 200

#### **Deserters**

But what is the NEC recommending for party members who really do bring Labour into disrepute?

Deserting the party for a more lucrative TV career, causing a byelection, writing for the scab *Times* which is blacked by Labour, as Robert Kilroy-Silk has done, does not warrant a mention on the NEC's 'charge sheet'.

Nor does the conduct of Frank Chapple, supporter of private medicine, author of a weekly antisocialist column in the reactionary Daily Mail. Lord Chapple urged

backing for an SDP traitor at the last general election.

What about press millionaire Robert Maxwell, whose threats to printers' jobs and even the erection of barbed wire around his printing plant confirmed he is no different from other Fleet Street barons.

Or gentlemen farmer Jim Callaghan whose very public disavowal of Labour's defence policy in the midst of an election campaign could not have been anything but prejudicial to the

The NEC's proposals have nothing to do with protecting the party. They have everything to do with protecting Labour's right from the criticism of those members with whom they disagree. They should be voted down at the conference.

HEAR MILITANT answer back at Labour Party conference. Militant Readers Meeting. Tuesday 30 September 7.00pm at Assembly Hall, Devonshire Junior School, Blackpool. Speakers: Derek Hatton, Tony Mulhearn, Peter Taaffe and Ted Grant.

# Royal Alleri Alleri Alleri Alleri RALLY 186

Sunday 16 November

Speakers: Ted Grant, Peter Taaffe, Tony Mulhearn, Derek Hatton, Nimrod Sejake

★ Videos ★ Exhibitions

Order your ticket now! From *Militant* Rally, 3/13 Hepscott Road, London E9 5HB.

# GCSE-The Government's cheap slapdash exam

COURSES FOR the new General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) examination are starting this month.

In principle this is a major educational reform of the kind progressive teachers have campaigned for for years. It should mean for learners an end to the divisive system of separate entry for 'O' levels and CSEs. The courses are intended to emphasise practical tasks rather than the accumulation of abstract knowledge.

In principle for the teachers it *should* mean greater involvement with, and control over, a student's work.

The reality will be a disappointment. The introduction of GCSE has been rushed and greatly underfunded. In Wales the Secretary of the Welsh Education Committee commented: "It takes 20 months to produce real live examination papers. We have not been given 20 weeks."

So by the end of April when many third years were deciding what subjects to study, West Glamorgan schools had only three syllabuses—geography, biology and PE.

Funding was dire too. The

**By Paul Gerrard** (Vice-president Salford NUT, personal capacity)

NUT estimate that one school they looked at with 110 entering the sixth form would need £19,950 to introduce GCSE. The school's total 'capitation'—that is the money available for books and equipment for *all* pupils in *all* years— was £16,500.

#### Vague promises

NUT members were so angry at the slapdash introduction of this exam that they voted at Easter's conference to extend the ban on GCSE development. They threatened to refuse to teach new syllabuses if the government ignored widespread pressure to delay introduction.

The NUT leaders were frightened by the legal implications of this action and argued in the union journal *The Teacher* that a "further ballot will be necessary"—to confirm an Annual Conference decision!

The ballot never took

place. After a temporary truce in the salary campaign, the union executive's main aim was not to postpone GCSE but to get a few minor concessions on funding. The government duly obliged. Tory minister Patten added another £20 million to Joseph's original £20 million. They also threw in training funding which cost the Tories £2.6 million and some vague promises which only cost them their breath.

The NUT executive hailed these as "major gains" even though ex-president Gordon Green had argued in April that £100 million was nearer the mark. Needless to say they will organise no ballots on whether this deal is acceptable.

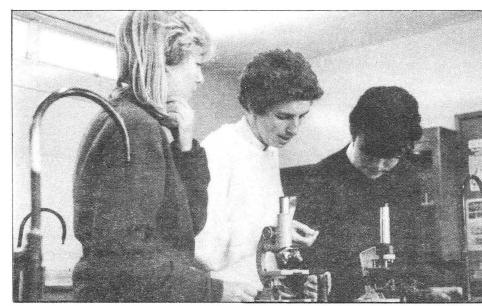
We now have the worst of all possible worlds. Educational publishers are racing each other into print with hastily prepared GCSE textbooks which schools will in any case be unable to buy. Syllabuses are barely finalised yet courses start this month. Fourteen and fifteen years olds will again get a raw deal.

At the same time, the NUT's most loyal members who consistently followed the union for many months now find themselves teaching courses for which they have not been trained. They have been squeezed out of crucial committees by other less progressive or nonunion teachers.

The union has failed to guarantee a major educational reform and show a way forward for its members. Teachers must ensure that future struggles are led with the determination that NUT members and school students need.



NUT leader Fred Jarvis speaking at a North London teachers rally last January.



A secondary school in Liverpool . Will the GCSE be another raw deal for school students?

#### Campaign for real socialism

THE ELECTION of John Macreadie as CPSA general secretary has created a lot of interest among civil servants.

Militant sellers in Peterborough were approached by a worker who wanted to know what all the fuss was about. When the policies that John stood for were explained, this worker took five Militants to sell to people at work. But don't wait for people to approach you—organise sales at all DHSS and government buildings.

Publicity about *Militant* still fills pages of the bosses' papers. The best regular street sale reported is in the Easterhouse area of Glasgow where between 35 and 50 are sold every week.

#### Street sales

If you cannot match that in your area don't be discouraged, at first only four or five a week were sold at Easterhouse. It was only after several years' work that sales were built to the current level.

Finally another story from Peterborough where a supporter sold 14 papers at a Beer festival. How about a "Campaign for Real Socialism"! Just make sure that if you organise such sales in your area you will still be able to do your factory sale next morning.

#### World Socialist Books: SPECIAL OFFERS Trotsky – First five years of the Communist International,

volumes 1 and 2, now £3 each.

Trotsky— Whither France, now £2.50.

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Trotsky— Writings on Britain in 3 volumes, now £2.25

Trotsky— Third International after Lenin, now £2.50.
Also available Rosa Luxemburg: "Reform or Revolution",

£2.95 (£3.30 including postage and packing). Frolich's biography "Rosa Luxemburg" £5.95 (£6.50 including postage and packing).

Add 25% to all orders under £5, 10% to all orders under £10 for postage. Orders over £10 post free. Cheques payable to World Socialist Books, 3/13 Hepscott Road, London E9 5HB.

### Left and Right >

#### **Cool Kalms collects**

CONSENSUS WAS the name of the game at TUC conference last week. Neil Kinnock spoke of everybody, workers and bosses being moderate in their pay demands to get the unemployed back to work.

The trouble is that the capitalists own the factories, banks and shops. They will make sure they are not the ones to be 'moderated'. Take Stanley Kalms the chairman of Dixons electronics firm. This High Street giant made such good profits this year they can afford to give Mr Kalms a rise—from £208,000 to £457,654.

That's a 134 per cent increase—way above the seven per cent official level of workers' wage rises which is so annoying the government. The top bosses' pay increases are believed to average over 18 per cent, "good performers" and bad.

Under Labour too they'll want us to restrain ourselves while they enjoy the fruits of the workers' labour. Of course Neil could do a "big bang" on them and take over the commanding heights of the economy.

#### New unrealism—Milan style

TALKING OF consensus, a £6 million

Festival of Unity was held recently in Milan. Uniting together were the leader of the capitalist Republican Party, Spadolini, the former governor of the Bank of Italy, the chairman of Italy's biggest bank the Banca Nazionale del Lavoro, a television station owner and a fading rock star Rod Stewart.

It was sponsored by some of Italy's main capitalist firms but the binge was organised by the Italian Communist Party (PCI). The PCI's paper *Unita* publishes a daily list of share prices. What the capitalists in Italy are going to do for the workers in exchange for all this affection from the PCI is less certain.

#### **British Tele-con**

THE PRIVATISATION of British Telecom was, according to the Tories' expensive political advertising campaign, giving BT back to the people. Now the people have been landed with the bill. New telephone charges will put up the cost of calls in the home by at least two per cent. Small businesses would stay much as they are. Big businesses particularly those with a lot of long distance and international calls will benefit by at least 1.4 per cent.

# LPYS protest at whitewashed blackshirt Norfolk link with

On 25 August, Norwich's local newspaper the EDP (Eastern Daily Press) printed an article celebrating the 50th anniversary of the battle of Cable Street.

They interviewed a blackshirt and ex-member of the British Union of Fascists. It was blatantly fascist propaganda. For example "Mosley was a very noble character. He had great inner fire, vast ability and courage". Perhaps Hitler was really a saint?

Norwich LPYS organised a protest outside the newspaper offices on 29 August

The LPYS demands were: An apology for the offence Norfolk link with '36 street battle

THE 50th anniver sary of one o Britain's legendary political confronta tions of the thirties the "Battle of Cable



The EDP article

caused by the article and an article putting the other side with equal space. The EDP rejected our demands offering to print the LPYS reply if we called off the protest. The LPYS refused to do this. But the EDP still printed the LPYS article.

The protest went ahead with 50 people attending for one hour with a one minute silence for all those people murdered by fascism and a

performance of an antifascist play 'Chicken soup with Barley' by Arnold Wesker.

The EDP have refused to print an apology. So Norwich LPYS are drawing up a petition and organising a bigger protest.

> By Mark Dyball (Norwich LPYS)

#### Labour Party Young Socialists East London Rally

1936-1986 50th anniversary— 'The battle of Cable Street' Monday 22 September, 7.30pm

Speakers: Tony Benn MP, Linda Douglas, Abbas Uddin (Labour councillor) Venue: The Crypt, St. George in the East, Cannon Street Road, London E1 (Junction with the Highway, down the Highway from the Wapping Picket line)

**Demonstration:** 50th anniversary of 'The Battle of Cable' Street' Saturday 4 October. Assemble 12 noon, Altab Ali Park

# Living in an open prison

### Life in Tower Hill, Kirkby

KNOWSLEY NORTH, the constituency vacated by Robert Kilroy-Silk, the Labour MP who is leaving parliament to host a TV chat show, contains some of the most deprived areas in Britain. One is Tower Hill estate in Kirkby. "If I had to describe Tower Hill I would say it is like an open prison" said local Labour Party member BRIAN WILLIAMS.

He is not exaggerating. The overgrown derelict land surrounding a boarded up tower block, with poor streetlighting, is a dangerous place at night. Many older residents lock themselves in at 4.30 in the afternoon and youngsters have recently been attacked. "The police don't patrol the area" claims Brian; "they only appear to be interested in catching kids on the railway".

#### Short cut

For the young there is nothing, not even football pitches. The nearest playing area is some distance away with a short cut across the railway which has claimed the lives of youngsters over the years. A few dry playing

areas and enclosed sports areas, would ease many of the problems of vandalism and drug abuse on the estate.

Knowsley council have recently committed £180,000 to improving the area, but it went on landscaping, not on things for the young. "Once the fence comes down" says Brian "the kids will probably just rip up the shrubs and trees, but what do you expect when there are no proper recreation facilities? The council should come up here and ask the people what they really want and the answer will be the same—facilities for the kids."

