

Militant

Solidarity price £1

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Militant Fighting Fund

£250,000

250,000

240,000

230,000

220,000

210,000

200,000

190,000

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Revolt over Tory dole con

WORKERS IN the Department of Employment are refusing to be used as 'benefit police' on behalf of the Thatcher government, with its intensified attack on the unemployed.

By Jeremy Birch

Last week the Tories unveiled their callous new 'available for work' questionnaire, to trick the jobless out of their rightful benefits. Unemployed mothers with young children, those unable to move home for work or not prepared to take poverty wages jobs, could be intimidated off the register. All in the interests of the Tories' pre-election image. But it is ordinary CPSA and SCPS members who will have to supervise the questionnaire trap. And for many of them it is the last straw.

"Our members are dubbing the questionnaires the *Benefit Quiz*," said Tony Fryer, CPSA Department of Employment Southern Region convenor. "Claimants will not qualify for benefit by answering one or two questions correctly, they have to answer the whole lot. Our members fear a big increase in hostility from claimants, that they will be subject to verbal and physical abuse." In some areas worried civil servants are demanding protective screens, even security guards.

A London CPSA DE member told *Militant*: "Already the impact of measures such as 13 weeks suspension of benefit, the

Restart scheme have heightened tension between staff and claimants. In the Eastern Region alone a 50% increase in assaults on staff was reported in the September quarter. In addition many DE premises are totally unsuitable for handling the ever increasing number of victims of Thatcher's attempts to destroy the economy, and we are seriously understaffed. The questionnaire will mean even more paper, more work for us."

Bounty hunters

These workers are not prepared to be Thatcher's bounty hunters, bringing her back the scalps of the unemployed they can deprive of benefit. A leaked DE document issued in the Eastern region makes it clear—claimant advisers must pay for themselves by the benefit payments they can save. "It is a requirement that the teams are cost effective, so it is necessary for each executive officer to achieve at least 30 'sign-offs' per year." So much for the 'caring' Tories.

CPSA members up and



Photos: Jacob Sutton (Reflex)

down the country are demanding action. Tony Fryer told *Militant*: "We've canvassed as many unemployment benefit offices as possible before implementation, canvassing the idea for one day industrial action. In fact I underestimated the response, even from offices not renowned for militancy. Without doubt all the offices we have contacted will sup-

port the action." Together the CPSA and the unemployed themselves could mount a major campaign against these measures. "I sit on the Benefits Action Group, a local group which I started that is backed by the local council," said Tony, "They demonstrated outside Brighton unemployment benefit office on 6 November." CPSA bran-

ches should produce leaflets outlining to the unemployed what the Tories' measures mean, and highlighting the union's opposition.

But the CPSA National Executive have done nothing against the Tories' dole plans. "They should have produced circulars, leaflets, stickers and held rallies with leading speakers. But their

(Continued page 2)

16 YEAR old student Matthew Kershaw from Oxford sent £20 towards our appeal for readers to give a week's income to our Fighting Fund. Ian Pringle, from Perth, sent £80. Have you sent your donation yet? See page 7.

Militant MASS RALLY

ROYAL ALBERT HALL

London SW7 Sunday 16 November



One week to go. See pages 8/9 for details

Militant

Editor: Peter Taaffe
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Phone: (01) 533 3311.

Bias at the BBC?

WORKERS WHO for years have seen the BBC distort, falsify or ignore stories about strikes and demonstrations and have yet to see a fair presentation of their case on BBC news must feel bemused at the Tory allegations that the BBC is a hot-bed of anti-government propaganda. Yet the stream of charges, over *Real Lives*, *the Monocled Mutineer* and *Maggie's Militant Tendency* is now becoming a torrent, with Tebbit's onslaught against news coverage of the Libyan bombing and threats to expose left-wing bias in *Casualty*, *Today*, *Question Time* and *Woman's Hour*!

In the past, Tory governments and the BBC worked together harmoniously because they shared the common viewpoint of the ruling class. The Conservative Party and the BBC governors and senior staff come overwhelmingly from the same background of the aristocratic, big business, civil service, university, legal, military and media establishment and form part of its interlocking web. The new chairman, Marmaduke Hussey, personifies this, having passed through a public school, the Grenadier Guards and Oxford, on his way to a career in newspapers, culminating as managing director of Times Newspapers. His wife is the sister of Tory minister William Waldegrave, senior lady-in-waiting to the queen and god-mother to Prince William.

On all major questions, the BBC is imbued with the overall outlook of the ruling class. This is reflected in their news bulletins. By careful selection and omission of stories, they put across the pro-capitalist view of the world which they want their viewers to see. They share the Tory newspapers' consensus as to what constitutes 'news' or a 'good story'. Thus strikes and workers demonstrations, like the 18 October youth demonstration, are usually ignored, especially those in other countries, unless they can be portrayed as violent or causing suffering to innocent people. The worst recent examples were the 1979 'winter of discontent' when striking low-paid workers were pilloried by all the media, and the miners' strike when film was edited to justify the police assaults on pickets at Orgreave, by showing the pickets' retaliation before the police charge.

The workers' problems and grievances are never explained, yet virtually every bulletin contains some fawning piece about the lives of the royal family.

The present disputes arise not from any challenge to this view from within the BBC, but because of splits and arguments developing within the ruling class on how best to defend themselves in a period of economic decline and impending crisis. The Tory Government, with its policy of relentless attacks on workers' living standards and the trade unions and the rewarding of those who make the biggest profits, want to see the BBC playing its part in this strategy by providing the government with a platform to propagate its views. Other elements within the ruling class, however, see the dangers in such an open identification of the BBC with the government of the day. Although its governors are appointed by the government and in any major crisis, as in the General Strike or the Second World War, it becomes the open mouthpiece for the government, they are concerned to *maintain the fiction* that the BBC is 'independent' and 'impartial'.

They believe the BBC carries more authority than if it were openly identified with the Government. The ruling class can put across a view more convincingly on the 'impartial' BBC than in a government statement. It also enables the ruling class as a whole to bring pressure to bear on the government of the day, even a Tory government, which is felt to be taking the wrong course on particular questions.

But above all, the 'independent' position of the BBC protects its freedom to undermine a future left-wing Labour government which begins to attack capitalism. The BBC, and the IBA and the press, would be vital weapons for the ruling class to use *against* such a government. That is why among the more thoughtful capitalists there is such hostility to more direct government control of the BBC.

While fighting off any Tory moves to gag the BBC even more, Labour must pledge that the whole of the TV, radio and newspaper industry will be taken out of the hands of both big business and government appointed boards of establishment figures. The new communications technology of cable and satellites will make it possible to have a wide range of TV and radio stations. In a capitalist society this would mean more cheap rubbish to make big quick profits, just as in newspapers now.

To prevent this, the transmitters must be taken into public ownership under workers control and management. Then media could be made available to all sections of society, trade unions, political parties, cultural bodies, minority groups and local communities as a platform for their views. Instead of a phony 'objectivity' which invariably ends up reflecting the views of the ruling class, there would be a variety of conflicting views from which viewers and listeners could make an informed choice.

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Jimmy Foggen, veteran of the 1936 Jarrow Crusade speaking in Trafalgar Square as 2,000 rally to greet the 1986 Jarrow March.

Photo: Dave Sinclair

Wine and right-wing policies

THE SOCIALISM on offer at *Marxism Today's* 'Left Unlimited' jamboree had more to do with being fashion conscious or setting the right pose than with class politics.

It marked the continuing evolution of the Communist Party to the right.

Top of the agenda was a fashion show, followed by vintage wine tasting sessions and a chance to test your intellect on the quiz game *Dialectical Pursuits*.

There was even the chance to book a holiday in Albania; interested parties were assured that "since the war it has remained one of the firmest Marxist-Leninist regimes."

Most of the 4000 who attended this circus were middle class trendies. For those interested in politics there was the opportunity to hear such ardent 'revolutionaries' as Denis Healy, Peregrine Worsthorne and Derek Jameson sound off on issues affecting the working class in

Britain today.

A former Editor of the *Star* and the *Daily Express* Jameson said that his politics meant that he'd like to "Join a Royalist party with Prince Charles as the leader". He still got a long round of applause after his session.

Militant

The only real debate which over 100 people attended, was around the question of *Militant's* success. Lynn Walsh, on behalf of *Militant* explained that the support for the paper had not dropped out of the sky but coincided with the onset of the world crisis of capitalism coupled with the record of 17 years of post war Labour government.

Tricia Davies speaking for the executive of the CP supported Kinnock, wanted *Militant* booted out of the Labour Party, and added that *Militant* supporters were "boring".

She didn't see any irony in the fact that despite this

she'd spent half of her speech explaining to the audience the reasons for *Militant's* success. The main reason for this was that *Militant* supporters are "good organisers".

This event demonstrated that on many issues the CP is to the right *even of the Labour leadership*. In the recent issue of *Marxism Today* they agreed with the jettisoning of nationalisation from Labour's programme describing it as "unpopular".

They called instead for increased taxation on the middle classes and claimed that Labour's industrial strategy could be a vote winner which could "play a central role in reversing the country's industrial decline. It means of course accepting the continuing importance of capitalist enterprise in our economy, but there is not really much alternative."

By Davy Brown

(Continued from page 1)

only priority is to jeopardise John Macreadie's re-election as General Secretary," said Tony.

The CPSA leadership must give full support to any action taken by union members against the new schemes. They should use the growing mood of anger amongst the ranks to step up the campaign for more resources and staff to provide a decent service to the unemployed.

John Macreadie has stated: "As General Secretary I would back any of our members who refuse to implement this scheme, and help to lead a campaign involving the wider labour movement to make the government withdraw it. I would also seek a clear commitment from the Labour Party leaders that this type of dole queue manoeuvre would be scrapped by an incoming government, and real jobs created with socialist policies."

Support for S African socialists

Speaking tours by South African socialist Nimrod Sejake to launch a new Campaign for a Socialist South Africa have proved to be a great success.

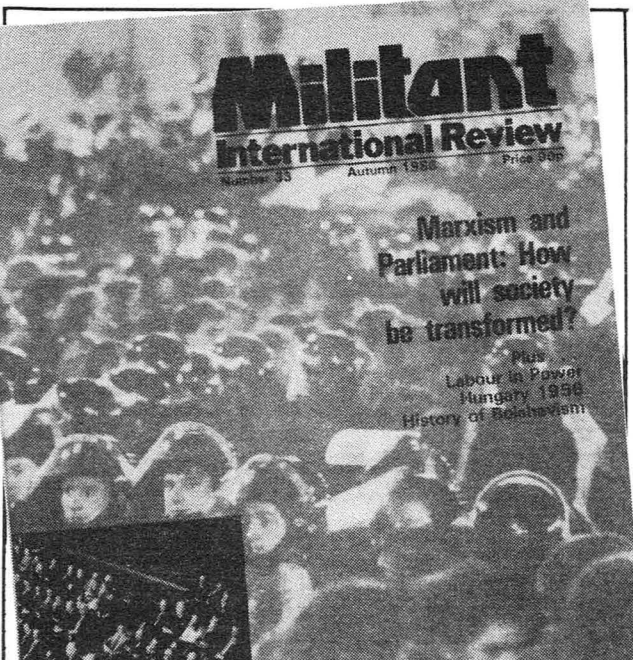
The CSSA, jointly sponsored by *Militant* and *Inquaba*, the journal of the Marxist Workers' Tendency of the ANC, aims to raise £100,000 in the next year to aid youth and worker activists in South Africa who are building the African National Congress as a socialist organisation.

The campaign is directed mainly at the workplaces and the rank and file of the unions. Nimrod has addressed engineering workers in Belgium and miners and civil servants in north east England. At one meeting in Belgium 40 francs was donated by special branch officers in the audience! At another meeting 60 engineering workers signed up to help the Belgian marxist paper *Vonk* in its campaigns on South Africa.

In north east England over £600 was collected. The Broad Left at the Department of National Savings in Durham, the CPSA branch executive at Newcastle Central Office DHSS and the Stewards Committee at NEI Parsons engineering works offered to organise further collections.

Everywhere that Nimrod spoke he encountered a keen willingness to aid South African workers and youth defending themselves against the murderous attacks of the state. As one Durham miners' leader said: "It seems to me that you need money for rifles not leaflets." Already over £1,000 has been raised. The organisers aim to hold collections at workplaces in every area of the country.

By Phillip Masters



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



Life in Knowsley North. Above, young unemployed on the Cantril Farm estate and, right, the Kirkby Job Centre, with little to offer. Photo: Dave Sinclair.

KNOWSLEY

Fight for Labour victory and party democracy

THE IMPOSITION by Labour's right wing dominated National Executive Committee of George Howarth in Knowsley North is the most serious attack on mandatory reselection.

As *Militant* has warned frequently, the expulsion of Marxists has paved the way for a broader attack on the party's rank and file.

It is a dangerous precedent which the right wing on the NEC may try to repeat elsewhere. It has alienated the very activists who have built Knowsley North Party and who are now made completely unwelcome by party officials in the by-election in their own constituency.

It is quite normal to encourage neighbouring parties to assist in a by-election. But in an unprecedented move, national party officials have made Knowsley South party the "parent body". At the same time they have publicly declared that they "will do better without" the help of Knowsley North members.

Clearly Labour's right wing want to make the left

a scapegoat for the damage done to Labour's vote by the desertion of Kilroy-Silk and the right's own manoeuvres.

The best service the left in Knowsley North can give to the movement is to use the by-election, not just to win votes but to recruit party members on the estates to strengthen the forces of party democracy and socialism.

Hit list

The right wing have declared their intention of recruiting people who support the views of George Howarth. They obviously foresee that unless they do so, his views will be totally at variance with the bulk of his local party members.

All evidence points towards a purge after the by-election—rumours abound of a hit list of up to 40 socialists who could be disciplined.

The press has speculated that Knowsley North will be suspended during a spurious investigation after the by-election and possibly even be disbanded.

It is outrageous that the

right wing is dividing and alienating the party when every effort should be devoted to exposing the Liberal and Tory class enemy.

