

Militant

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The Marxist Paper for Labour and Youth 30p

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Inside...

Jarrow march

— pages 8,9

Women in

prison — page 7



Jobless told: 'work or starve'

DETERMINED TO fiddle the dole figures downwards as they look towards a general election, the Tories are introducing brutal 'available for work' tests for the newly unemployed.

Government employment spokesman, Kenneth Clarke, announced in parliament that they will have to fill in a new questionnaire, but what it amounts to is a set of trick questions designed to catch out unwary fresh claimants. If they answer that they are not prepared to move town for work; to take a lower wage than the local going rate, or lower than they earned at their last job; to do unsocial hours; to arrange at a day's notice for their children or elderly relatives whom they care for, to be looked after—their benefits will be suspended.

(Continued on back page)

YOU MIGHT have two young children; you are a single parent. You would like to get them into a nursery, but there are so few vacancies, that you have to look after them at home.

BENEFIT STOPPED—NOT GENUINELY SEEKING WORK.

Perhaps you used to be on a good wage at your last place, £150 a week. It must be difficult making ends meet now. But there's some jobs going at £50. With four to keep at home how could you accept? You would be worse off going to work for as little as that.

BENEFIT STOPPED—NOT PREPARED TO TAKE A JOB WHEN OFFERED.

You might be on the professional and executive register and there is a problem placing you in a job locally. What about looking down South? But how can you right now? You have just got the house sorted out; your eldest is doing her exams this year, and it would not be fair to move her in the middle.

BENEFIT STOPPED—NOT REALLY AVAILABLE FOR WORK.



Photo: Reflex.

Militant Fighting Fund

£250,000

250,000

240,000

230,000

220,000

210,000

200,000

190,000

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10,000

Militant MASS RALLY

ROYAL ALBERT HALL

London SW7 Sunday 16 November



Only two weeks to go!

Militant
See page 5 **86**

JOHN DUNN, a Derbyshire miner sent £100 and Derek Lewis, unemployed from Peckham gave £27 supplementary benefit—just two of the many who have contributed a week's income or more to our appeal. This week many readers will receive their October pay cheque. Send us your donation straight away before it all disappears.

Militant

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THE ANGER of Labour Party members in Knowsley North at the imposition of a candidate for the 13 November by-election will be shared by party activists throughout the country. Even *The Guardian*, which has supported every attack made on the left by Neil Kinnock, is forced to conclude that he "has gone too far in trying to suppress the rights of people in his party who disagree with him."

A Labour victory should now be in prospect. The Tories have been rocked by scandals, and are desperately trying to make the unemployed a scapegoat for their failures. But that Labour victory cannot be taken for granted. It depends on the party being mobilised to take the fight on to the doorsteps, workplaces and streets. The Knowsley episode is a warning that the leadership could yet pluck defeat from the jaws of victory, if they alienate the membership in this way, and anger and confuse ordinary Labour voters. Elections cannot be won just by TV appearances and glossy pamphlets. Without an enthusiastic campaign at constituency level and policies which can transform workers' lives, Labour could still lose. It would be suicidal for the leaders to imagine they can do without the activists and can afford to treat them with the contempt that they have in Knowsley.

The National Executive Committee acted with ruthless cynicism. They challenged the nomination of Les Huckfield, on the disputed grounds that he had given his Euro-constituency parties an undertaking not to stand in a parliamentary by-election. They swept aside his denials and ruled him out. They then used the threat that the Liberals might move the writ for the by-election to impose their own candidate, automatically debaring every other nominee and denying the constituency party any say. The next day they moved the writ themselves.

They have set a precedent which if not challenged, could lead to the undoing of all the democratic advances won over the last decade. Their action proves that the NEC is not confining its purge to those identified with *Militant*, but is launching a full-scale assault on the democratic structure of the Party. The rights of local parties and trade union branches are now in jeopardy. The NEC must be deluged as never before with protests from every section of the Party.

Justified though their anger is, however, the Knowsley North members should not fall into the trap of refusing to work for the Labour candidate. That is just what the right would like—a quiet campaign by full-time officials, banking on the huge majority to see them through. Then they could blame the local party for any poor result and initiate disciplinary proceedings against its leaders.

Having expressed their opposition to the NEC as forcefully as possible, the party activists, in Knowsley and elsewhere, should now organise a concerted intervention into the campaign for a Labour victory.

On the doorsteps they must hammer the Tories, whose policies have left Knowsley North with 30 per cent unemployment, appalling transport and no hospitals. They can expose the right-wing red-baiting candidate standing for the Liberals and her party's abysmal record when they ran Liverpool City Council—5,000 lost jobs, building no council houses and 100 per cent rent increases.

The historic advances made when Labour took over in Liverpool can be spotlighted—4,000 new council houses, six nurseries and 1,000 jobs created. As in any election, it is not the candidate who will be decisive, but the policies fought for and the enthusiasm of the party workers. They can recruit new party members to fight for Liverpool's policies from Knowsley council and build up the party branches, Young Socialists and Women's Section into bastions for socialism.

If such a campaign is waged, a good victory on 13 November can be assured and the party made strong enough to withstand any future attacks from the NEC. It will show the membership nationally that it is the right who stand aside or even run against Labour when they are not selected as candidates. It is the Marxist left who always put the party and socialism first, who want to build and who will achieve success. The lesson will not be lost nationally. Knowsley North could provide the party with a model of how to beat the Tories and Liberals, at the same time as building the party into a mass force for socialist change.

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Right wing sabo

Knowsley by-election risked by attack on Party

JIM MCGINLEY, chair of Knowsley North Labour Party spoke to *Militant*.

The National Executive Committee's decision to impose George Howarth as Labour candidate in the Knowsley North by-election is the most blatant possible denial of our party's basic democratic rights. It has sickened and enraged local party members and puts in jeopardy what should be a rock solid Labour majority.

The NEC's treatment of Knowsley North has been outrageous. In 1983 Robert Kilroy-Silk was imposed on the newly formed constituency despite unanimous protests.

When Kilroy-Silk announced his intention to

resign, to become a chat show host with the BBC, the national organiser, Joyce Gould, promised a full selection procedure and the closest possible consultation on everything to do with the by-election.

Yet on 24 September the NEC suspended the selection procedure and announced an inquiry into the nomination of Euro-MP Les Huckfield after a complaint from the officers of three parties within the Euro-constituency.

The NEC team of Ken Cure, Charlie Turnock and Diane Jeuda upheld the allegation that Huckfield had undertaken not to stand in any parliamentary by-election. This he denies, claiming the question he was

answering, referred only to a possible by-election in the near future in St Helens South.

Then on 22 October on Neil Kinnock's motion, the NEC excluded Huckfield and imposed George Howarth as candidate. Without the slightest justification or excuse they removed all the other nominated candidates.

At a CLP meeting on 26 October the anger and resentment went across the political spectrum. Only the hard right supported Neil Kinnock. The meeting voted 58-9 in favour of legal action but both the High Court and the Court of Appeal ruled against us.

The constituency executive committee is to meet on Sun-

day and I will recommend that the members should work for a Labour victory and from this by-election build a mass Labour Party which will insist on a democratic and socialist leadership.

INCREDIBLE DOUBLE standards are being displayed by Labour officials in the Knowsley North by-election. Last year, Peter Fisher, a former Labour councillor and agent for Robert Kilroy-Silk, stood against and defeated the official party candidate in the council elections. Recently Knowsley North CLP tried to initiate disciplinary action against him, but national officials stopped them.

Furthermore they used as an excuse for imposing

Ninth expulsion carried out

AFTER SIXTY wasted hours Labour's National Executive Committee has finally completed its show trials of Liverpool party members, with the expulsion of Felicity Dowling.

Moving that all charges be dropped, Tony Benn argued that on the day of the 'Big Bang' in the City and the deregulation of buses, the day on which Jeffrey Archer was resigning and the Knowsley North Labour Party's case was being heard in the High Court, they should be in the House of Commons debating these issues, not spending hours to expel one person from the Labour Party.

Rejected

His appeal was rejected and they voted by 11 to 7 to expel from the party a member whose dedication to the movement was even recognised by every right-winger who spoke. They said how moved they were by her statement of her work as secretary of the Liverpool District Labour Party earning only £3,000 a year, as a councillor involved in education and urban regeneration, in organising support for the miners' strike and as an activist with the National Union of Teachers.

Yet they proceeded to expel her on utterly spurious 'evidence' of 'membership of the *Militant* tendency.' All they could rake up was

a leaflet, signed by numerous Liverpool councillors acknowledging the support given by *Militant* to the city council, a *Militant* public meeting in Winsford, to which she had been invited to speak through the council's publicity officer in her official capacity as a councillor and an article in *Mersey Militant* based upon an interview.

So bereft of any real arguments was Neil Kinnock that he tried to drag in the council's 'no rate' policy, only to be surprised to learn that this policy had originated with other Labour councils such as Sheffield, and had initially been opposed by Liverpool.

He argued that Liverpool City Council was being 'run by a democratic centralist organisation' and that they would not let anyone else hold the position of secretary. Dennis Skinner reminded the meeting of the NEC's 'democratic' centralist imposition of a candidate on Knowsley North.

Opposing the expulsion, Tam Dalyell referred to the legacy of the old right wing in Liverpool (three of whose MPs defected to the SDP) from which the left turned round Labour's fortunes in the city. Also voting against were Michael Meacher, Tony Benn, Linda Douglas, Dennis Skinner, Joan Maynard and Jo Richardson. Eric Clarke, Audrey Wise and Tom Sawyer were absent.



Photo: Tim Bolwell

LAST WEDNESDAY'S NEC meeting was lobbied by women members of Knowsley North Labour Party, dressed up as suffragettes and handcuffed to the railings.

One of them, 61 year old pensioner Maggie Garney (above), in London for the first time, told Tim Bolwell that they hadn't done it lightly: "We had to think long and hard before coming here, but we want our own person. We don't want someone imposed; we can't accept this."

But she did not think that Neil Kinnock would listen to them: "He's very dictatorial to the working class. If he can't listen to us, he can't lead us. He's turning the clock back 80 odd years. It's atrocious that we have to stand here getting our feet wet... I'd rather be at home knitting, but unfortunately we've got to be here. The rich don't have to protest; they've already got it. What have we got? Our feet, our hands and a voice to protest."

general committee meetings, of suspect membership, of unwanted members being kept out. All to impose a *Militant* tendency takeover. Of course there is no evidence to back up their attacks.

Deptford, is a left wing party which has opposed the witch hunts of Marxists but does not support all of the ideas of this paper. It is being attacked for sticking to socialism and wanting a socialist MP.

Silkin who is due to retire at the next general election is the main person quoted to back up the allegations. This article

looks like the first stage of a press campaign to influence the selection, maybe even in the hope that the NEC will impose a candidate. Surely Silkin is not contemplating an early resignation to try to do a Knowsley?

Redcar

REDCAR LABOUR Party's attempt to deselect their sitting MP James Tinn suffered a setback when Labour's executive voted 19-7 to refer the dispute to the Appeals and Mediation Committee to inquire into the

constituency party's affairs.

They will be concentrating on the events surrounding the Annual General Meeting in March when 21 right-wing delegates walked out in a protest over the refusal to give credentials to a delegate. The NEC have recommended that the constituency party suspend any move to deselect Tinn until after the inquiry has been completed.

The NEC appear to have acted largely in response to public calls by the MP for an inquiry to root out alleged *'Militant* infiltration' and ignored a democratic vote at the

last constituency meeting for the MPs deselection. The party officers have made it clear that they have nothing to fear from the investigation, but question its usefulness. The MP on the other hand has welcomed the NEC decision, saying that "things have gone too far" and that he has no intention of resigning: "I will be the Labour candidate in Redcar at the next election."

The party are confident that they will be exonerated and will be able to carry on with selecting an MP who will properly represent the wishes and views of the constituency.

Labour Party news in brief

Deptford

IT SEEMS the Kilroy-Silk tactic is catching on. Deptford Labour Party has been 'raped' ranted the *Deptford and Peckham Mercury* with five pages of insults and unsubstantiated accusations against the party, the left and *Militant* in particular.

They write of "an amazing 13 year plot" by 'militant infiltrators' to oust the sitting MP, John Silkin. They alleged abuse and intimidation of Silkin supporters, packing of

stage democracy

George Howarth, Fisher's threat to stand in the by-election against the party if Labour selected "a socialist supported by *Militant*." Now Howarth has invited Fisher to assist Labour's by-election campaign, after he turned down a similar appeal from the Alliance!

Meantime the nine expelled Liverpool socialists will be campaigning for a Labour victory, appealing for workers to join the party to strengthen the forces of democracy and socialism. In contrast to his open embrace of an opponent of Labour, Howarth has said he does not want the help of those with years of service to the party and they should put up a *Militant* candidate.

By Richard Venton

Councillors threatened

TWENTY ONE Liverpool councillors replied to Larry Whitty's letter demanding that they abide by the constitution of the Party saying that they had "no intention of breaking rules."

But they either requested that the NEC see a delegation of Group members expressed a wish that the current divisive situation by resolved by negotiation.

Yet the NEC decided that only the remaining 24, who 'unequivocally' declared that they would abide by the rules, would be invited to the meeting to reconstitute the Labour Group. The NEC agreed to "consider after that meeting the position regarding party membership of those not prepared to attend the Group". It said it would give "a recommendation for reference of their cases to the National Constitutional Committee."

Councillors who already face disqualification and huge surcharges by the courts are thus being threatened with possible expulsion merely for expressing constructive suggestions to the NEC on how the Labour Group is to be operated. Nothing less than abject abasement, it seems, will satisfy the present party leadership.

Mossley Hill

LIVERPOOL MOSSLEY Hill Constituency Labour Party has voted, with none against, to condemn the suspension of Broadgreen Labour Party by the National Executive Committee (NEC). They rejected, by 25 votes to 15, a resolution calling upon the city council Labour group to accept the NEC instruction not to recognise Derek Hatton and Tony Mulhearn as members of the party.

These decisions will be of particular interest to one member of Mossley Hill Labour Party—Peter Kilfoyle, the party organiser sent in to enforce the NEC's decision.

Anti-sectarian conference an opportunity missed

FOUR HUNDRED delegates attended an anti-sectarian conference in Belfast last weekend organised by the Northern Committee of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions (NICTU).

The leaders of NICTU have been under increasing pressure from trade union activists, especially the Labour and Trade Union Group (LTUG), to discuss the political situation in the the North.

The strike of DHSS workers and council workers eventually forced the leaders to act. Given the situation, the calling of the conference was a welcome step. But as already outlined in *Militant*, there was inadequate representation and insufficient time for discussion. It was not a rank and file delegate conference as its delegates were mainly from the trade union tops.

The conference only lasted two and a half hours. Speakers had to give their names and an outline of their speeches several days in advance.

All speakers were vetted by the NICTU leaders and the majority were either members of NICTU itself or full time trade union officials. Only three non-full time union officials actually spoke. Those who had shouted loudest for the convening of a conference against sectarianism were bureaucratically prevented from speaking. Delegates from trade unions and trades councils who are members of the Labour and Trade Union Group were not called to speak.

Those who led the strike movement against sectarianism in the DHSS were given no opportunity to explain how the issues should be taken up. Yet the churches were given the right to speak, and incredibly a delegate from the CBI also spoke.