This was confirmed within seconds of walking out of his front door as two neighbours approached with their grievances: "Two years ago the issue of proper playing areas was raised with the leisure services committee and yet nothing has happened" said one.

Only through the voluntary efforts of individuals like Brian have football and boxing clubs been established to give some opportunities to the young, although the provision for girls is even more limited.

Yet next door to Knowsley, Liverpool City Council, through their urban regeneration programme have ensured that shops, sports centres, parks and nurseries have accompanied new homes. With the political will, the same could be accomplished in Tower Hill. "People here are prepared to make the effort" says Brian: "all we need is the resources".

#### Corruption

Brian's picture of Tower Hill is repeated by MICK, a resident for ten years: "Living here is abysmal. The way the estate was built has left us a legacy of fields where nothing will grow because all the topsoil was stolen and ended up in Crosby Marina.

"There was a wholesale corruption when the houses were being built; the architect was eventually jailed. The houses were made of slipshod material, without proper floorboards. You can't get replacement parts for the central heating system and the flats were made with walls of plywood.

"There were two large supermarkets here, but the firms pulled out and the buildings have never been relet since; they are a derelict eyesore. The only shops in Mosscroft and Moorfield for



Catching the bus to Tower Hill

500 houses are a chandler which sells paint, bleach, milk and cigs and a chemist, where you go for stamps!

"There is virtually no transport from Mosscroft after 7 pm, now that the county council has been abolished. The 155 has decreased from 20 minutes to half an hour and it is going altogether in October.

"Entertainment is nonexistent; that is why we've got so many kids! I have four—their future is nil. The youngest is three; there is nowhere for her to play. Until recently we had ten foot nettles outside. "The estate could be improved with some basic services like telephones, somewhere to post a letter and more transport. The council's plans still fall far short. £180,000 for land-scaping is a joke—it might buy everyone a new bin bag!

#### **Suspicion**

"I regard the council's plans to involve tenants with suspicion. We should be involved, but assurances were given to tenants on Cantril Farm and look what happened to them. (The estate was sold to a private developer).

"As an unemployed building worker, I see the answer to our housing problems in a massive expansion of the direct labour organisation, with local people employed by the council, not on schemes but in permanent jobs with proper trade union rights and conditions. I would like to see Tower Hill as a priority area with resources pumped in, in the way that Liverpool City council have tackled their problem areas".

By Dave Carr

# Anniell Egypting Centra in Tower Hill

Closed down shopping centre in Tower Hill.

### Fighting Fund This week £2041

	Area	Received	% of	target	achieved		Target
1	Eastern	501	Ш	Ш			3450
2	Wales West	503	+	+	++++	++++	3350
3	London North West	377	+++	$\perp$	$\bot$	++++	2900
4	Southern	398			+	++++	3100
5	London South West	161				$\Box$	1500
6	London North East	348					3550
7	Yorkshire	578					5600
8	South East	199					2400
9	Humberside	182					2300
10	Merseyside	518					7000
11	London South East	144					2250
12	Manchester/Lancs	200					4150
3	Northern	235					4550
4	East Midlands	131					3050
5	Scotland East	127					3200
6	Scotland West	157					3850
7	Wales East	90	111				2150
8	South West	57		$\top$			2150
19	West Midlands	92		TTT			4500
	National	797			++++	1111	5000

£2,041 WAS collected this week, but we have to catch up on four lean weeks. We need a massive increase each week to meet our target. £400 was collected at the South Wales summer camp and £104 from the Northern one. £100 was raised from the sale of beer and stickers at the Notting Hill carnival and comrades in Huddersfield collected £19 in extras on paper sales. Supporters in Halifax

raised £24 selling Militant hats and scarves.

Thanks also to Brenda Peoples, Broadgreen £35; Andrew Straker, Fairham Surrey £10; Mike Davis, Cardiff AEU £10; J McGuiness, Derby £2.50; Maggie Averell, Blantyre £2; Jim Mullen, Cambuslang £1.40; Bernard Howgate, Birkenshaw £3 and Hull EETPU members £10.

# Sweeping away the rubbish

LIVERPOOL CITY Council and its workers have achieved a major improvement in the city's refuse collection service. Without any redundancies, increased productivity has enabled the number of rounds to be cut from 75 to 60 and the working week reduced to 35 hours.

Refuse collection had been one of the main targets for criticism from the press and Liberals. Yet the Liberals were responsible for the problems which the incoming Labour council faced when they took office.

In 1980 the city engineer warned that if vehicles were not replaced, by 1984/5 the service would collapse. Yet the Liberal council brought no new lorries. 30 of the 75 needed to cover the city were past their normal life-span; many were 12 years old.

In 1982 it came to light that the reason the Liberals were not replacing vehicles and vacancies were not being filled was that they were considering privatisation. In 1983 they rejected a request from the city engineer for £2 million for new vehicles, 45 of which were now past their life-span.

If a vehicle broke down, they would send a back-up lorry even more clapped out. In one case three replacement vehicles were sent out in one day. A weekly collection became impossible. The consequent chaos was por-



trayed as the fault of a lazy inefficient workforce and was used to justify privatisation.

As the Liberal plans became clear in 1983, all the unions agreed that privatisation of cleansing must not take place. NALGO refused to process documents.

#### Strike vote

Despite a deal between the Liberals and the union full-time officials which could have meant wage cuts up to £16 and 400 lost jobs, the workers, at mass meetings and in a ballot voted for indefinite strike action.

The day the tenders for the cleansing service were due, there was a one-day strike as a warning shot. The workforce descended on the municipal annex and Liberal leader Sir Trevor Jones had to run a gauntlet of anger. This pressure forced the Liberals to defer their decision pending the outcome of

the elections a week later, which Labour won.

The Labour administration inherited the Liberal budget of cuts, but began to reverse their policies and improve the service, buying two new lorries and increasing staffing. Since then 26 new vehicles have been bought and old ones have been 'cannibalised' to put good parts into others.

The improvements achieved have exploded the myth of the 'lazy' workforce—investment in new machinery has created better productivity, reduced hours and raised wages. In nearby Tory controlled Sefton, binmen work longer and are paid around £20 less.

Liverpool's experience shows how socialist policies can transform 10 years of neglect.

By Steve Sullivan (GMBATU Branch 200, Liverpool Cleansing Department)

#### 50th anniversary of the Moscow Trials—Part two

# Shoot the rept



Alan Woods

LAST WEEK, in the first part of his article to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Moscow Trials, ALAN WOODS described Stalin's purge of leaders of the 1917 Russian Revolution - an attempt to drown in blood all the traditions of October, to consolidate the victory of the new bureaucratic caste of upstarts, careerists and gangsters. He continues the story of the purge trials and examines the attitude towards them of the British Communist Party, both then and now.



ON 17 December 1934, sixteen days after the assassination of Kirov, which was the pretext and legal basis for the trials, came the first mention that Nikolaev, Kirov's alleged assassin, had at one time been a member of the "Zinovievist anti-party group." This was the first link in the chain of the Stalinist amalgam, linking Zinoviev and his former collaborators to individual terror.

On 28-29 December, Nikolaev and 13 others were put on trial. Despite a four week interrogation, the big majority refused to admit their participation in the assassination. They were shot anyway.

In January 1935, the Soviet press suddenly came up with the idea of a so-called "Moscow Centre" led by Kamenev, Zinoviev, Evdokimov and others. 19 defendants were accused of trying to 'restore capitalism'. It was alleged that by their 'malevolent criticism' and 'spreading rumours' they had encouraged terrorist moods and thus bore 'political and moral responsibility' for the Kirov assassination.

From the sentences handed out, it is clear that no evidence was found to link Kamenev and Zinoviev directly to the assassination. They were initially given long terms of imprisonment.

This was regarded by Stalin as insufficient. A new amalgam had to be constructed which definitely linked Zinoviev and Kamenev to the murder. In order to discredit and besmirch the names of the accused, they were now—18 months later!—linked to the Gestapo. (Not a word of this was raised at the earlier trial of the 19). Finally, the main target of the whole exercise became clear: the alleged Zinovievist 'centre' now became a 'unified centre' of Trotskyists and

#### River of blood

The fact, known to all, that Trotsky had severed all links with the Zinovievists after his capitulation to Stalin in 1929, was brushed to one side. The fundamental raison d'être of the trials was to tion through the dirt and attempt to draw a river of blood between the genuine ideas of Bolshevism, defended by Trotsky, and the workers and youth of the USSR.

A common feature of both these and all the subsequent trials is that the defendants were convicted on the basis of confessions. They condemned themselves out of their own mouths. Kameney and Zinoviev even demanded their own executions! (Stalin had apparently offered to spare their lives if they collaborated—then double-crossed

Legally the trials were a travesv. Apart from the use of faked 'confessions' extracted by torture and blackmail, the testimonies themselves were riddled with contradiction and palpaple falsehoods. One of the accused Goltzman, confessed to having a long discussion with Trotsky in the Hotel Bristol in Copenhagen in 1932. In its haste, the GPU had not done its

homework. The Hotel Bristol had been burnt down in 1917! Similarly, Pyatakov alleged he had flown to Oslo to meet Trotsky in December 1935. Yet in that month the airport records indicate that no foreign aeroplane landed in Oslo.

Yet such 'details' did not prevent the likes of DN Pritt, KC, MP prominent lawyer and Stalinist agent, from claiming that the proceedure of the trial was 'an example for the whole world'.

Nowadays, the "Communist" Party leaders try to put a safe distance between themselves and these bloody frame-ups. Thus, Monty Johnstone, in a letter to the Guardian (27 August 1986) writes: "It is worth noting that since 1956 no responsible person in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe (except Albania) or the Western Communist Parties has repeated the criminal charges made against any of the defendants in the Moscow

As usual, Monty Johnstone 'admits' what he can no longer deny. The 'criminal charges' made against the Old Bolsheviks were exposed as a pack of lies, not in 1956, but at the time of the trials by Leon Trotsky and his son Leon Sedov and their supporters.

The most damming exposure of all occurred at the Nuremberg War Trials after 1945. The supporters of the British Marxist paper Socialist Appeal organised a campaign, backed by prominent figures in the labour movement and well known intellectuals, including HG Wells, to demand the release of all the documents relating to the alleged contacts between Trotsky and the

Although this was the central plank of the Purge Trials, the Rus-Nuremberg remained stubbornly silent from start to finish. No evidence was ever produced, for the simple reason that none ever existed.

The Nuremberg affair provided a crushing vindication of the case, made by Trotsky and Sedov in the 1930s. This information was readily available for decades. Yet now the same people who enthusiastically applauded the mass murder of Old Bolsheviks try to maintain they knew nothing about it!