It is a sad comment on the priorities of Labour Party officials that their latest leaflet contained the banner headline "Labour's challenge to *Militant*: Put up or shut up". George Howarth is quoted: "Far from welcoming any *Militant* support, I wish they would run a candidate on their own." Later the leaflet states: "Councillor Peter Fisher reckoned by many to speak for Kirkby, has put his full weight behind Labour's campaign."

This is the ex-Labour councillor who stood against and defeated the official Labour candidate in this year's council elections.

Party members nationally must condemn the conduct of the right-wing who are jeopardising Labour's position and assualting party democracy.

By Richard Venton

Kirkby Militant meeting reflects party's anger

EXPULLED LABOUR Party member Tony Mulhearn told a *Militant* meeting in Kirkby last week that the attacks on the Knowsley North Labour Party were part of a national attack on members' rights.

The chairman, Richard Venton, said: "The meeting has been called by *Militant* supporters who were expelled from the Labour party for campaigning for a socialist Labour leadership. This meeting is not part of Labour's by-election campaign.

"As Marxists we have a duty to call for a Labour victory, but in no way can this be seen as endorsement of the imposition of George Howarth as candidate, against the wishes of the Knowsley North constituency Labour Party, nor is it an endorsement of his individual policies.

"It has been suggested we should not have held this meeting because of the election campaign. We refused to concede to such attacks on the democratic rights of free speech."

It has been the only public meeting held so far in Knowsley North expressing the anger of party members at the actions of the party leaders.

Jim McGinley, chair of Knowsley North Party said from the floor that right were planning to capture the party, and run it on the model of Knowsley South. There, applicants to the Labour Party, were told that it was full-up, and young people denied their party cards. Even councillors are being threatened with being struck off the list if they defend socialists against expulsion.

Maggie Garney, the 61 year old who chained herself to the railings at Walworth Rd said: "We went on this terrible long bus ride in the cold and dark to London, chained ourselves for 12 hours in the rain, and we weren't even offered a cup of tea. It wasn't fun, it was to show how deadly serious we are about the fight for our right to choose our own candidate."

The 50 local working class people who had come for serious discussions about the fight for party democracy in Knowsley North showed their appreciation by giving over £80 in the collection.

Executive votes against Howarth

THE EXECUTIVE committee of Knowsley North Labour Party has voted unanimously against the imposition of George Howarth as Parliamentary candidate by the NEC.

This reflects the strength of feeling in the party against this outrageous denial of democracy to its members.

The meeting agreed a resolution which reaffirmed the right of the constituency Party to select its Parliamentary candidate in accordance with the Labour Party rules and constitution.

It called upon the whole Labour and trade union movement to support the constituency in defence of this principle.

It demanded the right of party members to take part in the by-election campaign.

Speaking to a *Militant* reporter, Jim McGinley, Knowsley North party chairman said: "The best way to continue to struggle for democracy and accountability is to be involved in the by-election campaign. There is undoubtedly a great deal of support for the party's rights in Labour parties up and down the country. There is also considerable understanding and sympathy among Labour voters in Knowsley over the issue.

"We are urging the party members to take part in the by-election campaign in order to ensure that both Tory and Liberal candidates are defeated. They must stay to build the Labour Party and carry on the struggle for party democracy and socialism.

By a Militant Reporter

Broadgreen canvass

OVER A hundred Liverpool Broadgreen Labour Party members turned out last weekend in a mass canvass to start the campaign to re-elect Terry Fields in the next general election.

Despite the suspension of the party by the national executive committee, party members showed their determination to retain this marginal seat. Their enthusiasm for socialism was mirrored by that of the ordinary voters. Initial returns showed that 80 per cent of those canvassed said that they would vote Labour in the next general election. A number of people said that they were interested in joining the party and offered to put up posters for Labour when the election comes.

This canvass was the best possible answer to those on the NEC who want to get rid of Terry Fields because of his socialist ideas.

Broadgreen Party members and Labour voters and going to ensure that Terry Fields continues to represent them after the next election, and continues to campaign for socialist policies under a Labour government.

By a Militant reporter

Child abuse hotline shows up Tory cuts

AN ESTIMATED 60,000 people tried to phone the Childline service publicised by Esther Rantzen's *Childwatch* programme. About 4,000 of them got through.

This response is only the tip of the iceberg. Many children would not have had access to a phone, or the privacy to make a call without being overheard. In spite of reassurances and their personal suffering, many children would also have been deterred by the possibility of their family being broken up or themselves being taken into care.

Publicity such as the *Childwatch* programme and news reports in the same week of the murder of Keighley Barton by her stepfather before she was able to give evidence against him of

sexual abuse, are bringing home the extent of child abuse and the totally inadequate resources to deal with it.

In Leeds, reported cases have risen from 10 in 1983 to an estimated 400 this year. It is difficult to say how much of the increase is due to more willingness to report. Some cases, for example, are of pensioners who were abused when young but who only recently have felt able to talk about it. It's also likely that child abuse, like other aspects of social degeneration and violence, are increasing.

Useful though such programmes as *Childwatch* are, facilities to help both the abused children and their abusers are totally inadequate and have been cut further recently. In spite of the Tories giving £400,000,

social services are chronically underfunded. Tory cuts have hit hospitals such as the Maudsley in London and Bethlehem in Kent specialising in the treatment of abused children.

Desperate need

Childline itself is a charity, appealing for £500,000 to run its phone service involving eight professional counsellors.

Dr Hobbs, from the Leeds project, described the situation in a recent article: "Uncovering the problem has placed an enormous burden on social services. Many children have to wait several months for treatment and get no treatment at all. We are working under terrible strain and desperately need more resources."

Just as serious is the lack

of treatment for abusers. Usually the child is taken into care which can be a traumatic experience. But the only response from the authorities to the abuser is to try to get a court conviction and imprisonment which is almost impossible. Imprisonment under present conditions is in any case no solution as no counselling or rehabilitation is likely to take place.

A massive expansion is needed of social services along with training courses for teachers, health visitors etc in the identification and treatment of child abuse. Family centres where individual members or whole families could go for help should be established in every area.

Since the majority of cases are of young girls being abused by fathers/step-

fathers or male relatives, the question of the mother moving and taking the children has been raised. This is easier said than done when women are financially dependent on men and may be going to overcrowded refuges or hard-to-let accommodation which puts even more strain on people already under enormous pressure. Jobs on a living wage or equivalent benefits for those not in a position to work, and decent housing would help women who have to make this step.

The labour movement must take up this issue, exposing Tory hypocrisy and their record in cutting services and ensure the next Labour government tackles these major social problems.

By Margaret Crear

Whitechapel

ASIANS in East London are outraged by an attack on a Mosque in Tower Hamlets by a mob of white youths, and the disgraceful police response in arresting only Asian youth afterwards.

The attack took place on the night of Tuesday 28 October while several dozen people were at prayers in the Mosque in Whitechapel. About 50 youths, armed with bottles, bricks and iron bars, approached and attacked a man as he came out. He ran back inside for help and as the people from the Mosque came out to assist him missiles were thrown by the gang and racist abuse was shouted. Several windows were broken.

Three vanloads of police, some with dogs, arrived on the scene. But instead of dealing with the attackers, to the anger and amazement of the local people, they arrested three Asians, who have been charged with threatening behaviour and one with carrying an offensive weapon.

This incident follows several weeks of increasing racist attacks in the same area. People have been harassed going to and from the Mosque and Bengali families have been attacked in their homes.

On 18 October a family in nearby Cable Street were attacked by a large gang and a six year old child received a deep cut to his hand. The family were forced to go to stay with friends and while their flat was empty it was attacked for a second time and looted.

It seems clear to local Asians that many of these attacks are the work of the same gang, but there is no response from the police. "I think these events are connected with the anniversary of the Battle of Cable Street which we celebrated on 4 October," said Abdul Asad, a member of the Bangladeshi Youth Movement in the area, "They have taken place in the same area and the Cable Street mural has been vandalised. I think the attacks are organised and probably involve people coming in from other areas. The police seem to be doing nothing. It should be their responsibility to look after people."

By Matt Wrack
Bow and Poplar LPYS

Visa rules spark fascist attacks

THE PAST period has seen a big increase in the of number of racist attacks by groups of fascists, emboldened by the press campaign over visa regulations. In almost every instance there is a blunt refusal by the police to act or even recognise the racist nature of the attacks. Black workers cannot rely on the police for the protection of their homes, shops and their safety. The labour movement, including local trade unions, shop-stewards committees, Labour Party and Young Socialist branches, must be mobilised alongside black workers and youth organisations to protect workers from attack and defeat the fascist thugs.



The Tories imposition of visa controls created chaotic scenes like these at Heathrow airport last month. Sensationalised publicity gave a further boost to the racist thugs to step up their cowardly attacks, especially on Asians.

Liverpool

IN A new and serious departure, fascists in Walton, Liverpool, have fire-bombed the premises of a Pakistani shop-keeper.

According to Sam Bond, the council's Race Relations Officer,

who has been in touch with the victim, "The family of six only escaped death or serious injury because alarm was raised by a passing bus inspector."

The attackers, under the name of the "Anti-Paki League", informed the press prior to the raid that an attack was to take place. This means that this was a cold and

calculated murder attempt.

Some parts of Walton have recently seen a big increase in fascist graffiti and stickers and a number of known fascists live near the shop that was attacked.

This particular family has been subjected to continuous harassment and attack and as in other areas this assault has come direct-

Bradford debate

"Visas for five countries"
Pat Wall PPC Bradford North
Geoff Lawler Conservative MP for Bradford North
Sunday November 23 3.00pm
Lapage School, Barkerend Road, Bradford 3.
Organised by the Bradford North Labour Party Young Socialists.

Fund raising social
In aid of the fight against the deportation of 2-year old Khuram Azad.
Saturday November 8. Communal Building, Bradford University. Tickets and information. Phone 0274 727 318.

Islington

ON OCTOBER 24 two Militant paper sellers were attacked by six fascist thugs outside Highbury tube station. Although the paper sellers managed to escape with just a few bruises, the fascists stayed in the tube station for 40 minutes to make sure no papers were sold.

Islington Militant supporters were determined not to be intimidated by fascists and a mass paper sale was organised for the following week at the same time and place. Despite the rain over 20 Militant supporters from Central London including local councillors sold 20 papers. The fascists however, decided not to show their faces.

ly as a result of the press propaganda over immigration visas.

The labour movement in Liverpool must immediately respond by mobilising its ranks against the racists and fascists.

By Militant reporters

Dave Nellist slams Tory racism

Tory governments in the 1950s encouraged immigration to provide cheap labour for employers and industrialists.

Over the period that the British capitalist economy has declined from the illusion of the booms of the 1950s and the 1960s to the realities of the recessions and slumps of the 1970s and 1980s, the very same Tory politicians, including Enoch Powell, have changed their position.

Now, together with the gutter press of this country, they are carrying out a relentless campaign, especially among the unemployed, the elderly and those in receipt of supplementary benefits, to portray black people as the cause of the increase in social problems through talk of floods of immigrants. Chief among them has been the Prime Minister who, on *World in Action* on 30 January 1978 said:

"People are rather afraid that this country might be swamped by people with a different culture."

What are the facts? From 1973 to 1982, 2.27 million people left this country; only 1.8 million came in. The population therefore decreased by 430,000. Despite that decrease, unemployment increased over the same period from 531,000 in 1973 to 3,167,000 in 1983. Unemployment, poor housing and declining social services are not caused by the number of im-

migrants. Indeed, black and Asian families often suffer the worst from these problems.

Not one Tory Member, and certainly no one on the Treasury Bench, has talked about the 200 million EEC nationals who could come to Britain tomorrow morning. No visa restrictions are being proposed for them.

Immense delays

Instead £14 million is promised to be spent on 50 officials being sent to the five visa countries. If 50 officials work 48 weeks of the year on a five-day week for eight hours a day, they will be expected to deal with one of these applications every 13 minutes. That is laughable.

There will be immense delays for the families that are waiting in Dhaka, Delhi and the other places of application for visas to come to Britain. If there is £14 million kicking around in the Treasury, it would be far better to replace the 1,000 uniformed Customs officials who have disappeared under this Government and to conduct a serious war against the illegal importation of drugs and the drug abuse that is taking place among young people.

The Home Secretary has not refuted the increasingly racial bias shown by

The imposition of visa requirements for five countries, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Ghana and Nigeria, is clearly based on racial motives and little else. It is a development of what has for a long time been a constant process of harassment and obstruction of visitors who happen to be black. The official figures released by the Government show a huge difference in the treatment of visitors from many 'white' countries. There are only a tiny number of them refused entry and sent home.

Nationality	Total number admitted to UK in year to May '86	Percentage refused leave to enter
Canada	495,000	0.01
New Zealand	97,000	0.03
Australia	375,000	0.02
Austria	112,000	0.05
Israel	108,000	0.16
Japan	337,000	0.02
South Africa	99,000	0.02
USA	3,000,000	0.02
ALL (excluding EEC)	7,910,000	0.26
Bangladesh	29,000	5.04
Ghana	39,000	3.95
India	259,000	1.06
Nigeria	248,000	1.40
Pakistan	117,000	1.68
Sub-total	692,000	1.61

members of the Immigration Service Union in their decisions at ports of entry. Whereas in 1983, 21 Indian visitors for every one Canadian were refused entry, in the first quarter of this year, 54 passengers from India for every one Canadian were refused entry.

Between 1983 and 1985, passenger traffic increased by 20 per cent but the staff of the Immigration Service increased by only four per cent. Far better to tackle these problems than to spend £14 million in five visa countries.

We have heard an attempt to justify the Government's

action by citing numbers. Let us consider the numbers briefly. In 1985, eight and a half million visitors came to this country and 18,000 were refused entry. That is one in 474.

Racist decision

The Home Secretary has talked of periodic upsurges in the numbers and there has been a campaign by the Immigration Service Union deliberately to create periodic upsurges. There were 452,000 visitors who came from the five visa countries and even on the

only 222 did not return on the date that they said they would.