No clear lead has been given to defeat sectarianism. No proposals were presented to the conference by the trade union leaders about future action in the campaign. Alongside the churches and the CBI the trade union leaders appealed for an end to the violence. But they failed to show how this could be achieved.

Only workers' unity and a mass trade union based Labour Party to counter the bigots, and the struggle for socialism can end sectarianism, repression and the endless cycle of poverty in the North. From this conference the campaign must be relaunched for a mass working class struggle against sectarianism. Local campaign branches should be set up. A genuine rank and file delegate conference should be held which should democratically elect a leadership to coordinate the campaign.

By a Belfast reporter

Scargill hits out

ARTHUR SCARGILL spoke to Kent miners in Deal at a meeting to launch a campaign against the closure of Tilmanstone pit. There was a mood of tension and a feeling of resentment by the sacked men, towards those who had voted for Tilmanstone pit to close.

Scargill's speech was received with a standing ovation. In a reference to the Knowsley by-election he told how "Labour members who kept telling us during the strike that we should have a ballot are now refusing to allow their own members a ballot to decide who should represent them in the election." He said that a Labour MP attacks the NUM and supports the breakaway UDM which is not even affiliated to the TUC—against all the basic rules of the Labour Party. Instead of expelling councillors from the Labour Party they should be looking at those members who choose to acquaint themselves with an illegal breakaway organisation.

By Andy Roberts

YS member in coma

STEVEN REVINS, secretary of Stafford Labour Party Young Socialists, one of the leading organisers in the area for the "Tories Out" demonstration in London was knocked off his bike, the day before the demonstration, by a hit and run driver.

He is now in Stafford General Hospital in a coma. Anyone wanting to send get well cards etc should send them to: Ward 7, Stafford General Hospital, Stafford.

All comrades and Stafford LPYS send their best wishes and hope he gets well soon. We also send our regards and sympathies to his family.

By Gary Davison



Tory double standards

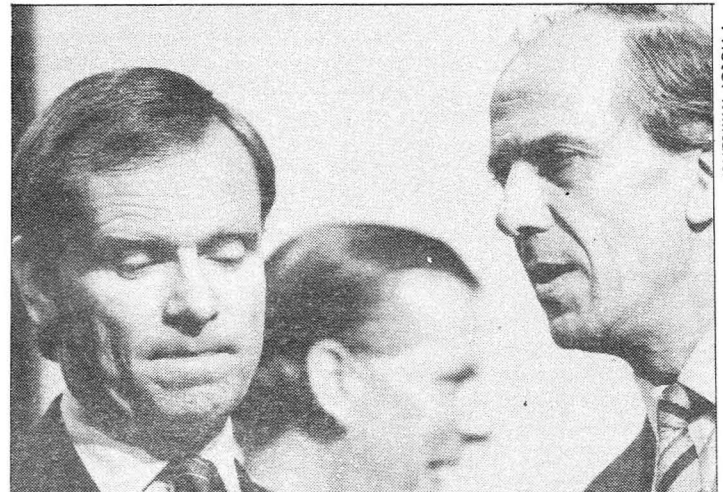
JEFFREY ARCHER, Tory deputy chairman, has resigned after admitting arranging for £2,000 to be paid to a prostitute to leave the country and avoid a scandal.

He claims he had been led into a trap.

The Tories' hypocrisy is nauseating. Archer has resigned to protect their image as the party of the family. This from a government which has ruined families through poverty and unemployment, and split Asian families through their racist immigration policy.

They now want to divert attention by criticising the *News of the World* for breaking the story. *Militant* certainly would not defend the questionable tactic of the scab Murdoch papers or their salacious material. But when have the Tories ever complained before? Thatcher's government wastes millions on paying police to defend Murdoch's fortress Wapping from sacked print workers.

Socialists will shed no tears for Archer. The *News of the World* just this once have allowed their



Jeffrey Archer and Norman Tebbit at this year's Tory Party conference.

love for circulation-raising smut to overcome their right wing propaganda role. For most of the time the press attacks Labour politicians and union activists, particularly the left. Remember the hounding of Peter Tatchell in the 1983 Bermondsey by-election. Remember the press photographers chasing Derek Hatton to his holiday in the Mediterranean.

They are now trying to divert the scandal to Labour. The *Express* has a front page story that the man who started the Archer story, a former TV presenter, had been a Labour candidate.

A Tory has been bitten by one of Fleet Street's rabid dogs. They don't like it but it happens to socialists all the time.

By Roger Shrivess

Fight racists with socialist arguments

THE EXTREME right-wing Federation of Conservative Students (FCS) are organising a speaking tour for right-wing Tory MPs, like John Carlisle, known for their racist views. Enoch Powell has already attempted to speak at Bristol University.

The aim of the FCS is not just to spread racist ideas. They are out to provoke confrontation over the National Union of Students' (NUS) policy of 'No platform for fascists and racists', which has been taken up in various ways by student unions. Hypocritically raising the cry of "freedom of speech", the FCS is hoping to isolate and discredit left-wing students as 'totalitarians'.

How should racism be fought? Socialist students recognise the urgent need to counter the repugnant views of right-wing Tories like Powell and Carlisle. But the "No Platform" policy does not provide an effective guide to action. Unfortunately, it is not based on a clear understanding of the issues.

The NUS policy extends the justified policy of denying a platform to fascists, who pose a direct threat to democratic rights, to other reactionary elements, who—while using vile, racist demagoguery—do not at this stage resort to fascist methods. Far from defeating the racists, this is playing into their hands.

Socialists are the best defenders of democratic rights. Freedom of speech and assembly, voting rights and the right to strike were achieved through the struggle of the labour movement. Important democratic rights in the colleges and universities, won through past campaigns, must also be defended. In fighting reactionaries, therefore, we must draw a sharp distinction between fascists and other right-wing elements.

Fascists

The fascists, if they ever came to power, would destroy all democratic rights. As Italy, Germany, and Spain showed, the fascist leaders, financed by big business, organised gangs of crazed middle-class rabble and demoralised workers to smash the workers' organisations, the vital element of democracy within capitalist society. One of their weapons was racism, inciting hatred against a scapegoat, the Jews. They also played on the rancorous hatred of small businessmen for the labour movement.

There can be no question of allowing fascists the "democratic right" to smash all democratic rights.

Today's tiny fascist groupuscules are in some areas a serious threat to black people and Labour activists—and we must mobilise the labour movement to deal with them. But under existing conditions, they do not pose an immediate threat to the labour movement. Their pernicious activities are a warning. They indicate the potential danger of a barbarous reaction in the future if we fail to transform society along socialist lines.

The right wing Tory MPs promoted by the FCS do not, at the moment, use fascist methods. They undoubtedly provide "respectable" encouragement for the fascists. Within the Tories' murky right wing lurks the spectre of a future Bonapartist reaction, which would rely not on fascist thugs but on big business dignitaries, army officers, police chiefs and top civil servants.

The racist views of "respectable" right-wing Tories are a polite version of the fascists' racist demagoguery. But they are trying to reach wider layers. The fascists themselves cannot get a mass response even from politically backward middle-class or

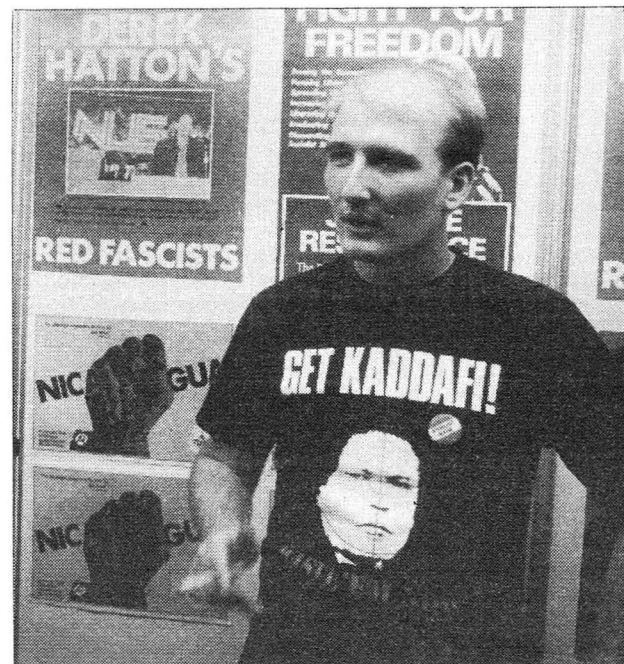
de-classed elements. Therefore big business encourages and covertly finances "respectable" spokesmen to foster racism as a political weapon.

Racism is aimed at the whole labour movement. Black and Asian people, as a result of incitement, are subject to brutal, sometimes lethal attacks, and the labour movement has a duty to defend them. Nevertheless, the aim of racism is to confuse and divide workers generally, thereby undermining the workers' organisations.

Prejudices

Racialism stirs up all the narrow, chauvinist prejudices which are the legacy of British capitalism's imperialist role. Poisonous prejudices are revived and reinforced by the social decay which condemns millions to despair and demoralisation. The record of Labour governments and the failure of the Labour leaders to offer a bold socialist alternative to Thatcherism has allowed the racists to gain a foothold among some of the most downtrodden sections.

Nothing is gained by attempts, through direct action, to silence racist politicians while failing to counter their reactionary views among the confused people they are appealing to. On the



FCS stall at Tory Party conference

contrary, attempts to stop them speaking allow reactionaries to pose as martyrs. Such tactics can create sympathy which was not there before.

Socialists must fight the racist demagogues by campaigning against their reactionary views. We must refute their lies with facts. We must expose their real political motives. We must counter their slogans with socialist argument. Against their illusory "solutions", we must convince workers and students that only the struggle for the socialist transformation of society can offer a real way forward.

Attempts to stop Powell, Carlisle and the like from speaking on campuses will rebound on students. Thatcher has already been strengthened in her moves to impose undemocratic legal curbs on Student Unions. Students will be embroiled in battles with the authorities

over discipline, instead of campaigning against racism.

Far better, if Powell or Carlisle threaten to visit, to organise pickets and protest demonstrations, but above all to call Union general meetings and other mass meetings to answer the racists.

Those who argue that the 'No Platform' policy should be used to prevent Tory right-wingers from speaking are unfortunately substituting superficially radical action for the real task of involving the widest possible layers of students in a campaign against racism. The best answer to the racists sponsored by the FCS is to demonstrate that the overwhelming majority of students and campus trade unionists are totally opposed to their reactionary views.

By Lynn Walsh.

Red Train triumphs over sabotage bid



Young Scot arriving at King's Cross station for the LPYS demonstration.

THE SUCCESS of the Red Train which brought 450 Young Socialists to London for the LPYS National Demonstration was the result of weeks of superhuman effort by LPYS members—and great generosity by working class Labour supporters.

The street, pub and workplace collections brought back memories of the miners' strike. Yarrow shipyard workers gave £200. Miners at Bilston Glen £100. Two Labour MPs Ron Brown and Gavin Strang gave £100 each. Many other shop stewards committees gave money.

That generosity is in marked contrast to the mean and petty obstruction from too many in the leadership of the labour and trade union movement. Not one penny came from any regional union bodies.

Over the last two years the LPYS in Scotland have been targets of a torrent of denunciation by the union and Labour Party officialdom. We have been accused of "refusing to build" and "preserving a small sectarian organisation."

The leaders are scared because we are building the LPYS. They are now resorting to sabotage. Officers of Labour's Scottish Council told trade union and Labour Party bodies not to contribute to our financial appeal. A few days before the demo we heard that a Scottish Labour Party official had rung up British Rail and put pressure on for cancellation of the train.

All genuine socialists will deplore these pathetic tactics. Young people on the working class estates and in the dole queues think the fight against Thatcher too important for such spitefulness from the leaders of the movement.

But we will remember working class generosity with gratitude, and remember our day on the demo in London with pride.

Fabian fun

A PUBLIC meeting in Liverpool on the Fabian Youth pamphlet calling for the reduction of the LPYS age limit to 21 attracted the enormous turnout of eight, mostly veterans of the almost deceased Liverpool Labour Left.

Until the LPYS members arrived, the average age hovered around 45, with Phil Woolas, former president of the National Union of Students and co-author of the pamphlet, attacking the LPYS for being small and unrepresentative of real youth.

He accused the LPYS of boring people and said we need to make politics fun. He pointed to groups like the church and scouts to il-

lustrate what real youth are doing!

A worker with 30 years experience in the movement reminded comrade Woolas that we are a political party not a scout pack. Several Young Socialists made excellent contributions about the record of the LPYS, mobilising hundreds of thousands of young people on political issues.

Despite protests from Ian Williams, who chaired the meeting, a vote at the end decided to fully back the LPYS and oppose the measures outlined in Phil Woolas's pamphlet.

By Dave Read.

Something to Bragg about

BILLY BRAGG concerts always attract large crowds. When he was in Brighton, LPYS members had a stall and collected money and dozens of names for the 18 October demonstration. Billy pledged his own support and donated albums to the LPYS to raffle.

Why not follow Brighton's example? He will be appearing at Portsmouth Guildhall, November 3, Bristol Studio (4), Cardiff University (5), Aberdeen Capitol (7) Glasgow Barrowlands (8), Newcastle Mayfair (9), Leeds Universi-

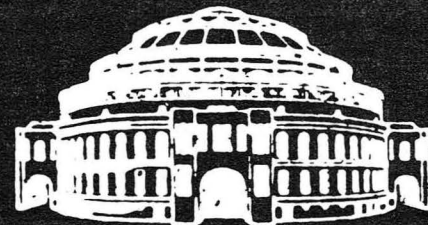


ty (10) Kilburn National Ballroom (12), Ipswich Gaumont (14) Norwich University (15).

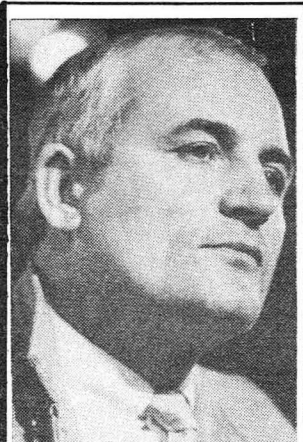
Militant MASS RALLY

ROYAL ALBERT HALL

London SW7 Sunday 16 November



In just two weeks, *Militant* will be staging its greatest ever rally at the Albert Hall. Don't miss your chance to enjoy a feast of political education and entertainment.



