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The Marxist Paper for Labour and Youth

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Labour to power on a socialist programme



THATCHER SAYS she wants to go on and on and on. If she is allowed to, it will mean hell without end for millions of working people. She must be stopped!

The Tory manifesto, The Next Moves Forward, would mean huge strides backwards if they ever got the chance to implement it.

The most basic social services which have been fought for over a century would face the chop. The entire state education system and the provision of council houses would be in the firing line.

Parents could see their state schools removed from any democratic control and turned into 'charitable trusts', a move back to before Thatcher's beloved Victorian

Comprehensive education would

Council housing could become a thing of the past, as tenants faced the

"Our aim is to ensure that public expenditure takes a steadily smaller share of national income.'

prospect-of paying their rent to profit-grabbing private landlords.

Labour local councils, already starved of cash, would be stripped of many of their remaining responsibilities by the Thatcher dicatorship.

There would be compulsory privatisation of services and the appointment of Urban Development Corporations to grab inner-city areas for big business profit-making and homes for the rich.

School leavers would face conscription on to cheap labour training schemes on penalty of losing their benefit.

Millions would be faced with huge sums to pay for the Poll Tax which would replace rates.

Immigrants and refugees would face even more ruthless attempts to bar them from the country.

Trade unionists would face still more curbs on their freedom. Postal ballots would become compulsory.

Strike-breakers are the only group whose freedom would be strengthened under this scabs' charter.

Remaining nationalised industries would be hived of to the profiteers. Even so basic a service as water is now on the list for what they grotesquely describe as a "return to the public". If they could, the Tories would bottle the air we breathe and sell that too!

This is a manifesto for low pay and high unemployment for the workers, low taxes and high profits for big business.

A third Thatcher government would be a nightmare. But workers have the power to prevent it. A Labour victory on 11 June will mark the turning of the tide, which can sweep Thatcher on and on and on into retirement and obscurity.

By Pat Craven

"We will support the co-existence of a variety of schools-comprehensive, grammar, secondary modern, voluntary controlled and aided,

"We will allow state schools to opt out of LEA

"We will take steps to ensure that those under 18 who deliberately choose to remain unemployed are not

'We will introduce legislation to protect individual members from disciplinary action if they refuse to join a strike they disagree with.'



be published on Thursday



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No politics please, it's election time

THE BBC is promising its "most competitive election coverage" ever. The Nine O'Clock News has been extended to 50 minutes and 25 extra journalists have been seconded. The cost will be £5 million, more than the £4 million Labour Party campaign budget.

But viewers expecting politics, never mind balance, will be disappointed. With Thatcher's placeman Duke Hussey Chairman of Governors, the BBC started the election campaign by dropping the Two Nations programme on long term unemployment. Apparently, according to Michael Grade, the BBC director of programmes, 'it touched on election issues", ie life in Tory Britain.

"Subversive"

Now the BBC have banned the latest single by The Blow Monkeys, Celebrate (The Day After You) for such subversive lyrics as "everybody says the country's in a mess/ And soon will come the day/ But she's making plans to stay...We're going to celebrate/ This party's overdue/ The day after you."

ITV has also dropped a documentary, *United in Fury*, revealing the plight of disabled people.

Two out of three of all halt and lame persons subsist on or below the poverty line: and the programme pointed to new official guidelines to bar mobility allowances to disabled people who "can be persuaded by promise of reward or threat of punishment" to walk! The myth of caring capitalism must be kept up at all costs.

Ron Neil, BBC's editor of Television News, justified such bans: "We think we should not open ourselves to the charge of telling voters what to do." Now that would be a change!

★ Fight for a workers' daily paper. Sell *Militant*. See form on back page.

Coventry S. East



Austin Rover works in Coventry. The decline in jobs has led to 14 per cent unemployment in the city. Coventry may support the Sky Blues in football but not the dole queue blues in politics.

Tories don't fool school students

"WE ARE seeing economic growth in a steady and balanced way. Unemployment is coming down. The trends are there."

Sixth formers at Whitley Abbey school gasped and started giggling as Coventry SE Tory candidate Alan Grant painted a rosy picture of British society in the first debate of the election campaign in the constituency.

On education, Grant hoped to make himself popular among school students by asserting that Tory policies were about "giving consumers, and by that I mean students and parents, more say in education and greater freedom of

choice"

Unfortunately this didn't quite tally with the fact that four schools in Coventry SE have been closed in the past few years despite widespread protests from the community and a delegation led by Dave Nellist, pleading a change of heart with education ministers in London.

Biased?

Grant refused permission for the chairman to take a straw poll at the end of the meeting. However, the local radio interviewer then asked half a dozen students for their opinions. All of them denounced Tory policies on

education: "There can only be one vote for us and that's Labour" commented one of them

After the tapes were turned off, Grant and the SDP candidate, Devine, angrily protested to the reporter that he'd interviewed a biased sample.

Another sixth former came to the reporter's defence by insisting that 75 per cent of the sixth form who think about politics would support Labour. Grant obviously had too much faith in the manufactured opinion polls conducted by the capitalist press.

How much extra time for bosses?

A HOUSEWIFE offers passers-by cups of tea...children stand on walls, clapping and chanting...complete strangers hug each other or shout jokes across the street...car horns blare into the early hours of the morning...youth dancing in the fountains.

Houses in every block are decorated with flags, balloons and bunting...windows plastered with banner headlines and photographs cut out from newspapers...next day 250,000 workers and their families take to the streets, with rosettes, scarves and banners...on reaching its final destination in the City Centre the victory procession is greeted with cheering that can be heard miles away.

Was this Petrograd in October

1917, after the workers and peasants had taken power? Or Manila after the downfall of the Marcos dictatorship? The aftermath of a landslide Labour victory in the General Election? Not quite.

Jubilation

This was the atmosphere in Coventry after the local team had won the FA Cup. The Tories and their big business backers are reassured that their system is not under threat. "This is the best thing that's happened to the City in years", exclaimed a jubilant middleaged worker. "It relieves all the doom and gloom we've had to put up with recently".

As was to be expected, local

capitalists were rather more precise in calculating the consequences of Coventry's Cup Final victory. The CBI's regional director happily proclaimed that the team's win "put the workforce in the right frame of mind—this sort of thing leads to increased production."

The Birmingham Post, more sensitive to local issues, pointed out that "it will have been a particularly timely tonic to the 34,058 unemployed in Coventry—a level of 14.1% compared with a West Midlands average of 12.4%".

Other workers drew slightly different conclusions which were not, strangely enough, reported in the avalanche of features and interviews carried by the local press. During the festivities one family, on meeting Dave Nellist, gave him the thumbsup and said "And now for the election".

After the celebrations were over, a lad returning from the City Centre told Dave: "A quarter of a million in the middle of town! You could feel the power—just imagine four million unemployed marching down the motorway to see Thatcher!"

So for the moment the bosses can expect increased profits. But next time the workers of Coventry take to the streets in similar numbers the effect on production may be different!

★ CORRECTION: The rally with Tony Benn speaking will be on Thursday 28 May at 7pm at Central Methodist Hall.

Bermondsey

Liberal MP worried by Owen

LIBERAL MP Simon Hughes came face to face with Labour candidate John Bryan at the London College of Printing at the Elephant and Castle.

You could hear Hughes squirming as he tried to wriggle out of awkward questions. He had already admitted finding the racist actions of the Tower Hamlets Liberal council an embarrassment.

When he faced a question about cuts the Liberals had planned in Liverpool he simply said that local councils have to make difficult choices.

But perhaps the most illuminating reply came to a question on Dr Owen's willingness to work with the Tories if there were a hung parliament. Hughes thought the most likely outcome of a hung parliament was a fresh general election. He said that

the Liberals, hanging desperately on to their 'radical' pose, would never go into government with the Tories.

Divorce?

Maybe the Alliance who say they can make us all one big happy family aren't so united themselves. Could this hasty marriage be ending in divorce?

Hughes himself seems to be keeping his political options open. He has already bought a copy of *Militant* for 50p. He may not be as optimistic of victory as he claims.

However 'radical' Hughes may sound, the Liberals and SDP are Tory parties and their leaders would deliver us all into the hands of Thatcher. A Labour vote is the only way to get rid of the Tories



John Bryan talks to Labour voters. In the background, the old dockland is ploughed up by speculators, mainly for the rich.

'Communist' opposes socialist

THE 'COMMUNIST' Party will be fielding just 18 candidates in the general election. Their executive committee aims "to make its maximum contribution to . . . the return of a Labour government". (Morning Star 13 May).

Derek Robinson the Communist Party member who stood for Birmingham Northfield before, is not standing now because the constituency is a marginal and can "no longer afford the luxury of two working class candidates."

The CP see the importance of not splitting the vote here, even when Labour's candidate is open right winger John Spellar. But one seat it has chosen to fight

is Bermondsey where Labour candidate John Bryan is fighting on a socialist platform and making a strong bid to oust Liberal MP Simon Hughes. The CP is deliberately out to split the Labour vote!

If they were to help Hughes scrape back in, it would be equivalent to strike-breaking. For any worker with illusions in the 'progressive' character of the CP, surely this must be the last straw.

Fortunately they will get a derisory vote. They are a bankrupt force politically and organisationally and their opposition to John Bryan reflects this.

By Rob Sewell

Bristol East

Labour's slogan is for an MP on a workers wage

ON THE basis of the recent council elections Labour will win Bristol East from the Tories.