It is a measure of Britain's decline that out of eight and a half million visitors from non-EEC countries and of 36 million passenger visitors in 1985, we are asked to take the action that the Government proposes because 222 did not return on the date when they said that they would do so. It cannot be seen as anything but a racist decision.

Extracts from a speech made by Dave Nellist MP in the Commons on 27 October.

Savery suspended

BRISTOL TEACHER Jonathan Savery, at the centre of a controversy over the writing of a racist article, and Ray Honeyford, the Bradford headmaster forced out for the same offence, addressed a Tory student meeting at Bristol University on 23 October.

A large demonstration organised by the NUS was held outside the building while the meeting was in progress. A wide section of the Labour movement as well as students attended and speakers who addressed the demonstrators included:— David Gottlieb (President Bristol University NUS), Nina Westlake (NUT rep Multi-Cultural Education Centre) and Kuomba Balogun (St. Pauls Community Association and Labour Party member).

Following this meeting Savery has been instructed by Avon County Council not to return to his school, Merrywood Boys, but to remain at home on full salary until a satisfactory placement can be found for him.

It is unlikely that another Avon school will be prepared to take on Savery as a member of staff and he cannot return to the Multi-Cultural Education Centre where he worked as NUT members there have refused to work with him.

By Nina Westlake

The price you have to pay

HER MOTHER always knew. Knew Irene was different. She had had four weans but Irene was different. Irene could hold a pencil before she was three.

Weans, well they are all different of course. They crawl earlier or later, walk earlier or later, talk earlier or later and stop wetting themselves at night earlier or later. But Irene could hold a pencil properly before she was three.

These thoughts were confirmed two days before Irene's fourth birthday. That was the day she was caught standing in the hall, leaning on her left elbow drawing a picture of the dog on the wallpaper. The thing was her mother could tell as she was shouting at her that it was the dog she was drawing.

When she went to school nothing much happened at first. Nothing special it seemed except that her first teacher mentioned her arithmetic. "An excellent arithmetic brain, Mrs Stewart, very quick at the sums. Very quick."

Wee artist

However, by the time she was getting through primary school it was clear. Irene was a wee artist. "Is there anyone in your family really good at drawing Mrs Stewart?", Miss Mackinnon the teacher had asked at the parents' night. "Aye, her old man is very good at drawing the dole" she had replied with a smile. The old ones are the best.

But Miss Mackinnon was serious. Wrote letters to her new headmaster to prove it. "Never seen anything like it" she said. And Irene's drawings and paintings were up around the school, on display in her last year as hard evidence.

Still even as she went to the comprehensive Irene would not talk about her talent. "Och Mum," with a sigh was her most common retort when her mother went on about it. She just did the

By Bob Wylie

drawing, let the pencil and the paint brush do the talking.

Although she was no slouch then at the rest. Great at Maths, good at English, passable at French and wonderful at Art. Not bad for a girl from Easterhouse.

When she got seven "O" levels without trying, even her father noticed. That was more than the rest of the family put together. By this time, Mr Cowan, the Art teacher had her down for the Glasgow School of Art. "Mrs Stewart, you must understand your daughter has a great talent. A special talent. We've never had anyone at the school get to the Glasgow School of Art and I'm confident Irene is going to be the first," he had said.

Well, her mother could hardly believe it. "My wee Irene, the wallpaper scribbler, the Glasgow School of Art. Jeez it's a long way there from our house." Then Irene won the Scottish schools portrait competition. She asked to draw the Headmaster. "The headmster - I ask you!". And she won it. "As far as I know, out the park", her mother had told the neighbours.

Irene's portfolio of her work was a masterpiece. A comprehensive exhibition of ability—fine line to landscape, water colour to oils, a marvellous effort. Mr Cowan told her mother she only needed a 'C' pass in the exam to get in. Everybody knew Irene could get a 'C' in Art standing on her head. Even her wee brother knew that.

Irene was quiet on the day of the exam. Up early and refused to wear her blazer. Her mother thought that



funny but let it pass. Exam morning nerves probably. She went out instead in her navy blue skirt, white shirt, purple school tie and black leather jacket. Smart enough

for the first girl from the school going to the Glasgow School of Art.

Irene never ever sat the exam. There were jobs going as check-out girls at Fine Fare,

the local supermarket. She took her tie off before she got to the end of the street and went straight to Fine Fare. There were only three in front of her in the queue when she got there.

Warm tears

Smart girl, "O" level Maths, "O" level Arithmetic and five others, clean, presentable—she got one of the jobs. Nobody from Easterhouse goes to the Glasgow School of Art do they? Safer punching numbers.

Her mother never thinks

much about it. Not now. But see for a while, at night, when the old man was lying snoring she could not stop the warm tears slowly trickling down her cheeks. Sure, the money comes in real handy but she wanted her Irene to go to the Glasgow School of Art. It was her dream. She had cornered a piece of hope in her existence. She loved Irene's talent.

But Irene went to Fine Fare and not the Art School. Still, after all she had always been good at sums and they say she hasn't made a mistake yet.

Get Militant on to the streets

AFTER LABOUR Party conference many supporters have been holding public meetings to ensure that *Militant* answers the lies of the Tory press. One of the best ways to publicise these meetings has been to take the *Militant* out onto the streets.

In Macclesfield last Saturday, 30 papers were sold as supporters stood in the shopping centre advertising their public meeting.

In Skipton too, 18 papers were sold in one night on a door to door sale in the build up to a local meeting.

This was in the same ward that was won by a Labour right-winger in the May elections after the Tories put out a leaflet describing her as a "Militant sympathiser". Obviously this gave her the edge as far as the voters were concerned!"



Selling the paper on LPYS demonstration.

Left and Right

Martial aid

AFTER GETTING massive free advertising from his fundraising for the Commonwealth Games, Robert Maxwell found it difficult to get all the bills paid. He has now been rescued by a 'philanthropist', Ryoichi Sasakawa, who is giving £1.3 million.

In 1931 Sasakawa founded a Japanese fascist party which supported Mussolini. His post war record is hardly better, having promoted the Moonies and helped finance the World Anti-Communist League. His interests, say a Karate expert, are martial arts and extreme right wing nationalism.

From Stalinist dictators to Japanese ex-fascists, Maxwell, scourge of Labour's supposedly 'undemocratic' left, has some odd friends.

Slurry worry

ELISABETH SHIELDS, Liberal MP for Ryedale moved a motion on Pig Slurry (control) in the Commons on 28 October. She told MPs: "I do not wish hon members to get too bogged down by this topic"! Don't worry, it's the normal environment for many of them.

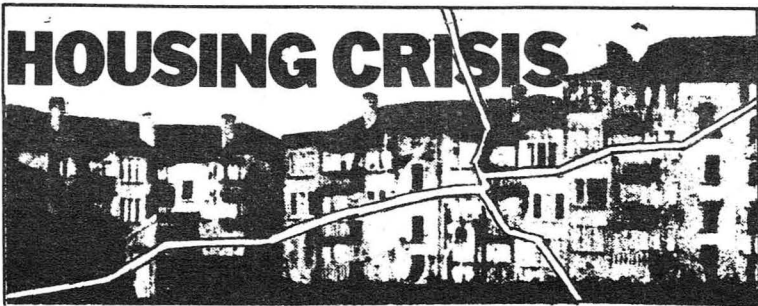
Advertising pays...

PROFITS ARE up in industry and advertising is booming. 1985 was a record year for advertising spending. 1986 will be even better particularly with all the ads extolling the virtues of privatised companies and takeover bids. British Telecom spent £41 million on ads last year, but the top spenders are Unilever with £122 million.

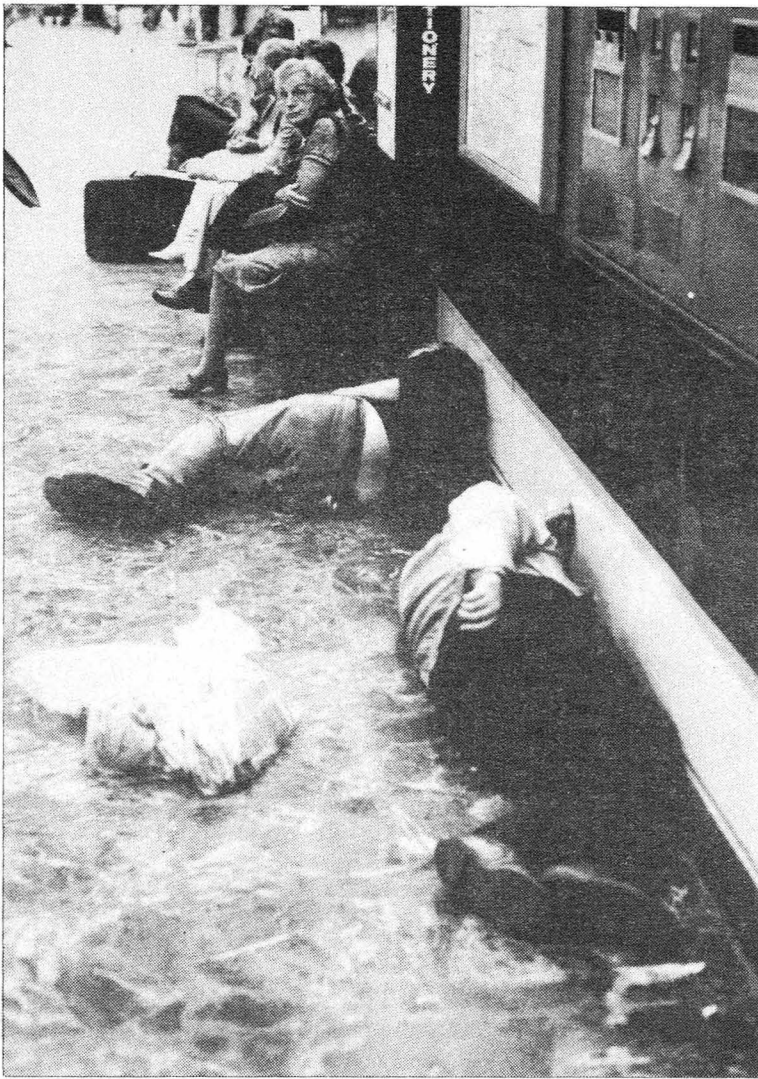
...and so does crime.

SUKU SAU, disabled and unemployed, has served nearly 50 prison sentences in Calcutta but never committed a crime. He is one of a hundred or more young men sleeping rough on the city's streets who can be hired by convicted black marketeers and gamblers as surrogate prisoners.

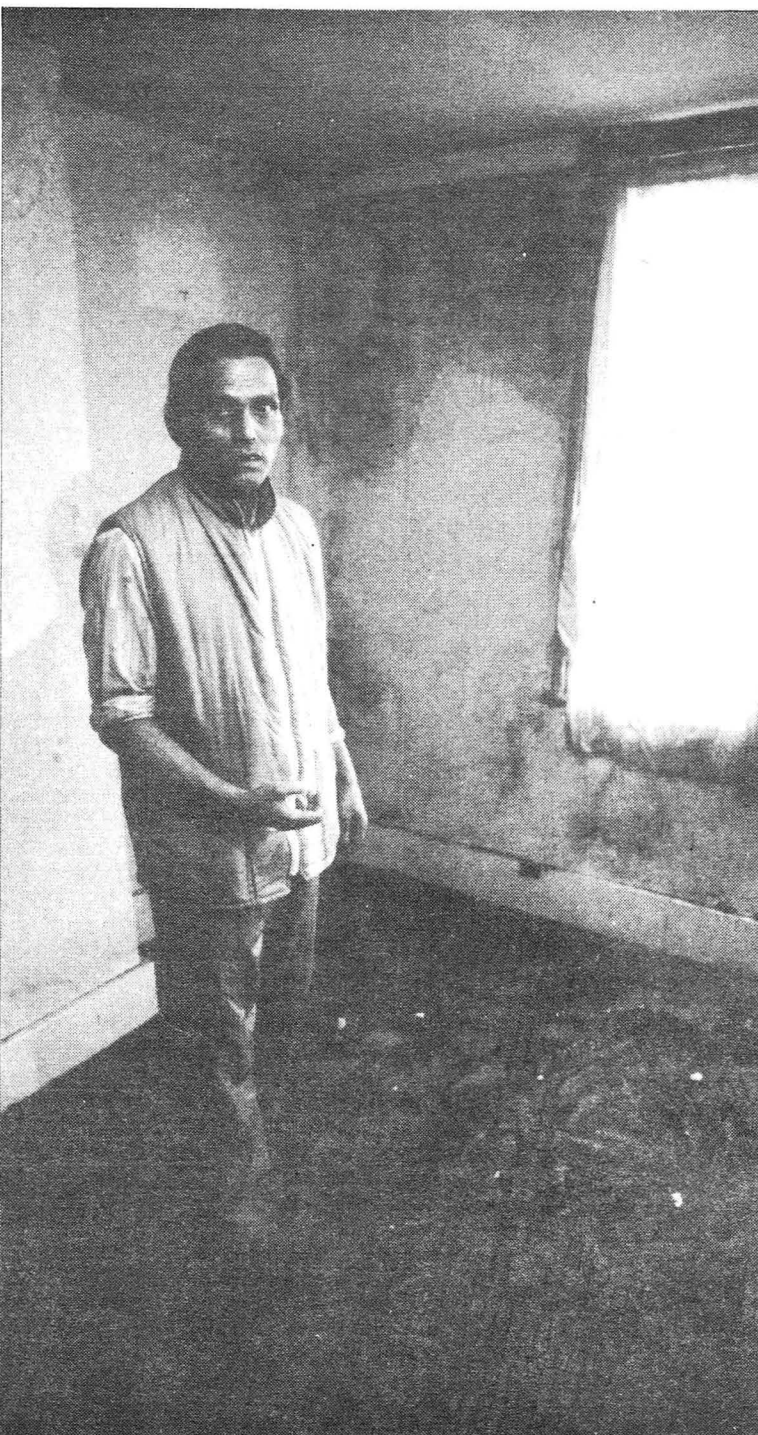
Suku had been paid 200 rupees (about £20) by a ticket tout to serve his jail sentence. He would also get "some free meals at the government's expense" and a further 50 rupees on his release. The poverty stricken impersonators have been charged with fraud but the hirers and the police inspectors who must connive with the swaps have so far been untouched.