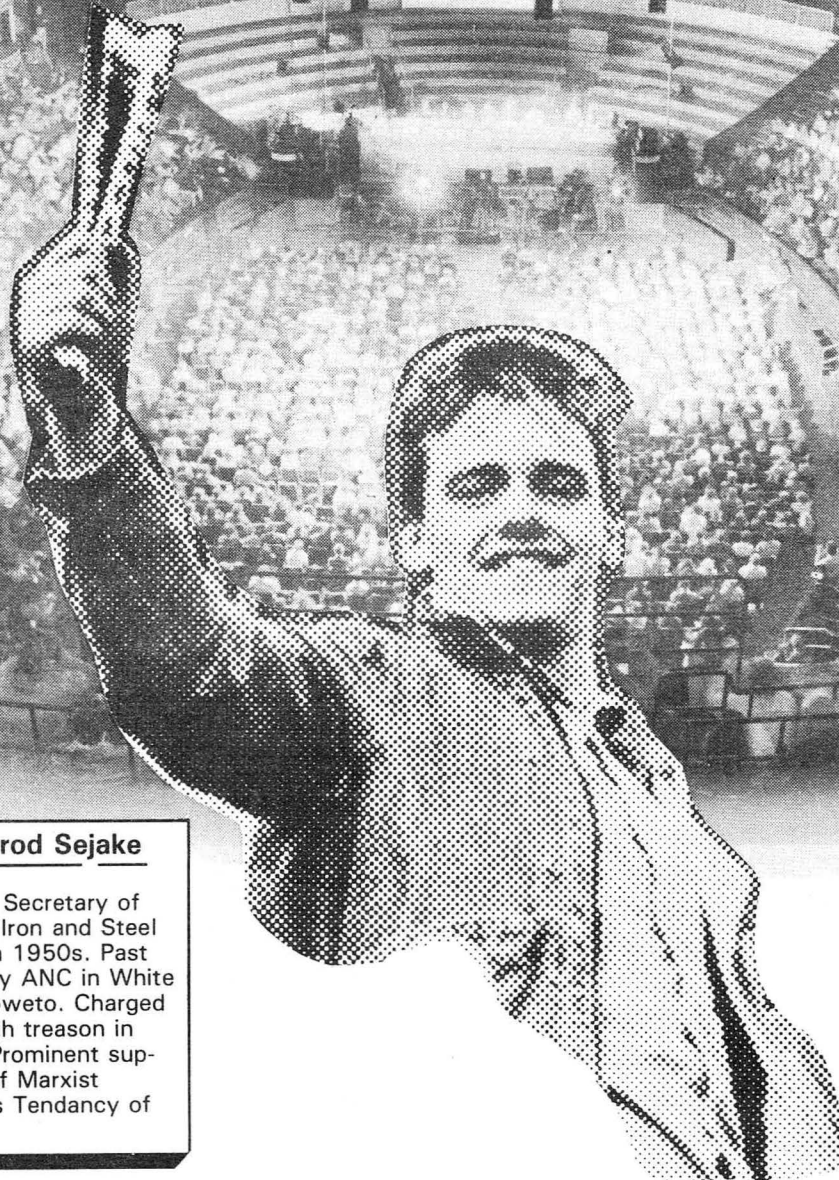
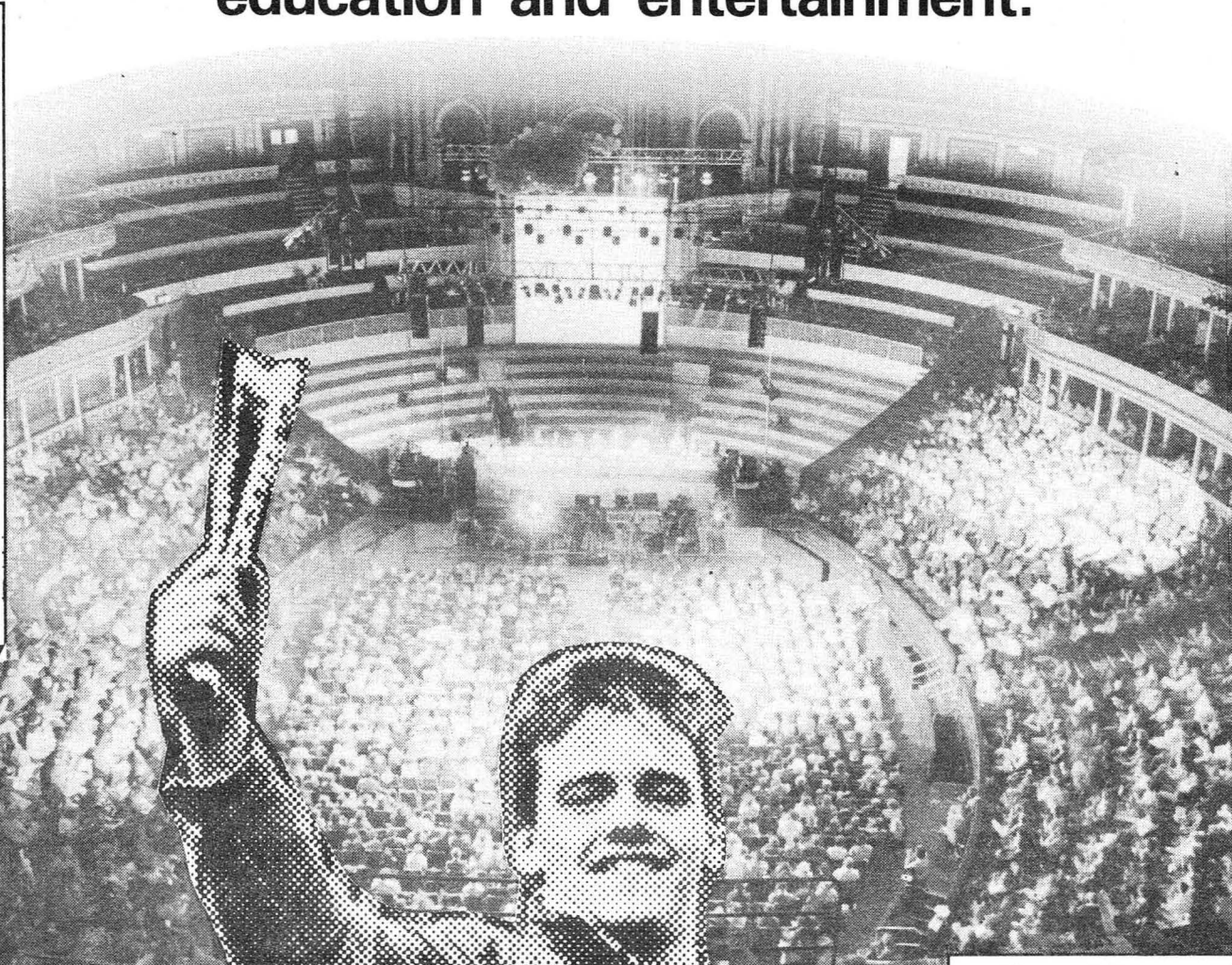
★ **Tony Mulhearn**

President Liverpool District Labour Party. Expelled from Labour Party June, 1986 after twenty-three years membership. Surcharged councillor.



★ **Derek Hatton**

Deputy Leader Liverpool City Council. Expelled from Labour Party June 1986 after sixteen years membership. Surcharged councillor, victimised from his job in October 1986.



★ **Vasudeva Nannayyakara**

MP of old LSSP (Sri Lanka) in 1960s. 1982 Presidential candidate of NSSP. Imprisoned under Jayawardene State of Emergency. President of NSSP. General Secretary Federation of Labour.

★ **Nimrod Sejake**

General Secretary of SACTU Iron and Steel Union in 1950s. Past secretary ANC in White City, Soweto. Charged with high treason in 1956. Prominent supporter of Marxist Workers Tendency of ANC.

★ **Ted Grant**

Leading theoretician of Trotskyism. Political Editor of *Militant* since 1964. Expelled from Labour Party February 1983 after thirty-three years membership.

★ **Peter Taaffe**

Editor of *Militant* since 1964. Expelled from Labour Party February 1983 after twenty-two years membership.

★ **Doreen Purvis**

CPSA National Executive Committee, National Vice-President. DHSS Executive Committee. Leader of the DHSS Newcastle central office strike 1984-85.

★ **Ragged Trousered Cabaret**

This entertainment collective was founded in March 1984 to provide entertainment for the Labour movement. It has entertained miners and their families during the 1984-85 strike and has performed on the picket lines, from the South African Embassy to the printers.

"At Aylesham....Ragged Trousered Cabaret performed to a packed audience of miners and families. Went down a storm by all reports." *City Limits* magazine.

★ **Skint Video**

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"The thinking man's 'Sigue Sigue Sputnik.'" *City Limits* magazine.

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After the big bang

Fewer and bigger

LAST MONDAY the City of London celebrated what the *Financial Times* called its 'October Revolution'. Many old practices in the Stock Exchange were abandoned as they joined the computer age (when the computers worked) and threw their markets open to international competition.

The 'Big Bang' ended the separation between brokers and jobbers and the practice of fixed commissions, bringing London into line with every other major stock exchange. Uniquely, London's Stock Exchange preserved a distinction between brokers, who dealt with clients wanting to trade in stocks and shares and jobbers who bought and sold on the floor of the Exchange.

International

The justification of the split was the potential "conflict of interest" between firms buying and selling on their own account and agents who were supposed to get the best deal for their clients. This restrictive practice had parallels with the separation of lawyers into solicitors and barristers.

Fixed commissions were

By Mick Brooks

intended to make Stock Exchange speculation cheap enough for the small investor, who was in effect subsidised by the big institutional investors, who shelled out £100 million a year on commission. They are now licking their lips. The Post Office pension fund expects a 60 per cent fall in its costs as a result of the introduction of a sliding scale.

The change is all to the advantage of the big firms. New York's 'Big Bang' saw the end of small specialist broking firms. The same is inevitable in London.

Capital now is international. When markets close in New York, they open in Tokyo. When they close in Tokyo they open in London. The result is round the clock trading with huge sums of

money moved instantaneously round the world just by sending instructions on a computer terminal which rematerialise on a VDU screen on the other side of the ocean.

The foreign exchange market is now worth \$150 billions a day. World trade only totals \$7 billion a day, so for every dollar's worth of goods that actually cross frontiers, over twenty dollars' worth of currency is traded.

As capital accumulates, world financial markets run to keep up. Hoare Govett recently 'placed' £85 million worth of BP shares around the world in ten minutes. Under capitalism London has to keep pace as an international centre.

Takeover frenzy

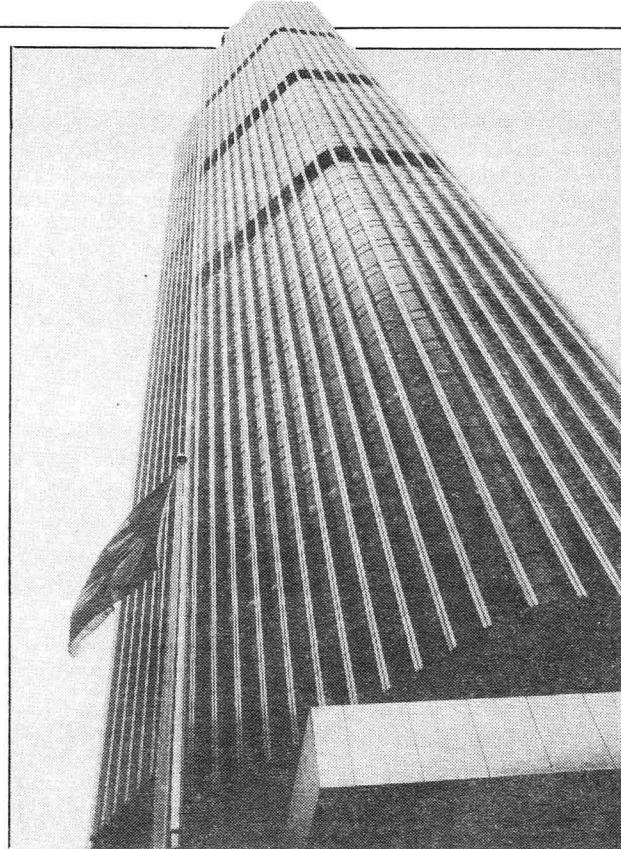
The scale of money trading is mirrored by the increasing size of international credit. The Eurobond market is out of control of any one national state. In London it raises \$200 billion a year compared with \$6 billion from new share issues on the London Exchange.

See also
Black Tuesday 1929
Page 10

The counterpoint to this explosion in financial wheeler dealing is the creation of financial supermarkets with a finger in every pie. In the USA, Sears Roebuck, once a humble mail order firm, now has operations ranging from socks to stocks, with insurance and estate agency in between. They are also pioneering ETFPOS—the electronic transfer of funds at the point of sale—the first step towards a 'cashless society'.

A wave of mergers and takeovers has greeted the 'Big Bang'. Merchant banks are buying into brokerage firms and the Japanese and American giants are buying British interests. A leviathan like Nomura Bank is capitalised at \$34 billion—a sum that has gone up four times since the end of 1985. Salomon Brothers is worth \$6.5 billion and employs over 10,000 people. Yet Sumitomo Bank has recently spent \$500 million buying an eighth share in the US firm Goldman Sachs.

If conglomerates of that scale cannot survive independently in the financial



Everything gets bigger in the City. Profits and problems too.

piranha tank, what chance do the British firms have? Apart from the High Street banks, who have their own specialised City offices, the biggest merchant bank—Morgan Grenfell—is capitalised at under \$1 billion.

Old established City landmarks like Warburg, Kleinwort Benson, Hill Samuel and Hambros are far smaller. The concentration and centralisation of capital predicted by Marx will see London's finance dominated by a few multinationals in five years time.

These financial con-

glomerates will be investing clients' money and buying and selling on their own account at the same time. They will be staffed by fabulously well-paid young men and women acting as brokers for others—and looking to make a few pounds on their own account as well.

The situation is riddled with potential 'conflicts of interest', which is a polite way of saying opportunities for fraud. As the recent 'Yuppiegate' scandal in New York showed, under capitalism everything gets bigger, and that includes capitalist crime.

Left and Right

Eyes closed

NUPE LEADER Rodney Bickerstaffe recently attended a fund raising activity for the printworkers.

When he found out that one of the female visitors was a *Militant* supporter, he asked her "How can someone with such lovely big eyes as you be so blind as to support *Militant*?" and proceeded to attack the policies of the paper.

Disregarding the sexist nature of his comments, she told him that up until a few months before, she had had no faith in Labour politicians. But seeing Liverpool council in action she had been pleased to see real fighters in the Labour Party.

Rodney Bickerstaffe said that he couldn't deny that what Liverpool had done was good but he didn't agree with *Militant*. His dream for the Labour Party Young Socialists in a few years time was for it to be no longer "dominated by *Militant*."

Perhaps Rodney's "lovely big eyes" have been closed and he hasn't noticed the LPYS's campaigning successes. I'm sure that if Mr Bickerstaffe has any positive ideas about winning young people to socialism, the LPYS would be pleased to hear them.

Portrait of a patriot

PEREGRINE WORSTHORNE, the editor of the *Sunday Telegraph* uses blatant jingoism in his editorials. But it seems there are limits to his patriotism. "It would not be difficult for me to become disloyal to this country," he says: "If a far left government came to power, abolished the monarchy, nationalised private property, set up peoples courts, all the things advocated by Tony Benn, treason would become an option very much worth considering."

"Or something short of treason, like joining a pro American fifth column. I can well imagine myself being a party to some CIA plot to destabilise a left wing militant British government."

He also says "If Britain ever got involved in punitive action against South Africa I would be on the other side."

Many Tories loudly demand a purge of "unpatriotic" left wing media people. What do they think of this character who would consider taking up arms against Britain if ever the majority of the people were to take control and his class's privileges were at risk? Answer—they love him.

Just a hiccup

FORTNUM AND MASON, the Piccadilly suppliers of hampers and champers for Hooray Henrys lost £68,000 between February and August. The company said the results had to be seen "in the perspective of the economic and political factors which were the chief cause". Surely Mayfair's not suffering from Thatcher, that's too much to believe.

Or perhaps they've been reading Edwina Currie and want a low cholesterol diet. But no, Fortnums expect better news in the last part of the year when Christmas will see our rulers and betters overeating and drinking as merrily as ever. It's just a hiccup.