Labour's candidate, in a seat fought by Tony Benn in 1983, is left winger Ron Thomas, who is standing on the slogan, 'A full time MP on a workers wage.' Bristol East Labour Party is running a vigorous campaign including a youth leaflet, street activity and factory gate meetings. RON THOMAS speaks to Militant about the campaign:

Do bold socialist policies frighten the electorate? RT: "No, I don't think so. It's more a question of convincing the electorate that you mean to carry out these policies and that we shall fight as hard to represent the interests of working people as the Tories fight for the capitalist

Economic weapon

"Undoubtedly mass unemployment is one of the major issues. We have lost many industries due to Tory policies. They created unemployment as an economic weapon to place the burden of the capitalist crisis on the workers' shoulders, as a weapon to attempt to smash the trade union movement and reduce the wages and conditions of working people.

'Well over a third of the unemployed are below 25

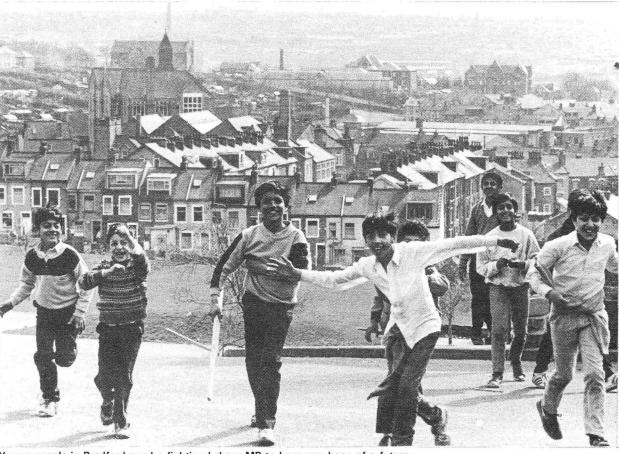
years of age. What an indictment of the capitalist system that is. It's appalling that many young people have committed suicide because they can't find a

Will Labour win? RT: "We shall win if we can convince the people that we mean what we say, and implement policies in their interests.'

Ron Thomas was MP for Bristol North West during the 1974-79 Wilson-Callaghan government:

'I always defended and voted for Labour and TUC Conference policy on the economic issues, cuts in expenditure, defence issues and pay policy.

"I was one of a handful of MPs who voted against the 5 per cent pay policy of the last Labour govern-ment in line with Labour and TUC conference policy.



Young people in Bradford need a fighting Labour MP to have any hope of a future.

Bradford North

Winning the don't knows

"YES, I WILL vote Labour but I don't think Pat Wall is extreme enough!" commented an older worker canvassed in Bradford North. His father had been a founding member of the Independent Labour Party, and he thought the Labour Party needed to return to the traditions of the past.

Thatcher's trial

On Saturday over 30 LPYS members and Militant sellers were in Bradford town centre rousing support for Labour. The LPYS held three street meetings with the 'Trial of Thatcher' and 'Sale of the Century', starring a YTS worker 'guaranteed two years' hard labour, a job lot only £28 a week'.

over 130 canvassers despite the rain. The returns were brilliant. Labour votes outnumbered Tory, Alliance, and don't knows

Among the don't knows the main issue seemed to be Labour's leadership who are not seen as forceful enough, especially on housing and jobs, particularly when they have time to expose the Tories on television. People say: "Yes I'm low paid

but what are Labour going to do about it?" A bold campaign on class issues could give the Tories a humiliating defeat on 11 June.

In the half of the constituency already canvassed, we found very little support for the Tories and even less for the Alliance. The SDP candidate Adrian Berkeley is an ex-Tory member of Notts County Council who voted for education cuts.

What was noticeable was the high level of support for Pat Wall and the determination to get a Labour MP this time. In fact one ardent supporter of Ben Ford, (the ex-Labour MP who stood as a right wing 'independent' in 1983 against Pat Wall), bought a Militant for 50p from us this week.

No hostility

Pat suffered a barrage of lies in 1983 from the press but most people have either forgotten this or see Pat as a real fighter. Workers were certainly not put off by 'extremism' as our excellent street and door to door sales of Militant over the last few weeks show.

Tory tells Terry Fields

AN ARTICLE in the Daily Telegraph on MPs' perks pointed out that Terry Fields 'does not even accept all his £18,500 salary, but keeps his pay in line with that of a fireman—a job he did for 26 years". "I don't accept perks" he told the reporter.

In response, a Telegraph reader, and Tory voter, from Essex wrote to Terry Fields to "wholeheartedly applaud the attitude you take"

Refreshing

"It is a refreshing change" he said "to hear of an MP with the courage of his convictions and to practice what he preaches. If more MPs did the same, instead of caning the taxpayer for all



they can get, fiddling car mileages, etc, etc, Parliament, and indeed the country as a whole, would be a lot better place... If you ever put up for my constituency you could rely on my vote and that of many of my friends...Good luck and best wishes for the future.'

By Militant reporters

Tory MP admits to perks scandal See page 6



Terry Fields.

WE WENT to one house where a middle aged woman with kids told us: "That bloke (Terry Fields) is brilliant, since 1983 he's helped us out in a number of ways in this street. We'll definitely be voting for him, take posters and buy a paper. If you need a hand with the campaign I'll be around to your headquarters.

'This Richard Pine is worth £30,000 a year, he's just exactly the same as the Tories. The Liberals try and put a nice face on it but they are in favour of unemployment. He was involved in the cuts in Plesseys. Terry fought

Liverpool Broadgreen

"Don't vote in ignorance"-vote Labour

THE NATIONAL Union of Students (NUS) election pamphlet 'Don't vote in ignorance' shows up the Tories' abysmal education record. Unfortunately the NUS leadership, despite Labour students being in the majority, don't call for a Labour victory. Vicky Phillips Labour, NUS president just calls for a vote for "whichever party and candidate best represents students' interests.'

Alliance danger

There are no warnings of the danger should the Alliance have any say in government. The Liberals in Liverpool threatened £1/2 million cuts and the closure of 33 polytechnic courses in 1982-83; that should be warning enough. The NUS have targetted Liverpool Mossley Hill as a key marginal but Liberals hold this and the Tories finished second. Are they recommending voting Tory to get rid of David Alton?

The Merseyside Area Student Organisation (MASO) will be conducting a serious campaign for Labour across the area. As well as calling unambiguously for a Labour vote in Mossley Hill there is a special appeal to work and canvass in Broadgreen. Only Labour can expand education and Terry Fields will be one of the best fighters for a socialist education system open to ordinary working people.

> By Dave Read (Secretary MASO)

★ Higher education and further education have been savaged since 1979. Future issues of Militant will look at the so-called 'Thatcher revolution' in education.

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A manifesto for victory?

LABOUR'S ELECTION manifesto, in its introduction, provides a clear indictment of the Thatcher years.

"Eight years of record unemployment... of the highest ever tax burden... of cuts and closures... of meanness towards the needy... of growing divisions"—that is the legacy of Toryism.

The frightening spectre of Thatcher going "on and on", is haunting every ordinary family. But it can be exorcised.

There is no popular enthusiasm for a third Tory term, but Labour activists report more uncertainty, more 'don't knows,' than in any previous campaign. Literally millions are waiting to be convinced that Labour has policies to transform their lives, and that it could afford to implement them.

They will welcome manifesto commitments to cut unemployment, raise pensions and child benefit and restore the maternity grant. But unfortunately the manifesto is far from being the campaigning document to inspire the doubting voter or the committed Party worker.

It is meticulous in its caution. Its pledges are hedged with equivocation. It promises a national minimum wage, but sets no figure. It promises a carer's allowance for those nursing the infirm, and an educational maintenance allowance for 16 to 18 year olds, but mentions no amount for either.

Labour will only "begin the abolition of the TV licence for pensioners... phase in a new disability allowance... Joep in to reduce prescription charges."

For underlying everything are "realistic priorities."

But by this the manifeston means "realistic" on the basis of a debilitated British economy.

The Labour leaders themselves have provided the ammunition to demolish the Tory myth of booming Britain'. If elected, they will inherit a Britain falling further and further behind its rivals, where manufacturing investment is still 18 per cent below the level of 1979. A Britain that has become a net importer of manufactured goods for the first time in its history, but wi

billion programme to create two million jobs.

This is the most limited, most right wing and also the shortest Labour manifesto in recent memory.

Regrettably the Financial Times is able to comment: "If Labour had been able to produce documents like 'Britain Will Win' in the late 1970s and 1980s, and so apparently be free to dispense with conference resolutions, there would have been no need for the Social Democratic Party to have been formed."

But even now the Labour leadership can take up the socialist demands of its rank and file activists, and answer these press sneers. They can still inject into their campaign the ideas of full-scale nationalisation, then with real control of economic resources, Labour could afford to fight on "realistic priorities" to eradicate joblessness and poverty, and to rebuild the welfare state with a massive increase in public spending. A programme like that could guarantee a mass, enthusiastic popular vote.

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Labour Party's election manifesto promises

* A £3 rise in child benefit.

- * A £5 increase for single pensioners and £8 for couples.
- * A guarantee of the same hourly rates and conditions of work for part time as for full

time workers.

- Homeworkers to be given the same rights as employees.
- ★ An end to privatisation in the NHS.
- * An end to cuts in rate support grants.

Kinnock must fight the Tories not the left

A FEW DAYS into the election campaign and it is clear that the bitter class hatred felt by millions towards the Thatcher government, is beginning to push Labour up in the opinion polls. The terrible prospect of another five years of Toryism has reinforced the Party's support.

Yet the Labour leadership choose just this moment to repeat, on prime TV time, Neil Kinnock's unfounded criticisms of Liverpool City Council.