In the British Communist Party's 7 Days (23 August 1986), Francis King describes the purges as "a slaughter of Communists that even Hitler could not match," leading to "wider repression in which millions perished. The trial was a frame

King lamely tries to cover the tracks by claiming that "British Communists sincerely believed that the trials were genuine." Many Communist workers were fooled by their leaders into accepting the



Mayday in Moscow 1936-Stalin takes the salute in the year of the purges.

atrocious lies of the Moscow bureaucracy. But the Communist Party leaders were not ignorant of the nature of the purges and vile and bloody activities of the Stalinist regime, which they backed to the

Men like Pollit, Dutt, Campbell and Pritt had visited Russia as guests of the bureaucracy. They had access to all the informationeven material produced by the opposition, which was forbidden to the rank and file Communists.

The leaders of the "Com-unist" parties would like to forget their shameful role towards the murder of a whole generation of revolutionaries. Thus the Stalinist Morning Star has maintained a total silence about the anniversary. In view of the shortness of memories, let us remind them and the whole labour movement.

#### Cankerous sore

On Monday 17 August 1936, the Daily Worker published a article from their Moscow correspondent entitled: "Charges Against Trotsky" quoting Pravda's words: "The people's enemies caught redhanded." The following Monday, the Worker's editorial headed "Shoot the Reptiles!" screamed: "They are a festering cankerous sore and we echo fervently the workers' verdict: Shoot the Reptiles." (My emphasis, AW).

The next day, when the death sentence was announced, the Daily Worker's editorial, headed, "Guilty", explained "Were there one solitary loophole, one solitary defence, those cunning reptiles, who have wriggled out of difficulty after difficulty, would have seized it. There was none."

In his book Soviet Policy and the critics written after all three purge trials, JR Campbell, a leader of the British Communist Party, indignantly denied the suggestion that torture was used to extract false confessions: "When the majority of the defendants at the second trial are shot, Trotsky picks up the explanation of the gutter press and declares that the defendants were tortured." (p 248).

Yet in his speech to the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, Khrushchev, referring to the trial of the generals in 1938, said:

"They were 'persuaded', persuaded in certain ways that they were German, British, or some other spies. And some of them 'confessed'. Even when they were told that the charges of espionage against them had been withdrawn, they themselves insisted on their earlier depositions as they felt that it would be better to abide by their false statement in order to have done with the torture, to die the quicker.'

(Report p113) These people were dedicated Red Army officers, not cowards and weaklings, but heroes of the Civil War. One can only imagine the horrific methods of torture inflicted by the sadists of the GPU to achieve such results.

At the time of the first trial in 1936, the GPU was as yet unskilled in the techniques of torture, which had been forbidden by the Bolsheviks. But we get a glimpse of the methods used in the autobiography of Eugenia S. Ginzberg, herself arrested at the time of the second trial, involving Bukharin and Radek:

"Abdullin was on the conveyor belt for 48 hours (the conveyor belt meant continuous questioning by interrogators working in shifts) and when he still refused to sign their balderdash, instead of bringing him back here, they put him in the standing-cell.

"The standing-cell was one of the 'special methods' Tsarevsky had been threatening me with. It was in the 'cellars of the cellars'—deep below the ground where no ray of daylight could reach. In my simplicity I had thought it was called 'standing' because it had no seats. In fact, it was a cell so shaped that the prisoner could only stand upright with his hands to his sides.
"'You mean he's walled in?'"
"That's right.'"

(Into the Whirlwind p 68) Subsequently the use of torture

became more systematic: 'It started suddenly, not by degrees, without preparation. Not one, but many groans and screams from people being tortured burst through the open window. A floor of one wing of the building was set aside for interrogation at night, and no doubt equipped with all the best in up to date technology. Klara, with her experience of the Gestapo, assured us that the implements used here must have been imported from Hitler's Germany." (ibid p128)

However, the use of torture in and of itself is not sufficient to explain the behaviour of the accused. Of the 50 or more accused of participating in the alleged conspiracy, only eleven were put on trial. The rest steadfastly refused to admit their guilt and were murdered in the cellars of the GPU. Their fate was to serve as a warning to the others:

"Besides the torture of the interrogation-from morning until night for weeks on end, the same question is asked of the accused who remains standing—besides the torment over the fate of their families and other tortures taken from the arsenal of the blackest and most terrible Inquisition, the





Stalin bearing the coffin of the assassinated Kirov.



Trotsky's son Leon (below right) and Sergei, with Leon's young son (above).



Trotsky

gunning down of a certain number of the accused was one of the most decisive 'arguments' of the Stalinist investigation. Smirnov or Evdokimov would be told: today so and so was shot (for example Kuklin or Gertik), tomorrow so and so will be shot, because you did not give the required repositions, and then it will be your turn." (Leon Sedov, *The Red Book p39*).

Leon Sedov, Trotsky's son and comrade-in-arms, with limited resources, painstakingly reconstructed the methods used to break the resistance of the accused. For his courageous exposure of the Moscow frame-up, Leon Sedov was himself murdered by Stalin's agent in a French hospital.

#### Son murdered

Trotsky's eldest son, Sergei, who had played no role in the opposition and remained in Russia, was arrested after the Kirov assassination, steadfastly refused to sign a statement denouncing his father and, after a period in a concentration camp was murdered in the cellars of the GPU. This was the norm. Among the 'enemies of the people' were not only oppositionists and Old Bolsheviks, but



their wives and parents, their children, friends and neighbours.

The victims of Stalin faced mental and physical torment not only to themselves, but to their families and loved ones. Plumbing the depths of cynicism, Campbell asks how it was possible that Old Bolsheviks, with a lifetime of revolutionary struggle behind them, and heroes of the Civil War could be made to confess, against their will.

This argument, too, was answered in advance by Trotsky and Sedov. The men sitting in the dock were no longer the same leaders of the masses, when the revolution was in full flower, but men crushed by ten years of Stalinist reaction Unlike the young militants who bravely faced torture at the hands of the Gestapo, they did not face the open representatives of imperialist reaction, but Stalinist usupers who cynically spoke in the name of the revolution, and played upon the accuseds' feelings of loyalty to the party, the war danger, and so on.

Cut off from the rest of the world, they could not feel the support of the workers of other countries, as could the victims of the Nazis. Having earlier renounced

their ideas to reach a compromise with Stalin, they had lost all perspective. In a revolutionary period, they would almost certainly have behaved differently, in spite of all the pressures, but all they could see was defeat after defeat, the rising tide of fascism in the West and the seemingly irresistible advance of the Stalinist bureaucracy in Russia.

Yet in spite of everything, only a minority of the accused admitted to the charges against them. Of the original 50 or more named, only eleven finally appeared in the dock. They were the ones who had already been broken. Those who did not break were shot in secret and with no trial, and used, as Sedov had worked out, to put pressure on the others.

#### **Umbilical** cord

The purpose behind these grotesque trials, constructed, as Trotsky said, out of the bones and nerves of human beings, was not only to physically annihilate the layer of Old Bolsheviks and thus cut the umbilical cord which still bound Soviet society to the democratic and international traditions of the October Revolution. It was above all to discredit the Opposition morally and politically.

By forcing the accused to pour dirt over their own heads, Stalin aimed to bury the ideas of Bolshevism under a heap of filth. Above all, the aim was to slander and discredit the ideas and the person of Leon Trotsky, who alone remained to defend the genuine programme and banner of Lenin and the October Revolution.

In the face of unparalleled persecution, with an avalanche of lies and slander being vomitted forth from the pages of the world Stalinist press, confronted by the murder of his children, comrades and friends, Trotsky remained like a mighty rock against which the raging ocean broke in vain.

There are few examples in the history of the working class movement of such steadfast courage in the face of adversity. Trotsky was a remarkable man, yet the personal courage of this great leader and martyr of the working class was inseparably linked to his unshakeable faith in the ideas of Marxism, the working class and the socialist future of mankind.

The tragic mistake of Kamenev. Zinoviev, Bukharin and the others was to imagine that it was possible to come to terms with Stalin. Both the Zinovievist and Bukharinite tendencies in the world communist movement initially enjoyed more support than the Left Opposition led by Trotsky. Their ideas seemed to be more 'practical' and 'realistic'. Yet their attempt to come to terms with Stalinism led to disaster. Their repeated concessions and compromises led them ultimately to the purge trials and to a grisly death at the hands of Stalin's executioners.

They are martyrs of the revolution, whose memory will be honoured and cherished by every worker, just as the memory of their tormentors and executors—and all those who applauded them and egged them on—will be branded with infamy till the end of time.

Yet of all these victims of Stalin, not one remained firm on the ideas of Lenin. They left behind no banner and no principles to guide the struggle of the new generation. The political tendencies of Zinovievism and Bukharinism, which were once a significant force, have vanished from the face of the earth. The programme of genuine Marxism—has been handed down unscathed to the workers and youth thank to the efforts of Leon Trotsky alone.

In the 1936 trial, the principal defendents were Zinoviev and Kamenev, but the real target was Trotsky, who in effect, was tried in his absence. The trial of Bukharin-who had nothing whatsoever to with Trotsky or the Left Opposition—took place the following year. It is all the more incredible, then, to read an article by Geoffrey Robertson, in The Guardian (16 August 1986) which purported to deal with the 1936 trial, prominently displaying a photograph of Bukharin and pleading for his rehabilitation but not for the other purge victims.

Robertson correctly raises the point that "The German and Italian records, opened after the war, disproved the confessions of conspiratorial contacts." But that in the case not only for Bukharin, but for all the other defendants, above all for Trotsky, who was supposed to have been the primemover of this alleged conspiracy.

The demand for the rehabilitation of Bukharin now appears to be fashionable in certain intellectual circles, notably the so-called 'Eurocommunist' trend which now dominates what is left of the Communist Party of Great Britain

munist Party of Great Britain.

In contrast to the pro-Soviet neanderthal men of the Morning Star (whose silence over the trials probably indicates that they still consider them to have been a good idea), the 'Euros' now admit that the purges were monstrous frameups, but do not make the slightest attempt to explain how such monstrosities could occur in a regime which they persist in describing as 'socialism'.

The 'Eurocommunist' leaders' only difference with the unreconciled Stalinist faction is that they do not want to 'carry the can' any more for the crimes of the Russian bureaucracy.

bureaucracy.

Nevertheless, their break with Moscow does not represent a step forward, a return to the genuine ideas of Lenin, but a complete break with Marxism itself. In 1928, Leon Trotsky predicted that the adoption of the 'theory' of Socialism in One Country by the Communist International, if it went ahead, would mark the beginning of a process which would in-

evitably end in the national-reformist degeneration of all the Communist parties in the world. Today, nearly six decades later, his prediction has become a reality. The "Communist" parties have everywhere degenerated into repulsive versions of Social Democratic reformist parties. Many of them are on the right even of the right wing Labour leaders.

For five decades the Stalinist regime has survived in the USSR, taking on the appearance of a stable socio-economic formation. With the delay of the proletarian revolution in the West, the existance of powerful bureaucratically deformed workers' states in Russia, China, Vietnam, Cuba, Syria, Eastern Europe and elsewhere has set its stamp on the consciousness of the world. The apologists of capitalism are able to present this monstrosity as socialism'. The real traditions of October, the regime of workers' democracy and internationalism, have been buried beneath a mound of corpses.