The low tricks of high finance



Bankers in the City—worried about insider trading.

CAPITALISM ROBS the working class. But businessmen who cheat others in their own class too extensively give the bosses a bad case of moral fervour.

Wall Street's 'protector' from these big bad wolves, the US Securities and Exchange Commission has spent \$100 million investigating insider trading, ie using prior knowledge for speculation. Nonetheless they say they are "only scratching the surface".

In the Yuppiegate scandal Denis Levine, a young investment banker, used his contacts to make \$12.6 million profit from insider dealing in six years.

Now they are investigating the possibility that Levine's Wall Street capers are linked to suspiciously similar insider dealing in Zurich. The US business press claim that it is younger dealers who haven't imbibed "the right ethics" to blame. In reality they have absorbed the "suc-

ceed at all costs" morality of capitalism very well.

Levine specialised in mergers and acquisitions; these are running pretty high in Britain too. And they probably face similar problems.

Share prices of takeover candidates have been rising in the three months before a bid at an average rate of 25 per cent, ensuring very nice profits for people in the know.

Sell Militant at work

SHEFFIELD COUNCIL worker Dave Bingham has been selling *Militant* for two months. He soon reached a regular 14 a week by selling to his workmates.

Last week he sold 20 and now he's getting his workmates to sell too. Several have come to local

meetings to find out more about Marxism.

Workplace sales help to lay the basis for a more frequent *Militant*. A paper based firmly on workplace sales will be all the more solid not only financially and in terms of circulation but politically too.

Follow Dave's example. Try selling to your workmates. Even one or two new regular sales will help to build *Militant* into a workers' daily and an impregnable fortress for the ideas of socialism.



Militant International Review
New issue out shortly. Articles on Marxism and Parliament, Hungary 1956, Labour in power, and many others. Price 90p + 20p p&p from *Militant* 3/13 Hepscoot Road, London E9 5HB.

JARROW

The
wa

NOVEMBER 2 marks 50 years since the original Jarrow Marchers arrived in London after their three hundred mile, 28 day crusade for jobs. Last month also saw the start of a re-enactment of the original route to London, their demands unchanged despite the passage of fifty years. Jobs, the fight against poverty and a better deal for the working class still provide the motivation for the marchers.

Sadly the motivation of the organisers of the Jarrow '86 event is more one of sentimentality, and lacks any real understanding of the problems of Jarrow and Tyneside, and it will undoubtedly fail, in the same way the original march did, to achieve anything for the region's unemployed.

Jarrow today still suffers the same problems as in 1936. Unemployment in the Jarrow and Hebburn constituency is the highest in mainland Britain, youth unemployment is rising at an alarming rate, and poor housing is still a major problem.

The real problems of Jarrow have never gone away, they have occasionally been ameliorated by the short-lived post war economic upswing. Today, as a result of the Thatcher government, like the National government of the 30s, the problems have been compounded and the workers of Jarrow are demanding real action. No longer will they accept empty rhetoric and promises, least of all from a Labour government.

Industrial transformation

Since the early 1850s Jarrow's rise and subsequent fall had been mapped out around one central character, Mark Palmer. Even today 79 years after his death the fortunes of Jarrow still revolve around the legacy of the Palmers.

Mark Palmer was a capitalist of the worst type. In a period of forty years he transformed an insignificant river town into a thriving industrial and shipbuilding centre, reaping the benefits, but leaving the itinerant working class he had created to the evils brought about by such an industrial transformation.

Such was his economic dominance of the town that he was able to control the town politically as well, becoming the first mayor and then the first member of Parliament for Jarrow. At the time it was said that "Palmer is Jarrow and Jarrow is Palmer's". He controlled the town and almost everything in it. He set up blast furnaces, iron and steel works, engine works and quay facilities to supply his shipyards, and even owned the local gasworks.

He then set about securing raw materials and to this end he bought up a colliery and an iron ore mining company in Northern Spain to supply his furnaces. This policy of buying up other companies to safeguard Palmers monopoly was to continue until the end of the First World War, the Palmers directors continuing with it even after his death, when British capitalism hit numerous problems and headed for slump and recession.

Palmers had always paid large dividends to investors (up to 50 per cent of annual profits) and its policy of take-overs left them in 1920 without the resources needed to weather the impending slump. With only four hundred men employed at a small dry dock and a small council workforce, the town's population of 33,000 was

By Simon Potter
(Jarrow LPYS)

left to the mercy of the Palmers directors, who set about safeguarding their investments and positions by attacking the conditions of the workers. The steel works and other works owned by Palmers were closed and the town began to suffer.

By late 1920 the town was in the grip of a recession that would take twenty years and a world war to overcome. The people of Jarrow were left to suffer from the greed of Palmer and his directors.

In the years between Palmer founding his shipyards and 1919 the population had increased by around 900 per cent, but no significant housing programme had been embarked upon. An estimated 2600 new houses were needed in 1919, but in the following ten years fewer than 500 were actually completed.

In Jarrow today the memories of two or three families sharing three roomed houses still lingers on. The poor housing standards of the town were reflected in the health standards. With 35 per cent of the population living in overcrowded slums, disease was rife, and frightening rates of pneumonia and tuberculosis were recorded. Jarrow's mortality rate was twice the national average and by the early 1930s the death rate was running at 14 per 1000, far higher than the national rate.

By 1934 only eleven and a half per cent of the town's unemployed workforce were in receipt of "insurance" benefit although a further 70 per cent were receiving some sort of parish relief or church hand-outs. Those lucky enough to be receiving dole were considered to be well off and privileged by most of the population, and this had a profound effect on the town's shops. A few general dealers were all that remained, except for the pawn shops, money lenders and tally men.

The social effects on the town were devastating, men stood around like "lifeless corpses" on the street corners, looking for work, children suffered from malnutrition and many of the town's women literally starved "to feed the bairns" or to make sure "their man" was fit enough to look for work.

In 1934, with unemployment at 20 per cent nationally, and the North East being one of the worst hit areas, Jarrow became totally unable to support its workforce let alone provide jobs, and for many of the men who had been out of work for 10-12 and even 15 years it became a living hell. The graveyards of Jarrow provide a silent testament to those who could take it no longer and took their lives in desperation.

In that year the town received a death blow when the last remaining employer, Palmers shipyard, announced the closure of its yard. Not content with turning 7,000 men on to the dole, the management sold the yard to National Shipyard Securities Company, a



1936 Crusade brought

front for other shipbuilders, who closed the yard under an agreement whereby no ships were to be built on the Jarrow site for at least forty years. Even at the start of the war the shipbuilders refused to withdraw this, and it took heavy governmental pressure to reopen the yard.

The hopes and aspiration of the town's workers rested on an American delegation who on visiting the area declared it to be "...one of the best sites in the world for the establishment of an iron and steel industry..." and wanted to purchase the old Palmers sites for such a development. After two years of excuses and attempts to dismiss the plan the iron and steel federation announced in 1939 that the idea was unsuitable, because it would compete with and "ultimately do damage" to the interests of its members.

The hopes of Jarrow workers were shattered, capitalism once again taking away their hopes for jobs. Although to many of Jarrow's workers this crushing news

was the final straw, some of the population were galvanised into action. The election of the town's first Labour MP, "wee" Ellen Wilkinson, seemed to suggest there was still a chance.

The diminutive stature of "Red Ellen" was deceptive, standing only five foot tall, her fiery red hair reflected her fiery nature. In her early years as an MP she stood on the left and commanded the respect of the people of Jarrow. It was her intervention, in 1936, that helped to inspire the men of Jarrow to take to the roads and march to London, although the original idea came from a group of local councillors.

Fatal error

July 1936 saw the whole idea take shape. Unemployed men would march to London with a petition highlighting the plight of Jarrow. Unemployment was at 75 per cent.

At this point a fatal error was made. It was decided to make the

march totally non-political. The local clergy were invited to help, as was the local Conservative Association. The whole effort took on the form of a moral "crusade", partially to distinguish it from the many hunger marches of the time but also under pressure from the local churches.

The decision to keep the march non-political was due to the helplessness and despair felt by many in the town, but it also reflected the disillusion with political procedures following the betrayal of the National government, and the failure of the General Strike, which was strongly supported in the North East. The march was to be a plea to the government for help unlike other marches which were an expression of the anger of the working class at unemployment.

The march set off on a cold Monday morning, led by Ellen Wilkinson, the mayor of Jarrow and all the town councillors, who marched as far as the town boundaries. The route was to take in-

The town that was murdered

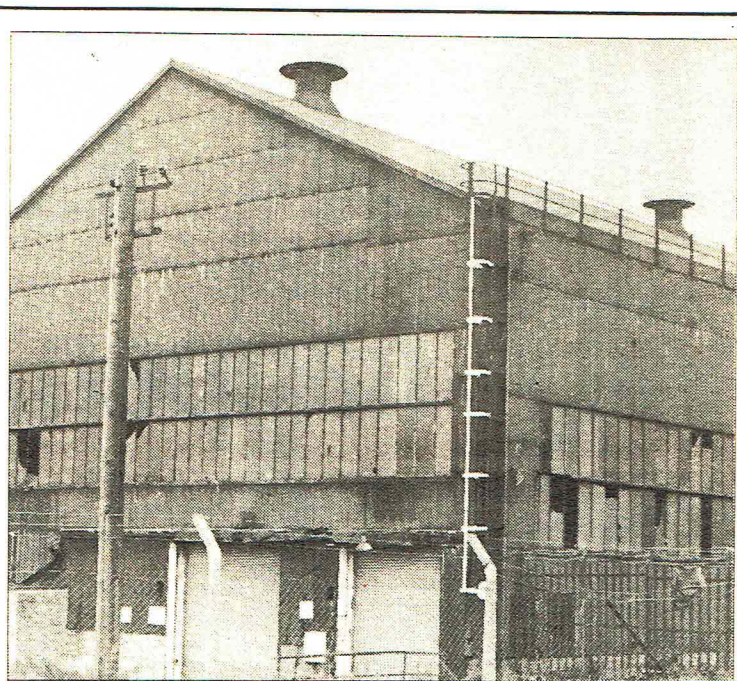
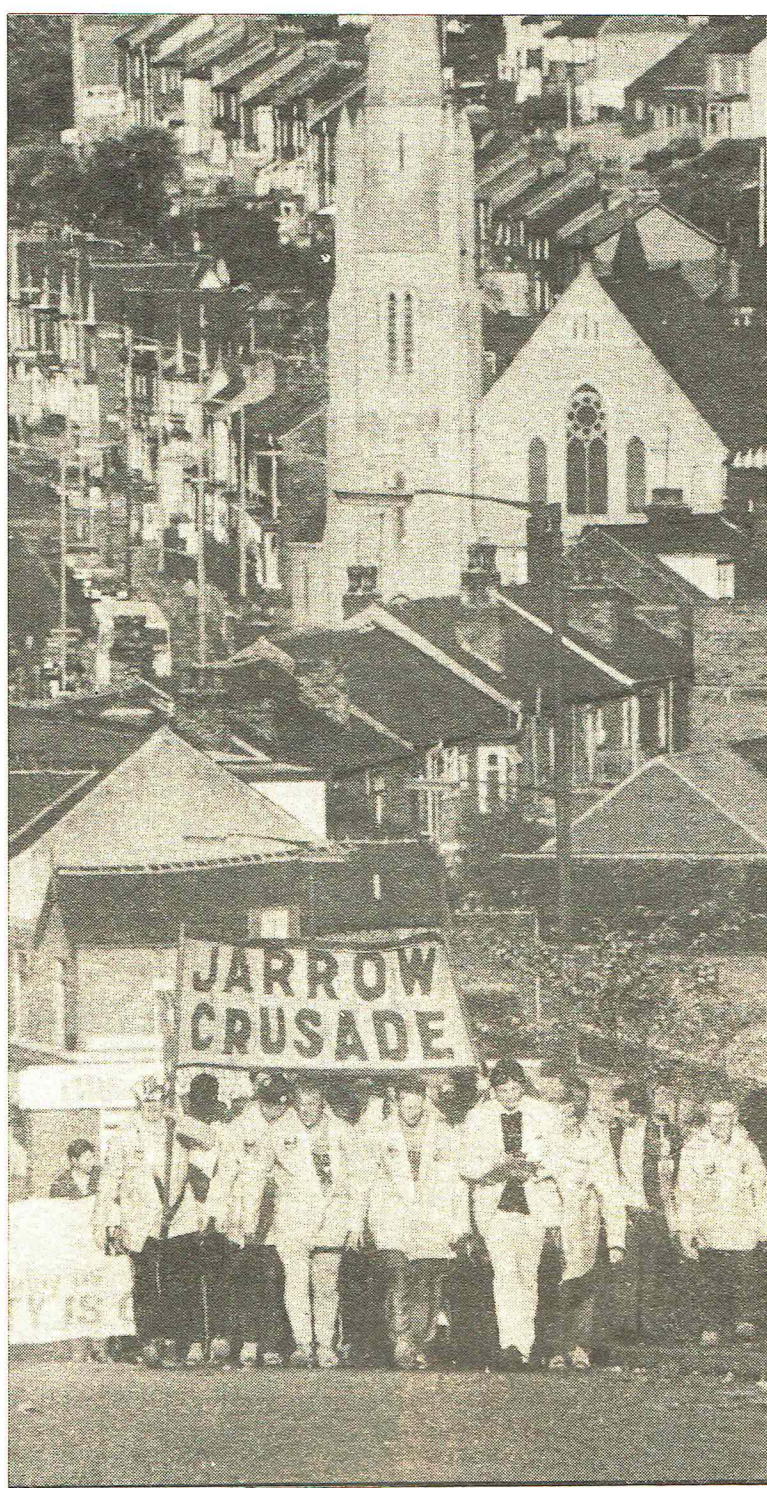


Photo: Dave Pearson

Jarrow today shows many of the features of Jarrow of the 1930's.

Unemployment hits youth today

"THE SLUMS HAVE GONE and the nightmare of the 1930s is just a dim memory.....Let us not forget that a change has come and all that is revealed here is JUST HISTORY." Shields Gazette, Jarrow March Supplement.

This is how the local Tory rag and apologists for the government have been portraying the events of October 1936. There is a conscious attempt to pass off the poverty and unemployment of Jarrow as something in "history", in the past. But history has come a full circle. "The town that was murdered," was the title used by Jarrow MP Ellen Wilkinson in her graphic description of the economic decline of the town in the 1920's and 30's. A new history of the town in the 1970s and 1980s could use exactly the same title.

Male unemployment stands at over 35 per cent. Terraced slums have only been replaced by concrete slums, a legacy of the Poulson era which still haunts the area. As manufacturing industry is destroyed by this Tory government we can see a direct repeat of the 1930s.

The Hebburn Palmers Yard, now owned by Swan Hunter is to be sold off as an EEC grain storage depot. Swans will not sell the site or the middle docks site down the river Tyne at South Shields, to anyone wanting to build ships.

The British Steel Rolling mill in Jarrow looks set for closure and the giant Reyrolles works at Hebburn which once employed 13,000 and now employs less than 1,000 is almost certain to close within the next few months.

The burden of Tory policies falls heaviest on the backs of working class youth. At the recent *Militant* readers meeting held in protest at the expulsion of Mark Potter from Jarrow Labour Party, seven lads from Jarrow and nearby Hebburn turned up. It was their first political meeting.