Labour's party political broadcast on 20 May was presumably intended to present the Party leader as 'tough but tender'. But the 43 per cent of the population forced into

Instead of attacking Liverpool, Labour should produce an electoral broadcast showing the jobs the council has saved, the houses and sports centres it has built.

grinding poverty, the four million really unemployed and the millions more plagued by insecurity and the possibility of redundancy, are looking for 'tough' words and deeds from the Labour leader against Thatcher and the rich, not against members of his own party.

Thatcher, however, would not attack the far right real 'extremists' (exposed by Panorama) in her party, during an election campaign.

Instead of attacking Liverpool, Labour should produce an electoral broadcast showing the jobs the Council saved, the houses and sports centres it built. Liverpool should be used to show what a socialist Labour government could achieve. The Council's record was the reason for Labour's stunning victory in Liverpool in this month's council elections.

Press advice

Neil Kinnock's advisors have come to the astonishing conclusion that, in the midst of a general election, 'bashing the left wins votes'. This is the constant advice the Sun and Express proffer Kinnock and they are obviously desperate for a Labour victory!

Their real aim is to divert attention away from the record of the Tories, and the prospect of further attacks on workers' living standards outlined in Thatcher's manifesto.

They also want to depict Labour as divided against itself. And the attacks on the left are already having the desired effect. An opinion poll reported in the Observer last Sunday, showed that 38 per cent of non-Labour voters considered the Party "too divided".

But as Militant has consistently pointed out, give the jackals of Fleet Street a finger, and they will demand an arm. How long before they, with Tebbitt following behind, now demand the Labour leadership renounces left candidates and MPs? It would be fatal for Labour to fall into their trap.

Militant appeals to all Labour workers not to be discouraged by this incredible gaffe by the leadership. But to step up their campaign against the Tory and Alliance enemy, and to expose the vicious plans they both have to drag millions more into the abyss of poverty and misery. And

above all to use the election to advance the case for a socialist planned economy.

Undaunted Militant supporters will still be the most energetic workers for a Labour victory, it is more crucial for our class than ever.

By Peter Taaffe

Tory Britain

Education alarm

- With Tory spending limits, Local Authority education expenditure has fallen by 3 per cent in real terms since 1979. In 1981 5.5 per cent of Gross National Product was spent on education. This fell to 5.1 per cent in 1985.
- In secondary schools, falling school rolls have not been used to improve the pupilteacher ratio which has remained virtually the same since 1981. Instead the number of teachers has been cut by 36,000. At primary level 18.6 per cent of school classes had 31 or more pupils to one teacher in 1985.

The price of school meals has risen from 25p in 1979 to an average of 63p in non-Labour controlled Local Education Authorities. The number of children taking school meals has fallen from 64 per cent in 1979 to only 50 per cent in 1986.

- ★ The 1986 HM School Inspectors report said "... there has been no overall improvement in the state of school building since 1981 It is difficult to see how on present funding the education service can prevent further decline let alone reverse the situation." The 1987 HMI Report, due out in May, has been 'delayed' by the Tories.
- Such is the state of disrepair and underfunding of Britain's schools that parents are spending £40 million a year on books and essential equipment-the same as the Tories spend on sending just 24,500 pupils to private schools on the Assisted Places Scheme.

Students fight

North London Poly (PNL) students voted to oppose the threatened redundancy of all the Polytechnic's part-time lecturers. This threat, endangering a number of courses, comes as a result of cuts made by the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA), as they attempt to meet the Tory government's spending limits.

The student union meeting unanimously agreed to call a joint one day strike with all the Polytechnic unions before exams begin and organised a 24 hour occupation of the Administration block to highlight the campaign. It also voted to oppose the Government's White Paper on the privatisation of Higher Education and to put out a 'vote Labour' call to students to defeat these plans.

Such was the mood, the Polytechnic's Director, Dr.Beishon, supported the occupation. Now we are demanding that the Poly management refuse to carry out the cuts. But this is only the first step to compel ILEA to reverse the cuts and organise with the unions to defy the governments spending

By John Pandit, PNL Student Union Vice-President, and Dave Conway, PNL NALGO.



Militant rally points the Poly cuts way to Labour victory

LIVERPOOL 750 workers attended Militant's marvellous election rally on 17 May.

The speeches of veteran South African socialist Nimrod Sejake, Tony Mulhearn, Derek Hatton and Militant editor Peter Taaffe were received with great enthusiasm.

The contrast between this event and the carefully controlled ticket-only 'rallies' which are being organised for some Labour spokesmen could not have been greater.

Hundreds of ordinary workers who had never attended any political event before were attracted to the rally. Many sat enraptured by the clear socialist message which came from the platform.

Celebration

"We are continually called an electoral liabilisaid Derek Hatton. ty" said Derek Hatton.
"There's just one problem-we keep on winning". Tony Mulhearn told the meeting that "If Labour can win in Liverpool then there is no reason why Labour nationally can't turf Mrs Thatcher out."

The meeting was called to celebrate Labour's magnificent victory in the city two weeks ago and to show the Labour leadership that fighting socialist policies, far from losing votes, actually guarantee victory.

Peter Taaffe said that Thatcher had declared in Perth that "socialism is in





Top: Derek Hatton speaking at the Liverpool Militant election rally with other surcharged councillors behind the platform. Below: a section of the audience.

retreat". "But in Liverpool it is her breed that faces extinction" he said.
"The Liverpool Tories threaten to go the way of the dodo; they are an endangered species".

'This has resulted from the collapse of capitalism in Liverpool and the work of Marxism

in the city" he continued. "All serious capitalist commentators recognised that Militant supporters played a big role in the magnificent victory in the council elections.

"Now Labour has an opportunity for another clean sweep in the general

money abroad.

election by winning all

five Liverpool seats. Peter Taaffe also explained the crisis of capitalism and outlined Militant's programme for a socialist planned economy.

enthusiastic meeting raised £1450 for Militant's fighting fund.



Young people want change

SEVENTY FOUR per cent of young people believe the YTS is a cheap labour scheme which exploits youth. Contrary to the Tories' claim that young people have 'priced themselves out of a job', 75 per cent know that the pay of 16 and 17 year olds is too low.

These are just two of the findings of a NOP opinion poll of 15 to 24 year olds carried out for the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU).

The poll results confirm that the overwelming majority of youth want a radical transformation in their conditions of life. Almost uncannily the aspirations of youth reflected in the poll repeat the demands fought for by the Labour Party Young Socialists (LPYS).

Look to union power

As well as condemning YTS as cheap labour, 87 per cent agreed that trainees should have the same rights as permanent employees. What is this if not support for trade union rates of pay, full benefit and holiday entitlements and trade union control over health and safety at work? Sixty four per cent want a grant for all those who stay in full time education while 73 per cent believed that unions should play a part in the control and management of the workplace

It is clear too that young people look instinctively to the collective power of organised labour to deliver a better life. Seventy six per cent believe that unions protect their members' jobs, for example.

However these attitudes were not reflected to the same degree on the political plane. Seventeen per cent of the sample either would not vote or were undecided. Labour stood six points clear of the Tories but with its support at only 30.5 per

cent. TGWU Deputy General Secretary Bill Morris commented, the six million potential young voters could 'determine the result of the election'. But only if Labour convinces young people that it can fulfill what are, in reality, their socialist aspirations.



ELECTION COUNTDOWN

LAST WEEK a glimpse was given of how big business will try to hamper Labour's chances of election - in collusion with the Tories. The Guardian, 12th May, reported that Tory Ministers "expect" that if they lose their opinion poll lead international financiers will pull their money out of London's financial markets.

Ninety-six billion pounds flows through London every day. Overseas investors own £20 billion worth of shares and government bonds and bank deposits of £24 billion. And British capitalists have already shown their readiness to pull their money out and invest it overseas -£111 billion since 1980. In the face of this potential flight of capital the Bank of England's reserves would last for maybe 20 minutes.

According to the Guardian Thatcher has a "reserve strategy" to make "maximum political mileage" from an ensuing crisis: the pound collapsing, inflation rising as imports became more expensive and interest rates shooting sky high as banks struggl-

Tragically the Labour leaders seem to have forgotten this experience. They hope to persuade the financiers through tax concessions not to pull their capital out. But without nationalising the banks and monopolies under democratic workers' control, the power to sabotage Labour's

ed to bribe depositors from moving their

threats of sabotage. Harold Wilson, in his

book The Labour Government 1964-70.

described how in 1964 the Governor of

the Bank of England, Lord Cromer,

demanded "all round cuts in expenditure

regardless of social or economic

priorities..." The Wilson government gave

in and abandoned the programme on

which it had been elected.

Past Labour leaders have faced similiar

still be in the capitalists' hands. Wilson told the Governor of the Bank of England that "if I went to the country on the issue of dictation by overseas finan-

plans for jobs, homes, pensions etc would

ciers I would have a landslide. He said ruefully that he believed I would." But brandishing a sword is not enough:it must be used. A campaign now against the 'dictation' of the banks and monopolies would indeed give Labour a landslide.

ONE BUSINESSMAN whose support Mrs Thatcher will not welcome-at least publicly-is Ernest Saunders, former Chairman of Guinness. However, this has not always been so. After all, Saunders was a close friend of Sir Gordon Reece, who was knighted by Thatcher for his services as her chief image advisor. And last year Saunders himself was on Tory Central Office's list of prominent businessmen election campaigners!

Financial Appeal

Please arrange for one of the 47 surcharged councillors to address your meeting with the facts of what happened during our struggle 1983 - 1987.

For information ring Alex Doswell 051 709 4398

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'They call her madam Maggie'

"The battle for women's rights has been largely won"

— Margaret Thatcher

IN SOHO, Mrs Thatcher, renowned for her 'victorian values' is known as 'Madam Maggie' because her economic policies force many working class women, men and even children into the 'sex industry'

Frontline-exstripper Nickie Roberts' book of interviews with prostitutes, strippers and peep show girls—shows that these jobs are seen as a sanctuary from the poverty and daily drudgery they would otherwise face.