A place to



Homeless men sleeping rough in Euston Station, London. Photo: Militant.



Housing conditions in Whitechapel, East London. Photo: Andrew Moore.

A HOUSING crisis is developing in Britain on a scale not seen since after the last war. Homelessness is steadily increasing under the Tories. The council house waiting list continues to multiply, and now stands at 1.2 million. Yet house building has slumped. At the same time Britain's existing housing is falling apart. This feature is the first of a series on housing and looks at the extent of the crisis. It will be followed by articles on the success of Liverpool council's housing programme and will conclude with a look at Labour's manifesto commitments.

RAW STATISTICS alone cannot convey the depth of the housing crisis in Britain today.

No figures could show the inhuman levels of suffering endured by people living in cramped or damp conditions or the misery of multi-story tower blocks.

The condition of much of Britain's housing, both public and private, is reminiscent of scenes from Engels' book *The conditions of the Working Class in England* written in 1844!

Since the Tories came to power in 1979 they have sung the virtues of a 'property owning democracy'. But the contempt that they have towards the needs of working people for a decent home was shown in a recent *Observer* article.

"Two tower blocks in good structural order will be blown up today because Tory councillors in Kent want their town to look pretty. Colin Gardiner, housing chairman of Rochester-upon-Medway, says only seven more tower blocks need to be destroyed before he can declare Medway a tower-free zone. Another two will fall next month. The effect has been to double the council house waiting list time to five years, but Mr Gardiner plans to tighten the eligibility criteria. He does not think people should live in council homes. He thinks they should buy their own."

Home ownership under the Tories has indeed risen from 57 per cent of the total housing stock to 63 per cent creating a million new home owners. This has been superficially trumpeted as a sign of success of the government's policies, a propaganda point which some Labour spokesmen such as Jeff Rooker seem to have accepted.

But the home-owning happiness, which the Tories preach, is an illusion for most working class families. It has been estimated that at least 30 per cent of the population could never afford to own their own homes.

House prices have risen dramatically—in London by 100 per cent in the last three years and 23 per cent in just the last year, compared to eight per cent nationally.

The price of an average house in London is now £64,270, and the national average of a second hand home is £39,675. The average price paid by first-time buyers is £28,860.

The spectacular rise in house prices has been caused by increased competition between mort-

gage companies and the financial institutions, pushing up the number of mortgages available.

As house prices increase existing home owners have more 'purchasing power'. There is more money chasing the same housing stock which bids up the prices of existing houses still further. The money lenders open up their wallets on the security of inflated house prices causing a speculative money go-round.

Most importantly house prices have been driven up by the sharp contraction of house-building both in the public and private sectors.

Working class families, and some low paid middle class families, especially young couples, find themselves pushed into taking on mortgages that they cannot afford. One young couple in every twenty now faces repossession orders. In the first six months of 1986 10,600 families had their houses repossessed.

Housing conditions

But it is the run-down of the housing stock, the condition of housing, which is at the heart of the crisis. Britain's houses are falling apart. Even the relatively new ones, the system built blocks of the 60s, are being pulled down because they are no longer fit for human habitation.

We are heading for a housing disaster on a scale not seen before in Britain.

Tory housing minister, John Patten, argues that the way to solve the crisis is to move the official figure of half a million homeless into vacant houses, of which there are about 660,000. So for the Tories there is no housing crisis.

It may be that there is a crude surplus of housing. This is partly because of the prolific house building that went on in the 50s and 60s. An average of 300,000 new homes were built every year in the 1950s, and 400,000 in the 1960s. This expansion slowed down under the last Labour government, particularly with the cuts carried out as a result of the IMF loans.

The Tories use the pure figures to mask the extent of the crisis. Over a million houses are at present unfit for human habitation. 900,000 lack basic amenities such as an inside toilet. Even if the empty houses were fit to live in, they are not in the right places for the people who need them.

According to Stewart Lansley in

the Labour Housing Group's booklet *Right to a Home*, there is a projected deficit of 362,000 homes in 1986 if second homes and houses left vacant are taken into account. This would be up from 188,000 in 1981.

Homelessness is now a growing feature of Britain in the 1980s. In all parts of the country people are sleeping on other peoples' floors, families are sharing small flats, newly married couples can't live together because they have nowhere to go.

Labour's programme in 1982 pointed out that 500,000 households were still sharing a home, 300,000 couples and single parents were living in 'concealed' homes (i.e. other peoples' houses) and 800,000 households had less space than is allowed for in the local authority bedroom standard.

Homelessness could rise dramatically and waiting lists lengthen if the housing stock is allowed to decay further and is not replaced with new housing. Although the number of unfit houses is not rising and the number lacking amenities is declining, the rate of disrepair is rising sharply.

The Association of Metropolitan Authorities has estimated that it now requires £19 billion to repair and renovate the existing council housing stock, and a further £17 billion would be needed to bring private housing up to standard. (A total of twice the current spending on defence).

The rate of improvement is not keeping up with the rate at which housing is falling into disrepair. The AMA estimates that at present restoration rates for all housing it will take 900 years to replace existing stock.

New house starts in the public sector fell back from 170,000 in 1976 to less than 34,000 last year. Private housing starts similarly fell back from 155,000 in 1976 to 99,000 in 1980, only rising back to 161,000 starts last year.

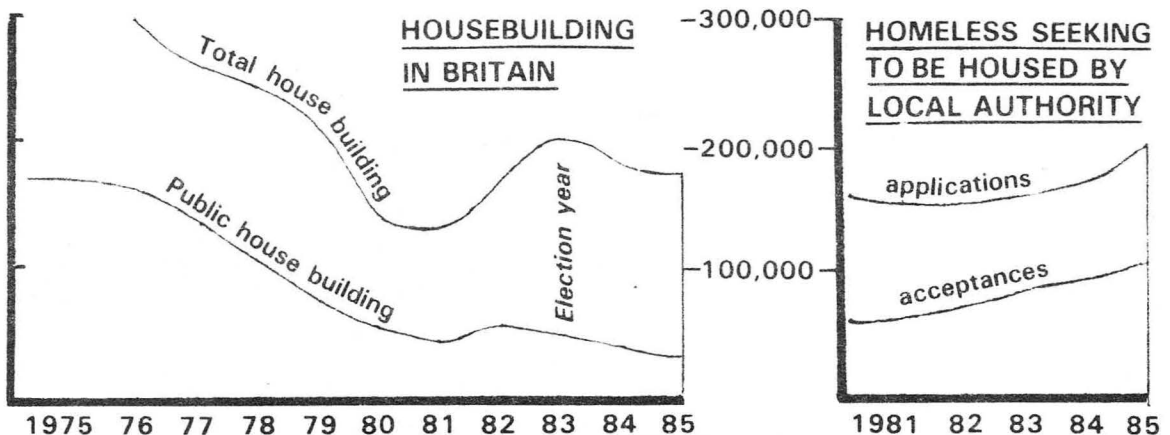
However even this modest rise could in no way compensate for the collapse in public sector house building. Investment in the public sector, according to a report in *The Independent* has fallen to a level where only 31 pence is spent on public housing in comparison to every £1 spent ten years ago. This is a drop of more than 80 per cent in real terms.

On top of this 500,000 council houses have been lost for ever from the public sector through the Tories' policy of cheap council house sales. Yet there are 1.2 million people on the council house waiting lists.

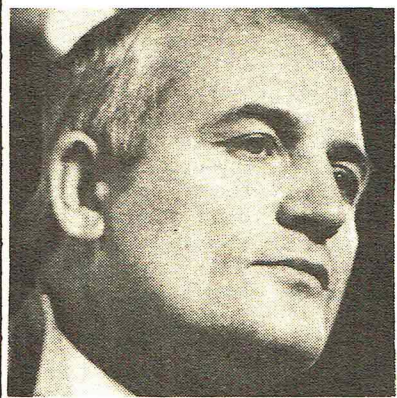
Such is the extent of the housing crisis that if Labour gave a clear commitment in its manifesto to building a million new homes a year, of decent quality, it could win a landslide victory on this issue alone.

By Ken Smith

The graphs below show the collapse of house-building and the rise in homelessness. Homelessness here is shown by applications to local authorities and doesn't give the true extent of the problem.

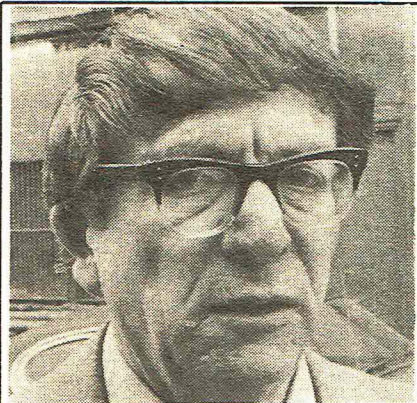


Come to the



Tony Mulhearn

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



Ted Grant

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



Nimrod Sejake

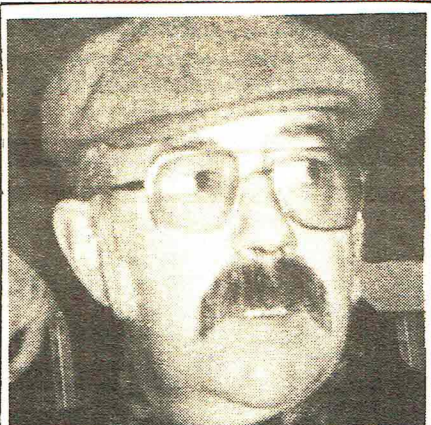
General Secretary of SACTU Iron and Steel Union in 1950s. Past secretary ANC in White City, Soweto. Charged with high treason in 1956. Prominent supporter of Marxist Workers Tendency of ANC.

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Jim Brookshaw

Father of Chapel, Times Engineers AEU (in personal capacity).



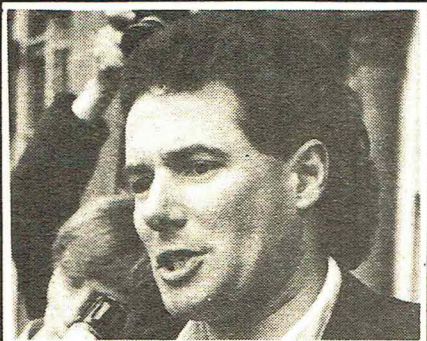
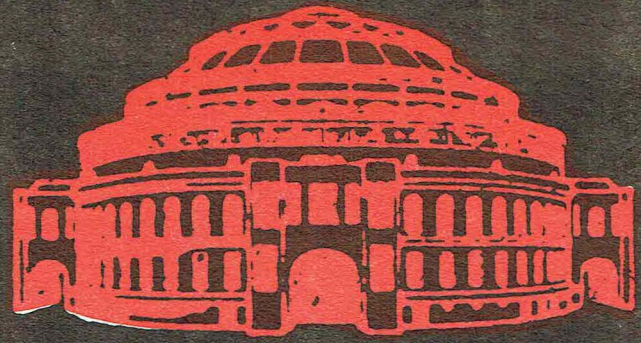
Doreen Purvis

CPSA National Executive Committee, National Vice-President. DHSS Executive Committee. Leader of the DHSS Newcastle Central office strike 1984-85 (personal capacity).



DON'T
Militant

RALLY!



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.



Peter Taaffe

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



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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.



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Spain, Belgium

Spain: Socialist government steals capitalist clothes

THE HOPELESS weakness of Spain's economy (explained in last week's *Militant*) lies at the root of the impasse of the Spanish capitalist class. This impasse finds its clearest expression in the crisis of bourgeois politics.

Ten years after the collapse of the Franco dictatorship, the capitalists have still to put together a stable bourgeois party. The old Centre Union (UCD) of Adolfo Suarez fell to pieces before the PSOE (Socialist Party) came to power. Now the right-wing Democratic Coalition (CD) of Manuel Fraga looks like going the same way.

Split off

The problem of these people is that the PSOE under the leadership of Felipe Gonzalez has stolen their clothes. It is very difficult to criticise this PSOE government from the right—although ex-prime minister Suarez has succeeded in criticising it from the left!

As predicted by the Marxists in advance, Fraga's party is now in crisis. The Christian-Democrat wing has split off. More dramatically, there was a head-on clash in August between Fraga and his second-in-command, Jorge Verstrynge, who was planning to elbow the leader aside

and take over the party. Instead, Fraga staged a furious counter-offensive, and Verstrynge was unceremoniously ejected. Split number two. Incidentally, at the massive Chile demonstration in Madrid on 11 September, dissident members of Fraga's party turned up—some of them shouting slogans against their former leader which, apart from describing him as a fascist, also cast doubts on the moral conduct of his parents.

These splits in the ranks of the main capitalist party indicate the underlying weakness of the Spanish bourgeoisie. This explains why, for the present, the ruling class prefers to let Gonzalez get on with the job. They know that if a right-wing government acted in the same way, it would provoke an explosion. Gonzalez is, at the moment, the best prime minister the capitalists can have.

The right-wing leaders of PSOE (very similar in ideas and outlook to the right-wingers who now rule the

Third in series
NOTES ON SPAIN
by Alan Woods

roost in Labour's NEC and shadow cabinet) have long since abandoned any pretence of being socialist. They have become open spokesmen for the bankers and capitalists within the government.

A typical specimen of this breed of infiltrators is Boyer, ex-Minister of the Economy, who resigned a few months ago and went straight into a top banking job. Boyer is, in fact, the open representative of the bankers. *His politics do not differ in any way from the politics of Thatcher, except that they are even more crude and brutal.*

This 'socialist' has publicly demanded the wholesale privatisation not only of state-owned industry but of the universities as well!

"Strong line"

The extreme right-wing faction, orchestrated and led by Boyer from behind his desk in a big bank, is now represented in the government by Carlos Solchaga, Minister of the Economy. They are pushing for a



Unemployed shipyard workers demonstrate outside election rally addressed by PSOE leader Gonzalez last June.