All of them regarded themselves as socialists. They understood the history of the town and the deprivation of the 1930s. But for them little had changed in the 1980s. Four of them spoke to Ed Waugh:—

GERRARD, from Hebburn, left school in 1983. His only "employment" was a YTS scheme which he left after six months.

"The scheme was in 'construction'. All we did was lay pavements. A bloke would tell you what to do ie. shovel sand, make tea etc. We laid the same path for six months. It was 100 yards long. When we finished we dug it up and started again. It was pointless. The pavement is still a mess to this day and they've started another path!

"50 youth have been employed over the last four years just to lay the same path.

"I packed it in after six months because I was getting nowhere. I'm on the dole now. I hope Labour wins the next election."

TONY, 19, also went on YTS after leaving school three years ago. For the last two years he has worked in a non-union furniture factory.

"I work 39 hours and come out with £58. Conditions are terrible. The toilets are dirty and you only get 10 minutes for tea breaks so after you've queued you don't have time to drink your tea.

"The factory is well known throughout South Tyneside for cheap labour. It brings in school leavers on YTS, keeps them on until they are 21, when adult rates of pay apply, then lays them off. There is no middle ground in the workforce, either young kids or old.

"I've seen the worktops we made sell for over £1,000. They charge well over the top for rubbish. Skimping goes on. I've joined the union as an individual. I don't know what it'll do for me but it's better than not being in."

DANNY, 21, has been unemployed for four years and has recently taken up a part time gardening scheme for £56 per week.

"The whole family is on the dole. My dad used to work in the yards as a spray painter. I have four brothers, one of them is a painter. The last time he worked was on an aircraft carrier for the Falklands.

"My job's got no future. For the next twelve months I'll just dig gardens. There's no training. I just took it to help my mam out of debt. There's loads of money sharks around here these days, there's some people even worse off than us. There's terrible debt!

"Most of my mates are on the fiddle. They're the only jobs around. I've never had any opportunities, living here. It looks like I'll be on schemes for the rest of my life. That's why I'm going to get more involved—to fight back."

GARY, 19, works at a local hospital as a cook. He is in the last week of his three month contract job. He was on strike when he attended the reader's meeting.

"We came out because they want to privatise catering which means cutting jobs in the kitchen. Things will be more unhygienic because they're cutting cleaners too. It means more work for us for less pay."

"I'm active in COHSE. We need unions but could do with better leaders. The ones I've seen don't stand on the picket lines for long. They get back into their cars saying they have business elsewhere."

When asked what they wanted from a future Labour government some of the hopes included: A job, but a decent one. Good living conditions. US bases out. A united Ireland. Clean streets, and rid of the Royal Family.

no jobs

Above: 1986 marchers en route from Barnsley to Sheffield. Photo: John Harris (IFL).

Above left: the original march.

many industrial areas on the way down but strangely also included the Tory stronghold of Harrogate, deep in the farming districts of Yorkshire.

Both Parliamentary agents for the town were used as "runners" to publicise the march and organise meetings at all the stopping points to tell people of the plight of Jarrow.

Media coverage

Thousands turned out to cheer the marchers at all stages of their journey and an estimated 50,000 greeted them on their arrival in London. This was largely due to the vast media coverage the march received. Since it tackled the awkward issue of unemployment without making any political demands, the then government were also able to use it to play down much of the anger at the job situation.

But this sympathy did nothing for Jarrow, and the marchers returned with the usual empty pro-

mises, and a little bit of their lost pride and dignity restored. It was to take a further 1050 days and the start of the second world war before jobs were to return to the beleaguered Tyneside town.

The march achieved little, but to publicise the town's problems. To this day the rest of Britain know about the town only through the Jarrow Crusade. But the crocodile tears of the government and the capitalists did not bring any jobs or a solution to the housing problems. The bosses kept their money firmly in their banks and wallets and soon forgot about the town.

Had the organisers involved the trade unions and made the march a class issue, success may have been possible. But even the local Labour movement gave way to the pressure to involve the clergy and other middle-class institutions, to make it "respectable" and appealing to the Liberals and middle-class, thus ensuring failure.

Restored pride and dignity were not enough. The marchers returned to worse conditions as the town

continued to deteriorate. So bad did the situation get that one of the historic "crusade" banners actually had to be cut up to make covers for pillows, for the deprived kids of the town.

Petition dumped

THREE HUNDRED miles later the "More work" petition was handed in to Parliament. Despite the sympathy of the rank and file, the Labour and trade union leadership looked on the march with some disdain. "Extra-Parliamentary" activity, even in those days clashed with the desire of the Labour leaders for media "respectability".

When the petition was presented to the Speaker it was unceremoniously dumped in a bag behind his chair and next business was moved. No debate took place, except for a few flitting questions being asked. In fact most of the marchers had been deliberately taken on a boat trip on the Thames and missed the presentation.

Black Tuesday 1929

will it happen again?

MICK BROOKS looks at the lessons of the Great Crash on the anniversary of the New York Stock Exchange collapse on 29 October 1929.

ON THE eve of the great 1929 stock exchange collapse, a journalist asked a speculator how so much money was being made on the market. He got this reply:

"One investor buys General Motors at \$100, sells to another at \$150, who sells it to a third at \$200. Everyone makes money."

This seems pure magic, but for a while it can work. In a "bull market", as in 1925-1929, nearly all share prices go up and up. Over these years US industrial shares trebled in value!

It's happening again. Between 1982 and 1986, shares on the London Stock Exchange doubled. Frankfurt went up by 266 per cent and Tokyo by 324 per cent.

Today, as in 1929, experts are wheeled out to assure us that "the market is fundamentally sound". Now, as in 1929, the outcome of boom is inevitably bust.

Why do Marxists believe that what goes up must come down?

To understand the apparently mysterious movements of the stock exchange, we must go back to basics. The foundation of the capitalist system is the pumping of surplus value (unpaid labour) from the working class in the production process.

Pieces of paper

The capitalist class express their ownership of the means of production (factories etc.) in the form of share ownership. A "share" in a company is simply a piece of paper entitling its owner to a regular dividend (share in profits). That dividend, in turn, can only form a portion of the workers' unpaid labour.

Once a company has been floated, its shares pass from hand to hand on the stock exchange. The company in question gets no part of the shares' selling price; so the buying and selling of existing shares on the stock exchange provides not a penny for investment in new production. The profits made in this way are purely for the benefit of the speculators who "play the market".

Of course, new shares can be issued which will finance new companies. But since the Second World War this has been an insignificant source of investment finance, compared with bank loans and profits ploughed back into production.

Shares are traded by speculators on the exchanges. Their value goes up and down according to their expectation of profit.

As we know, the herd instinct of

the traders can produce rushes and panics for all manner of reasons. At root, however, the health of the stock exchange is a reflection of the profitability of the real economy—even though there can be time lags and complications before trends in the economy eventually make themselves felt on the floors of stock exchanges.

Once a "bull" (rising) market has begun, the 'animal spirits' of the entrepreneurs take over. Everyone wants to be in on the getting while the getting is good.

An orgy of swindling is the inevitable result. This signals that the boom is beginning to peak.

In the USA in the 1920s, the Florida land boom pushed up the price of a plot of land from \$1,500 in 1914 to \$1.5 million in 1926—even though the land in question was a patch of swamp! (That particular plot, following the inevitable and spectacular collapse in land prices, has still to this day not regained its 1926 value.)

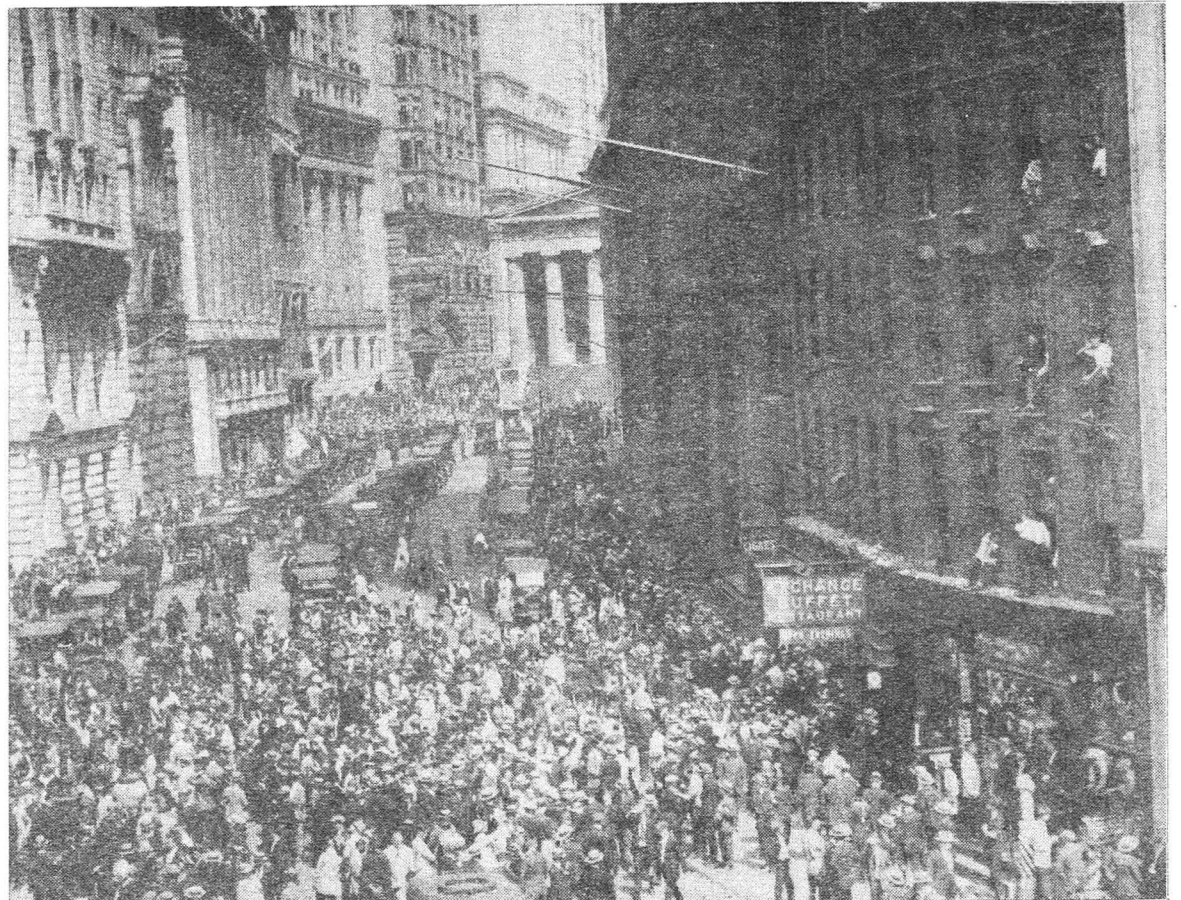
Likewise, the post-World War II boom produced all manner of asset strippers and get-rich-quick merchants who made fortunes by shuffling around pieces of coloured paper in the atmosphere of a market where everything must always go up. At the first faltering of the economy, firms like Slater Walker collapsed like a house of cards.

Share manipulations and the crazy urge to buy shoot way beyond the ability of the real economy to deliver more and more prosperity to the upper classes.

As the share boom peaks, the speculators look like a horde of Hanna and Barbera lemmings who have just run over a cliff, and are only held aloft by their obliviousness to their real situation. The crash brings them back to earth.

The boom is turned into slump as sections of speculators, or big institutions, begin to lose confidence in the future of the shares they are holding, and try to sell. This can lead to a chain reaction, bringing share prices tumbling down—and the whole film of the boom is played back in reverse.

The New York Stock Exchange



Consternation on Wall Street on 25 October 1929, as share prices spiral downward in a wave of panic selling. Ostentatious buying by leading financiers restored some short-lived confidence on Monday, before the bottom dropped out of the market the next day.

collapse on Black Tuesday, 29 October 1929, wiped 11.7 per cent off the paper value of all shares in just one day of panic selling. Speculators who had borrowed heavily to pay for their shares now found themselves with bits of paper dwindling in value by the hour.

Speculators could not pay back the finance houses and banks they had borrowed from, who as a result found themselves with a mushrooming explosion of bad debts. The knock-on effect meant a series of bankruptcies, spreading like a tidal wave, putting bank after bank and company after company out of business.

As the capitalists shut up shop, the great crash of 1929 heralded the mass unemployment of the 1930s. US industrial production in 1934 was only two-thirds that of 1929, and never recovered to the 1929 level before the Second World War.

Basis for boom

The basis for the pre-1929 boom was laid by the political stabilisation which was made possible by the defeat of the German revolution in 1923—the last great revolutionary convulsion after the War and the Bolshevik revolution.

If we take industrial production in the USA in 1924 as 100, it rose to 110 by 1928 and 126 in June 1929. It then fell back to 119 by the time of the October collapse—partly explaining the jitters among investors which led to the collapse.

Industrial profits were up 156 per cent between 1924 and 1929. But industrial shares trebled in value over the same period. While the capitalists had reached a limit for the time being in their ability to increase exploitation of the working class and push up profits, the stock exchange was still walking on air.

Again the parallels with the present are striking. As explained in previous issues of *Militant* (see, for example, article by Bob McKee in issue 815), the world economy is beginning to run out of road. Yet share prices continue to surge



The Frankfurt stock exchange today—again "walking on air".

ahead, with what is described as the "odd hiccup".

"Hiccups" like, for instance, 11 September 1986 when \$100 billion was wiped off share prices in one day.

In New York there were warning breaks in the summer of 1928 also, and on a couple of occasions in early 1929. But, as the markets resumed their upward climb, "experts" declared with sighs of relief that "the market was sound".

That world stock markets will go from boom to bust is certain. That the crash will ruin the livelihoods of millions of working-class people, as bankrupt capitalists close shop, is equally sure. We cannot tell when the collapse will come, or whether it will be as bad as 1929. We do know that there is no shortage of combustible materials lying around.

The 1925-1929 boom was oiled by credit. The Young and Dawes plans replaced the Allied policy of bleeding defeated Germany white, through "reparations" with a merry-go-round of loans that made Germany the miracle economy of the late 1920s.

The huge bubble of credit to third-world states today dwarfs the debt problem of the 1920's.

Germany was particularly hard hit by the Great Crash. If industrial production in 1929 is taken as 100, by 1932 it was only 53. That statistic, and the failure of the workers' leaders to respond in a revolutionary manner, led straight to the rise of Hitler.

In Austria in 1931 the Kredit Anstalt bank, loaded with bad debts, closed its doors. The ensuing wave of bankruptcies gave a further twist to the knife.

In Britain, as a direct response to the crisis, the Treasury demanded cuts. The Labour government was ousted and a National government, including Labour renegades, came to power to spearhead a savage attack on working people.

These historical lessons are relevant again in the period we have entered. Stock exchange movements may seem remote from the real world, but they are important in our overall estimation of developments to come. Politically aware workers must take them into account.



"Hoovervilles" or shanty towns grew up all around major cities in the USA. This was around New York in 1932.

Spanish land workers fight for survival

THE SPECTRE of hunger haunts the villages of Seville, Huelva, where able-bodied men hang around the main square in the vain hope that someone will offer them work. Most subsist on a diet of bread, olives and gazpacho, a cold soup of oil, vinegar and tomatoes.