And, with unemployment sky-high and many workers' wages driven down, more women are working 'on the game' and in the strip-joints. Yasmin, a prostitute, said the position would not change while Thatcher was in government, because she cared only for her already well-heeled big business friends.

She continued: "It's all so hypocritical...the judge can fine a girl £400. Then, if she comes up another time, he'll fine her a few thousand pounds. And how is she gonna pay off those fines? He's sending her out on the street, because you've gotta earn it that way to pay your fine. It's a vicious circle. So that makes the government a pimp.

Vulnerable

Prostitutes-for reasons of safety-would rather work from a house together, but it is illegal. The law throws them onto the street where they are vulnerable to violence.

One night a man drove down Havelock Square-a hustlers' haunt; the first prostitute he asked refused business because he was too pushy. But the second, a woman with hefty court fines to pay off, accepted. She wanted to get off the Square and away from the police.

man was the



From The Frontline: Women from the Sex Industry Speak. (Grafton £2.95)

Yorkshire Ripper, Peter Sutcliffe. In his coat pocket were a screwdriver and hammer. Luckily, the police were stopping cars and telling the prostitutes to go home. A spot-check was done on Sutcliffe's car number plate and thus the mass-murderer was arrested. As Nickie points out: how many of Sutcliffe's dead prostitute victims got into his car to escape the police and pay off their legal pimps?

Poverty

Nickie tells of another occasion when she was dragged into an alleyway by a man as she walked through Soho to meet a friend. She hit him and he hit her back.

Two policemen saw the whole incident. Nickie thought: "Right, that's you nicked, you creep." But the policemen said she had hit the man. When Nickie insisted she was told she could take out a civil action against him, if both parties swapped names and addresses!

"Why don't I give him my front door key whilst I'm at it?" she asked. "That's the law" came the inevitable reply "and if you get stroppy with us we'll nick you for obstruction.'

Perhaps if the police devoted as much energy to tracking down rapists, child molesters and other real criminals as they use to stop pickets reaching scab workers to explain strike issues, crime rates could be reduced.

The women interviewed

make no apology for what they do. It does not follow that a woman who is a prostitute is 'loose' or whatever other tag the bosses' press wish to pin on her. Women don't go in for prostitution

for pleasure, but because poverty is the

Prostitutes and strippers are overwhelmingly working class women struggling to make ends meet and mothers

fighting to give their children the best.

Nickie Roberts has come to the conclusion that both right-wing moralists and anti-porn, middle class feminists divert the attention

THE TORY press are trying to dig up sex scandals about every party but their own. But the party of victorian values, of Cecil Parkinson, Jeffrey Archer and Harvey Proctor got enthusiastic endorsement back in 1973 from Norma Levy, one of the women involved in a very up market call girl racket which had led to the resignation of two Tory government ministers.

"Politically I'm a Con-servative." she admitted. "I voted for the Tories in the last election because the Tories are my best clients.

away from the real issue of

women's poverty. Her view is: "When some of us rebel against our life's 'prospects' why should we be labelled 'immoral'? Why should I put up with middle-class feminists asking me why I didn't 'do anythingscrub toilets even?' rather than become a stripper. What's so liberating about cleaning up other people's

Social pressures

This is an understandable reaction from women trapped by the social pressures of capitalism, but socialists need to put an alternative.

The police force must be made democratically accountable and an incoming Labour government must introduce laws to protect women against violence in the streets. Resources must be made available to improve street lighting and introduce cheap late-night transport.

But more than that, a Labour government which implemented socialist policies such as a guaranteed job and a minimum wage could start to cut across the economic pressures which have made prostitution and strip joints one of the sickest growth areas of Britain's sick economy.



eft and Rig

Glossing over the dole queue

FIFTY PRINTWORKERS at McCorquodale's printers in Milton Keynes spent most of last weekend on overtime payments producing a rush job. The day before there had been 100 workers but 50 had just been made redundant because of lack of work.

The special job? It was a glossy Tory booklet showing the 'achievements' of eight Thatcher years. You know the sort of thing. Unemployment going down, new boom in industry and the rest.

Not so Commons man

JOHN CARLISLE, union-hating racist right wing Tory MP for Luton North has done us all a favour at last. Writing for fellow MPs in the House of Commons magazine, he lifted the lid on the perks MPs can get.

With a quick flourish of his Commons pass, he has managed to get into the University rugby match by pretending to be Lord Whitelaw's

representative. He got into a Buckingham Palace garden party by pretending he had forgotten his invitation. But he's not a total snob. He was prepared to gatecrash a champagne reception given by a humble TV rental company too.

Carlisle voted in favour of press restrictions in South Africa recently. If Labour MPs really went to town, he would be in favour of press restrictions in Britain too. But only a few of them have taken him to task for his life of freebies and gatecrashing. Perhaps some Labour and Alliance members are no better than the Tories at avoiding the temptations of parliament's ever-open bars and handouts.

MPs who take no perks seem to be regarded as freaks by some of their fellow members. But what will voters be voting for in the election? Someone who will fight for jobs, housing and a decent life for all the people or someone who uses the Commons as just the 'best club in town'?

Don't let your MP fly off into a different world. Make sure there's a big Labour majority and that all Labour MPs agree to live on a worker's wage.

SALES OF Militant are really booming now. The general election generated a growing interest in political ideas.

Where our sellers take advantage of this mood, we have seen an increase in regular buyers as well as casual sales. Already 60 new readers in the Rotherhithe area have become regular subscribers.

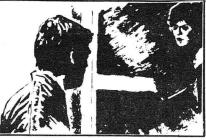
Up in Musselburgh, we have heard of 217 extra copies of issue 847 sold on the strength of the article on page 12. In Swansea the public sales on the last issue went up by over 100. In Newport, Saturday street sales have trebled.

As well as the big sales, our sellers have been keeping up the regular sales, which is quite an achievement with the more frequent paper in the election period.



Militant sellers in last October's LPYS demonstration.

Campaign Forum



Militant looks into the election issues

Labour can win defence ebate whether Polaris would be launched in the event of a Russian conventional attack in Europe,

Thatcher replied: "Of course, I would actually fire it".

By Pat Craven

That is the madness of Toryism. She would actually be prepared to see the British people wiped out in the inevitable retaliation to the launching of Britain's tiny nuclear armoury in a suicidal first strike against Russia.

Just one H-bomb would be sufficient to create a 200 feet tidal wave, drowning 99 per cent of the population of Britain.

Labour has the chance to make defence an election winning issue by exposing the mad warmonger in Number 10 who, like Queen Boadicea armed with Trident, is denouncing Labour's policy of unilateral nuclear disarmament.

Now, in a blatant electoral stunt, Thatcher has tried to dress herself up as a 'dove'. She says she accepts the 'double zero option' for nuclear disarmament in Europe. But in no way has this nuclear zealot changed her outlook.

The 'double zero option' is jargon for a proposal to remove just two categories of weapons from Europe, the Intermediate and Shorter Range Intermediate nuclear missiles (see box). But this option is already being negotiated over Britain's head by the super-powers and Thatcher is in no position to stop it. All she has done is try to claim some bogus credit for it.

Nuclear Missiles: Inter-continental Ballistic (ICBM) Intermediate (INF) Shorter range intermediate (SRINF) Battlefield

1,000-5,000 km

over 5,000 km

Range

under 500 km £634 billion was spent worldwide on arms in 1986. Britain's defence budget for 1987-88 is £18,872 million. The education budget is £16,600 million.

And even if the 'double zero option' is agreed, huge arsenals of weapons of mass destruction will remain. Humanity could still be destroyed many times over.

It would leave untouched the same missiles in Soviet Asia and the US, short-range (battlefield) nuclear weapons and the most deadly long range Inter-continental ballistic missiles within Russia and America and on planes and submarines. And there are still huge stocks of deadly conventional, germ and chemical weapons.

For Britain the 'double zero option' would involve the removal of American Cruise missiles, but it would still leave the Polaris submarine-launched missiles, due to be replaced by Trident, and US airborne missiles carried on their British-based F111 bombers.

It is a giant lie that this deal reduces the threat of the nightmare of nuclear war.

For any super powers' agreement, on the 'double zero option' or any other. leaves unresolved the basic conflict underlying the arms

This is the fundamental antagonism between American imperialism, rapaciously exploiting the workers and peasants throughout the western world, and Russia, where capitalism has long been overthrown, but where a parasitical bureaucratic elite has attached itself to the backs of the working class.

Destruction

Up to now imperialism has been restrained from launching an attack on Russia by the strength and the democratic rights of its own working class, which would not countenance it, but still more by the knowledge that the inevitable use of nuclear weapons would spell the destruction of industry and the productive forces.

It would mean the annihilation of the working class, if not directly from the missiles themselves, then through a hideous, lingering death from radiation poisoning. There would be nothing left to exploit. If any form of humanity survived, it would return to the lifestyle of the cavemen.

Reactionary western politicians justify their obscene nuclear arms expenditure, by whipping up fear of a Russian invasion of Western Europe. But Russia has no possible economic interest in attacking Europe. Her economy does not need to seize extra markets.

How could bureaucracy hold down the working class of Britain, France, Italy and West Germany when they have such problems with the workers of Russia and Poland and the rest of Eastern Europe?