"strong line" on wages and jobs—that is, lower wages, higher profits, more closures.

The government has gone very far down the road of the right wing. But tensions have begun to appear in it. The official "Left" have been conspicuous by their absence. But a "centre" grouping around Guerra, Gonzalez's second-in-command, has begun to make noises.

Guerra's base is the party apparatus. A section of bureaucrats have begun to feel uneasy about the direction taken by the leadership. They are under rank-and-file pressure from the party and, more importantly, from the Socialist trade union, the UGT.

There are signs that Guerra has opposed the Boyer-Solchaga line, not on fundamentals, but at least in urging greater caution. Boyer, who has the bit between his teeth, answered with a tirade against unnamed "cynics" and "demagogues" in the government.

A hairline crack, no more. And yet, a hairline crack in a dam upon which huge pressures are brought to bear heralds an almighty bust-up.

A split in the PSOE, at a given moment, is absolutely inevitable. The arrogant Neanderthal rightwingers, who now behave like a law unto themselves, will be vomited out of the Socialist Party as the workers move to regain control of their organisations.

The blatant capitulation of the PSOE right wing to the pressure of capitalism and imperialism is underlined by Gonzalez's stand on NATO. One of the main arguments used during the referendum campaign to wheedle voters into accepting Spanish membership was the repeated assurance that Spain "would not be integrated into NATO's military structure."

Now, with indecent haste,

Gonzalez has, in effect, pushed Spain into the military structures of NATO. Even the representatives of NATO in Brussels expressed amazement at the swiftness of this about-turn, which showed a cynical disregard for the opinions of the great majority of Spaniards and the promises made in the referendum campaign.

From a Marxist point of view there is nothing to be surprised about. Foreign policy is only a continuation of home policy. Having accepted "realistically" the need to work within capitalist straitjacket, Gonzalez is obliged to obey the logic of the system. And it is only logical that a "socialist" government which follows the dictates of big business at home will find itself slavishly following the dictates of international monopoly capitalism. And that, in the modern epoch, means the United States and the international military alliance which it dominates.

To expect an "independent" foreign policy from a government which is utterly dependent on the bankers and capitalists is, to quote the Spanish proverb, like asking for pears from an elm tree.

Dirty work

The Gonzalez government imagines that it can find a way out of the crisis by doing the bosses' dirty work, reducing living standards (in the name of "solidarity"), closing factories (in the name of "re-industrialisation") and allowing the bosses to make enormous profits (in the name of "generating new wealth").

Of course, these measures will only serve to aggravate the problems. Nor will they succeed in neutralising the hostility of the bankers and capitalists to the PSOE.

When the patience of the workers runs out—and it is



Opposition leader Fraga: his party in crisis.

already running out—the present situation will change, into its opposite. Once the right wing Socialists lose control of the situation, the bosses will pull the rug out from under them. There will be an orchestrated campaign to bring the government down. The corrupt behaviour of many of the PSOE leaders will provide plenty of ammunition.

Without the buffer of right-wing Socialists in government, the ground will be prepared for collisions and deepening class struggle on a scale unprecedented since the 1930s.

The capitalists are sharpening their weapons for the attacks on the working class demanded by the crisis of their system. The workers will struggle to reclaim their own organisations, and equip them with the programme and leadership that will be required to ensure victory in the struggles ahead—to establish worker's democracy and commence the socialist transformation of society, in Spain and internationally.

There will be no article in this series next week, but a report on the forthcoming elections in the Basque country will follow.

Belgium: Swing to left

THERE HAS been a swing to the left in the Socialist parties in the Flemish as well as Walloon (French-speaking) areas of Belgium.

This reflects the radicalisation of the massive strike movement in May and June (see *Militant* 807). Significantly, it is also a response to attempts by party leaders to shift policy to the right.

In desperate attempts to silence opposition, the right wing have used the most blatant measures. At a Brussels regional conference of the Flemish SP, 17 out of 19 branches were ruled out on technicalities! The conference ended with three-quarters of the delegates leaving in disgust.

But the membership had their revenge at the national conference, when every part of the right-wing conference document was amended to the left!

Workers are looking for an alternative to the dictatorial austerity policies of the government. The trade union leaders have allowed the general strike movement to ebb away. Undoubtedly, a mood to fight still exists, but recent struggles have remained localised because of sabotage by right-wing union leaders.

The ruling class have capitalised on this breathing space to try to whip up national divisions between Walloon and Flemish workers. Union and SP leaders, unfortunately, instead of uniting workers in defence of jobs and services,



Brussels, 31 May: 250,000 workers march to the music of the *Internationale*.

are playing along in this game.

Attempting to divert attention from themselves, Walloon right-wingers blame Flemish workers, and Flemish right-wingers respond in kind. Worst of all, some leaders of the Socialist unions now seem to be secretly preparing to split the unions along national lines.

This would be a disastrous step backward for the Belgian working class, suggesting that Walloon and Flemish workers have separate interests which can be gained at the expense of one another.

Belgian Marxists are campaigning

against a split and for genuine trade union democracy within a single organisation, building on the unparalleled degree of class unity shown by the workers in the strikes of May and June.

When workers are involved in struggle, all divisions tend to be cut across. Coming struggles will find their reflection also in a movement for the reunification of the Socialist party and the election of a majority Socialist government on a workers' programme.

By Steve Morgan

Free Moses Mayekiso

OF THE 3,000 trade unionists detained under South Africa's State of Emergency, Moses Mayekiso has been singled out for special treatment. He is being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, which means indefinite detention, without access to lawyers or visitors.

Moses, general secretary of the Metal and Allied Workers' Union (MAWU), was arrested in July on his return from a union visit to Europe. Isolated in the torture chambers of the regime, he is at the mercy of the security police.

Moses is being held because of his political influence in his union and in the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), where he serves on the Central Executive Committee.

Shop steward

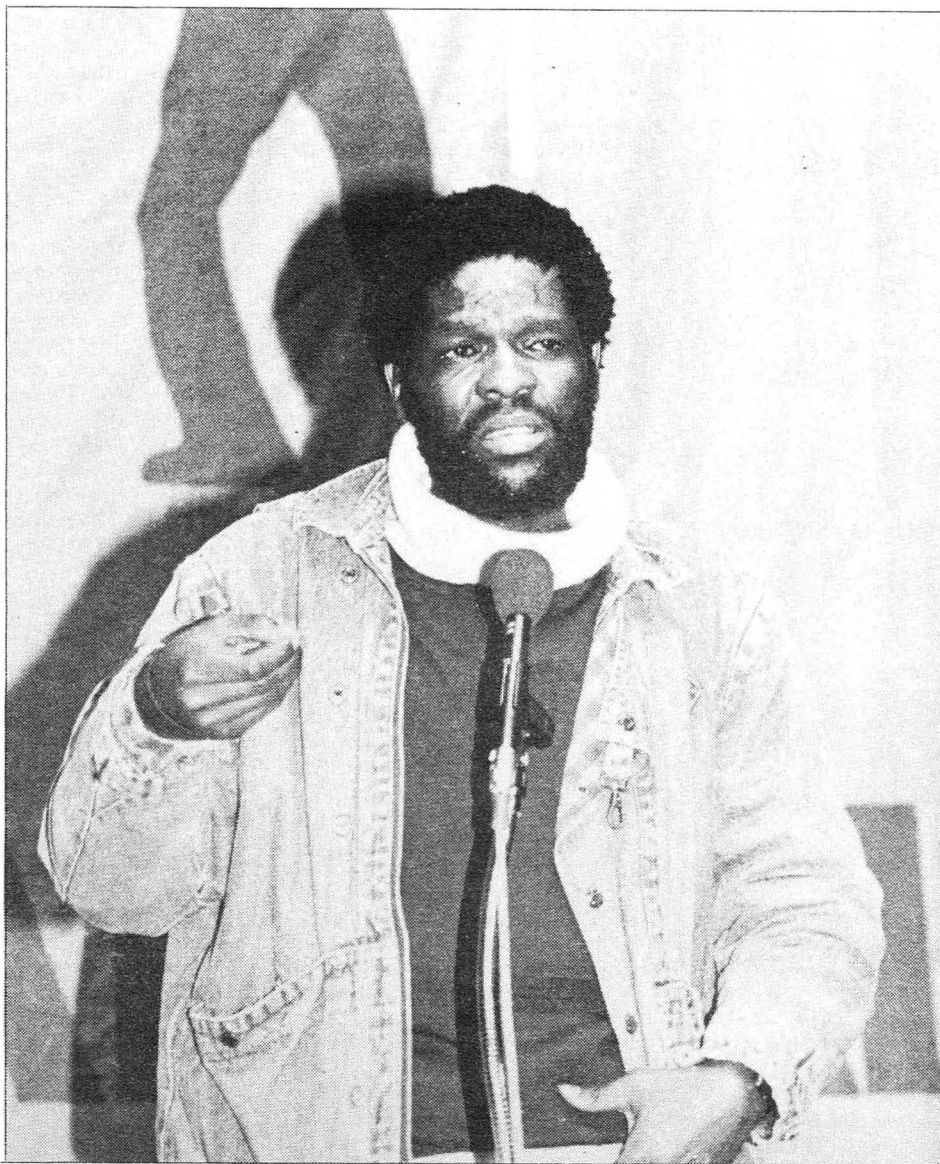
Moses got a job at Toyota Marketing in 1976, and became a MAWU organiser in the company in 1979. In 1979 he was elected a shop steward and a MAWU executive member.

Of that period he tells: "In those days we had to hide from the police and the bosses. We worked in small groups and had meetings in the bush... The Toyota bosses did not want to talk to the union. We had three strikes at Toyota before they met with MAWU. I lost my job—so did the other shop stewards."

The union then employed him as a full-time organiser. He worked on the East Rand, where the organisation of workers culminated in two dramatic strike waves between 1980 and 1982, involving over 40,000 workers.

Moses relates: "I was working in Katlehong. Sometimes we had five strikes a day. Workers were angry about their wages and working conditions. They were angry that the bosses did not want to talk to the union. The union grew and grew. And I worked day and night".

In 1983 he became MAWU's Transvaal secretary, and played an increas-



Moses Mayekiso addressing LPYS conference last Easter: "I thought I was at a COSATU rally!"

ingly important role in the unity talks that led to the formation of COSATU. He was one of the organisers of the magnificent Transvaal two-day general strike in November 1984, and was detained and charged with "economic sabotage". The charges were eventually dropped.

His work in the stayaway led him to join in community organisation in his home area of Alexandra. He became chairman of the Alexandra Action Committee (AAC), set up in December 1985, linking the workers with the local community.

The community is organised in yard, block and street committees, which send delegates to the AAC. Much of the organisation is done by the youth. When Moses

was arrested and detained in March, workers and youth demanded his release. In the Transvaal 58 per cent of MAWU members downed tools in protest.

Soon after his release Moses, a strong advocate of direct links between workers internationally, came to Britain to build support for the BTR strike in Natal. He spoke to trade unionists throughout Britain and gathered tremendous rank-and-file support.

He also attended the LPYS National Conference at Easter and launched a class appeal for direct links to support the BTR strikers. It was a historic day for the LPYS, and the mood was so jubilant that Moses commented: "I thought I was at a COSATU rally!"

"When I first joined the union", Moses says, "I thought the struggle was against whites. But I was wrong. Now I think the workers must struggle against their bosses and the government. People must come together in organisations. But the leaders must do what their members say. I think everyone must work together, but I think that the workers must lead".

Explosive growth

MAWU's programme calls for the "building of socialism under the leadership of the working class" (resolution passed unanimously at the union's Congress in July). Its fighting approach has resulted in explosive growth, with membership almost doubling from 22,000 in March 1985 to over 41,000 in March 1986.

British workers and youth must demand the release of this brilliant young workers' leader and all other political prisoners in South Africa. It

Lessons of the SA mines dispute

ON 27 October the SA NUM leaders settled with the major mining houses in the four-month dispute over 1986/87 wage levels. Anglo-American, JCI and Gencor conceded maximum increases of 19.5-23.5 per cent (several per cent less for underground workers) against the NUM's initial demand of 40 per cent for all black mineworkers.

An important gain won by the NUM, in the aftermath of the Kinross disaster in which 177 mineworkers died, was six months' wages (dated from end of convalescence) at previous rates of pay for NUM members forced to move to worse-paid jobs as a result of accident or occupational disease.

This is something white miners have not secured.

At Doornfontein, Kloof and Deelkraal—mines controlled by UK-owned Consolidated Goldfields, which refused to give this increase—40,000 workers immediately came out on strike. Similar action at Goldfields-controlled West and East Driefontein was prevented only by arrests of shaft stewards and riot squad attacks.

At Kloof also, eight workers' leaders were detained, including the NUM regional chairman.

Split settlement

Last year the NUM leadership accepted a similar "split" settlement with Anglo-American and JCI, and then got a poor response to a strike call on less organised Gencor mines. This year's NUM conference therefore resolved not to accept a split settlement.

But this was reversed by the NUM Central Committee, which then wrote off the prospect of strike action by Goldfields workers on grounds of lack of organised membership.

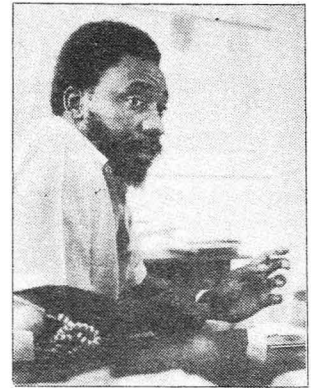
The Goldfields workers demanded a 30 per cent pay increase, three months annual leave on full pay, a similar deal for injured workers, and abolition of the system whereby they are paid two weeks in arrear.

While the increases agreed by the major companies are higher than those previously conceded to the NUM, the response by the Goldfields workers (and the one-day strike by over 300,000 mineworkers in protest at the Kinross disaster) is an indication of the workers' mood. With a campaign thoroughly prepared in advance, more could probably have been achieved.