But the wheel has now turned full circle. The productive forces, built up under the nationalised planned economy established by the revolution, are in revolt against the straitjacket of bureaucratic control and management. Gorbachov's attempt at reform from the top is a desperate attempt to forestall a revolutionary explosion arising out of the growing discontent of the Soviet masses. The bureaucracy is terrified of a repetition of the Polish events in Russia itself. But, for all its twists and turns, such an explosion is ultimately inevitable.

#### **Usurped powers**

The prospect gives no comfort to the Western capitalists. They understand that there is no possibility of the victory of capitalist counter revolution in the East. The movement of the Soviet working class will not be back to capitalism but to abolish the usurped power and privileges of the bureaucracy, to re-establish a healthy regime of workers' democracy, and then to move quickly in the direction of genuine socialism. Such a prospect would spell the end of capitalism in the West, just as the victory of the socialist revolution in any key industrialised country in the West would mean the collapse of the totalitarian one-party bureaucratic regimes in the East.

The Soviet working class will rediscover, in the course of struggle, all the ideas of the past. They will re-habilitate the revolutionary martyrs and build an indestructable monument to their memory—a socialist society, in which the nightmare of Stalinism and capitalism will vanish before the dawn of a new day of equality, freedom and human fulfillment.

#### Nigeria, Sierra Leone

# Labour leaders prop up Nigerian regime

NIGERIA, WITH a population of about 100 million, has a powerful workforce of 10 to 12 million. An estimated 50 per cent are organised into trade unions, all of which are affiliated to the Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC).

The working class, comprising about one-third of the population, is politically the strongest force in Nigerian society.

Events in recent months have radicalised the workers and created a mood for general strike action among the rank and file. On 4 June the workers were ready to march on the streets of Lagos in a potentially decisive confrontation with

the military government.
Only the NLC leaders prevented this march from materialising.

The background to these political developments lie in the devastating crisis of the

economy. Over 90 per cent of Nigeria's foreign revenue comes from oil. The military junta (the "Armed Forces Ruling Council'') has responded to the collapse in the oil price by cutting the workers' living standards.

The concessions won by workers during the oil boom of the 1970s have gradually been withdrawn. Spending on education, health and housing has been cut. Key public corporations are bethreatened ing privatisation.

Of late the junta has responded to the pressures of the international bankers and brought in a scheme that will devalue the national currency, the naira, by about 200 per cent. The result will be massive inflation and further cuts in workers' living standards.

Industry is producing at about 30 per cent of From correspondents in Nigeria

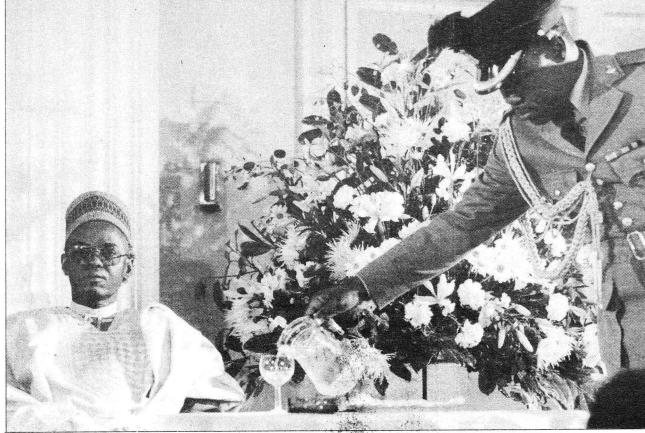
capacity-not because enough goods have been manufactured to satisfy the people's needs, but because it is not profitable for the capitalists to do so. Coupled with privatisation, this has resulted in the retrenchment of millions of workers in the last five years.

In December 1985, when the junta cut wages, the union leaders shamelessly rationalised this attack as a "loan" to the government which would be paid back in future! The union bureaucracy, which grew up during the years of oil boom and developed a cosy relationship with the state, has consistently tried to defuse the anger of the rank and file.

#### "Marxists"

Even some so-called "Marxists", trained in the Soviet institutes of "trade unionism", have provided cover for the NLC bureaucracy and the regime by backing up their policies. The workers cannot, in fact, differentiate between the right-wing bureaucrats and the so-called "Marxists".

The policies of the bureaucracy serve the purpose of policing the workers The advanced layer of the working class, however, has begun to identify the ideas of genuine Marxism in the



Nigeria's last civilian president, Shagari-overthrown by the military at the end of 1983.

It is only the weakness of genuine Marxism at this stage that has prolonged the days of the rotten trade union bureaucracy.

But even though Marxism is weak, the bureaucracy are not at ease, and are witchhunting Marxists in the unions. A recent example was the dismissal of the Education Officer of the NLC as a result of his opposition to the policies of the leadership.

However, Marxism is an idea of today; it cannot be witch-hunted from reaching workers. Eventually it will triumph.

All the many tensions in Nigerian society were demonstrated by the recent student struggles.

On 23 May a student demonstration was organised at Ahmadu Bello University in Northern Nigeria in memory of five students killed during student struggles in 1978. The Nigeria Police reacted even more savagely, killing up to 25 students.

These brutal killings triggered off nationwide solidarity action as students broke loose from the junta's "law and order".

For about ten days the students were virtually in control of the streets. Police

stations were burnt down, prisons attacked and in one incident 216 prisoners were set free.

So widespread was the student action that the union leaders could not help being drawn into the social whirlpool.

But the students by themselves do not have the power to challenge the regime. Their struggle needed the support and leadership of the working class in order to advance.

#### Solidarity march

That is why it was an event of great significance when the NLC bureaucracy called a solidarity march in support of the students for 4 June. So widespread had been the student action that the union leaders could not avoid being drawn into the social whirlpool that had been

The workers on 4 June were not only going to pro-test against the killing of the students, but link it with the cuts in living standards. The demonstration could have marked the beginning of a revolutionary, class-based movement against the

regime. This prospect frightened the junta, and it threatened to stop the march "with all the force at its disposal". NLC president Ali Chiroma and other NLC leaders were briefly detained.

But even more frightened were the labour bureaucrats of the rank-and-file mood. They therefore hid behind the junta's threat, and called off the demonstration.

The class collaboration between the junta and the NLC bureaucracy was reflected by Chiroma's words after his release: "I have no grudges against the government.'

This prompted a Dunlop worker in Lagos to com-ment: "Ali Chiroma has not been to detention; he has been wining and dining with the Ministers!"

The so-called 'lefts'-in reality, the intellectual police of the workers in the tradition of Stalinismrationalised the calling off of the demonstration in these

"We did not want the NLC to be weakened, banned or humiliated".

These gentlemen should be asked: what humiliation is worse than having your property taken without raising a finger of resistance? The experience of class struggle all over the world confirms that workers' organisations are not weakened by struggle, nor are they strengthened by refusing to fight.

#### More repression

In fact, as a result of the bureaucrats' retreat, the NLC will now have to operate under more repressive conditions than before. For example, in its response to the student crisis the junta has warned the NLC not to interfere in state politics again. It should strictly confine itself to communicating government decisions to the workers!

However, the advanced workers of Nigeria through the June experience have drawn certain conclusions as to the policies of the trade union leadership. They have seen that the policy of defusing their struggle serves the interest of the bosses.

This lesson will be of enormous importance to the workers' struggle in the future. In it lies the seed from which mass Marxist leadership of the Nigerian working class can grow.

The fact that the junta was prepared to mobilise the armed forces against the 4 June demonstration confirms the potential strength of the working class. For now the workers have been forced to retreat; but future attacks by the bosses and the regime, combined with the development of a fighting leadership in their ranks, will inevitably prepare them to strike again and again.

#### **Profit before health**

A RECENT article in The is kept overseas by the Lancet medical journal paints a picture of life in Sierra Leone, West Africa. There, the infant mortality rate is said by Government sources to be 200 per 1,000 live births, and a further 160 die in childhood.

Over 80 per cent of the people are illiterate, and 95 per cent of women are circumcised.

75 % of the undernourished, illiterate population live in the countryside, but the only hospitals are in the capital, and the School of Public Health is closed down because of its state of repair.

And all this despite the fact that, as The Lancet puts 'This Commonwealth country is rich in diamonds, gold, fish and rutile (an ingredient of paint).'

A familiar enough situation in Africa, you might say. But there is a difference. While \$144 million of gold and diamonds are 'officially' exported each year, profits don't even come back to the country! With the permission of the cabinet, \$120 million of that \$144 million

businessmen involved.

Without this foreign exchange oil can't be bought; and without oil there is no electricity or refridgeration, telephones. There are also no travel, education medicines.

Now the World Health Organisation is looking at ways and means of putting some money into health care-but only if some method of recovering it from the consumer can be found! \$5.3 million is neededsmall change compared with \$120 million siphoned offbut as the article so delicately puts it: 'The World Bank...has made cost recovery a central plank of a \$5.3 million programme that will extend primary health care to a further three districts'.

This policy, The Lancet comments, 'mirrors developments in Britain's NHS...'Yes, it is Thatcher's penny-pinching, moneygrabbing policy carried to its logical conclusion.

By Myrna Shaw



Rich and poor in Nigeria

#### Sri Lanka, India

# Workers' government can solve Tamil crisis

FOR SEVERAL months there has been a critical situation in the North and East of Sri Lanka.

Armed groups among the Tamil national minority have waged a guerrilla struggle in support of their demand for an independent homeland. The government of JR Jayawardena has used the full force of the military to defeat them, but so far it has failed.

In the Jaffna Peninsula, the heart of the Tamil area, a special government task force had to retreat to its barracks. The National Security minister was forced to admit in public that it was a "temporary setback".

But the government's retreat has been followed by an escalation of the crisis. Bombings and landmine explosions by the Tamil guerrillas, previously confined to the north and east, now spread to the capital, Colombo, in the south.

A bomb at Colombo's international airport killed 20 people, mostly foreigners. Other explosions were set off in the Central Telecommunication Office, in a soft drink factory and in a railway station, killing and maiming many more people.

The NSSP, the Marxist party in Sri Lanka, rejects the methods of individual terrorism to solve the Tamil people's problems. We have explained to the Tamil groups that these methods can never succeed.

#### **Self-determination**

We accept the Tamil people's right to self-determination and we are the only party to state that clearly.

We have proposed to the Tamil youth that they should join hands with the working class in the north and the south, to campaign for support from all the left parties to throw JR out. Only then could a settlement be reached in the interests of the Tamils and all working people.

The guerrilla campaign and the terrorist methods have worsened the crisis in the country, but have in no way assisted the working class in preparing for its task of transforming society. In fact, new complications have been created.

Divisions between the Tamil minority and the E. Kotalawala (Political Bureau member, NSSP), K. Jayatilaka and W. Walter (Central Committee members, NSSP) spoke to Militant)

Sinhala majority have been deepened. Tamil-speaking state officials, and Tamil employees at TV and radio centres, have been sent on compulsory leave.

Ordinary Sinhala working people are scared of the terrorism. But they are looking to the government to protect them.