Nuclear war is ruled out at the moment. It is only conceivable after a fullscale defeat for the working class in America or another major country of the west, and the destruction of their democratic rights by a Chilean style dictatorship, unbalanced and uncontrolled enough to unleash a nuclear crusade against the Eastern bloc. The 'double zero option' merely demonstrates that with the economic burden of massive arms expenditure, both sides now have a common interest in cutting the amount they spend on weapons that are anyway peripheral to their main defence systems.

The 'double zero option' is not an example of 'multilateral' disarmament making the world a more peaceful place, as Thatcher is proclaiming. It is just a cynical exercise in power politics.

The Tories are still committed to Polaris and to the nearly £10,000 million on its

replacement Trident, as Britain's 'independent' deterrent. This consumes billions of pounds of wealth and has the potential to kill millions, yet it is a negligible part of world's nuclear stockpile.

With the irreversible crisis in the economy, productive investment in industry is still 18 per cent below the level of 1979. But the Tories are prepared to waste billions of the surplus created by the labour of the working class, investing in their puny nuclear weaponry.

Tory delusion

But it is part of the Thatcher delusion, that Britain, fast becoming a third rate industrial nation, is still a major world power prepared to stand up for its economic interests and profits worldwide.

She is trying to delude the British people too with the lie that this disgusting misuse of vitally needed resources can defend Britain, when the super powers have many hundred times more firepower than little Britain.

What an opportunity for Labour to go on the attack against the Tories! The Labour leaders must stick firmly to their commitment to scrap Polaris and Trident and get rid of US nuclear bases. But already they are bending under the pressure from the Tories and the

On his visit to Reagan, Neil Kinnock agreed to postpone his disarmament plans if talks on the 'double zero option' were still in progress when he came to power. Now Denis Healey has said that the removal of US nuclear weapons will not be implemented immediately, but "within the life of our next government".

He also confirmed that the billions to be saved by cancelling Trident will be used "to strengthen our conventional forces". Yet Labour is committed by its own conference to transfer spending "from weapons to welfare and industrial development"

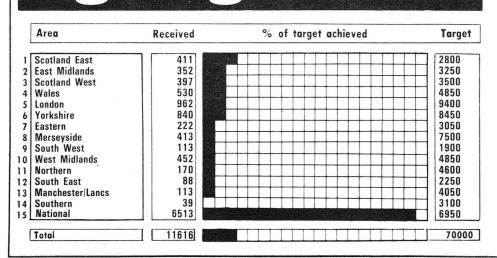
Transferring the resources to be wasted on nuclear weapons to houses, hospitals and jobs would win the enthusiastic support of the impoverished millions.

Unilateral nuclear disarmament by the next Labour government will be an important advance. But to really secure peace, Labour has to create a socialist society in which the underlying causes of war, the greed for profit, power and privilege, have been removed.

Defence for the working class in a socialist Britain will be secured by a class appeal to the workers internationally, including in Russia and America. A socialist democracy in Britain, banishing unemployment and want for good, would be a beacon to workers everywhere.

Only in a worldwide f deration of socialist states can the threat of a war, and the threat to the very future of humankind, be finally consigned to the history

This week £1409



"GET HER OUT" was the message from A. Wilson from Halifax, enclosed with her £50 donation to the fighting fund.

"Kick out the Tories" is certainly the message which Militant sellers are spreading, judging from the sales of our new sticker. They are easily the most popular fundraiser in the labour move-

Over 40,000 stickers have been sold in the last four weeks with advance orders already in for another 20,000. So you had better rush your orders in fast to ensure that Militant's stickers can be on every street and door to door paper drive.

Election fever has contributed to giving the us the best ever start to our fighting fund quarter. In the last four days, £1,770 has come in, showing how easy it is to raise fighting fund during the election period.

Last weekend, £112 was collected in one area on London on estate sales. Sellers in every area should be trying to beat that.

In Glasgow, £10 was donated by one worker on an estate sale. At first he had refused to buy Militant. But when the paper's ideas were explained, he put a tenner in one of our tins. Also in Bathgate, a woman whose first reponse was: "You are all extremists," bought a paper and gave £10 to the fighting fund, after hearing what we stand for.

In Swansea, £18.35 was raised through solidarity price sales and the use of collecting tins, and £19.46 was collected on the streets of Derby. Tins should be used on all street and door step

We still need extra money to ensure we provide the fullest election coverage, and we appeal to all our readers to send us a special donation. Why not take an appeal sheet around your friends and workmates who will want to 'Get her out.'

One group of Yorkshire readers collectively donated £620 in response to last week's appeal. Thanks also to C.Bostock, Stoke, for £50 and Roger McHardy who donated £8

THE TORY press, and Thatcher herself, have been floating the idea that the Liberal/SDP Alliance could take over as the main opposition party to the Tories. *Today*, owned by the Lonrho monopoly, has openly come out for the Alliance. They will be disappointed.

In by-elections, the Alliance gets a friendly press. When Tory governments are unpopular, it is consciously built up as a 'safe' alternative for discontented Tory voters.

At general elections, however, if there is any danger of the Alliance beginning to eat into the Tory

vote nationally, the press quickly changes its tune and gives the Alliance a taste of the lies and slanders which are regularly thrown at the Labour Party.

The Alliance also serves as an 'alternative Conservative party' in areas like Liverpool and East London where the Tories are reduced to almost a sect. Briefly they capitalise on workers' opposition to right-wing Labour councils—until their own even more right-wing policies are implemented.

The serious capitalists know that there will always be a party of labour as the main opposition to their

interests and there is no chance that they will ditch the Tories as their main political voice. The Alliance is therefore doomed to dreams of the great breakthrough which never happens.

Nevertheless, the Alliance is a force that Labo has to contend with. KEVIN RAMAGE and DAY! CAMPBELL take a look at the Liberals and the Signal expose their true nature as the second elever of big business.

Radical veneer-Tory policies

MOST ALLIANCE voters think they are voting for change and have little idea of the parties' real policies. But on all important questions they are fundamentally the same as the Tories.

On nuclear weapons, the SDP oppose unilateral disarmament. Although the Liberal Assembly voted for it, democratic David Steel forced the party executive to rewrite the policy. Owen believes that Tory arms spending is "too little rather than too much".

On taxation, the SDP's policy was so outrageous that even the Liberals were forced to object. Their proposals meant that families with two wage earners on low incomes would be substantially worse off. If their joint income was £155 per week, they would be £5.77 poorer!

On unemployment, the biggest scandal of the Thatcher years, Owen says the gap between the Alliance and the Tories is "not unbridgeable".

On unions, the Alliance

is to the right of the Tories. They voted for the Tories' anti-union laws in parliament and Owen, who in 1980 said that a Labour Secretary of State should 'take on' the NUT, has criticised these laws for not being hard enough.

During the historic miners' strike, the Alliance backed Thatcher. In 1981 when she postponed battle with the miners, one leading Social Democrat wrote: "There were several things that Mrs Thatcher was doing that were right. Closing down uneconomic pits was one of them. It was therefore incredible that she should have surrendered."

Why are they so hostile to unions? Their economic policies would need a weakened union movement to be implemented. As Roy Jenkins explained, they could only operate on the basis of an incomes policy keeping wage rises down to a maximum of 4 per cent for at least three to four years.

Alliance of Tories disguise







David Owen-the Doctor orders capitalist cuts.

Council proud of job cuts

WHEN THE Alliance have controlled councils, either on their own or often in alliance with the Tories, workers have had the chance to test them out in practice.

They win seats by presenting themselves as 'community politicians' who stand for 'open government'. This can get a response in areas neglected because councils have failed to resist government cutbacks and where secrecy and even corruption have surrounded local government dealings.

But when the Alliance have their backsides on the seats of power, reality is very different from their sugary promises.

Tory policy

In Liverpool from 1979 to 1983, a Liberal-Tory coalition ruled. "We don't need a majority on the City Council—the Liberal Party are carrying out our policies," one Tory commented.

And no wonder! Rents were raised to about the highest in the country. Money allotted for housing went unspent, while no new houses were built for rent. "I am proud of the fact that we reduced jobs in

the City council by 4,500," bragged Liberal leader, Trevor Jones.

In Hammersmith and Fulham the Liberals kept the Tories in office for eight years until 1986. They even supported Tory plans to privatise an old people's home until a letter from David Steel brought them into line.

In Tower Hamlets since 1986, the Liberal council has sold estates off at knock-down prices to property developers who are turning the East End into 'Yuppie land'. At the present rate, 50 per cent of the council's housing stock will be gone in four years. They have gained national notoriety for their discriminating against Bengali tenants and job applicants.

In Liverpool in 1987, an unelected Liberal administration greedily snatched power from the disqualified Labour councillors. The party of open government expelled the press and public from a personnel committee, so they could victimise Beryl Molyneux and Sam Bond, who had been subjected to a press hate campaign. Liverpool workers wisely voted them out at the first opportunity.

The bosses told the SDP 'wreck Lab

IN 1981, at a time when it appeared that Labour would win an overwhelming majority against Thatcher, the most hated Prime Minister for decades, the SDP was formed, to try to sabotage Labour's election chances. "Wreck the Labour Party," was the cry of the big business magazine *The Economist*.

The bosses coughed up £15million to finance the new party. Its founders, the Gang of Four of Owen, Rogers, Williams and Jenkins, had all been ministers in right-wing Labour governments. They had been largely responsible for the attacks on the living stan-

dards of the working class that led to Thatcher's victory in 1979. Now they built new careers by capitalising on their own past sins.

New pose

The SDP picked up the fag-end of the Liberal party to form the Alliance. The Liberals were able to pose as something new because they had been out of power for so long. They did not carry the stigma that both Tories and Labour had picked up for administering the capitalist system when in office.