Clearly, there was a stronger mood for strike action this year, even among unorganised workers. When settlement seemed close, the NUM leaders called a halt to preparations for a strike ballot. But on one Gencor mine where it went ahead anyway, there was 96 per cent support for a strike from its 8,000 workers.

There are lessons in all this for next year's wage negotiations.

While the NUM was young and weak, it made sense to postpone confrontation with the formidable Chamber of Mines. But now NUM membership is over 300,000—a majority of all mineworkers. COSATU now exists, with membership climbing above 700,000 and a responsibility to mobilise maximum support for the struggles of affiliated unions.



NUM general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa.

With inflation touching 20 per cent at present, mineworkers paid at poverty levels cannot afford to accept "compensation for inflation" only and indefinitely postpone a struggle for a living wage. The danger exists that the Chamber of Mines will begin to believe that the NUM is not prepared to use its massive muscle. Workers, too, could begin to doubt the leadership's readiness to organise a fight.

The NUM leadership needs to prepare and mobilise, *as from now*, for next year's wage struggle. This can be linked to the struggle to defend Mozambican workers against repatriation, and other attacks.

The central issues are a living wage, and replacing the migrant labour system with permanent jobs and homes for all mineworkers.

A single-minded campaign must be launched to strengthen organisation, educate every member on the issues, and prepare defences against attacks by the bosses and the regime. The tasks and strategy need to be discussed throughout the ranks of COSATU, in order to prepare solidarity action when required.

Each shop stewards' local can establish a special solidarity sub-committee.

It is also necessary to realise the massive potential for international solidarity by taking a campaign to rank-and-file level in mine and other unions in Britain and elsewhere. The SA NUM should give a lead in such a campaign.

It could, for example, ask the British NUM to call a special delegate conference of all British trade unionists around this issue.

In Britain, labour movement solidarity can be built around a campaign to expose the particularly reactionary role of Consolidated Goldfields—which, with 93,000 workers, is probably the biggest British employer in South Africa. This struggle should be mounted in every British subsidiary of Goldfields.

A well-prepared campaign by the SA NUM over the next year could bring big gains for black mineworkers, and strengthen the confidence of the whole South African working class in the struggle to end apartheid and capitalism.

By Richard Monroe

Torture in Botha's jails

AFFIDAVITS BY victims of police torture in South Africa, recently handed to *Militant* by the Southern African Labour Education Project (SALEP), frighteningly illustrate the barbarism of the apartheid state in its attempts to destroy the workers' struggle.

All those tortured report electric shock treatment. A 29-year-old worker tells: "While I was being shocked my body was moving convulsively and in the course of these violent shakes I snapped the bar across my leg. I then felt punches ... as the policeman asked me why I had broken the stick".

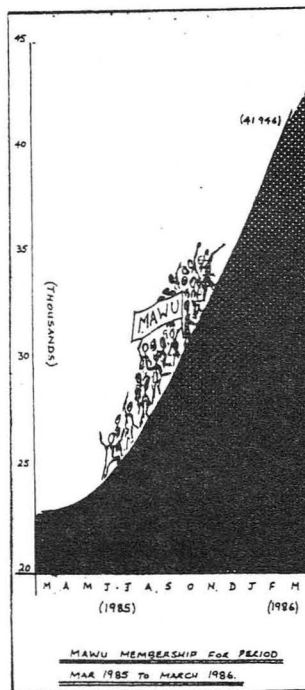
A 21-year-old woman, who got the same treatment:

"He asked me 'are you still not going to give me the names of others?' I again told him I knew nothing ... Again I felt a thing grabbing hold of me and shaking me vigorously. I screamed again but this time no sound came out..."

Detainees are severely beaten, sexually abused, burnt with cigarettes, hooded so they can hardly breathe, manacled—and beaten again.

One detainee remembers that during these torture sessions the police "were drinking beer. I heard them laughing and joking..."

By Sean Kelly



MAWU's growth in membership—March 1985 to March 1986.

is workers like Moses Mayekiso who will lead the struggle to build a socialist South Africa.

Messages of support to: MAWU, PO Box 9451, Johannesburg 2000, South Africa. Protests to: SA Embassy, South Africa House, Trafalgar Square, London WC2.

By April Ashley
(Secretary, SOLSAY)

Read

Inqaba ya Basebenzi
Journal of the Marxist Worker's Tendency of the African National Congress.
BM Box 1719,
London WC1N 3XX.

Arms race aids dictatorship

Dear Comrades,
The British Government has recently sold the Royal Navy destroyer HMS Glamorgan to the Chilean government. This move is clearly designed to prop up Pinochet's brutal regime and should be opposed by the

Labour movement.
This is just one of the many arms sales by the Tories. The party that says it will defend Britain is secretly selling-off Britain's conventional arms, and therefore jobs, in order to fund their nuclear weapons

programme.
We must support the Chilean Socialist Defence Campaign (CSDC) and fight for the overthrow of Pinochet's regime and for a socialist Chile.
John Driscoll
South Middlesbrough

Bus de-regulation a disaster

before it starts

Dear Comrades,
After two days of using de-regulated buses I realise what a stupid Tory idea it is. I use a students' bus pass to travel seven miles to college and back.
Last week this pass let me travel on either blue or red buses. Now they are two competing companies and my pass is only valid with the company owning the red buses.
Yesterday, the express bus to university was full to capacity the people standing. The blue bus a little way ahead had one person on it. This is efficiency?
The bus went much quicker to catch up with its rival and the driver was giving change with one hand and steering with the other. How long before there's a major accident?
Yours fraternally
Simon Chester
Morecambe

Dear comrades,
The various predictions of chaos following de-regulation of buses could well prove to be an under-estimation.
Just two days into privatisation, Greater Manchester Buses (the main operator in this area) announced fare increases, including a 50 per cent cut in savings on clipper cards, saver cards etc. This was on top of all the confusion of new timetables and disappearing bus routes.
Before de-regulation the last bus to Walshaw left Bury town centre at 11 pm, it now leaves at 6.12 pm!
One bus user remarked "There's no way the working class can afford the taxi fare home or walk the two and a half miles home after a night on the town. It's a direct encouragement to drink and drive".
It seems the Tories won't be satisfied until we're riding round in wheelbarrows and rickshaws.
Yours fraternally
D Kenny
Oldham

Letters

Send us your views, comments or criticism.

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

Super-human Tories?

Dear Comrades,
Some of these rich Tory MPs must work all the hours under the sun. Take Geoffrey Rippon, MP for Hexham.
With 33 directorships under his belt (for one of which, as Chairman of

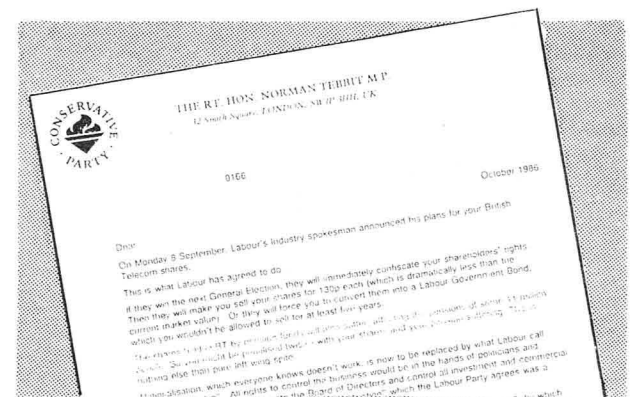
Britannia Arrow, he gets £60,000!) it's just incredible that he finds any time at all to do his full-time job of taking care of his constituents.
Yours fraternally
Liz Floyd
Newham North West
Labour Party

The bankers go mad in the United States

Dear Comrades,
On the BBC News last week was a report from the USA on Nat-West (USA) bank which has a scheme with an American baseball team in New York.
The interest rate would go down a half per cent as the baseball team won. This scheme may expand with other banks doing the same. This shows how bad the banking system is in the US.
I could not see the Bank of England doing a similar scheme with the way the England football team is playing. But if the Bank of England did it would show the heads of the Bank have gone mad!
We must take over all the banks and plan for a future.
Yours fraternally
Patrick Westmore
Isle of Wight.

Tebbit launches 'Fighting Fund'

Dear Comrades,
The Tories are preparing to fight any attempt to renationalise the state industries they have privatised. Norman Tebbit has unveiled an anti-renationalisation fighting fund!
Tebbit tells shareholders that Labour will make you sell your shares at £1.30 each (far less than current market value). No mention that the shares were originally sold at the same price, also well below market value.
To oppose Labour's plans Tebbit claims they are in favour of 'real public ownership'. This 'fighting fund' is aimed at financing a scare campaign against renationalisation aimed at small shareholders in BT and other denationalised industries.



Tebbit launches the Tories' 'Fighting Fund' to fight renationalisation.
Labour should campaign about the real effects of privatisation. They should point out that residential phone bills have risen faster than business bills, and the deterioration in customer service.
Yours fraternally
Clive Walder
Brighton Clerical Branch
NCU (personal capacity)

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.

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

○ 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.

○ Militant Winter Draw. Tickets will be available from the Albert Hall rally. More details in next week's Militant.

○ Militant Calendar 1987. Get your Xmas presents in early with our Militant Calendar commemorating the 70th anniversary of the Russian Revolution. Cost only £1! Bulk orders available from the Albert Hall rally. Orders of 10 or more half price. Raise money towards your area's fighting fund target!

○ Russian Revolution Computer game (Commodore 64) from Derek McMillan, 46 Fairfield Road, East Grinstead, West Sussex, Price £2.

○ Congratulations to Alison and Andy Park on the birth of their new baby girl Esther on 23 October 86. From all their comrades in Woolwich and Plumstead. He or she who has the baby has the future.

Militant Meetings

□ Jarrow Thursday 6 November, Golden Lion Pub, Walter St. Jarrow, 7.30pm. Speaker: Bill Hopwood, expelled Labour Party member.

□ Gateshead "30th Anniversary of the Hungarian Uprising". Sunday 2 November, Swan Public House, Heworth, Gateshead, 7.30pm. Speaker: Ed Waugh.

□ Birmingham Marxist Day School on Women. 29 November Digbeth Civic Hall. Sessions on "Violence against women" and "A Charter for working women". For further details contact: Sue Wilkie, 49 Station St, Longport, Stoke on Trent, ST6 4ND, or Tel. 0782 823541.

○ East Midlands Limited Draw Winners: GJ Webster (Leics) Ticket: 473, I Whyles (Whitwell) 322, P Gosling (Leics) 426, JE Smith (Notts) 099, D McGowan (Ridlesden) 109, J Langsdon (Caerphilly) 296, T Lide (NE Derbyshire) 374, C Ridge (Notts) 051.

○ 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.

○ 1" Badge Militant '86. Limited edition of 1,000 available at Albert Hall rally, price 30p.



○ New Posters specially produced for the Albert Hall Rally. Set of four portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. Bulk orders available. Cost 80p each—set of four £2.50. Also portrait poster of Rosa Luxemburg 80p.

○ Bermondsey LPYS youth rally against the Tories, to welcome the 'Round London Marchers'. Saturday 8 November, 7.30pm 'til late. Spa Road Library, SE16.

□ Solidarity Rally with South African Miners. Sat 8 November. Assemble 11.30am at Gunness Corner (Beside Jolly Sailor pub), Gunness, South Humberston. Rally 12.45pm opposite Flixborough Wharf. Organised by Hatfield NUM and Doncaster anti-apartheid movement.

□ Birmingham "Northern Ireland: The Threat of Civil War". Carrs Lane Church Centre, Birmingham City Centre. Thursday 13 November, 7.30pm. Speaker: Peter Hadden (Northern Ireland Labour and Trade Union Group).

□ 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.

Prepared to take on the Tories



Part of the thousands-strong Labour Party Young Socialists march in London last month. When did the Labour Party last call a national demonstration to kick out the Tories?

Dear Comrades,
The Guardian on 27 October had a report of the Young Social Democrats National Conference in Manchester where Bill Rodgers spoke to a rapt audience of forty delegates, just a few days after a LPYS march of 10,000 through London.
The Guardian gave six times as much space to the SDP article as to the YS march. So much for proportional representation and so much for the SDP

being representative of the youth in Britain.
Yours fraternally
Terry McPartland
Tynemouth Labour Party

Dear Comrades,
After the great success of the LPYS demonstration in London, how much longer can the right wing go on ignoring the feeling of the youth in the Labour Party. It is widely known that

the LPYS are the most active section of the party and this demonstration has proved the organising power of Labour youth.

It's time for the careerists in the party to stop all the petty bickering at constituency and ward meetings and begin to crush the Tories not the LPYS.
Yours fraternally
Dennis Wareing
Winsford Labour Party
Young Socialists

Photo: Dave Sinclair

JACK JONES

JONES

UNION

MAN

AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY



Low pay demonstration against Labour's five per cent pay rise limit during the winter of discontent in 1979.

PART 2: To the Social Contract

Ian Parker reviews the latter part of Jack Jones' book after Frank Cousins' election as TGWU general secretary.

IN 1964 with the election of the Labour government Harold Wilson offered Cousins a job in the cabinet as Minister of Technology. It was a symptom of the strength of the unions arising from the world boom. But it also showed the illusions which existed in the idea of a partnership between the capitalist state and the trade unions.

Jack Jones even tells in his autobiography how he advised Cousins against accepting the offer of the Ministry of Labour, the bosses' traditional method of using labour leaders to police their members.

Harry Nicholas became the acting general secretary. Jones became his assistant but increasingly took over day to day leadership of the union. As he moved into leadership, despite his record of struggle, his political weaknesses were increasingly revealed.

The pressures of international capital on Labour soon began to tell. In 1966, with the government intent on pushing through a prices and incomes policy and the use of emergency powers to smash the seamen's strike Frank Cousins resigned from the government.

The TGWU were in a minority in the trade union movement in opposing prices and incomes policy. Jones prepared a paper detailing the case for a £15 minimum wage linked to a 40-hour week which would lead to a 35-hour week with three week's paid holiday.