Meat is a luxury for those in work. Most find work only for a couple of months a year, around the grape and olive harvests.

The land here consists of big estates, or 'Latifundia' owned, from time immemorial, by wealthy "grandees". The use of machinery has meant a steady decline in jobs on the land. The ostentatious wealth of the Andalusian landowners contrasts with the dire poverty and Third World conditions of the labourers.

The Socialist government has taken a few modest steps to ameliorate the conditions of the *jornaleros* (agricultural labourers), but the only real solution to the problem would be expropriation of the big estates and a through-going programme of agrarian reform. Yet the Gonzalez government, anxious not to offend the rich and powerful, has no intention of doing anything of the kind.

On the contrary, the government has come down firmly on the side of the landowners against the *jornaleros*. In the recent period, there has been a wave of illegal land occupations, mainly organised by the independent farm labourers union, the SOC, but with some backing from the workers' commissions (CCOO).

The government has reacted by arresting hundreds of activists. 600 of them are currently awaiting trial for the "crime" of fighting for a crust of bread for their families. The tactics of intimidation most commonly used against the labourers are as follows. A *jornalero* is arrested, brought before the courts and found guilty. He then faces either imprisonment or else the confiscation of his home and all his belongings. The sentence is then suspended and he is "bound over to keep the peace".

He knows that if he returns to the struggle and is caught, he risks not only being sent to gaol, but having his wife and children put out on the street and all their possessions seized. And this is how a "Socialist" government rewards the very people who voted massively for Felipe Gonzalez—himself an Andalusian—under the slogan "For change."

The campaign of the agricultural labourers has not been prevented by this

Second in series NOTES ON SPAIN by Alan Woods

brutal repression. On the contrary, the mood of anger and indignation has reached boiling point.

At a recent meeting of trade union activists from the CCOO and SOC, Canamero, general secretary of the SOC, reported that he had received numerous messages of support from provinces outside the areas (Seville and Cadiz) where most of the struggle, had taken place to date.

Clearly affected by the radicalised mood of the labourers, Canamero turned to the other union leaders and said: "The people have told me: We are with you right to the end. The masses are prepared to struggle. I tell you that they are much more to the left than all of us put together."

Economy

The position of Spanish capitalism is desperate. Entry into the EEC has solved nothing, and has made things worse. Since entry, Spain's exports to Europe have increased by 8.7 per cent, while EEC exports to Spain have gone up by no less than 23 per cent.

This is no surprise to the Marxists, who warned from



Jornaleros protest at their comrades' trial.

the start that backward Spanish industry could not compete with the more developed countries. Out of the 22 developed capitalist countries of the OECD, Spain now occupies 19th position—two places lower than a year ago, with only Greece, Portugal and Turkey in worse shape.

Spain has the highest unemployment in Europe, and its rate of inflation (6.1 per cent for January-June 1986) is far higher than the EEC average of 2.4 per cent.

Like Kinnock, Felipe Gonzalez had the delusion of "promising nothing" to the electorate, and thus avoiding opposition to his allegedly "realistic" programme of making capitalism work.

Again like Kinnock, the only thing Gonzalez promised (in 1982) was to combat unemployment and create 800,000 jobs. Instead,

unemployment has risen inexorably to 22 per cent, and is set to rise even more.

All the sacrifices of the working class, the austerity and factory closures have served to increase the profits of the capitalists, but not to modernise industry or reduce unemployment. Four years on the situation, far from improving, is becoming critical.

Still too much

Spain—not long ago the tenth industrial power in the world—has a steelmaking capacity of 23 million tons. Currently it is producing only 14 million tons—i.e., 64 per cent of capacity. However, this is still too much for the other European capitalists, who are demanding a further three million ton cut. This would mean a further 10,000-

15,000 redundancies.

The government is coming under heavy pressure from the banks and capitalists to press on with a ruthless programme of factory closures. Big enterprises, employing thousands—like the shipyards, the state airline Iberia, the Pegaso truck factory and above all the coal board HUNOSA—all face massive cuts, closures and sackings.

The attempt to close the Rio Tinto copper mine (reported in last week's *Militant*) was almost certainly a "dry run" to prepare for an attack on the steelworkers and miners of Asturias in the north—an attack which will have explosive consequences for the whole of Spanish society.

Next instalment: How the Socialist Party leadership are responding to the crisis.

German metalworkers elect new leader

FRANZ STEINKUEHLER, known as a man of the left, is the newly-elected president of IG Metall, West Germany's largest trade union. He became prominent in 1984 during the metalworkers' struggle for a 35-hour week, the biggest and hardest confrontation in post-war German labour history.

That strike ended in a compromise accepted by only 53 per cent of strikers. Renegotiation is due at the end of this year, and German workers will look with great expectation at the new leadership.

Because of the importance of West Germany, developments will be followed by workers all over Europe, especially in East Germany, where workers can tune into West German radio and TV. We reprint extracts from a recent interview with Franz Steinkuehler by the *Süd-deutsche Zeitung*. Report and translation by PEGGY ELLIOTT.

Do you see yourself on the left of IG Metall?

That depends on the way the problem is posed. For example, there is a difference of opinion within the union ... on where to draw the line when strikes become political.

If you pose the question this way, I regard myself as being on the left. Every strike action is political. It would be wrong for the union to allow themselves to be pushed into a corner where they can only debate economically... Protests, warning strikes have the aim to show those who agitate us politically that they are doing something against the workers.

But we live in a state of law and order, and if you feel that a law is unconstitutional you can go to the High Court... And of course there is no reason why you can't have demonstrations on a Saturday, does it have to be during working hours?

There is no law that says you can't protest during working hours. The basic right to demonstrate lasts 168 hours a week... By the way, we have had demonstrations on a Saturday. Any day of the week will do. But working hours are better because the workforce is together.

The confrontation of 1984 was very expensive for both parties... Have relations improved for the preliminary talks for 1987?

If you analyse the interests of the bosses objectively ... then really the bosses should have an interest in avoiding



Daimler workers come out during 1984 strike. Steinkuehler (inset) will be watched closely by the rank and file in the coming negotiations.

a conflict like 1984, and try to find a solution during preliminary talks. But I have my doubts, because the ma-

majority of bosses are still those who like to dig their trenches deep.

THE ELECTIONS for a new executive at IG Metall's Congress last week saw the resignation of the union's chief pay negotiator, who stands for a policy of cutting the working week to 35 hours.

This represented a victory for the policy of "flexible" working practises, supported by Steinkuehler and the younger "technocrats" in the union leadership. But Steinkuehler's own vote dropped from 90 per cent to 83.5 per cent. This is seen as a warning from the rank and file not to use "flexibility" as a formula for compromise with employers.

Public-sector strike in France



The working class has given the Chirac government its first serious warning.

TV VIEWERS in France were treated to endless repeats of American soap operas last Tuesday. At Paris's Gare du Nord station, only one train in twenty was running. Countrywide, up to 90 per cent of teachers did not report for work.

This one-day action by public sector workers, the biggest since 1977, was the first serious warning to the right-wing Chirac government elected last March (see *Militant* 792, 808). Workers were protesting against the government's clampdown on wage rises, its privatisation plans and threats of 19,000 job losses.

The response from different sectors was uneven, reflecting the absence of a

clear and effective lead from the unions' leadership to defeat the government's plans. In Paris the two main trade union federations, CGT and CFDT, failed to organise a united march—separate marches were held.

But 69 united demonstrations in other centres showed the undoubted preparedness of the French working class to take on the government of the bosses. A serious campaign will be needed, not only to demonstrate anger but to mobilise the potential power of the movement to defeat Chirac and return to power a Socialist government committed to a working-class programme.

By George Collins

Educating Birmingham council leaders

Dear Comrades,
On receiving my copy of *Branching out* the journal of the Birmingham branch of NALGO, I turned to an article which began with the quote "If people formed Housing Co-operatives, they wouldn't have to deal with those incompetent bastards at Bush House" (the central office of Birmingham City Council housing department).
The article revealed that it was the Labour Leader of the council, Dick Knowles at a meeting of the Birmingham District Labour Party.
His remark was apparently supported

by ex-left Jeff Rooker MP for Perry Barr, a man at the forefront of a plan to reverse the Labour Party's opposition to the sale of council housing.
These comrades need to know a little more about the conditions that staff in Bush House work under. Many of the floors need regular fumigating due to infestation, but this is impossible due to cleaning costs, also some of the toilets are regularly out of order due to seepages of water from toilets on the floors above.
Bush House has one of the worst records of employee sickness in the

council, hardly surprising under these conditions. Yet instead of providing a service to the public, Dick and his cronies are more concerned about an International Road race which culminated in a £400,000 deficit.
The Labour council were returned to office earlier this year despite a massive 43 per cent rates rise, the question is would the priorities of the Birmingham Council be any different under a Tory administration?
Yours fraternally
A NALGO shop steward

Misuse of resources

Dear Militant,
Sharon Maclean's article 'Thousands die needlessly' stated that 'health administrators and some doctors in other fields do not think tiny or premature babies really matter... under capitalism human life means so little...'
However, money and NHS facilities are devoted each year to ending the lives of thousands of equally helpless unborn babies, when mothers who can see no alternative under the capitalist system are forced to resort to abortion.
Surely we should be challenging a system so evil that it cannot support the unsupported pregnant woman and now cannot find the price of a premature baby's life.
Yours in peace
Ann Farmer
Labour Life Group

Letters

Send us your views, comments or criticism.

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

Nazis' religious front

Dear Comrades,
Recently information has come to light about a neo-Nazi church named Church of Jesus Christ Christian. It is an American organisation which has slogans like 'only whites go to heaven'.
It has been responsible for houseburning and murder in America. It has National Front connections and has

singled out three cities in the UK for its racist work, London, Liverpool and Bristol.
It is the responsibility of the Labour and trade union movement to make sure this does not happen anywhere in the UK.
(name withheld)

Pie in the sky when you die

Dear Comrades,
Whilst selling papers recently outside a bus station, this woman came up to us and said "Jesus loves you", "Jesus will save you" and that selling the *Militant* was "sinful", and that we should pray to God for forgiveness. When I asked her whether praying to God will eliminate poverty or get four million off the dole, she ignored me.
It seems hypocritical to criticise others fighting for socialism and the elimination

of poverty when the institutions they represent are enormously wealthy.
The Church of England for example has property in Britain worth over £800 million; foreign investments worth over £800 million and stocks and shares worth over £700 million, making it one of the biggest landowners in Britain.
Yours fraternally
Dylan Murphy
Holme Valley Labour Party Young Socialists

Visa controls hit British residents



Thousands of Asian families were stranded at Heathrow for days on end in appalling conditions when the Tories introduced their visa controls two weeks ago.

Dear Comrades,
No one should be under any illusion that the racist visa controls just introduced by the Tories apply only to people living in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nigeria and Ghana. They also restrict the rights of nationals from those countries who are already settled in Britain.
Under the new rules, a UK based resident from one of the affected countries who wishes to travel abroad, even for a holiday, must first apply (and pay a fee of £12) to the Home Office for a 'visa' in order to regain entry into this country—to return home. People will risk being refused permission to re-enter this country if they have not previously obtained a visa.
Yours Fraternally
M Khan

Classified ads

- 15p per word, minimum 10 words. Semi-Display £2 per column centimetre. Three weeks for the price of two. *Militant* meeting ads free. All advertisement copy should reach this office by first post on Friday, the week before publication.
- *L'Avance Socialiste*, the french marxist paper for youth, socialist and communist workers: The situation in France. A socialist policy for the left, Young socialist activities, letters of support from communist youth, South Africa etc. Order now from *L'Avance Socialiste*, BP No. 705, 75531 Paris CEDEX 11, France. £10 for 12 issues.
- New video *The Launch of COSATU*. Available for hire from: PO Box 77, London E8 4TB.
- Solidarity Rally with South African Miners. Sat 8 November. Assemble 11.30am at Gunness Corner (Beside Jolly Sailor pub), Gunness, South Humberside. Rally 12.45pm opposite Flixborough Wharf. Organised by Hatfield NUM and Doncaster anti-apartheid movement.

- Chile Socialist Defence Campaign slide video *Chile on the Brink* 20 minutes long. Analysis of recent struggles in Chile. Order from: CSDC, PO Box 448, Emma St, London E2. £10 including postage. Cheques payable to "CSDC".
- *Militant* poster blanks (A2 size). Order yours now—cash in advance. £20 per 1,000 (inc p&p). Box 5, 3/13 Hepscoth Rd, London E9 5HB.
- 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 Hepscoth Rd, London E9 5HB.
- Militant Rally in the Albert Hall: Can all parents who will require crèche facilities during the rally on 16 November please contact the Rally crèche, 3/13 Hepscoth Road, London E9 5HB for a crèche booking form.
- Lenin and Trotsky on Rosa Luxemburg (40p inc. postage). Luxemburg Reform or Revolution (£3 inc. postage). Order from World Socialist Books, 3/13 Hepscoth Rd, London E9 5HB.
- SALEP broadsheet *Workers and youth direct links campaign 1986*, 20p plus p&p from: PO Box 77, London E8 4TB.

Positive discrimination necessary

Dear Militant,
Yours correspondent Mara Dale of Isle of Wight must be very proud of being elected to positions in the Labour movement as if she were as good as a man, especially as most women appear to her as "middle class".
Nowhere in this country can a woman stand "on equal terms with men". We have to fight against handicaps, one of these being that we are still regarded by both men and women, as less equal to any responsible position (except a supportive one) whatever lip service we may receive. Hence the necessi-

ty for "positive discrimination", to give women a chance which at present they do not have.
Stop these snide attacks on womens' fight within the Labour movement. It is noteworthy that no letter opposing *Militant's* policy in any respect is ever printed by you. I have never known such unanimity among the readership of any paper.
Yours in the fight
Kathleen Jones
Shropshire

Labour and disarmament

Dear Comrades,
Former Labour Prime Minister Jim Callaghan was a factor in the party's massive defeat in 1983. In the middle of the election campaign Callaghan calmly explained to an election meeting why Labour was wrong on defence.
Now Callaghan is about to publish his memoirs. Already he has signed a contract with Channel 4 for four one hour television interviews on this major work. The book will come out in April 1987, and on the eve of an election he could be asked questions on defence!
He will of course, pick up a tidy sum from his publishers and Channel 4 which no doubt will keep the wolf from the door, as Jim sees out the sunset of his years on his Sussex farm.
None of this involves 'bringing the party into disrepute' and one thing is certain, our Jim won't be up before the National Constitutional Committee.
Yours fraternally
A Militant reporter

Dear Comrades,
Since the end of Labour Party conference I have been asked about Labour's policy on nuclear disarmament from friends and neighbours.
Although I support Labour's position on nuclear disarmament and will fight for a Labour victory, working people will not take this policy seriously unless the rest of Labour's programme which effects them has a radical edge.
Yours fraternally
Mike John
Gwent

Private Buses

Dear Comrades,
The problems of de-regulation have begun before it has really started. Easyway, so far Blackpool's only private bus company, has been given a 12 month reprieve after "serious defects" were found on buses during an examination of the fleet.
If this is the case now, what happens when these operators, often one man operators, start going wrong, will they be allowed to continue operating?
If a major accident does occur, they might take you to the nearest hospital, that's as long as it hasn't been closed due to government cutbacks.
Yours fraternally
Kevin Taylor

Selling Militant

Dear Militant,
Whilst standing on a corner of Trafalgar Square on Saturday afternoon waiting for the YS march to arrive, I sold 14 papers in about 45 minutes. A lot of people wanted to talk about our ideas and many gave a donation.
A bus driver, stopping his bus at the crossing, called me over and gave me 50p for a paper through the window of his cab.
Yours fraternally
Chris Parry

Correction

Unfortunately an address which appeared on last week's *Militant* letters page was wrong. Messages of support to the Building Labourers Federation in Australia should be sent to: BLF, Room 34, Trades Hall, Goulburn St, Sydney 2000.