If you listen to the capitalist media you would think that the Alliance had met overwhelming success in replacing Labour. Yet the facts tell a different story. The initial objective of splitting the Labour Party asunder failed miserably. Only a handful of MPs and councillors, and even fewer rank and file activists, left Labour to join the SDP.

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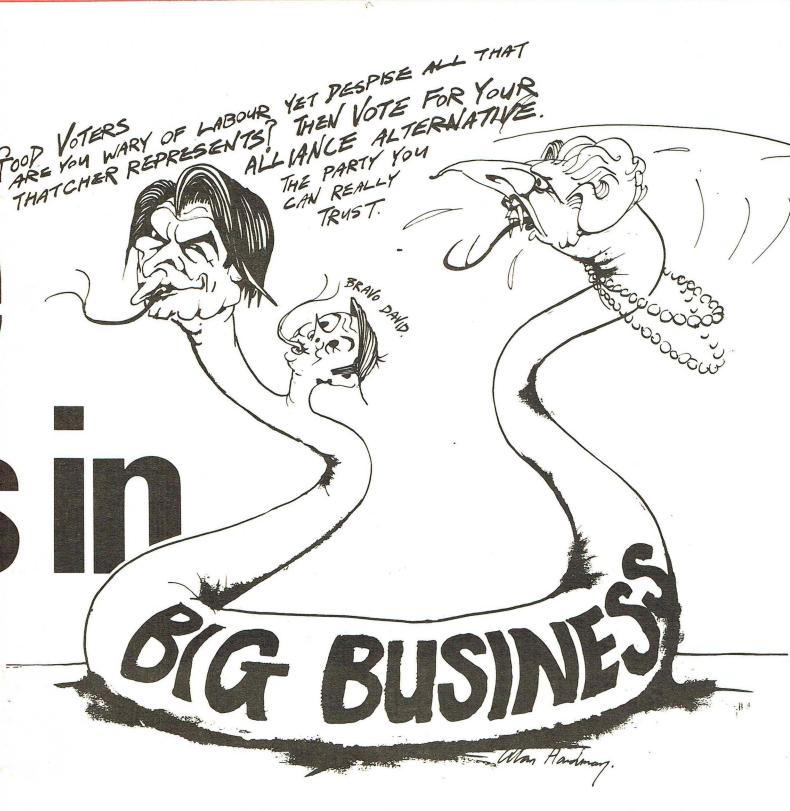
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So it he All

In La Tories l

Of the 12 MPs who reneged on Labour, only five were re-elected in the 1983 general election. Only two have since won by-elections. The Alliance controls only a handful of councils.



business backing for bosses' second eleven

LIANCE govern'a mere fantasy'',
to SDP founder
Neville Sandelson,
campaigning for
supporters to vote
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not surprising that ace's big business who cynically te opinion polls nedia to give their parties a better chance in elections, see little difference between the Tories and the Alliance.

Outflanked

The Director General of the Institute of Directors, Walter Goldsmith, wrote in The Times: "When we had a meeting with David Owen at the institute, we found his thinking on most economic issues to be very much in line with free market principles. It wasn't so clear what his members thought about this-but let me just say that Mrs Thatcher risks being outflanked on the right. If I were to be asked who were the two front runners as the next Conservative Prime

Minister, I should have to say Norman Tebbit and David Owen."

At the Alliance rally in February, David Steel declared that it was against the interests of democracy that the Conservative Party should be so dependent on donations from the City.

The next day on a radio phone-in, a caller asked Steel if the Alliance would return donations it had received from the Norwich Union and Commercial Union insurance companies, the British School of Motoring and Tate and Lyle.

Steel replied that to his certain knowledge they hadn't had anything from Tate and Lyle. "They gave the Alliance £2,500 in

1983-84" said the caller, "it's in the company report".

Forced to admit his mistake, Steel was not however prepared to give the £2,500 back, claiming that sums like that are "not really corrupting the party".

Largest gift

Maybe however Steel would feel that the sum of £188,000 is enough to corrupt his party. It is probably the largest ever donation from a company to a political party, and it was given by the British School of Motoring to the Liberal party!

An undisclosed amount has also been contributed to

the Alliance by supermarket millionaire David Sainsbury (sometimes referred to as 'the third David').

Some companies donate to both the Tories and the Alliance. Marks and Spencer for example gave £5,000 to a Liberal/SDP commission on employment and industrial relations. They justified this as being "in line with our policy of supporting organisations with a strong free enterprise approach".

Remember that next time the Alliance attacks the Labour Party for being funded by the unions, and remember the old saying that "He who pays the piper calls the tune."

Bengali leader condemns Liberal racism

THE EVICTION of Bengali families from bed and breakfast accommodation by Tower Hamlets' Liberal Council has led to angry demonstrations. 38 per cent or the local population is Bangladeshi, and they are already the most disadvantaged in education, housing and health.

Fifteen evicted families were immediately offered temporary accommodation by council social services staff under the Child Care Act. Yet Jeremy Shaw, the secretary of the Liberal Group and parliamentary candidate for Stepney and Bethnal Green, tried to overrule his officers! He was stopped by senior officials and a High Court judge.

Shirazul Islam Shiraz, chair of the Bangladeshi Youth Movement, and himself a Labour Party member, spoke to Matt Wrack.

"Throughout history, rulers have tried to divide people one way or another. The Liberals think that if the working class are thinking about race, then they can get away with whatever they like. I think they are living in a dream. We have already started a united campaign of black and white, and we can make people aware of what the Council is doing.

"Since the Liberals came to power they have been attempting to implement racist policies. Last year they had the idea of putting homeless families on a ship in the Thames. We successfully got that plan dropped."

Now the Council is saying that the families to be evicted, made themselves homeless intentionally. "That is absolutely stupid," retorts Shirazul, "how could they be intentionally homeless? The homes in Bangladesh belong to fathers or other members of the family."

"Many have been living in Tower Hamlets for 25 or 30 years. They have been working in the area, paying taxes, rent and rates—they have every right to live here with their families. Tower Hamlets has 3,500 empty flats and 1,500 homeless. Why can't they offer those flats to those families?"

Shirazul agrees that the Liberals' attacks on the Bangladeshi community fits in with their anti-working class policy for Tower Hamlets. "The Liberals are selling council estates to big business, while it is only the rich who can afford to buy property in this area. The end result of the Liberals' policy will be that the working class are out on the streets."

"We have to start campaigning to ensure that they don't get power again. I definitely think Bangladeshi people are more convinced about the Labour party now. Labour councillors have supported us; some were even beaten up with us when the police attacked us in the town hall.

"I think we need a united fight against the Liberals' racist policy, and for a multi-racial society."

our' - but they failed

Morale has declined in the SDP. In mid-1982, when it seemed the party would "break the mould" of British politics, membership reached 640,000. But since then, both membership and full-time staff have declined. 14,000 nad gone by early 1985.

Socialist alternative

But the Alliance has partly succeeded in one of its aims. It has managed to split the anti-Thatcher vote and win some disgruntled voters, particularly in the South. For that reason alone, Labour must seriously face up to its

policies and tactics.

The pseudo-radicalism is an elaborate facade, based on the tried and failed policies of the last Labour government and embracing many of the worst features of Thatcherism. The SDP/Liberal Alliance offers nothing to working people.

The Labour leadership must learn that the Alliance's support, mainly from the middle class, is extremely volatile. But it can only be undermined by a clear and bold campaign on socialist policies that will convince these wavering voters that Labour has something to offer them.



The reality of 'tactical' voting for the Alliance.

Philippines election

No victory for the masses



A WEEK after the Philippines election, the final result is still not known. It is clear that President Cory Aquino's supporters are heading for a resounding victory. This reflects the general revulsion against the heritage of the Marcos dictatorship, overthrown early last year.

But her victory cannot solve the burning problems of the masses, and will not restrain the explosive struggles building up.

The defeated leaders of the right have taken to the streets, alleging ballot rigging and calling for 'people's power' in a grotesque echo of the slogans that heralded the downfall of their own dictatorship last year. (At least one 'supporter' of right-wing leader Enrile admitted to the writer that he had been paid 300 pesos for being there.)

Whatever cheating there may have been is nothing compared to the absolute fraudulence of 'elections' under Marcos. In another sense, however, the election campaign has been a charade, with no pretence at debating policy and programme. Even parties hardly featured in the posters and TV commercials; different individuals were campaigning against each other on the slogan "Vote for me!"

Posters dwelled on details of how well the candidate had done at school, etc. Only the left-wing Partido nge Bayan (People's Party) attempted to wage a political campaign, against the domination of the Philippines by foreign monopolies, against foreign military bases, for land reform and sweeping nationalisation in industry.

But with millions spent by the parties of the capitalists and landowners (including



Mass demonstrations for land reform took place before the elections.

Cory Aquino's) in massive publicity campaigns, the PnB could not compete. In addition the PnB suffered constant harassment at the hands of the administration and the right. Of approximately 70 people killed in pre-election violence, at least half were PnB workers.

Vote buying

General poverty and desperation opened the way to indirect forms of 'vote-buying'. For example, a basketball team gave their vote to the candidate who was able to get them a basketball. In another case, local residents whose water supply had broken down put up a sign: "Whichever candidate gets it fixed will get our vote".

Pro-administration can-

didates were obviously in the best position to get things done in return for votes. But even more decisively, the overwhelming mood was to "defeat the right first" by voting for Aquino.

On polling day itself, voters were confronted with an incredible system whereby they had to fill in the names of 24 candidates for the Senate and one for the House of Representatives on their ballot forms!

No provision was made for those who could not write, for example by providing party symbols to make a cross against. Even those who could write ran the risk of spoiling their papers by misspelling one of the names!