This was his response to the 'National Plan' strategy of George Brown, the Minister of Economic Affairs, a new post set up symbolising Labour illusions in the possibility of planning capitalism.

Jones and Brown often clashed. He says in his book: "George Brown, seemed to be obsessed with incomes policy...the trouble with you George is that you are a million miles away from the shop floor...you are doing the employers job for them."



Wilson and Callaghan, Labour prime ministers whose plans for partnership and planning turned into attacks on the working class.

But as he also reveals, his own proposals included planning between the TUC and the CBI. The belief in the possibility of fruitful compromise between workers and bosses runs through his thinking.

In 1967 Hugh Scanlon, the left candidate, was elected President of the AEU the second largest British union. Known as 'the terrible twins' they had a close relationship in opposing the government's policy on pay restraint.

Not long after this Barbara Castle was appointed secretary of state for employment and productivity. Jones made the mistake of assuming she would work more closely with the unions. "In retrospect I cannot think why I should have felt elated for I had already begun to learn how difficult it was to talk in practical terms to politicians once they have been elected to government office."

He took his seat on the General Council of the TUC in 1968. Soon he was playing a leading role in the debate on Barbara Castle's plans for union legislation, the infamous 'In Place of Strife'.

The unions were opposed. Wilson and Castle were adamant. These were their sops to the demands of the media and the bosses that Labour tame so-called 'wildcat strikes' and the rank and file militants who had gained strength on the shop floor during

the boom.

In changing economic circumstances Jones was being asked to discipline the very shop stewards he had encouraged as an activist and local full time official. Castle's idea of a concession was to say that shop stewards would not go to prison for unofficial industrial action but fines would be imposed and collected as civil debts.

Jones half conceded the government's case on the industrial and economic problems but argued that conciliation and arbitration would be a better solution than legislation. The TUC reviewed its procedure on inter-union disputes in an attempt to defuse the situation.

At a special TUC in the summer of 1969 the main item of discussion was the government's intention to introduce the Industrial Relations Bill. After pressure by Jones and Scanlon threats of legal action were withdrawn by Labour—but on the proviso that the TUC agreed to insert the words "solemn and binding agreements."

Behind the manoeuvring at the top of the labour movement was a ground swell of mass opposition in 1969 to 'In Place of Strife'. The measures died but so too did the Labour government. The white heat of the technological revolution cooled as Labour ran out of energy and ideas.

In 1970 the Tories returned to

power with their own plans for union reform far more draconian than Labour's. Central to this whole period was the power of the unions and the ruling class's determination to curb it.

1970-74 was a period of greater class struggles than anything seen in Britain since 1926. Strangely Jones fails to deal with it in any detail. We can only speculate that though he played a leading role he prefers not to emphasise the militant mass action, the lost opportunities or their outcome.

The collapse of the Heath government under the blows of mass trade union action led to the election of a Labour government. The experience of 1964-70 was still fresh in the minds of workers and leaders.

Rank and file meetings were held in many areas with the intention of preventing another Labour collapse under the pressure of big business. Jones was looking this time for genuine partnership with a Labour government. As early as 1972 they had been planning what was to become the social contract. In his book he explained his aims.

"I wanted priority to certain essentials; a better deal for pensioners, rehabilitating the NHS, a massive housing programme, measures to eliminate low pay, support for industrial democracy, the repeal of the Industrial Relations Act. I knew that Labour leaders like Dennis Healey and Barbara Castle would want to talk about incomes policy, and we did."

In the book, talking about the issues as late as 1975 he still defends his position: "I never doubted the value of the social contract, which I saw as a major step towards economic equality and better conditions for working people, and used every democratic means to gain the cooperation of fellow trade unionists."

He told the Scottish TUC in 1975: "My appeal is to respect the social contract and to support it. To do this would mean advancing the interests of our members and keeping a Labour government in power. Can we really afford to let this government be thrown out? The Labour government for all its limitations, is two hundred times better than a Tory government."

Only this kind of appeal, made with the authority of Jones and Scanlon could have sold policies with such disastrous results. The working class suffered a cut in real wages of 10 per cent in one year (1976/7), a doubling of unemployment between 1974-79, the entry of the IMF and the first monetarist cuts in public expenditure (introduced by Dennis Healey).

Unfortunately Jones does not deal with these issues or the breakdown of the 5 per cent pay policy under the pressure of widespread strikes in the private and public sector, above all the 1979 'winter of discontent' revolt of the low paid.

This and the defeat of Labour in 1979, which gets just a few lines in Jones' book, are also part of his legacy to the labour movement.

That a left winger with his background in the working class and labour movement struggles should have failed the test of major battles—and failed to analyse them—brings it home that without organising around a clear political analysis and socialist programme individual sincerity is inadequate.

As a rank and file militant and local trade union leader Jones could see his opponents and put up a brave fight. But from his book he was at best a syndicalist. He wanted power for the workers through the trade unions.

He had an attachment to the Labour Party and general socialist ideals. But he had no wider political analysis. He did not understand the strategy of the capitalists, as Trotsky warned in the late '30s, to involve the Labour and trade union leaders in the state apparatus to police the working class. Above all he had no alternative.

The lessons will not be lost on labour movement activists despite the danger of the present generation of Labour and trade union leaders repeating past mistakes.

None of today's leaders have the background and authority which allowed Jones and Scanlon to hold back working class opposition to Labour attacks on the working class. Even they could only succeed for a temporary period. Kinnock and Co are on a shorter leash than ever Wilson and Callaghan were.

Industrial Reports

CPSA Broad Left launches campaign

MORE THAN 100 CPSA members attended a meeting organised by the CPSA London Broad Left to start the campaign to re-elect John Macreadie as General Secretary.

The meeting started with a Silentnight striker, Mark Newton who explained why he and the Silentnight workers had been on strike for the past 17 months; the need to escalate the campaign to boycott Silentnight beds in the shops, in particular the Co-op. He appealed to CPSA branches to arrange meetings with the Silentnight strikers.

John Macreadie explained to the meeting that approximately 50 per cent of civil servants worked in the London area and the important work that Broad Left members in London have in winning the election.

He explained that the National Executive Committee proposals for the 1987 pay campaign did not go far in reducing the poverty faced by many CPSA members and that a campaign should be based around a £115 per week minimum wage, £30 per week increase, abolition of incremental scales.

John said that the Electoral Reform Society report stated there had been no ballot rigging yet the right wing on the NEC had ordered a re-run and changed the rules on how the re-election should be conducted—without any debate or vote on the new 'desk-top' proposals.

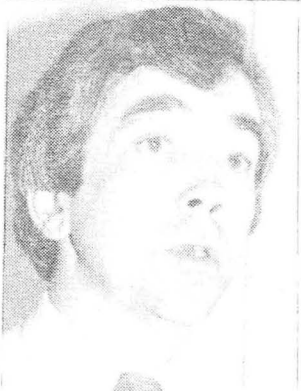
John paid tribute to the Broad Left candidate for General Treasurer, Eddie Spence, on his socialist principles in standing down in the re-election so that the Broad Left can campaign on defending the original election.

Over £230 was collected to finance the campaign and a £50 donation given to the Silentnight speaker.

By Mike Dolphin
(CPSA London Broad Left secretary)

Group 81

Broad Left in Cohse
National conference: 8
November, 2-5.30 at
Polytechnic of Central London
309 Regent Street.



Kevin Mullins, Broad Left candidate in recent general secretary election will be speaking at the conference.

Shell jobs hit Stanlow

FOR THE second time in 18 months, workers at Shell's Stanlow refinery in Ellesmere Port are facing massive job cuts.

On Monday 27 October management unleashed their own 'big bang'—a further 700 jobs to go, hard on the heels of the 1,000 lost since last March.

If not resisted, these redundancies will reduce the workforce to 1,700 by 1990 in an area which has already lost over 7,000 manufacturing jobs since 1980.

Rumours of more redundancies have been rife for several weeks and as in 1985 it is suspected that they were started by management as a tactic to spread confusion and demoralisation.

Management claim that there should be no need for compulsory redundancies. That sounds fine to some (mainly union bureaucrats) but it brings no comfort to the many young unemployed in Ellesmere Port who look to Shell as a major employer.

Voluntary redundancies have just as devastating an effect on a small community and firms supplying to Shell, as compulsory redundancies.

The previous round of redundancies affected mainly the operators and craftsmen. This time supervisory staff will bear the brunt.

The management must not be allowed to sow divisions amongst the



Strike at Stanlow in 1983.

John Smith (IFL) II

workforce, if the job cuts are to be fought, unity is essential.

So far the response of unions at Stanlow has been to demand that the company pledges these redundancies will be the last. They have refused.

On Friday a joint committee of all unions formed to oppose the 1985 redundancies met.

This body should be the organiser for a campaign to

oppose the redundancies—as a first step calling a mass meeting of all Shell workers and then approaching other oil workers and local industries.

Both the workforce and the local community can be mobilised if a determined and enthusiastic lead is shown.

By Steve Bimson
(Astms rep Shell TRC,
personal capacity)

... AND UKF THREATENS 300

WORKERS on their way home on Wednesday 29 October from UKF (fertilisers) Ltd near Stanlow heard on their car radios that 300 of the 900 jobs at the plant were to go!

The company later claimed that the statement was "unofficial" but warned that redundancies were likely in the near future.

UKF is less than a mile from the Shell plant at Stanlow where redundancies have been announced. These would make 1,000 job losses announced in Ellesmere Port in three days.

There are fears that UKF (a subsidiary of Dutch State Mines) may close completely due to worldwide overproduction of fertilisers.

CPSA Broad Left set for victory

THE BROAD LEFT conference meets in Manchester this weekend with over 350 BL supporters expected to attend. Over 160 motions are tabled for debate arranged into some 70 composites. This is an indication of both the political confidence of the Broad Left and its growing support throughout the CPSA.

The optimism of the Broad Left is sharply contrasted by the 'Communist' backed BL '84 Conference which met last weekend with fewer than 75 people attending. At the time of their split from the Broad Left 114 people walked out of a BL Conference—two years on their numbers are even smaller. BL '84 supporters decided at their conference to stand Geoff Lewtas against John Macreadie for General Secretary. Only one region opposed this position arguing for left unity and support for John Macreadie.

This was decisively rejected, with "leading" BL '84 figures, particularly those in DHSS saying that they would prefer the right wing candidate Ellis to win rather than John Macreadie.

This was not surprising when it was later revealed that the BL '84 grouplet within DHSS have agreed to approach the right wing to form an "umbrella" group with the intention of having joint slates against the Broad Left in the next round of elections in May.

The only motion which criticised the Right Wing arguing that it was the right-wing and not the Broad Left that have a damaging stranglehold within CPSA was first amended to delete this sentence and was then withdrawn.

The Broad Left Conference this weekend will be debating a number of issues including pay, GS Elections, Womens Issues, Racism, Youth, The Labour Party, South Africa, Ireland, Political Fund, Merger, Full-Time Officers, Pay, TU Laws etc.

The key debates are likely to centre around

Pay and Womens issues with the majority of the Broad Left members supporting Composite motion No 1 calling for the maximum unity amongst civil servants and instructing CPSA to approach other Civil Service unions to try and agree a common claim and strategy so long as it encompasses CPSA's demands of £20 per week, £115 per week minimum wage, 35 hour week, and six weeks leave on the proviso that other unions are prepared to join with us in the fight to achieve it.

We welcome the motions that acknowledge that the union has developed a comprehensive array of policies on womens issues but point out however that little has been done to translate these policies into action.

The majority of BL supporters believe that if CPSA takes campaigns on issues such as cancer screening, child care facilities to the membership it will not only pressurise management, it will draw more women into union activity.

That is why we urge Broad Left members to support these motions and to defeat motions calling for reserved seats for women members.

It is the need to struggle against the employer that draws more women into union activity. If CPSA shows it is willing to lead that struggle then it will encourage thousands of women members to become actively involved in the union.

There are no short cuts in this process and it is highly misleading for some in the Broad Left to suggest there are.

Militant supporters are campaigning on these issues and also support organisational improvements that genuinely assist the union's efforts to take up women's issues. But we will always oppose any attempt to substitute simplistic organisational changes for genuine campaigning activity.



Marion Chambers and John Ellis

Right wing re-write rules

THE RIGHT wing in CPSA have rewritten the rules and regulations of the Union in a forlorn attempt to assist their candidates in the re-run elections for General Secretary and General Treasurer.

They have unconstitutionally and illegally introduced a completely new election procedure without putting the changes to a delegate conference. No debate has been allowed amongst the membership and the right wing President, Marion Chambers, even ruled that the NEC could not discuss the changes.

Only days after publishing the new rules, Chambers, under pressure from John Macreadie and CPSA branches, was forced to reintroduce a small part of the original procedures. Members will again have to sign for their ballot papers as they have done in previous elections.

The right wing had originally intended to distribute ballot papers to all members without any requirement for members to acknowledge receipt of the paper or more importantly to sign before voting.

It was a procedure that would have been wide open to abuse. Members will now have to sign before voting and only at a properly constituted workplace meeting.

Not content though, with having to change CPSA's regulations twice in a matter of days, she has now ruled without any authority that no

official body of the union can make a recommendation to their members during the elections.

This ruling is aimed at the well established practice of branch committee recommendations

The right wing do not like this practice because their candidates are so poorly regarded by branch officials throughout the union that very few branches recommend them. Chambers has stated that any breaches of this ruling may lead to a whole branch vote being ruled out of order.

Members will not allow the right wing to get away with such blatant manoeuvrings. Groups of members in their personal capacities within branches and sections are already producing their own leaflets and circulars recommending support for John Macreadie.

Clearly the right wing are happy for the Chapples and Wyatts of the Tory press to recommend to members to vote for Ellis and Co but are against democratically elected branch committees advising members to vote for John Macreadie to protect their jobs and living standards.

Whatever the right wing attempt, members of CPSA will vote for the candidate with the best record, policies and commitment in the union—they will re-elect John Macreadie.