This is ironical, because the government has become more and more isolated as a result of its anti-worker and anti-peasant policies. Now it is even more unpopular, because JR has admitted that the government cannot provide the people with security against the bombs.

As a result the Sinhala people are frustrated and unhappy. Several workers have been killed in the explosions. People are beginning to hate these things. But because most leaders have no solution to offer, animosity is building up against the Tamil groups and the Tamil people in general.

So far there have been no anti-Tamil demonstrations or riots, as in 1983. Those riots had been incited by government ministers, as part of their policy of divideand-rule.

Now the government is afraid of using all-out violence. JR is under the control of the imperialist powers, who don't want to see a civil war in Sri Lanka because of the threat it would present to their interests in the whole region.

The 1983 riots brought foreign investment to a stop and tourism to a standstill. Today, faced with a grim economic future, JR is trying desperately to avoid a new crisis of confidence.

The imperialists—in particular Reagan and the aidgiving western states—together with Rajiv Gandhi's government in India are putting intense pressure on JR to come to some agreement with the Tamil groups. They do not think that there can be a military solution.

But as the NSSP has ex-

plained, there is also no room for a negotiated settlement between JR and the imperialists on the one hand, and the Tamil people on the other.

JR has made public his proposals for a settlement: devolution of power, provincial autonomy and some land distribution. He has put pressure on his own racialist ministers and MPs not to oppose the proposals.

He has even had support from the leaders of the other left parties, who have no alternative of their own. Even the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF—the main political party in the middle-class) have tried to balance between JR and the Tamil youth groups who reject any compromise on Eelam—a Tamil homeland.

Whatever ambiguous formulations JR comes up with, one thing is certain—capitalism is incapable of solving the terrible underlying problems facing the Tamil people; above all it cannot give jobs to the youth. On a capitalist basis there can be no durable peace or stability.

#### Join workers

The NSSP has put forward a document stating its policy and distributed among other party leaders, including JR, who presented it at the constitutional conference. It says: if JR gives any concessions to the Tamils, we will defend them, and fight the racialists who opppose them.

But the NSSP explains that the Tamils' struggle for national liberation is linked completely to the struggle for socialist transformation in Sri Lanka and the Indian sub-continent. It is on this basis that our party has appealed to the Tamil youth to join with the struggle to change society.

At the moment there is a period of relative calm in the South, as people wait for the outcome of the talks. In the North there is a different situation.

Jaffna peninsula is in the hands of the armed youth groups. The army is confined to barracks. People are paying no taxes to the government.

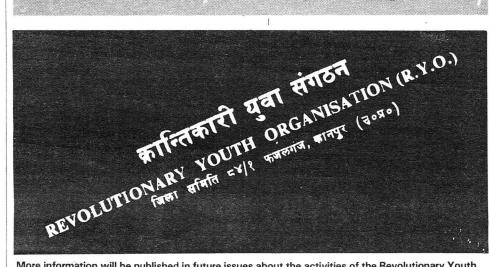
The NSSP has taken the initiative to form a United Front with the trade unions and other left parties in Jaffna. It has organised a May Day meeting and a mass hartal (general strike and demonstrations) against the government.

North and South, the Sri Lankan working class will need to develop the programme, unity and organisation to take its place at the head of the struggle—to show the masses a way out of poverty, oppression and the threat of civil war. The programme of the NSSP provides a basis on which this unity can be built.



The NSSP (banner above) calls on the Tamil youth to join hands with organised workers in the south. Below: mass meeting of government workers in Colombo during the 1980 general strike led by the NSSP.

# Indian engineering workers strike for a living wage



More information will be published in future issues about the activities of the Revolutionary Youth Organisation.

250,000 ENGINEERING workers throughout the Indian state of Uttar Pradesh showed their strength in a one-day token strike on 11 August to press their demand for a minimum wage of 638 Rupees plus cost-of-living allowance (£1 = 18 Rupees).

It is worth mentioning that a prisoner lodged behind bars is given Rs7.50 per day on food in Uttar Pradesh, and Rs13.90 in West Bengal and Tripura. But the worker turning iron into machines is paid only Rs8 per day basic to feed a family of three.

For years, the basic wage has not been raised. Increases have only been made through dearness (cost-ofliving) allowances, which has kept down other allowances calculated as a percentage of the basic wage.

Other major demands are housing allowance at 20 per cent and implementation of labour laws in engineering

The strike was called by all the trade unions affiliated to

anti-government federations. In some places even the progovernment INTUC federation took part.

UTUC, the trade union federation affiliated to the Revolutionary Socialist Party, played the major role in bringing all the federations together in this strike. The Revolutionary Youth Organisation, youth section of the RSP, supported the strike wholeheartedly, coming out with pamphlets and posters.

The Uttar Pradesh government, after long persuasion, called a tripartite conference involving employers and unions on 29 March, which ended in fiasco.

Then, with strike action threatened, the government again held a conference on 5 July in which the Labour Minister announced an ad hoc increase of Rs45, and promised a committee for deciding the other demands.

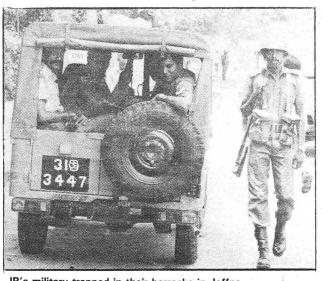
But the government failed to issue a notification in terms of its announcement, and in any case its proposal was rejected as inadequate by UTUC together with CITU and AITUC (trade union federations affiliated to the Communist Party of India (Marxist) and Communist Party of India).

These federations then gave notice of the strike, which INTUC and other federations were forced by the workers to join.

The strike is in the militant tradition of the workers of Uttar Pradesh. Employers should see a warning in the recent month-long strike by 80,000 state employees in Kanpur, the main industrial city in the state, which culminated in a one-day general strike. No worker could be found even to unlock the courtrooms during the strike.

The unity of the working class in struggle is the only force that can turn back the tide of decay and disintegration created by the capitalist system in India.

**By Asit Kumar Singh** (Revolutionary Youth Organisation, Kanpur)



JR's military trapped in their barracks in Jaffna.

#### **UN** sanctions have never worked

Each week as my Militant reaches me the first page I turn to is page two, left-hand side for your political analysis. I took the 8 August edition out of my mailbox today after I had spent the day taking notes for the class I will be teaching.

The course deals mainly with the history of the evolution of the United Nations. All along the line it had used 'sanctions' against aggressors disturbing the peace, and like its predecessor, the League of Nations, sanctions were never enough to stop a determined aggressor. Besides, they were never fully

Sanctions are no more than a slap on the wrist where a real revolutionary situation situation exists as in South Africa now.

You point out that trade union-enforced sanctions would 'bite' in addition to financial and material assistance. I am going to use this in my classroom lecture when I reach the topic of decolonisation and South Africa, and I thank you for it.

Yours fraternally Betty Traun New York



#### **Support imprisoned** Kent miner

Dear Comrades,

We, the Betteshanger branch of the National Union of Mineworkers, Kent area, wish to bring to your attention the plight of Terry French. Terry is one of the few remaining miners who were jailed during the miners strike still being held in Maidstone Prison. He recently applied for parole, which was refused by the Home Office. We maintain that the decision was made on political grounds alone.

Terry worked for the Coal Board for 20 years, and in that time lost an eye through an industrial accident. Needless to say, the Coal Board have sacked Terry like they have so many others.

We ask comrades who read this letter, to petition the Home Office on Terry's behalf, by writing letters to Douglas Hurd and bring enough pressure to bear to bring about Terry's release.

Terry has now been transferred to an open prison. In order to keep up morale and to let him know the movement does not forget its own, letters of support should be sent to: Terry French, Ford Open Prison, Ford, West Sussex.

Yours fraternally NUM Betteshanger branch

#### No policies, please, we're Labour

Dear Comrades,

**During July and August** the party's Freedom and Fairness campaign has toured popular seaside resorts.

When I boarded the campaign bus in Brighton I at least expected some vestige of a campaign. All I saw was a poster with pictures of celebrities explaining why they vote Labour and the usual balloons and silly hats.

The reason for this noncampaign became apparent when I read the campaign leaflet-the whole campaign was summed up by the immortal phrase: "Don't worry—we won't be pushing politics at you and your family"!

Yours fraternally Clive Walder **Brighton Kemptown** Labour Party

#### Unpurged?

Dear Comrades,

Those who have been following the debate in the Guardian about Bukharin and the 'old Bolsheviks' who died in Stalin's purges will have noticed the arrival of Eurocommunist Monty Johnstone on the scene of the argument.

Johnstone, one of the first 'Euro's' and 'theoretician' of Marxism Today, argues that a fresh discussion about the fate of the old Bolsheviks, Trotsky among them, will be a healthy contribution to the development of democracy inside the Soviet Union.

Is he advocating political revolution inside Russia to restore workers' control, or just trying to distance himself as a CP member from the worst excesses of Stalinism?

I look forward to the debate between Peter Taaffe and Monty Johnstone at the Marxist Weekend School to find out who the real socialists are!

Yours fraternally Chas Berry

#### Get up and go

Dear Comrades,

I thought I ought to bring your attention to this statement from the Northern Ireland industrial minister Dr Rhodes Boyson. (Guardian 27/8/86)

His only solution to unemployment in Northern Ireland is to ask people to leave the country and emigrate to America and Canada at the rate of 20,000 a year.

The minister refers to

emigrants as Northern Ireland's "historical export". He then went on to blame the Americans for helping to cause unemployment in the North and South of Ireland, by cutting down the number of people coming into their country.

So if you can't find a job pack your bags and go!

Yours fraternally Richard Finnigan **Deptford LPYS** 

#### Maxwell's China syndrome

Dear Comrades,

I've just bought a copy of a new newspaper. It's the European edition of China Daily. At 80p it was a downright ripoff, only four sheets thick and consisting mostly of adverts for expensive hotels and restaurants in so-called 'communist' China.

However, two things caught my eye. There was a message of congratulations from that well known communist

Even better, in the top left-hand corner were the words: China Daily edited and published in Beijing. European edition published by Robert Maxwell at Mirror Group Newspapers (1986).

Perhaps comrade Maxwell is considering defecting to the

#### Margaret Thatcher!

Communist Party. Yours traternally Andrew Sinclair Burnley LPYS

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O SALEP broadsheet Workers and youth direct links cam-

paign 1986, 20p plus p&p from: PO Box 77, London E8

Militant Meetings

September, 8pm. The function

room, Greyhound Pub.

Brighton Road, Redhill, Surrey.

Speaker: Richard Barnett

(Reigate Labour Party, per-

Caerphilly Marxist discus-

sion group. Working Mens Hall, Caerphilly, every Monday

Redhill "Fight the

Tuesday

public

Redhill ''F Tories''Militant

sonal capacity).

7.30pm.

meeting.

publication.

September 7pm-11pm.