But in the longer term the election result offers no comfort to the capitalists and

landlords, the foreign investors or Cory Aquino herself. Mass poverty and landlessness remain and the guerrilla struggle in the countryside will intensify.

According to statistics there has been a marginal recovery in the economy from the depths of Marcos's last period, but it is difficult to see any improvement in wages, jobs or working conditions. Increased profits in the hands of the capitalists have no effect on the lives of the masses.

Land reforms

The general trend in the Philippines is towards escalating war on the land between the Communist-led New People's Army, representing the peasants struggle for land, and the deeply

divided and faction-ridden armed forces. Significantly Cory Aquino still has no news of land reform.

Under Cory Aquino's administration there has been a proliferation of reactionary private armies and vigilante gangs, particularly in the southern island of Mindanao. In the city of Davao a reign of terror is waged by armed vigilantes under the patronage of the local police chief, operating their own roadblocks and savagely killing people on suspicion of being 'NPA'.

Another vigilante gang, Nakasaka, is openly backed by Cory Aquino and her ministers in the name of "People's Power." Officially they carry no firearms; they are based among the fanatical religious sect called Tad tad, meaning "chop"—a hint of how they deal with suspected NPA supporters.

In one incident, a victim had his ear cut off and was forced to eat it. In another, victims were beheaded and their blood was drunk. Aggravated by atrocities like these, the sporadic guerilla conflicts in Mindanao are threatening to turn into full-scale civil war.

With Mindanao increasingly Lebanised, death squads sanctioned by the Aquino administration threaten to make their appearance in every province as the relentless struggle between the landowners and the landless intensifies.

Guerilla war

Also in Western Mindanao, peace talks between the administration and the Moro muslim guerillas have broken down. A second guerilla war is now likely to open up in this area.

Cory Aquino has absolutely no solutions to the crisis on the land, or to the festering poverty afflicting the millions packed into the urban slums. Her election victory shows only that the ruling elite cannot at this stage return to open dictatorship without provoking a new revolutionary upsurge, while the masses have not yet developed a leadership and programme of their own that can provide an alternative.

New explosions of mass struggle, and new assaults by right-wing reaction, are inherent as the crisis deepens. The victory of the workers, peasants and youth will depend on the creation of a Marxist leadership in the ranks of the mass organisations that can show a way forward out of the impasse of capitalism.

From our correspondent in the Philippines

Police strike in Peru

IN THE Peruvian capital of Lima even the police were on strike last week. They occupied three police stations and at one station chanted, "the police united will never be defeated" with clenched fists raised in the air.

The policemen's demands were



Peruvian police - now taking strike action. Photo: Ana C Gonzales (Reflex).

for wage increases, shorter working hours and more bullets and spare uniforms. The request for the bullets was a reaction to the terrorist attacks by the Maoist Sendero Luminoso guerrillas in which more than 25 police have been killed this year.

The police are groping towards

a class position and class action but the mistaken tactics of individual terrorism are causing them to make demands for more firepower and more repression.

This action took place against the background of a one-day general strike on 19 May by opposition trade unionists.

Rotterdam brewery occupied

250 WORKERS at the Oranjeboom Brewery in Rotterdam have occupied their factory to force the management to come out openly about whether they intend to close the plant or not. Oranjeboom is part of Allied Breweries.

Management has gone to Britain to discuss future plans for the three Allied plants in the Netherlands (in Dongen, Breda and Rotterdam) and also to get £70 million for investments up to 1993. These plans included closure of the Rotterdam brewery.

According to management's own reorganisation plans, the biggest problems are overhead costs and mistakes in marketing. Changing the name in 1980, after takeover by Allied Breweries, from Oranjeboom to Skol was a big failure.

But, except for changing back to Oranjeboom in 1981, nothing has been done.

The workers, organised in the Industriebond-FNV (engineering union) proposed an alternative plan which would keep all Dutch plants open at 100 per cent production capacity. But management refused to even discuss the alternatives seriously.

Due to the occupation, they have now been forced to talk. Nevertheless the long-term perspectives have not changed. Direct international links between the shop stewards' committees here and in Britain should be set up while there is still time to fight back against redundancies and worse working conditions.

By Peter den Haan (Industriebond-FNV, Rotterdam)

Military power bid in US interests

Fii-paradise lost?

SUPERFICIAL PRESS reports shout "paradise island is torn by racial strife". What is really happening in Fiji?

The roots of the present troubles go back to the colonial period. British imperialism kept in existence the ramshackle network of native chiefdoms and shipped in indentured labour from India to work on the plantations they were setting up. 'Divide and rule' was their watchword.

Now ethnic Indians outnumber the Melanesian population, dominating trade and small business. They were blocked from ownership of land, so Fijian smallholders subsist side by side with Indians working on plantations owned by rich Fijians.

Fiji remains a desperately poor country still producing what is required of it by world imperialismmainly sugar, coconut oil and bananas. Nevertheless nearly 40 per cent of the population now live in the towns and a powerful trade union federation straddles the racial barrier.

Elsewhere there is a near-total separation between the races. The army remains a Melanesian stronghold. Its Sandhurst and US trained officer caste is intertwined with the chiefs and political bosses who monopolise political office.

The divide between Indian and Melanesian was cemented in the 1970 independence Constitution, with a system of racially reserved seats designed to leave the Fijian middle class in permanent control.

Labour Party

The logjam was broken by the formation of the inter-racial Labour Party in May 1985, committed to policies of nationalisation and nonalignment. The Labour Party emerged from the trade unions in opposition to the wage freeze imposed by the ruling Alliance Party after the collapse in the price of sugar.

Unfortunately the Labour leader, Dr Timoci Bavadra, abandoned the programme of nationalisation and went into a popular front with the main opposition National Federation Party-the party of the Indian middle class, whom Melanesians have genuine reasons for distrusting.

Despite deploying all powers of patronage, Mara's Alliance government was swept aside in the April elections. Deprived of the fruits of office, the Fijian politicians played the racial card against what they portrayed as an 'Indian-dominated' government.

But it was not to prevent racial pogroms that soldiers wearing balaclavas burst into parliament last Thursday morning, carting off the elected Prime Minister and his cabinet to house arrest.

Coup leader Colonel Sitiveni Rabuka has since banned strikes, imposed press censorship, abolished the post of governor-general and proclaimed his intention of appointing a Council of Ministers and eventually to render useless the ethnic Indian vote. Among his appointed ministers is the former Prime Minister, Mara.

The only force that can defend democracy is the united working class. That is exactly what imperialism is afraid of.

A year ago US Admiral Hays, who regards himself as the real ruler of the region said: "I am concerned about the growth of the Fiji Labour Party. We will have to keep our eyes on Fiji." Reports are coming to light of a former Director General of the CIA visiting the country in the week the coup was planned.

Behind the 'Rufus T Firefly' figure of Rabuka lie the global interests of US imperialism. Neighbouring Kiribatu has already signed a fishing deal with the USSR. Vanatu has a Libyan presence. Fiji was due to join them in the non-aligned movement. A huge area was in danger of slipping away from US hegemony. The abolition of democracy and snuffing out of the labour movement in Fiji was seen as a small price to pay to stop that happening.

By Mick Brooks

Coup leader forced to retreat

BY TUESDAY it was becoming clear that coup leader Rabuka could not hold the situation. He has therefore bowed to the will of his tribal overlord who is also the Governor-General, Ganilau, and promised to return the troops to barracks.

Faced with mass protests and strikes, the two now propose finding a different way to annul the elections which placed Labour in power and restore the ascendancy of the Fijian middle class. The crisis rumbles on.

South Africa: state lashes out

Tear gas over Wits University

Eye-witness report of police attack on South African student meeting from a correspondent in Johannesburg

THE WILLIAM Cullen library stands at the heart of the Wits University campus in Johannesburg. It is an imposing building of light brown sandstone, fronted by two stone portals on the steps to the entrance. In front is a fountain gushing a white spume of water.

Above the library lawns stands the Great Hall, a building of Greek Parthenon proportions. A flight of sandstone steps sweeps down to the library lawns.

university multiracial and the general atmosphere seems to be one of enlightenment. The different races mix as though apartheid does not exist outside the hallowed halls. Most lunchtimes one can go onto the library lawns and gaze on groups of students idling away their breaktime in the sunshine.

Not so on Monday 4 May, when this oasis of calm became an arena of horrifying panic as the South African Police brutally dispersed a student assembly.

At 12.20 that afternoon, about three thousand students gathered on the lawns to hear Winnie Mandela (wife of the jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela) speak on the white elections.

The meeting began with an announcement that it had just been banned as it was a 'threat to public order'' The students were told, however, that Winnie would be prepared to speak if the police reconsidered the case.

Legal representatives were sent off to negotiate, and everyone waited.

At 12.35 Winnie arrived, resplendent in red and black silk. Her arrival, as usual with an entourage, gave the impression of the coming of royalty. It was confirmed that she would speak, and everyone remained seated in anticipation.

Ten minutes later, three hundred police massed on the steps from the Great Hall to the lawns. They were dressed in the usual clothes for peaceful negotiation: crash helmets with riot visors, jackboots and cartridge belts; and they carried their the tools of preparedness compromise-riot sticks, batons, whips, guns and tear gas launchers.

Disperse

A police captain spoke inaudibly through a megaphone. Those who could hear him, mostly Indians and whites, left.

It was then announced by a student leader that the assembly should disperse and make its way to the Old Mutual Sports Hall for an indoor meeting. Before any action could be taken,



(Above) Defying the security forces in a black working class area. (Above right) Riot policeman dressed in his "clothes for peaceful negotiation.

however, the police came pouring down on us.