Militant Miner pamphlet. 75p inc p&p. Available from 'Militant Miner', 3/13 Hepscoth Rd, London E9 5HB.

- ### Militant Meetings
- Caerphilly Marxist discussion group. Working Mens Hall, Caerphilly, every Monday 7.30pm.
 - 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 second Tuesday at 29 Waterloo Rd, Sittingbourne, Kent. For further details ring Sittingbourne 72632.
 - All Yorkshire Militant Womens Day School. Workshops on famine, sexual harassment, women and childbirth, women in trade unions, equal pay and more. Sheffield, Saturday 29 November. 12 until 6pm. Midday and evening meals provided, crèche organised. Social in the evening. Further details contact: Marion Adkins, Sheffield (0742) 330855.

JACK JONES

UNION MAN

AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY

BORN IN 1913 in the Garston district of Liverpool, Jack Jones' father was a docker and most of his family were involved one way or another in the economy of the port.

Poverty stalked the streets. He recounts: "In the house next door the children didn't even have a bed to sleep in, nor did their parents. They slept on the bare boards of the floor with old overcoats and other clothing to cover them."

The family were all active trade unionists and he became involved in the Socialist Sunday schools where the socialist ten commandment were taught. At the age of 13 he volunteered as a messenger for the Council of Action during the general strike. Following his father on to Garston docks he was soon involved in the TGWU.

The TGWU of the 1930s was ruthlessly controlled by its general secretary, Ernie Bevin. When a move to restore a pay cut enforced in 1931 came, three of the leaders on Salford docks were expelled from the union and lost their jobs for instigating an overtime ban.

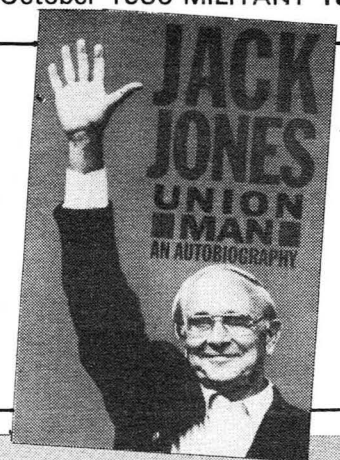
Jack Jones was soon involved in "clashes with authority (both management and union)." He says of the docks: "a cosy relationship between union officialdom and employers had led to slackness in observing agreements and the emergence of non-unionism in some parts of the port."

"Combined with ugly, indeed alarming evidence of bullying and dictatorialness in union affairs, the atmosphere was not encouraging to

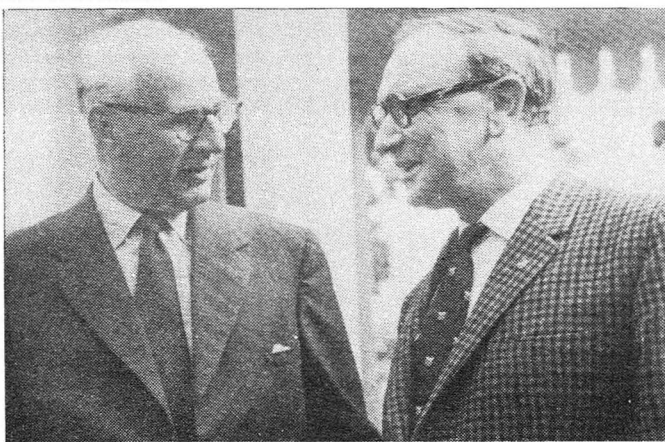
LORD MURRAY, Lord Scanlon, Lord Chapple...the list goes on of trade union leaders firmly ensconced in the rarified atmosphere of the House of Lords. One exception is Jack Jones, ex-general secretary of the TGWU.

Respected by millions of trade unionists for his record of struggle, especially his present campaigning for the pensioners, his autobiography, *Union Man*, gives an insight into the struggles of the '30s, trade union experience in the war and later the boom years. One decisive episode it significantly doesn't deal with in any detail is his eventual role as one of the architects of the disastrous 'social contract' under the 1974 Labour government. This later period is dealt with in a further review next week.

Published by Collins £15.



Above: 1933 hunger march and below right the newly opened TGWU headquarters, Transport House in London. Below left, Frank Cousins and Jack Jones.



By Richard Knights

A second article follows next week

an earnest trade unionist like me."

His chief opponent in the union was Harry Pugh, the area secretary of the TGWU, who attempted to collude with the bosses to sack Jones. Pugh is described as: "Bowler-hatted with a cigar in his mouth and a flower in his buttonhole he aped the get-rich-quick businessmen who were his conferees and confidantes."

One of his first victories against management and the union officialdom came over the rate of pay for unloading bananas. After raising the issue at the branch meeting and getting unanimous support for higher pay, he decided that because the union was dragging its feet and didn't look like achieving anything, it was time for action.

"I had many friends working at different points on the ship and quay...I called them together and persuaded them to pass the word along for all work to stop at a certain time and for the men to walk to the end of the quay where I would hold a meeting. There was a 100 per cent response..."

"It was a total stoppage in the middle of discharging a valuable and perishable cargo. There was

pandemonium in the ranks of authority, but the strike concentrated their minds no end, leading to a settlement after two days. Branch meetings increasingly became packed, with hundreds of men attending compared to the relative handful at the first meetings I attended."

Ballot rigging was rife and in one election for executive councillor, a right wing ex-GMWU official 'won' the election. His biggest vote came from Fleetwood. When Jones and his friends investigated they found that the union office where the ballot was supposed to have been conducted, had been closed on the day in question. An inquiry was denied them and they were threatened with losing their jobs and physical attack if they pursued it.

International Brigade

Jones did not confine his activity to union matters. He stood as a Labour council candidate in the Breckfield ward in Liverpool, losing out to the Protestant Party, but was later elected for the Croxteth ward. He recalls his frustration at the lack of any fighting campaigns by the Labour opposition on the city council.

The issue of Spain dominated the labour movement in the late 1930s. In 1938 he volunteered to join the International Brigade and after serving on the Ebro Front, was wounded in action and sent home.

Within a few months of his

return he was appointed full-time district organiser in Coventry, where the motor bosses laid off thousands of workers at will to suit seasonal fluctuations. It was a: "highly industrialised town with a population of nearly a quarter of a million. Outwardly it was successful and bustling but conditions in many of its factories presented a less than happy picture."

The TGWU had only 2,000 members in Coventry in 1939. Jones set out to build strong shop stewards' committees around militant industrial activity. As an official he set the example. His first strike came at the car bodies plant. He went without wages and shared whatever the strikers could raise. It was unheard of to have such support from a trade union official.

The post war boom boosted the strength of the trade unions. In Coventry the TGWU grew to over 20,000 members. Key union victories were secured such as the 1946 Standard Motor Agreement, which won the first five-day week. Hours were cut by 4½ hours per week.

Jones encouraged the shop stewards movement as opposed to the union's national policy. The national Fords Agreement, for example, only allowed a limited number of shop stewards, shop floor bargaining was virtually outlawed, and management had a veto on the nomination of shop stewards!

Bevin's successor was Arthur Deakin who maintained the right wing stranglehold. In 1949 Communist Party members were bann-

ed from holding any office in the union. Jones himself was totally opposed to this dictatorial control over the union and when able lifted the banning. During Deakin's term of office Jones repeatedly ran foul of him. He organised industrial action without involving the union officials in a 1953 strike at Morris engines.

Turning point

He writes: "To have consulted the general secretary of the union would have been to invite a rebuke. Arthur Deakin appeared in those days to be always on the side of management...those who claimed that he suffered from a 'reds under the beds' complex were correct. His paranoia impeded anything he may have tried to do to make the union a stronger force."

On the death of Deakin in 1956 Jack Tiffin another right winger was elected. His death six months later left a vacuum at the top of the union. It was filled by Frank Cousins.

Jack Jones described it as: "a sign of the times. Rank and file members wanted changes. The union's policies did not switch from right to left over-night with his election. Many of the officers and branches remained faithful to the traditional right wing policies of the union."

"But looking back at that period, the change at the top of the TGWU was a watershed in the history of the labour movement."

Don't be bluffed by Tory Lies—
MAKE NO MISTAKE:
VOTE THUS:—

JONES, J.L. X

WHITTINGHAM JONES
BARBARA

Continue Mrs. Hamilton's good work. Elect a man who understands your needs and will GET THINGS DONE!

Give your support to the Party who fight for the Poor. Vote Labour on Thursday. Show your Strength and Might.

Vote for J. L. JONES

Industrial Reports

'Stand together'

SCARSDALE HOSPITAL workers in Chesterfield talked to Bill Esmond. Mick Naughton, chair of Chesterfield hospital's NUPE, "If we'd had the support from other trade unions in the health service we would have chucked out privatisation all over North Derbyshire.

Bur one fight was enough to teach the unsympathetic members on the Health Authority a lesson. I'm only sorry that our colleagues at Barking and Addenbrooks didn't have the same delayed success."

Ann Denman, secretary of Chesterfield hospital NUPE: "In April '85 when the Health Authority decided to put the tender to ICC, NUPE and Labour Health Authority members said at the beginning that it wouldn't work.

I can't help being delighted to day 'I told you so'. We knew it wouldn't work, they knew it wouldn't work, but it was the Tory government's intention to try and make it work because it was just one more step to undercut and undermine people's health care.

I hope that when the Health Authority put the contract back out again to tender they'll realise, the first one didn't work with outside contractors and the second one certainly won't.

If it hadn't been for Labour members on the Health Authority listening to us and working to keep it in-house, and battling after the strike was over, then no doubt the Health Authority would have paid out the extra money.

It shows if you stand side by side and work together you can achieve victory. I'd like to add my thanks to those who helped and continue to help to this day especially our MP Tony Benn."

Chesterfield hospital workers clean out contractors

NUPE CLEANERS at Scarsdale hospital in Chesterfield have won a belated victory. A year after their six-month strike, private contractors ICC have been forced to pull out.

They won the contract in March 1985, when the District Health Authority overturned its previous decision to award it to the in-house tender—on the casting vote of big businessmen Robert Robinson.

The NHS cleaners who had lobbied the DHA meeting walked straight out of the meeting on to the picket line. They stayed there until October, when the contractors went in through a picket of 400.

John Dunn, one of the Labour members on the Authority who walked out with them, explained the background to the latest developments to *Militant*.

Last month ICC came along asking for another £25,000. This was a joke. They got the contract on the grounds it was £32,000 lower than the in-house tender. We got that thrown out and now they're asking to be released from the contract and offering £25,000 compensation.

So why have they pulled out?

Because they couldn't make it pay, they lost £35,000 in the first year. We always said this was a loss-leader, a way of them getting bigger contracts. But this is a victory for the women who stuck out six months at Scarsdale and those who came out in



300 trade unionists and local residents demonstrated against the closure of West London hospital last Saturday. About 80 people attended a rally the previous Tuesday. COHSE Broad Left general secretary candidate Kevin Mullins was amongst the speakers.

support at other hospitals in the area like the evening domestics at Chesterfield Royal and the laundry workers at Whittington Royal.

It was their strike that made sure every other contract in the area went in-house. And because of the constant pressure from local NUPE members and Labour members on the Health

Authority, who exposed them every step of the way, they couldn't cope: ICC had to increase the hours of their staff and their profits went down the drain.

You call it a victory. But that doesn't fit in with the view of the national leaders of the unions in the NHS, who tell their members to put in their own tenders and wait for a Labour government?

Well I'm not going to comment on the health union leaders, but let's be right about this: the strike was started and fought to the end by the women themselves, and the others who joined the strike. Labour members on the Authority have worked with them all the way through.

But what they've proved is that when the movement

unites and fights, we can win. If it hadn't been left to scattered groups like Scarsdale, Barking, Addenbrooks and so on, if there'd been a national fightback we could have stopped cuts in services and thousands of jobs would have been saved. That's a lesson for the movement as a whole.

Rail Grades conference

THE CALLING of a special Permanent Way, S&T and OHL Grades Conference to discuss matters relating to the Permanent Way could not come at a more opportune time.

While many members may feel that this is a chance to air grievances over the anomalies which exist in the P Way restructuring agreement and certainly these points must be debated, there is another issue which looms large in front of us—"Contract labour."

With events that have been happening recently this subject must be given much more serious thought. P Way members who attend the conference will not need reminding that this is a subject which arises every year and is rightly condemned in the relevant resolution.

Unfortunately this seems to be the end of the matter in terms of national action. Recent press reports though must give members cause for concern, with the BRB agreeing to the "privatisation" of maintenance work, traditionally done by BR P Way staff, to outside contractors.

Whilst the board have stated that it is only sidings work that has gone to contract and have denied that further plans exist to extend this practice elsewhere, this must be seen as the thin edge of the wedge.



By Bob Russell (Willesden No.1 NUR, personal capacity)

The Board cannot be trusted as we have seen over their ruthless tactics in the Guards disputes and the S&T faulting and maintenance, additionally with the government's decision to cut more of the grant they give to the BR, the Board will undoubtedly be pressurised for more cost cutting plans.

This issue poses serious questions not only to the membership but also to the leadership's ability and willingness to lead a campaign. Not only does the issue of safety requirements come up but also the working conditions of all our members on the P Way as well.

If the Board can, it will use contract labour, not only for cheapness but also as

a way of eroding basic working practices and conditions.

Therefore it is imperative that we not only discuss the restructuring agreement, but that we use this conference as a rallying point in the start of a campaign against privatisation.

This must be taken up by the NEC and the union in general. The campaign must not only consist of propaganda material issued from Head Office, which is important in itself but should be backed up by a tier of NEC members and national officers at district, branch and workplace level.

We must learn from previous campaigns not to leave it to the last moment. With a carefully prepared and executed campaign support can be won from our members concerned if industrial action proves necessary.

Using this campaign could also draw in aspects of the restructuring agreement, with the demand for a decent basic wage for railworkers and an end to some of the absurdities of this agreement of having members on the same grade doing exactly the same job but being paid different rates of pay.

Time is of the essence. With the right leadership and tactics further erosion of wages and conditions can be defeated.

Home Office attempt to cut Merseyside fire service manning.

"IF THEY take on the two most militant brigades—Strathclyde and Merseyside—they think they can take all the others on," was how Merseyside FBU secretary Dave Buckney, described the Home Office attempt to cut manning levels.

On 1 April the Home Office informed the FBU that they would be cutting the number of firemen by 88. They attempted to justify this by altering the formula used for manning levels.

No answers

No negotiations were carried out with the union and in protest a campaign of emergency calls only was instituted.

The Merseyside FBU drew up their own document refuting all the Home Office figures. Five months later they replied, rejecting the document, but without any explanation.