Towards the Political Revolution. Perspectives for Poland of the Trotskyist workers' tendency of Solidarity. Available at 50p each (plus 20p p&p, orders over 5, post free) from 'World Socialist Books', 3/13 Hepscott Rd, London E9 5HB.

Nuclear Time Bomb or Socialist Energy Plan. 60p in-cluding postage. Cheques payable to World Socialist Books. Write to World Socialist Books, 3/13 Hepscott Rd, London E9 5HB.

O Address books 60p, bookmarks 40p, plastic sleeves 20p, sew on badge 40p, pens 30p plus post to: Militant, 8 Woodside Court, Woodside Rd, Portswood, Southampton.

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

Sittingbourne Marxist discussion group. Every se-cond Tuesday at 29 Waterloo Rd, Sittingbourne, Kent. For further details ring Sittingbourne 72632.

#### **Selective information?**

Dear Comrades,

The campaign for the re-instatement of Kevin Scally and Amir Khan, expelled from Birmingham Sparkbrook Constituency Labour Party, has gained such widespread support that Sparkbrook CLP decided to circulate their version of the dispute to secretaries of all Labour Party organisations.

But where did Sparkbrook CLP obtain the list of names and addresses? Not from Walworth Road, Joyce Gould, Director of Organisation, states that names and addresses of CLP secretaries are 'not released'.

Not from the regional office either, as according to the regional organiser no list of such details is given out.

Some elements in the party will probably draw the completely unwarranted conclusion that information can be provided to some CLP's but not to others.

Yours fraternally, A CLP secretary



Roy Hattersley, MP for Sparkbrook. His version of the expulsions?

#### Tories no help in "going straight"

Dear Comrades,

Thanks for the weekly copy of Militant. Thanks to you I am now finally in touch with what is happening to the "workforce" and unemployed.

Am I right in saying that the government stands for law and order? If so then surely they would help a prisoner to go straight when

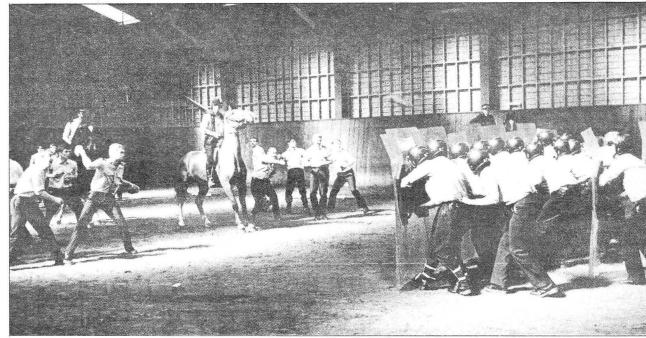
he or she is finally released from nick. Not so! There is no help whatsoever. My dole has gone down and they've stopped single payments so that virtually rules out any chance of a clothes grant. After two and a half years inside I have no clothes at

When I finally get a place of my own there will be no

help with carpets, curtains and other items which one is told one can do without. If I can do without carpets and curtains then surely Thatcher can put up with the "hardof only having one house!

Yours fraternally Militant reader Youth Custody Centre

#### The Sheriff of Glasgow's new cells Shettleston LPYS "Youth against Apartheid" concert and rally. Dolphin Arts Centre, Bridgeton Glasgow Friday 19



Police train for a future of class conflict, with a simulated riot.

Dear Comrades,

In the heart of Glasgow's famous Gorbals district, the Tories have built what is proudly boasted as "the biggest criminal court in Western Europe"-Glasgow's sheriff court!

Spurious reasons have been given as a justification of this new building, which was recently opened by the queen, such as "there has been such an increase in crimes that the old court

cannot cope with them"!

The court's real function became apparent when the details of the inner building were uncovered. There is room inside the court buildings for two thousand cells "In case of a maior civil disturbances"!

It is clear that these cells have not been constructed to cope with the aftermath of a Celtic v Rangers football match, but to deal with any future

PHOTO: Jacob Sutton (Reflex)

struggles of the labour movement and youth in the West of Scotland.

This at a time when there are over 200,000 people in Strathclyde on the dole; and more than 2,000 people are homeless in Glasgow.

Yours fraternally Stevie Lees Dennistoun Labour Party

# Selling Thames down the river

#### From national strike to privatisation back in by the back door

WATER WORKERS throughout the country were on official strike for four and a half weeks at the beginning of 1983 and attracted much sympathy and support throughout the trade union movement and public at large. Previously the only section of workers in this industry who had been on strike nationally were the sewage workers in the '60s who were employed by local councils.

Since the amalgamation of the functions of land drainage, river conservation, sewage treatment and water supply into Regional Water Authorities in 1974 there had been no concerted industrial action. It took nearly ten years for the newly formed Thames Water Authority to organise into Divisions where all the functions were combined into different geographic areas loosely based on river systems. Eastern Division, for example was based on the Lea Valley; sewage and water treatment, land drainage and river management came under one management instead of operating as if they were different organisations.

ONE OF the lessons learnt by the strike of 1983 was the need for the unions also to be organised on the same divisional basis. Therefore the seven or so GMBATU union branches which had previously covered the Lea Valley catchment area were combined into one large union branch with meetings held on a rolling basis at three places within the Division.

A joint shop stewards committee was also formed for negotiations with Divisional management, consisting of the GMBATU, NUPE, TGWU, AEU and EETPU.

A 'Use of Contractors Agreement' was one of the first victories gained by the Joint Shop Stewards Committee. The agreement included acceptance of the need for union approval before outside contractors could be used for any work in the Division.

This was gained by blacking contractors-refusing any cooperation such that, particularly in the area of fixing burst water mains, they could not effectively operate.

They required the assistance of 'turncocks' employed by the Authority to locate leaks and shut off the water running along the main and direct it along a different

Because the turncocks were no longer cooperating with the contractors Divisional management very soon conceded that union representatives on each site and depot should be consulted before a contractor was used.

Management bring in back-door privateers, jobs go for redundancy pay and morale sinks

FROM THE very beginning line management began finding ways of getting union approval by devious means and often not even bothering to consult when they thought they could get away with it.

Agreement over the use of contractors not only applied to the fixing of broken mains but also any construction and engineering work, hiring in of plant—any field where management felt the need to use outside labour and expertise.

Very soon after the strike management began to move swiftly towards organising for privatisation. There was a vast increase in the number of contractors, which led to the blacking of them. The weakness on the union side in resisting this encroachment was shown in the reduction of the workforce by about 25% through voluntary severance.

Groups of workers were offered increases in bonus incentives in

Thames Water Authority worker, and Hackney councillor lan Row explains the real position in water despite the postponement of full privatisation

return for accepting lower manning levels. Those people to be shed from the gangs were offered very generous terms.

Naturally men became eager for similar offers, especially as harassment and threats from line management made the whole workforce more dispirited about the prospects of secure employment. "We will all be gone sooner or later" became the common

New rules and requirements were conjured up by line management every day, breaking every national, regional and divisional agreement in the hope that some of the changes would stick and creating despondency.

Because of the nature of much

of the work, in remote areas and away from organised workers, many men suffered, and still suffer, gross humiliations.

Of course many men believed that a crock of gold worth £5,000 could ensure them setting up in business-'using their heads' as The Sun always advised.

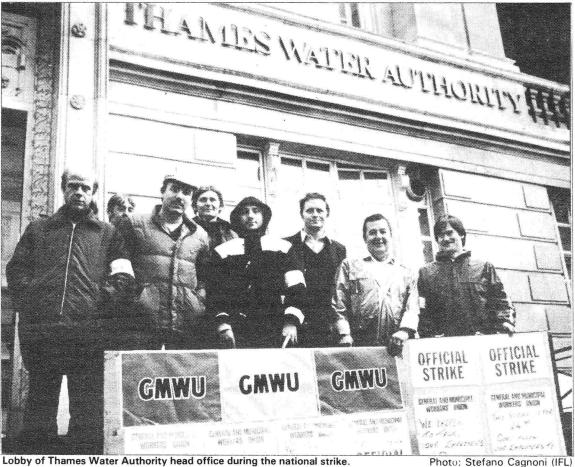
One man landed up in Southend, broke, with a load of 'kiss me quick' hats unsold, many a drinking session behind him and a broken family with a broken future

Dog handlers were advised that they only had jobs in Security as long as their dogs lived. It must have been an epidemic. Mysteriously the dogs died and the men were given severance or put on other jobs.

Since reservoirs and water pumping stations are prime terrorist targets this made no sense. And in any event the degree of vandalism proved so costly that a private security firm is now employed. The 'firm' consists of one man on £1.80 an hour with a dog that looks as if it's suffering from rabies.

#### Re-organisation produces chaos

WE DO not know what the thinking was behind making the Divisions even larger. Anyway a couple of years after the unions had organised to meet the management set up within Eastern Division it was suddenly combined with Northern



Division to make a new Division which stretches from Essex to Buckinghamshire, taking in much of North and East London and going out to Ware in Herts, Luton in Bedfordshire and High Wycombe in Bucks with vastly increased travelling for union/management

It is hard to swallow that all this is punishment for going on strike in 1983 which is what the men sometimes mutter, having "overheard" it from management. The punishment, if that is what it is, has come from the new management which replaced the smaller Eastern Division structure.

Most of the old managers have disappeared (they are all on three year contracts) to be replaced by the new hatchet-men. We braced ourselves for foremen with whips and revolvers but what we have got are managers frightened of their own shadows and unable to make decisions or implement them if they do anything so individualistic.

If you negotiate with an imbecile you can hardly complain if he forgets what has been decided three minutes later, or in a fit of pique demands sick notes on the first day of sickness (even though to see a doctor in the East End is a wait of about three days) or confiscates your wheel barrow then wants to know why rubbish has not been cleared away.

#### New technology threat to jobs and safety but unions begin to respond

NEW TECHNOLOGY has made very rapid advances which have put manual workers' jobs in the balance. Craftsmen are installing monitoring instruments which give information to a central point many miles away from which the situation can be corrected electronically or tradesmen despatched to correct matters.

There is an obvious conflict of interest here between manual and craft workers which has not manifested itself owing to the close union cooperation.

Many jobs will be disappearing because of a ring main currently under construction which bypasses many of the smaller pumping stations and provides a free flow of water around London through tunnels. More and more the direct labour function could be restricted to a few men watching dials and screens at a central console whilst maintenance men are despatched to all areas when required.

The process of water and sewage treatment is being speeded up and new methods are currently the subject of experimental work. A current trade union issue is the apparent lowering of standards in sewage treatment due to the use of polymers which is producing poorer quality sludge and a dirtier discharge into rivers.

A recent victory was the prevention of the discharge of radioactive material into the Thames at Mogden after we had alerted the media and promised strike action if it ever took place. We are also viewing with suspicion current experiments to speed up the treatment

> Overcoming staff and manual split to defend all jobs is top priority now

IT IS now a matter of patient education to show the staff union members that they have the same fight as us, and a matter of forgiveness from the manual workers that they did our work during the strike.

Already the staff unions have shown their mettle during the antiprivatisation campaign. At the moment Nalgo are awaiting a court decision on the spending of money on privatisation propaganda from public funds.