Industrial Reports

Teachers' leaders must reject Tory coercion

THE NOTTINGHAM talks this weekend will occur against a background of Tory attempts to coerce the teacher unions into selling off our conditions of service. The capitulation at Coventry has given the government confidence to press home their advantage.

Obviously Baker would prefer the teacher unions themselves to do his dirty work by signing away all the major conditions of service that teachers have fought so long and hard to maintain and improve. The problems Baker faces arise from the rebellion of unionised teachers against Coventry. Baker fears the union leaders cannot deliver their members.

So the Tories threaten to introduce a national deal based on the Scottish report of Sir Peter Main (from Boots the Chemist). The Baker proposals are based on an imposition of the 19 duties agreed at Coventry. The salaries aspect of Baker's proposals is worse than Coventry in all respects—particularly as it seeks to introduce competition and divisions between teachers (eg in enabling local employers to pay more to teachers in "shortage" subjects).

The threat to introduce a Main-type solution is designed to force an agreement at

Nottingham. Our union leadership must resist this and recognise the depth of feeling against the backtracking that has already occurred and prepare the membership for national strike action.

No deal

However, it seems that the NUT leadership are prepared to reach a deal on almost any sort of basis at Nottingham—and then argue that such a deal would be better than a Baker-imposed scheme. Yet the LEA's demands at Nottingham are appalling. They argue that: "There must be no dilution of the lists of duties and responsibilities" agreed at Coventry (ie we must accept all 19) and that: "The employers agreement to the salary levels at Coventry is based on their being a clear acceptance of the duties and responsibilities..."

In return for all of this, it seems the employers are no longer prepared to grant any meaningful reforms: "The employers have regretfully concluded that the introduction from 1 September 1987 of a maximum (class) limit would not be practical." They continue: "The employers wish to introduce a maximum limit for timetable classes of 33 (to operate other than in

emergencies and subject to the flexibility referred to in the Coventry Heads of Agreement)..."

None of this would be acceptable to union members, but the demands the local authorities are making in respect of cover will be even more fiercely resisted.

Whatever the opportunist reasons the NAS/UWT leadership has for now standing against the Coventry Agreement (for which their strategy was in no small part responsible) it is crucial that rank and file unity is built between all NUT and NAS/UWT members opposed to Coventry.

Joint meetings and the mutual respecting of picket lines can provide the basis of an unstoppable opposition to any attack on our working conditions, whether imposed or negotiated. We must fight in both unions.

The fightback starts this Saturday with a lobby of the executive at Nottingham (12.00 Strathdown Thistle Hotel, Derby Road).

- ★ No to Coventry.
- ★ No trade off of pay and conditions.
- ★ Full return to Houghton.

By Bob Sulatycki
(West London NUT,
personal capacity)

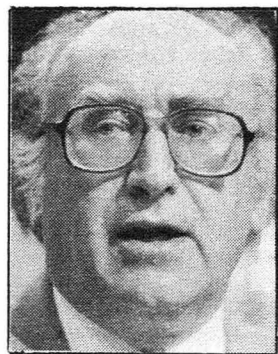
Lobby of NUT headquarters

ON 30 October over 200 NUT members held a lobby outside Hamilton House, the union's headquarters, to protest against a new deal on offer to teachers.

We expected to lobby an executive meeting, but (surprise, surprise!) it was to be held the following day.

As about a dozen gathered outside, a policeman was already on the scene, instructing us to clear the pavement. Soon a van-full of policemen and barriers arrived, and NUT members were forced to stand on the other side of the road.

The NUT itself started to lock their doors, effectively locking out their own members. Many had travelled long distances to speak to union officials. Some decided to go in.



Fred Jarvis

A policeman followed, telling the NUT it could only keep six people inside. Imagine the police telling who may enter the union head office!

Eventually Fred Jarvis, general secretary of the NUT, came into the foyer to talk to us. His basic argument was that the new deal

was the best we could hope for, and that the union leadership would do its best in the coming negotiations.

But he could give no assurance that our present conditions of service would not be signed away. Several teachers asked Fred Jarvis how he proposed that cover should be arranged. He had no answer.

What we demand is that pay increases should not come at the expense of worse conditions.

A special conference is needed for the membership to decide what they think of the deal. So far, many NUT associations have already rejected it.

By Sue Berry
(Waltham Forest NUT)

leaflet to all sections of London Transport demanding that a delegate conference of the London Transport Trade Union Group is called to plan a strategy and a plan of action to go across the whole of LT to defend the jobs and conditions of our members.

There is not one section of our workforce who are not under attack. Only a wider campaign involving all the workforce will defeat these attacks.

By Jim McGuinness
(Chairman of Joint
Convenors Committee,
personal capacity).



2,000 teachers from Sheffield and Doncaster march on Sheffield City Hall.

Scottish Educational Institute

DELEGATES TO Saturday's special general meeting of the EIS, Scotland's main teaching union, should throw out the proposed package deal which links salary increases to changes in conditions.

Over the last few weeks various meetings have been doing just that. Teachers have reacted strongly to suggestions of increased working hours and more contractual duties. In Lanarkshire a delegate conference voted 331 to 2 against accepting any such dramatic changes.

Whilst this has been the feeling in the classroom, the national executive was remaining silent, in a quite disgraceful abdication of leadership.

It was only after Malcolm Rifkind, Scottish secretary of state, scuppered the Main

report by proposing state salary increases, that the national executive found its voice and opposed the deal.

Delegates should be aware, however, because it is clear that the union leadership wish to negotiate a compromise "package"—despite the fact that this one is contrary to established union policy.

New action

They also wish to keep complete control over the tactics of the campaign in order to facilitate such an eventuality. Remember this special general meeting was agreed at the annual conference against the executive recommendation.

As well as throwing out the Main/Rifkind package delegates must take the in-

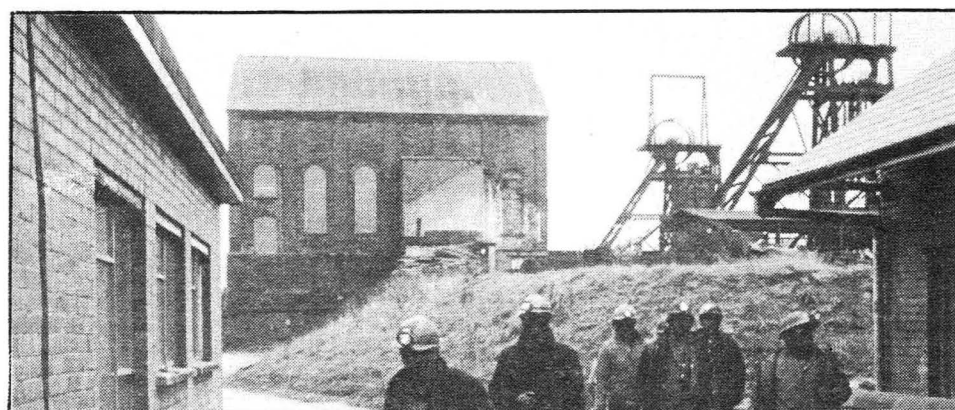
itiative in organising a new wave of industrial action, based upon a controlled escalation of the strike action, alongside a tightening of the "work to contract". A further SGM should be held to discuss this fully.

A salaries claim must be submitted, based upon the overall figure proposed by the Main Report, but distributed in line with the EIS policy ie on the basic scale. This will provide the main focus to the campaign and the basis for actually winning the dispute.

After two years of campaigning, decisive action is now required:

- ★ Reject "package deals"
- ★ Re-launch the campaign

By Larry Flanagan
(County Committee, EIS,
personal capacity)



Bilston Glen miners fight back

BILSTON GLEN miners have once again proved their willingness to stand against management's dictates after some 18 months of arrogance on the part of British Coal.

At the beginning of the week Monday 27 October one of the sections on the bottom level N-11 went into dispute over its bonus on the Monday backshift.

Management refused to discuss the issue because the men were on strike so they hesitantly agreed to return to work on Wednesday in order to allow discussion to take place.

But again management refused to meet them on the grounds that the men had implemented an overtime ban. This accusation was untrue.

The section decided to take action again. Management then relented and conceded a meeting. However they still refused to raise the section's bonus so on the Thursday backshift the men came back up.

The issue was seen by the rest of the men as not a question of an individual section's dispute but a pit issue of management's right to trample over the men

without a murmur of resistance.

They got their answer when the rest of the pit followed the N-11 men and walked out. The pit was idle the rest of the Thursday and again the whole day Friday.

Despite the decision on the Saturday morning to return to work with certain conditions, the action has been seen to unite the men.

Management at Bilston Glen can take nothing for granted now or have illusions that the pit is murdered. The action taken has proved the men are prepared to make a stand.

LT building strike

THE BUILDING department of London Transport are staging a 24 hour stoppage on 5 November.

It was initially called to protest at management dismissing one of our members for being absent from work due to sickness. LT management apparently believe it is a crime to be sick. Management have since said that the building department is expected to lose £5.5 million by the financial year

'87. This is after we have already lost 50 per cent of our members through voluntary severance in the last 18 months

They are also giving millions of pounds of work to private contractors. It is clearly the intention to run down further or try to close the building department altogether.

The Joint Convenors Committee are sending out a

Militant

Knowsley: The fight for party democracy —page 3

Racist attacks —page 4

Anger at bus chaos

FURY IS mounting in Liverpool over drastic cuts in bus services caused by the Tories' deregulation law.

The government promised cheaper fares and more buses. But the one bus route to the Lee Park estate in Garston—a lifeline for local people—has been butchered by the new operators, Crosville.

Buses used to run every ten minutes. The new operators claim one every half an hour—but they only come every one and a half hours. On Tuesday only four buses ran in the best part of the day.

In a rapid response to local feeling, Garston Labour Party Young Socialists and Garston Labour Party Women's Section held a public meeting. Over 80 people attended—the majority had never been to a Labour Party meeting before.

It was the best attended local meeting ever held on the estate. There is a seething anger over the bus cuts which have had a dramatic effect on local people's lives.

Every section of the community has been hit. Children waited one and a half hours to get to school on the first day back after half term. One man explained that he now has to get two buses to take his kids to

By Kath Lee
(Garston LP Women's section)

school and the price of the journey has quadrupled.

The Tories bemoan the assaults on women, but these bus cuts are the greatest single danger to women at night on the estate. Women are now forced to walk across the badly lit estate at all hours.

The mood of the meeting was very anti-Tory. One man said: "I'm not political but only the Labour Party could organise something like this."

Peter Grue from the LPYS said: "Everything we are demanding is a necessity and not a luxury."

Campaign committee

A campaign committee of 12 was elected at the meeting which will meet with Labour councillors to discuss tactics for the campaign.

Already 400 names have been collected on a petition in three days and everyone at the meeting got a sheet to get filled in.

A representative from the bus company who was invited to the meeting didn't turn up. If they refuse to meet with the campaign committee, then it will take the petitions to the company's offices. The pressure will be maintained until there is some assurances on the return of the service.

The penny has now dropped in the community—it realises that it must fight back now.

One person said: "It took the Tories one stroke of the pen to cut our buses—we don't care how much work it takes—we'll get them back".



Knowsley—Labour must win

"BLOODY THATCHER wants bloody shooting", I heard on the Kirkby bus. £2 and two hours later I felt like shooting her myself.

Passengers and drivers alike are fed up. One driver, his bus bursting at the seams, shouted at the queue: "All those who voted for her deserve to be left behind!"

You can feel the tension and frustration at the stops and on the buses. Last week there were near riots at the stop near the town centre. Bewildered drivers held up maps and asked passengers to help them out. One passenger got on and asked "Where are you going?" only to be told: "I don't know; where did it used to go?"

People in Kirkby have felt the sharp end of Thatcher's deregulation. "Conditions round here" said Roger Brown, the Tory candidate "are what *Militant* would like to do to people". Voters will see massive unemployment, no hospitals and no buses as the Tories' responsibility. They will be lucky to keep their deposit in this by-election.

Rosemary Cooper, the Liberal candidate, put her foot in it when she promised up to 40,000 jobs—they were later discovered to be for the

whole of Merseyside. She accused the leader of Knowsley District Council of going to jail for corruption. She meant the leader of the old Kirkby Urban District Council. The present council leader, Jim Lloyd is taking her to court.

As we leafleted a bus stop, a pensioner came over and asked what we were doing. "We don't want Labour split" she said. We explained that neither did we; we wanted Thatcher out. "We've got to," she replied "and we don't want these Liberals getting in. My sister was in a flat when that Trevor Jones was in. Water used to come through the ceiling. She could have been electrocuted. The Liberals don't give a damn about us, but now in Liverpool we can see all the houses that Labour has built".

Knowsley people don't want promises of 'roses, roses'; they want a fight to restore the buses, reverse privatisation, expand the health service, a crash house building and repair programme and a massive expansion of jobs. It is Labour's duty to make that a reality.

By Militant reporter

What we stand for

- The immediate introduction of a 35-hour week without loss in pay as a step towards the elimination of unemployment.
- Reversal of all Tory cuts and a massive programme of public works on housing, education, the health service, etc.
- A minimum wage of £120 a week for all, including pensioners, sick and disabled people.
- Opposition to the capitalist Common Market, the EEC. For a socialist United States of Europe as a step towards a World Socialist Federation.
- A socialist plan of production democratically drawn up and implemented by committees involving the trade unions, shop stewards, housewives and small businessmen.
- Workers' management of the nationalised industries. These should be run on the basis of one-third of the places on the management board coming from the unions in the industry, one-third from the TUC representing the working class as a whole, and one-third from the government.
- Opposition to the Tory government's anti-union laws and the reversal of attacks on the trade unions.
- Massive cuts in arms spending. Support for unilateral nuclear disarmament, but with the recognition that only a socialist change of society in Britain and internationally can eliminate the danger of a nuclear holocaust.
- Nationalisation of the top 200 monopolies, including the banks and insurance companies which control 80 per cent to 85 per cent of the economy. This should be through an Enabling Bill in Parliament with minimum compensation on the basis of proven need.

TASS/Metal Mechanics

Borderway dispute Fight for Union Recognition

Borderway Mass Rally
Wednesday 12 November
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