When the Home Office inspector for the Fire Service, Mr Brannon came up to report to the Fire Service Authority following an inspection, the FBU became aware of the visit, and one hundred firemen lobbied the meeting.

Derek Hatton, who was in

the chair allowed all the FBU members to come into the meeting.

The report Mr Brennan gave was misleading and bore no mention of the reduction in service, several councillors questioned him and two FBU officials Steve Parry and Dave Buckney made contributions.

Mr Brannon was totally unprepared and unable to answer any questions levelled at him, even the *Liverpool Echo* was forced to admit this.

The FBU had even used the Home Office's own figures to refute their case and offered to bring in independent auditors.

FBU officials have now consulted the members in every branch and the majority have left the officials in no doubt that they wish to continue the fight for the 88 posts.

A ballot will be held on one-day strike action, which will follow the successful result in Strathclyde.

The FBU NEC are fully in support of the proposed action and will be sending up the general secretary and president to address a mass meeting.

By Richard Knights

SOLIDARITY RALLY
with
SOUTH AFRICAN MINERS

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 8th
Assemble 11.30 am at Guinness Corner,
(Beside the Jolly Sailor Pub)
Guinness, South Humberside
March past coal import wharfs.
Rally at 12.45 pm, opposite Filzborough Wharf.
(See back for travel details)

Organised by
HATFIELD NUM and DONCASTER ANTIAPARTHEID
MOVEMENT

Ban South African Coal Now!

A YEAR OF OUR LIVES

HATFIELD MAIN
A colliery community in the great coal strike of 1984/85

The miners' strike in the words of the community of Hatfield Main. £3.50 from David Douglas, 16 Abbeyfield Road, Dunsicroft, Doncaster, South Yorks.

Photo: Jex Coulson (IFL)

Liverpool Nove strikers sixteen week struggle

YOUNG STRIKERS at Nove Leather in Liverpool have been out since 8 July.

They decided to join a trade union to fight for their rights and better conditions and were made redundant as a result.

They talked to Brian Thompson, LPYS national committee member for Merseyside about their jobs and the strike.

How did you get the job?

MARK: It was advertised in the Jobcentre as a Young Workers' Scheme. The pay I got was £39.45 a week.

What were the conditions like?

MARK: Abysmal. You were not allowed to talk. You were scared to go to the toilet. You had to fill in time sheets for every minute of the day. If you were behind on anything you were pulled up by management.

JIMMY: We got two ten

By Brian Thompson

minute breaks and a half-hour dinner. The boss used to take you on for a couple of months and then lay you off. You were always laid off for a couple of weeks in the year. That way you could never take him to a tribunal. *How did you go about joining a trade union?*

MARK: It was Janet. She used to go to Labour Party meetings. The girl's talked about it in the toilets. Me, Dave and Janet went down to TGWU headquarters. They asked us to bring all the workers down. One of the officials told us what was involved.

We took a vote and decided to join. We all joined on

the Friday. The following Friday we elected Janet as shop steward. On Saturday morning she was made redundant.

They said it was due to cash flow problems. On Monday morning we went to work. Then we found Janet had been sacked. On Monday night we went to the TGWU.

We decided to go back the next day and call for her reinstatement. The boss refused so we all walked out. But four scabs went in. We were sacked on Friday.

How did negotiations with ACAS go?

DAVE: The boss used it as a seal of approval. He used it to buy time. He offered to take a number of us back and two went. But he refused to take Mark, me and Janet.

Tony Hayes, the TGWU official, raised my long



Nove strikers.

record of service. The boss must have thought he was offering a deal. He offered to take me back and get rid of one of the scabs. That's how much he thought of them.

FRANK: When he offered us our jobs back he gave everyone 24-hours. He would phone you at home or come round and visit you. He offered me and Albert extra time to try and get us to go back.

What has the council done to help you?

DAVE: They have gone out of their way to help us. Nove Leather rent their property off the council. The council

have had an injunction served against them which means legally we can't picket on the premises.

What help do you need?

We hope people will come down to join the picket line, there are only seven of us. Also any donations are appreciated. Some of us have children to look after and money is tight.

Also, if you are in Usdaw move resolutions of support. All the goods produced are sold through shops and catalogues. They have a Steve Novelli label on so if you see these goods at work raise it in your union branch and try and get them

blacked.

We have already had a breakthrough with Littlewoods. They have agreed to drop Nove as a supplier until we are reinstated with trade union recognition. They used to take about 60 per cent of Nove's goods.

All we want is our jobs back and trade union recognition. Without the union it's not worth going back. We're confident we'll get it.

All donations and letters of support: Nove Leather Strike Fund, c/o TGWU Transport House, Islington, Liverpool 3.

More election manoeuvres by CPSA right wing leaders

DHSS SECTION Assistant Secretary of civil service union CPSA Phil Yewdall recently accepted promotion, leaving one of the four Assistant Secretary positions vacant.

It has been established practice that when a vacancy for a section officer occurs during the course of a year an election is held for that position. The SEC therefore proceeded to make arrangements for nominations to be made.

CPSA president, Marion Chambers, had other ideas. Ignoring the established practice she made a presidential ruling to 'call-up' the first defeated candidate.

It is interesting to note that the first four successful candidates were all Broad Left supporters, the fifth and defeated candidates, 1,700 votes behind, was "Broad Left '84" supporter, Colin Middleton!

This news was received by Middleton's own branch (not least his own office where he has worked since losing his position as Regional Secretary) with utter disgust.

An emergency motion was put to a branch meeting on the day the news was received deploring the Presidential ruling and demanding an election be held for this im-



Marion Chambers, CPSA president.

portant position. It was passed, with only three votes against—including Middleton's.

The right wing Moderate Group cry foul when the members elect a working class fighter for the head of our union. They call for inquiries into so-called ballot rigging. And when not a scrap of evidence is produced to justify their claims they call a re-run.

In the mean time, they allow defeated 'moderate' candidate John Ellis to act as General Secretary. Conversely, when an election procedure for a section officer is about to be set in motion the President decrees 'No election'—and the defeated BL '84 candidate is appointed. The NEC should be flooded with protests at such manoeuvres.

Dispute at Brixton Rec.

BRIXTON RECREATION centre workers have been in dispute with the council for several months. Things came to a head on Friday 10 October when the unions threatened industrial action. Gregory Vincent, a young shop steward, talked to Militant.

There have been problems ever since the Centre was opened in 1985. The current dispute has arisen out of the reinstatement by Lambeth council of a manager sacked by the GLC before abolition.

With support from senior officers improvements which had been won following his sacking were taken back and he once again assumed total control. A whole host of attacks on the unions, victimisation and harassment of workers followed. We attempted to raise these problems through the council's

procedures but got nowhere.

We then went to the Chair of Amenities, Andrew Carneigi, but nothing was done. Next we approached the leader of the council, Linda Bellos. She instructed members of the Labour Group and directors to carry out an investigation which was meant to report on 10 September. It never took place.

Harassment

Harassment and victimisation increased and private agency staff were brought in to the canteen and private cleaning contractors were continued. There was a total refusal to advertise or employ anyone from the community for the various vacancies.

Two weeks before the investigation was supposed to

report I was suspended from work. The unions decided to call a mass meeting for Friday 10 October. The directors and senior officers attempted to ban it.

We threatened industrial action. All the unions supported this. The council backed down and allowed the meeting to go ahead. My suspension was temporarily lifted so I could attend the meeting. A list of demands was drawn up.

Council leaders attended the meeting and gave assurances on a number of issues and promised to report back to another mass meeting on 7 November. Last Thursday, however, the council refused to negotiate with the unions because I was on the team. We now have to decide our next step.

Sogat member expelled

JIM WILSON FOC Eric Bemrose, Liverpool has been expelled by SOGAT. The reason—because he defended the right to strike.

The SOGAT Staff chapel in Merseyside and District Branch decided to take industrial action against what they considered to be the anti-union and despotic attitudes of their employer. Mr Martin, SOGAT '82 Branch Secretary then sacked them. At the Industrial Tribunal hearing Mr Martin's barrister quoted the exact same legislation which was used by Mr Murdoch thus depriving the four sacked girls of the opportunity to air their grievances.

Is this any way for an official of SOGAT to behave?

Our union agreed not to use any of the provisions or procedures of the Employment Acts, Mr Martin was completely at variance to this agreement and acted against the basic trade union rights on which this union was built.

Given these circumstances, a petition was signed by 2,500 members and collected. Jim Wilson, the then Branch President, took up the request by rank and file members. Two

meetings were held the first with 700 present. The mood was very angry and they felt disgusted that their union's name had been dragged through the mud. So strong was the feeling on this issue that a number of chapels stopped paying their subs. The chapel at Jim Wilson's firm instructed him to stop the dues paid to the local branch. This he did. But at no time did they go out of benefit and eventually all the monies were paid.

It is for these reasons, organising an "unofficial" meeting and not paying the subs, that he has been expelled.

But his real crime was he challenged the full time branch officials.

After the official notification of his expulsion mass meetings have been held which have endorsed him remaining the FOC.

We ask your branch/chapel to protest against this expulsion and for the SOGAT National Executive to investigate the Merseyside and District branch.

By A SOGAT Bemrose worker

New mood on Hull council

300 Hull City council cleaning workers have ended a 4-week all-out strike against the sacking of a colleague for allegedly accepting a £3 tip last week.

Details of the settlement are not clear at time of writing but the worker has not been reinstated. The episode illustrates the changed mood, however, of Hull council workers who have no record of previous militancy.

A full time union official has described industrial relations between unions and city council as at "an all-time low". This follows months of action by city transport workers fighting privatisation, terms and conditions imposed by the council.

At the same time £13,000 has been given to eight highly paid council officers for preparing the bus privatisation plans. Council workers now question whether similar plans are being drawn up for cleaning and other departments and if this strike has been deliberately provoked to try and break the unions.

The right wing clique running the council are still preventing discussion of the last dispute in the Labour Group, let alone the current one. Yet they have indulged in MacGregor-style tactics by circulating all 5,000 council employees with the sacked binmen's personal record.

1,000 council workers marched in support of the binmen and financial support was raised in the beginning of a well organised campaign.

By Alistair Tice

Engineering Workers Lobby of Confed Executive meeting

9am onwards. Thursday 6 November 1986

Imperial Hotel Russel Square London WC1
Nearest underground Russel Square

Defend rights and conditions! No sell out of engineering workers!

Militant

The Big Bang
See page six

CPSA right undermine democracy

THE INVESTIGATION by the Electoral Reform Society into the CPSA's General Secretary and General Treasurer elections found no evidence of ballot rigging.

Yet the executive did not accept the ERS conclusions and allow John Macreadie to take up office. They have agreed on a re-run election, but not under the same procedure as for the last six years.

They have made 'minor procedural changes' which they insist will remedy the problems of our individual balloting system. At present every member receives an election address followed by an agenda, notifying them at least a week in advance of their election meeting, stating the time and place which if possible is in, or near to their workplace. Ordinary members elected at the AGM act as scrutineers at the meeting and they distribute, count and collate ballot papers. Each member has to sign for their ballot papers. CPSA members only are present at the meeting which is chaired by the branch official, generally the workplace representative.

Although the present regulations take time, we ensure majority membership involvement. The new

By Terry Martin
(Branch Secretary, Newcastle Central Office)

regulations will do nothing to encourage full participation, ensure that the election is scrupulously fair and, most importantly, eradicate the rule breaches which the ERS reported. In fact the changes will make them more widespread.

Chaos

The NEC intends to send every branch an out of date computer print-out of their membership. This will be followed by individual envelopes containing ballot papers, and election addresses, which will be distributed to members at least 24 hours before their meeting.

This procedure is wide open to abuse and will produce chaos. How anyone will determine who has or hasn't received a ballot paper is a mystery since there

will be no signing sheets, no check on duplicate papers or non-receipt of ballot papers.

Although branches will still be able to count their own votes, if there is any discrepancy between branch and returning officers' counts, then the returning officer's decision is final.

This urgently re-opens the demands put forward at the union conference for democratically elected national scrutineers to oversee the ballots.

Obviously the motive behind the NEC's decision is to increase 'desk top' balloting by preventing members' meetings, which they hope will become only a pick-up point for completed ballot papers. Since desk top balloting is totally against the union's rules, we can clearly see just how much store the NEC place in the democratically agreed procedures of CPSA.

Incidentally the serious breaches of rules which did occur in the elections arose from the practice of desk-top balloting and the votes from these areas were in the main for the loser, John Ellis. Is there method in their madness?

The Broad Left were determined then to make the



Mass meeting at Newcastle Central DHSS office during their 1984 strike. According to the press, the CPSA branch there have ballot-rigging off to a fine art, yet it was not even mentioned in the ERS report. The NCO is vilified in the press because they regularly produce substantial votes for Broad Left candidates and policies.

individual balloting system work and to ensure that no member was disenfranchised. Having successfully done

just that, we will do it again under the new procedures. No spiteful little manoeuvres from spiteful little right wing

people will stop this union getting the General Secretary it deserves John Macreadie.

Anger in Avon

IN THE Avon Department of Employment branch of the CPSA, there was such anger at the right-wing's decision to re-run the election that the entire branch executive committee, which includes members of BL84 and a Conservative, agreed to recommend the membership to vote for John Macreadie and Christine Kirk. The Conservative said she opposed John Macreadie's policies, but she was so incensed that she would recommend support for him.

By Amanda Lane

GMB Broad Left

"The GMB Broad Left conference due to take place in Manchester on Saturday 1 November has been postponed until the new year because of the non-availability of speakers. Details of the re-arranged conference will be made available shortly."

'Work or starve'

from page one

1,500 new interrogators will be taken on to conduct this blatant attempt to intimidate the unemployed off the register. And under such intense pressure, would it be any wonder that some may rather not try to sign on at all? This is the eighteenth device in seven years that the Tories have introduced to cosmetically reduce the official dole numbers.

A CPSA branch secretary explained to *Militant* about form UB671: "Most worrying is that the clerk who supervises how the form is filled in will be able to comment if the claimant shows 'reluctance' in filling in the form, or if they believe the claimant has not answered honestly. If this is reported, no benefit will be received."

Spiteful government

Speaking in the debate following Clarke's statement, Terry Fields MP said: "Over £20 million of benefits was unclaimed in Merseyside last year and one in four claimants did not get all the benefits to which they are entitled. Yet this spiteful Tory government is determined to frighten yet

more people out of claiming what is rightfully their's."

Not content with wrecking the hopes of the jobless, now really numbering well over four million, the Tories want to kick them while they are down. Thatcher has destroyed millions of jobs, yet sticks to the age-old Tory message 'search for work or starve,' accept slave wages or go without.

In response, Labour leaders should rekindle the fighting spirit against unemployment of the past, and take up again the traditional battlecries. As the Jarrow 1986 marchers reach London, treading in the footsteps of those who struggled fifty years ago, Labour should campaign against the Tory measures on 'work or full pay,' useful public works to provide jobs at decent pay, a 35 hour week for all.

Unemployment is still likely to be the deciding issue at the next election. On this alone Labour could be confident of victory, but this time ordinary families want guarantees on jobs.

Capitalism is responsible for the devastation of British industry and employment. The Labour leadership must respond to the challenge with a convincing programme for a fully nationalised and democratically planned economy, that really could assure work and a reasonable lifestyle for all.

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