So far staff side have seen attacks on manual and craft workers as "not affecting" them, then when they get a dose of the same medicine, manual and craft workers feel it serves them right.

We should be working towards a joint shop stewards committee incorporating staff union representatives. Some staff refused to do anything other than their normal work during the strike and paid money each week into our strike fund. The Nalgo local council branches gave great support and picketed their fellow unionists in demonstrations at front gates. But the differences between manual and white collar workers die hard.

#### Crazy accounting

ONE OF the more cynical aspects of the move towards privatisation is the charging for different services between departments. The construction group charges labour at £80 per man per day for doing work for another group and is in turn charged excessively for the materials it uses from the stores department and the lorries it uses from Regional Transport.

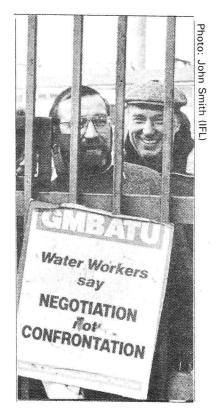
All these costs are reflected in the tender submitted for a job plus managment adds its own cost for adminstration (this is not counted against a private bid). This is then compared to the price of an outside contractor who is not hampered by the "excessive profits" made within the Authority or care for cleanliness of operation, health and safety, etc.

There are no checks on corruption involved as when members of the council and trade union representatives have a certain vetting function (enough dodgy contracts go through local councils even so).

The labour movement may be deceived into thinking that the privatisation of Thames Water will not go through because of its deferral until after the next general election and that a Labour government will never allow it.

It is true that Margaret Thatcher will not have the money from the privatisation of Thames in her coffers in order to try to buy votes just before the election.

But there is a back-door privatisation going through—the attempted smashing of an organised work force and all non-statutory services (those services within Thames not directly involved in the treatment of sewage and water) being hived off to contractors.



### Industrial Reports

### Defeat coal bosses attacks

# **Winers**

ROBERT Haslam has marked his first week as Chair of the National Coal Board with a 'show' of arrogance his predecessor would have been proud of.

from the press about an attempt to rebuild industrial relations in the industry, the theft of some £250 in back pay (totalling some £25m) from NUM members will induce enormous anger and bitterness throughout the coalfields. The 'Mr. Nice-Guy' image the media have tried to create for Haslam has been well and truly shattered in his first public act since taking up office.

nying pension rights for the period of the coal strike has



Miners defiant just after the strike. John Dunn, quoted below is on right of picture

angered the rank and file.

The 'carrot and the big stick' philosophy of the Coal Board will not succeed. In fact, the membership are now more likely than ever to take up Scargill's call for consideration of industrial action to safeguard their

Even if this manoeuvre undermines the possibility of developing the overtime ban at this stage, the anger and bitterness will merely be stored up to burst forth in the not too distant future.

The whole thing's been done for one reason. To pay a bill they should have paid—the pension contributions. After all, they caused the strike. It's their bill to pay...it's up to our leadership to give positive direction...Haslam is trying to use the coal strike once again to divide the men." Kenny Summersgill (Monktonhall NUM member, Scottish Area)

"The men are angry. The leadership should strike while the iron's hot. People should have been pulled out immediately on a one-day stoppage." John Dunn John Dunn (Markham No2 NUM member, North Derbyshire

"This has created a bad atmosphere, animosity. It's reopened old wounds,

Nick Platek (Littleton NUM member, Midlands Area)

Haslam may well have bitten off more than he can chew. Perhaps he should have paid heed to the warnings of the Financial Times that "Arthur Scargill and his Militant supporters are down but not out." Indeed, the rising bitterness in the coalfields would indicate

that the membership of the NUM are not only on their feet again but ready and willing to enter the fray once more. Whether it be a limited overtime ban or selective one day strikes or whatever, the miners are preparing for battle. This means that the Broad Left conference on 20 September will take on even greater importance. An organised rank and file movement will be the backbone of whatever course of action the union undertakes.

Armed with the ideas of Marxism the Broad Left can develop the strategy and tactics capable of leading the miners to victory in the struggles that lie ahead.

By Chris Herriot (Sacked Monktonhall

#### **Ansley closure shows** no Coal Board gratitude

BRITISH COAL have shown their gratitude to strike breakers. They have announced the closure of Ansley workshops in Warwickshire, where a majority worked throughout the miners' strike and where most of the workforce is in the UDM.

Now it's obvious that those who crossed the picket lines didn't do themselves any favours. The workshops are closing because British Coal have shut down so many of the smaller pits which used the type of hydraulic props serviced at

Miners who supported the '84/85 strike are laughing at scab leader Dick Emery when he bleats: "I feel we have been kicked in the teeth, considering Ansley workshops worked throughout the strike.

"If this is the way British it is very bad and not every

Dick! Needless to say he has no intention of fighting the closure.

most of the UDM leaders' embarrassment. But the bitterness that remains from the strike must not be allowed to get in the way of the defence of all jobs.

Despite all the nonsense

Nevertheless, this 'show of arregance' masks a reality that the Coal Board is running scared. NCB coal stocks are at their lowest level for 15 years. The imposition of the wage rise is an attempt to split the miners at a time when the demand for an overtime ban is gathering pace. By backdating the wage rise for some NUM members and paying the rest from 1 September, the Board hope to sow division between those who struck in 1984/85 and those who did not. However, the attempt to establish a precedent by de-

#### **Bleat**

Coal deal with such matters when people have shown loyalty and common sense, The NUM must make the

The jobs lost at Ansley are lost to the whole working

class, including the youth who have not yet had the chance to decide what union card they'll hold. The closure is an oppor-

tunity to expose the worthlessness of those who are still in it. The NUM must explain that all mineworkers will face yet more attacks on their jobs and conditions and that it is prepared to fight to defend them.

In this way the scab UDM leaders can be left suspended in mid-air and genuine unity can be rebuilt in the coalfields by winning all mineworkrs to the NUM.

By Tony Cross

#### MINERS BROAD LEFT

Open to all TUC affiliated mining unions

First national conference Saturday 20 September 10.30

> **Barnsley College of Technology** Church Street, Barnsley

For conference details and credentials contact: 1 Hilthorne Close, Columbia Village, Washington, Tyne and Wear Telephone 091416 5060.

Stan Pearce (right) will be chairing the Broad Left conference



#### Reject teachers' pay deal-continue no cover

DURING THE summer holidays, with the minimum of publicity, the teachers' unions negotiated the basis of a deal with the employers in Coventry. This follows a period of almost two years of action on the part of the rank and file of the NUT and NAS/UWT.

After twenty five minutes of discussion the Executive of the NUT ratified the deal last week. The NAS leadership have so far refused to sign.

The proposals include a complete restructuring of the existing salary structure. There is to be a two year entry grade for new eachers with a salary of £7,600 and £8,000 per annum and a Main Professional Grade (MPG) running from £9,600 to £14,000 initially.

In addition, 15 per cent of teachers will be classified as 'principal' teachers and will receive a further allowance of either £750 or £2,000.

#### Sweetener

For Heads and Deputy Heads the deal offers an increase of up to 50 per cent for the 'lowest paid'. All teachers will also receive a one-off payment of £750 in January as a 'sweetener'.

On 12 September the employers' representatives will meet Baker to seek his agreement on funding the deal which will cost £2.9 billion spread over five years. Central government will be asked for £500m this year and 46 per cent of the cost over the next four years.

The indicators are that the Tories will be prepared to finance a deal

which they hope will offer 'peace' in schools in the run up to a general

Teachers are being asked to accept what amounts to a productivity deal, with all that entails in worsened conditions of service, for a pay rise which is paltry.

The only teachers who will really benefit from the new structure are the poorest paid, those on points one to three of scale one, whose pay will almost return to Houghton comparability levels.

New entrants will be confronted with a probationary period of double its existing length on a separate scale, a concept which the NUT leadership had claimed to be op-

For teachers' pay to return to the levels set by Houghton would require an average pay rise of about £6,000 now. For a teacher at the top of scale two it will take eight years to reach the top of the new MPG at a salary of £14,500, a sum which is £3,000 short of Houghton at today's levels, let alone in eight years' time.

The agreement reached at Coventry will also mean an increase of five days in the working year for most teachers and there is still no final definition of the number of hours to be worked. However, all teachers should be

made aware that the employers entered the negotiations seeking a rise of 95 hours worked per year and 25 hours per week of class con-There are still many significant

areas of the contract to be negotiated: non-contract time; maximum class contact; limits on class size; cover for absent colleagues.

It is on the issue of cover that the scale of the climb-down is most clear. On 1 September the two sides met to come to an 'interim' agreement on cover. The employers entered the negotiations strengthened by a High Court ruling resulting from the stupidity of the NUT leadership.

In May they took test cases to court and obtained a fine piece of legal gobbledegook as a ruling. It said that teachers were professionally obliged to cover and therefore in the absence of a detailed written contract were contractually obliged to cover!

Having stated that they would fight for one-day cover the NUT leadership have reneged and capitulated to the employers. The agreement reached means that where there are local agreements on covering-for up to five daysthese will be honoured.

Where no agreement exists teachers will be expected to cover for the first day with the proviso that where lack of money or supply staff prevents someone being drafted in teachers will continue to cover! In other words the same situation which existed prior to all the action.

Unless teachers take the strongest possible 'no cover' action during the coming term the position as just described will be the basis of the final contractual agreement.

It was also agreed at Coventry that pilot appraisal schemes will be implemented. In the current



climate appraisal of teachers must be fought at all costs. It will be used as a way to discipline teachers, in particular against union and political activists.

The executive of the NUT looks set to avoid the calling of a Special Salaries conference, at least until after the one-off payment in January. NUT members must ensure that school, local Association and Division meetings are held to demand a conference at the earliest possible opportunity.

It is vital that the dangers inherent in what may appear to be a superficially attractive deal are fully explained. Our industrial action has shown this government can be shifted. But limited action has pushed them nowhere far enough. This deal must be rejected.

> By Anita Dickinson (Ealing NUT)

#### Industrial Reports

# Southampton shipyard all out

1,500 VOSPER Thorneycroft shipyard workers walked out after a mass meeting last Friday in protest at the announcement of 300 compulsory redundancies.

By Gavin Marsh

Vosper workers at Porchester and Cosham outside Portsmouth have also joined the strike.

The Southampton yard has lost

Walton

<u>hospital</u>

<u>campaign</u>

THE CAMPAIGN of Walton Hospital Action

Commitee against privatisa-

decker bus to take sup-

porters to the Jacobs biscuit

factory in Long Lane to to

dish out leaflets as the shifts

changed calling for support.

Unclean

The dangers of Jacobs'

management plans to bring

contract cleaners into their

own factory. Further lobbies

Send messages of support and donations to T Ballard, TU Of-fice, Walton hospital, Rice Lane,

Liverpool L9 IAE. Cheques to

'Walton Hospital Action Commit-

They hired a double

tion continues.

are planned.

tee Committee'.

action

2,000 jobs in seven years. Redundancies were expected in the yard and older workers had put their names

But management ignored all procedures. Workers returned from their holidays to find redundancy notices waiting for them.

One bloke had worked for Vosper 36 years. He got one day's notice. Another was at home suffering from cancer and got a redundancy notice through his letter box.

The company has recently been privatised and appears to have little work on the books. A Pakistani order for frigates they were relying on has been lost and this is their

#### Broken agreements

But their decision to ignore all local and national agreements and procedures, which has inflamed the workers, suggests a deliberate

Management want to inflict a big defeat in order to solften the men up for the introduction of further flexibility of labour and even more redundancies.

A mass meeting in Southampton on Monday with a massive majority of the workers present voted 75% to continue the strike.

#### **Engineering construction** election

VOTING IS underway in the Amalgamated Engineering Union construction section for the position of national officer.

Construction workers lead a nomadic existence, expected to travel the length and breadth of the country, away from their families for short-term on contracts.

Many members feel that the agreements on pay and conditions negotiated at national level have eroded their working conditions and living standards and reflect the extent to which the full-time officials have become out of touch with the rank and file.

One of the candidates in the election is a rank and file steel erector from Blyth. Ray Palmer. He is secretary of the Blyth (Northumberland) branch of the AEU (CS) and has served on numerous contracts as shop steward, bonus steward and deputy steward.

In his election address he argues for a fighting leadership in the union prepared to campaign for the decasualisation of the industry but not at the expense of the terms and conditions

of the memberhip.

Ray Palmer commits himself to full consultation with and involvement of the membership and has promised to visit as many branches and sites as possible.

A firm believer in the need for accountability of officials, he is committed to the principle of regular election and also pledges that if elected he will accept only the wage of an erector, as per the 'Blue Book', in order to keep him in touch with the problems membership.

He promises to fight for a major increase in the number of improvers employed in the industry and also to combat the discriminatory practices which restrict access to employment for members

To achieve this he realises that a political fight is required. A member of the executive committee of Blyth Constituency Labour Party he argues for unity in the Labour Party, against witchhunts and for a Labour government committed to socialist policies.

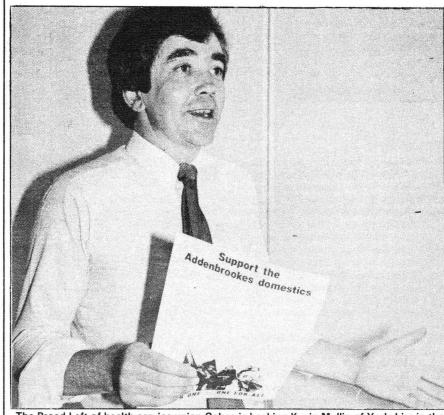
The other candidates in the election are John Gaines an NIC member from Middlesborough and full time officials Geoff Garbett from Sheffield and Derek Wheaton from Dagenham.

ballloting on an overtime ban during 8-15 September over attacks on bonus payments and overtime which would mean a loss of

Craftsmen face a £15 a week cut and no cover on holidays. They have the same 5% offer with the introduction of shifts and a two tier wage structure in common with semi-skilled

Platform staff (drivers 9,298 votes (88 per cent) to

#### **Health service union election**



The Broad Left of health service union Cohse is backing Kevin Mullin of Yorkshire in the election for general secretary. In last week's Militant Addenbrooke's strikers thanked Kevin for all his work in their battle against privatisation.

LRT chair Keith Bright has had

about lack of staff efficien-

cy and productivity LRT's

own annual report under-

London Bus unit costs fell

mines them.

his pay rise of £7,500 pa

#### **Cohse must** fight cuts

MANAGEMENT AT St Luke's hospital, Middlesborough, in their tender for domestic services are planning to cut the time for cleaning of the wards by 140 hours per

This would mean staff currently on forty hours per week cut down to 15 hours and redundancies of temporary and part-time staff. They will have to bid amongst themselves for the right to retain their hours.

Due to the failure of the 1982 pay campaign members are reluctant to take prolonged strike action. However, members of Cohse 12E branch voted to stage a oneday strike and picket the district health authority meeting in

Management are using the threat of privatisation to force staff to accept cuts in hours and conditions. Cohse's national leadership must accept a large share of blame for their failure to support strikers at Addenbrookes and to mount a national campaign.

By John Malcolm (Cohse shop steward)

#### **London bus ballots** on not-so-bright pay

LONDON BUS workers are facing ballots on the '1986' pay claim which is now six months' overdue.

Top bus boss Bright isn't bothered-he got his £7.500 a year salary increase in

At the same time management are asking staff to make sacrifices to be competitive against private contractors following so-called 'de-regulation'.

Canteen staff face a £38 wage cut, abolition of the 71/2-hour day to fit in with rosters to cover shifts, which has produced canteen boycotts and stoppages in some garages.

Semi-skilled workers are £23 a week.

and platform staff.

and conductors) have already rejected management's offer (which means a £21.92 a week wage cut) by 1,299 (12 per cent).

Their representatives meet management on Thursday 11 September while branch officials London-wide will be given the opportunity to discuss their supplementary claim document which updates the original 1986 claim.

The document outlines management's strings on the 5 per cent offer. It includes introduction of an inner and outer zone of bus garages which would abolish London Weighting and the Receipts bonus allowance to be replaced by a 'Central London Allowance' for 'inzone' staff.

Ludicrously, crews driving outwards from inner London would earn more than crews driving inwards on the same route, and 'outer' London crews whose routes mean they spend a large part of their time in central London would not get the new allowance.

Management also want: reduction in annual leave for new staff to 20 days for the first five years; major changes in working conditions including extra work outside scheduled duty without extra pay; 100 per cent one person operation service on Sundays.

The union shows that despite management claims



in 198//86 by 4.6 per cent. 93.7 per cent of scheduled mileage was operated. And this could have been even higher if management had not restricted recruitment and rest-day working.

Management arguments for competivity with private contractors lead inevitably to a poorer quality of service for the public with worse conditions and wages for the remaining staff.

The labour movement has to get the message over that transport has to be a public service or the conditions of life for ordinary people

go down the pan in the interests of profit.

★ London Transport Trade Union Council must reconvene a shop stewardsreps conference as from last

\* A major campaign of garage and department meetings to prepare for industrial action

★ Opposition to one person operation

By Pat Atkinson (TGWU shop steward) THE LATEST issue of Engineering Gazette, the journal of the national broad left in the AEU, carries the following slate for current elections:

National Organiser (1st ballot) National Chris Myles; Organiser (2nd ballot) Andrew Fisher; EC member division 3 Peter Walker; EC member division 6 - unfortunately the Gazette recommends two candidates for one seat and ignores Swansea convenor Ken Armin, nominee of the West Wales Broad Left; Divisional Organiser Div.5 John Carty; DO Div.7 Joan Weston; DO Div.20 David Stopp; DO Div.23 John Hodgkins; Ass. DO Div.20 George Slessor; Ass DO Div.24 John Wright.

# CPSA: Hold leaders to account

HEADLINES SUCH as "Militant in delegate cash storm", "Row over Militant collection" and "Militants collect delegates cash," appeared in the Tory press last week.

The papers were attacking Militant supporters on the CPSA delegation to the TUC for making donations to the Militant Fighting Fund

Implying that there is something dishonest about such collections, they fail to point out that they are held quite openly and are featured regularly and prominently in our paper.

Far from hiding this information we are proud of the financial support we receive from within the trade unions and proclaim it widely.

Collections were held in all the delegations and the total of over £852 shows support for *Militant* growing amongst active layers of trade unionists. The Labour Party hopes to make it a disciplinary offence to make financial contributions to *Militant*; CPSA Vice-President Kate Losinska is calling for a full inquiry into the 'misuse' of conference ex-



John Macreadie

penses. But these manoeuvres will not deter workers from continuing to donate to our paper.

Collections were also held for causes such as the Broad Lefts, striking print workers, sacked miners, *Morning Star* and numerous others. Will the rightwing be investigating donations to all causes?

Many unions give lavish expenses for attending conferences. CPSA members receive £32.25 per night plus £10 per day while at the

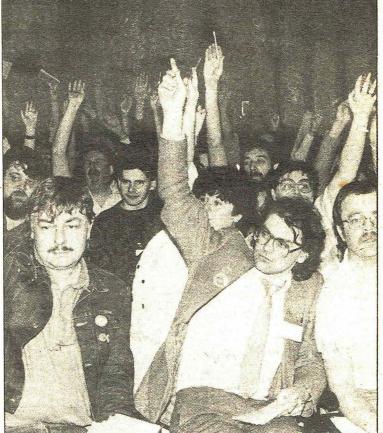
TUC. *Militant* supporters have moved at past CPSA conferences that these expenses be reduced.

This was defeated but conference agreed to pay the same level of expenses in opposition to the right wing who wanted to *increase* them. But, while that money is being paid, rather than waste it on beer and expensive hotels more accustomed to entertaining bosses than trade unionists, *Militant* supporters, like others on the left, prefer to put their money into funds where it can be used to fight capitalism.

We would like to know what the right-wing do with their expenses. Losinska and the others on the right might prefer it if delegates lived it up for the week on union expenses but union members will think otherwise.

It is not only conference expenses that are donated but supporters of *Militant* make huge financial sacrifices to fund our work. We appeal to all our readers to follow the example of those delegates and to send us a large donation.

What really worries Losinska and the press is that the money rais-



Delegates at the CPSA conference

ed is just one indication of our position in the union. The election of John Macreadie as general secretary has petrified them. These attacks are part of the smear campaign against *Militant* supporters and John Macreadie, but the members of the CPSA have already shown who they want to lead the

union. And it isn't Losinska and her right-wing. The example of the CPSA members and others at the TUC should act as a spur to all workers and youth to make further sacrifices.

How is your area contributing to the Fighting Fund? See chart on page 7.

#### Chile regime rocked by shooting

continued from page 1

It is not clear whether the attack was by the Communist Party linked guerrillas, the Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front (FPRM), who have now claimed responsibility, or from sections of the armed forces backed by the CIA.

The Communist Party has now declared it would accept a "military government without Pinochet" as "one formula" to secure a transition towards parliamentary democracy.

It is not merely a question of replacing Pinochet but of removing the whole officer caste around him, and the capitalist system which enabled him to come to power. The key is the involvement of the mass movement of the working class and not the actions of a few individuals.

Above all, however, is the need for a clear programme

to overthrow the dictatorship and transform society, which can draw the movement of workers, students and unemployed youth together.

#### General strike

Only the masses, seizing power through their own organisations will hold genuinely democratic elections.

The urgent task now is to build up committees of action ("Cordones"), to

prepare the movement and organise a general strike to overthrow the dictatorship.

This will not only win enthusiastic support amongst workers and youth but will also offer an alternative to the conscripts of the armed forces. With them lies the key to the mass of workers acquiring arms to overthrow the dictatorship.

By I Sevastio (Chile Socialist Defence Campaign)



Pinochet will be overthrown by workers' action

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