Kwaa! kwaa! the tear gas cannisters echoed as they were fired, not in arcs but at body level with potentially fatal results.

The assembly broke up in panic and the mass of students fled towards the lower level of the campus. The police were assaulting people indiscriminately with batons and whips, seemingly convinced that all in the vicinity deserved a beating. If you happened to emerge from a building at that moment, it was simply not your

The first phalanx of police pursued students relentlessly around the swimming pool and over the fence.

A second detachment charged across the lawns, hitting everyone in sight. Students fled towards the library, desperately trying to beat the violent light-blue tide. Inside the Cullen, an official beseeched students to come away from the windows in case they were shot by the police.

'Stone-throwing'

Newspapers explained the next day that 'police action' was necessitated by student stone-throwing. Not a single stone was thrown, everyone who was there knows that. There aren't any on the library lawns.

Police occupied the campus for about four hours. One hundred and twenty arrests were made and scores were injured, four seriously. No injuries to policemen were reported.

The action was over by about 1.40 pm. From the steps of the Cullen one could see gas clouds drifting over the lawns, groups of about twenty policemen iackbooting their way through campus.

The fountain still gushed and students emerged from the bushes. One moved to the fountain and wet her handkerchief. She wiped the bloodied face of her companion. These traces of battle gone, they melted into the throngs of students going

Ivin Malaza Memorial Fund

Photo: Morris Zwi (Reflex).

AT A meeting of Sheffield Poly Labour Club £213 was collected for South Africa.

Just what can be done with an appeal sheet was shown by one trade unionist who collected £10 from her branch and £11 from members. International support was shown by the contribution of £125 from socialists in Greece.

Please send donations c/o: Cllr L. Faulkes, 143B Amhurst Road, London E8 2AW.

Tories' abuse of children

Dear Militant,

On the television we saw a little girl who got a reward for being very caring. She had to look after her mummy who is handicapped. The girl had to feed, clothe and wash her mother. Therefore she had no time to play which we think is very sad. We think that if we had socialism the mummy could have a good nurse to look after her and the little girl would be able to have more time to play.

From Christine Elliot (9) and Steven Elliot (7)

Classified S

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Workers Education Group. Socialist Summer Camp '87. Saturday 8 August to Saturday 15 August. Bracelands campsite, Forest of Dean, Gloucestershire. Courses on Marxist Economics, Youth and the struggle for socialism, the Russian revolution, USA, the third world. Plus rallies, debates, discos, sports, creche. Cost £40 (£75 for family booking). Brochure available now. Write to Workers Education Group, PO Box 332, London E15 33Y.

Offensiv camp in Sweden. Monday 6—Saturday 11 July 1987. For information write to Offensiv Brahegatan 2, S-415 01 Göteborg, Sweden. Tel 031 844 162.

Chapeltown Marxist discussion group. The Commercial pub. 8.15pm, Tues 26 May. "The economy and unemployment".

Wombwell and Hoyland Marxist discussion group. The St George's Arms, Hough Lane, Wombwell. 8.15pm. Thurs 28 May. "The economy and unemployment".

☐ Barnsley Marxist discussion group. The Victoria pub, corner of Sheffield Rd and Cemetery Rd. 8.15pm Tues 26 May ''The economy and unemployment''.

☐ Jack Collins Memorial Meeting and Social. 13 June 6pm. Chislet Miners Welfare Club Hersden, near Canterbury. For invitations please phone 0304 367840 any weekday morning, or write to: Magness House, Mill Hill, Deal, Kent.

Pie in the sky when you die

Dear Comrades,

While I was selling papers in the centre of town a man approached me. He was from a religious organisation called The Jesus Army.

He asked how we were going to change society. I explained the ideas of socialism and our programme to achieve it. He agreed with most of what I said, so I asked him why he was in a religious organisation and not a socialist one.

He told me he was a member of the Com-

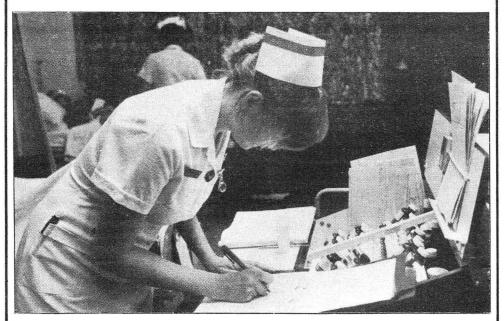
munist Party for 25 years and "Had become demoralised and believed you couldn't achieve socialism without having an elite, so I left the Communist Party, became a Christian and joined The Jesus Army."

This does not say much for the Communist Party, or The Jesus Army for that matter

Yours fraternally Paul Kelly Stoke Central Labour Party Young Socialists



Nurses blackmailed



Dear Comrades,

My mother has been waiting for a year now for a hip replacement. It has become increasingly difficult for her to walk and last June she was signed off sick where she has remained ever since.

What makes it ironic is that she has been a nurse for over 35 years! Not long ago she received a letter from the hospital explaining why it had taken so long: "Due to unavailability of nursing

staff I have had my female beds cut by half. This virtually means that I can only perform emergency surgery from the female ward". Later on TV, Tory

Later on TV, Tory minister Norman Lamont explained how an extra 50,000 nurses have been taken on since they came to power. The TV narrowly missed my head!

What thanks the NHS give to dedicated health workers like my mother,

blackmailing them out of pay deals and strikes because of their loyalty to the patients and on the other hand, forcing them to endure mounting pain because they can't get treatment.

The only future for the NHS is a socialist one, health workers vote Labour on 11 June.

Yours fraternally Bill Brewster Grimsby Labour Party

Dear Comrades,

The Tories say the National Health Service is safe in their hands, but in Brighton they're planning to close two hospitals!

I work as a housekeeping assistant at Brighton General—I've been there about eight years now.

We've just heard that the Tory health authority want to close this one and the nearby Bevendean Hospital as they will cost too much to repair.

They say they'll build a new hospital 'next door' in Hove, which the local Labour Party have been campaigning for.

The funny thing is, they are repairing the General already, even though they plan to

close it! Many of us think they should go on repairing it.

Apart from the probable loss of jobs and disruption of services, there's a question of the old people at the General. The health authority is talking about 'community care'. This means less care for many.

Brighton Labour Party is campaigning for the General to be kept open and the Hove hospital to be built. Both are needed. Hundreds have signed the petition against closure —many not even Labour voters.

Yours fraternally Josie Stanton Brighton

Cashing in on non-unionisation

Dear Comrades,

In 1984, one month after getting married I was made redundant by a German company.

A month later I started a new job with a Japanese company as an underwriter. Three weeks later, after being victimised by management I was sacked because they found out I had been a union rep. in my last job.

Five months later, I started work with a British computer company. In six months we had been bought out by one of the largest american multinationals. From that time on they have

been making periodic redundancies, hundreds have been made redundant nationally.

They only made a few each time so they did not have to pay the three months in lieu of notice as it was under ten workers at a time.

Last week I was made redundant whilst being off work sick. They sent a mini cab to pick me up from home, to take me into work to inform me from that day I was without a job.

How can these greedy businessmen get away with this kind of action? Needless to say there is no recognised union in this company. I do not have a leg to stand on as far as going to a tribunal is concerned—they have just managed to stay within the law.

This is not just happening to a few workers but thousands, especially women who work in computer and clerical companies which have no union. Trade unions must take seriously the problem of the exploitation of women within these industries.

Yours fraternally Hounslow Militant supporter

No money? No water

Dear Comrades,

The disastrous effects of another Tory government for all working people cannot be stressed strongly enough. One of the Tories' projects will undoubtedly be the privatisation of the waterboards.

Already there are some areas in Wales where houses have been fitted with watermeters which are read quarterly like electricity and gas and water is charged per unit

For someone on low pay

this means not just having to cut down on heating, food and clothing, but now also on washing, bathing and in some cases even trying to minimise the flushing of the toilet.

I wonder what would happen to rural areas with low water consumption, ie low profits. Will we see the return of handpumps in the back garden?

Yours fraternally Peggy Elliott Nottingham

Remember the unemployed

Dear Comrades,

This is to tell you that I had the privilege to be a main speaker at the DHSS rally in Kennington Park last Thursday, representing the South East Region Unemployed Centres. I followed after John Ellis, CPSA who appeared not to have a lot of confidence in their campaign.

What he must remember is that he not only represents CPSA union members, but also millions of claimants who haven't a union to fight for them. If the DHSS campaign goes down us claimants won't be very pleased with him!

My speech was very well received and we have pledged to support the strikers.

Yours fraternally Olive Edwards Harlow

Worse off in work

Dear Comrades,

I am a single parent and until February I had been unemployed for four and a half years—four and a half years of going without!

I'm now employed by the MSC and still going without! After deductions I come home with £60 a week. Added to that I get £8 maintenance and £3 a week FIS, but it's not enough, not by a long way.

After I have paid my daughter's childminder, my bus fares and my rent I'm

left with £36 which is £4 less than I was getting on SS! What a joke! When my daughter is on holiday from school her childminding costs are doubled and I bring home £19.

My daughter isn't well at the moment, she's got mumps, and we've been told that if I ever have any more time off work because my daughter is ill I won't get paid! Big deal!

Yours fraternally Reader in Coventry SW

Historic bias



The civil war in the USSR caused by the intervention of foreign armies, led to famine particularly in the South and West. Millions died of starvation alone in 1919 and 1920.

Dear Comrades,

The other day I was revising the topic of Russia for my coming history exams. I have to share my horror at the distortions of history made by the 'teacher' and the bourgeois 'historians' in general from which she draws her ideas.

These people have no understanding of the driving force of history; the struggle between the classes

classes.
On the civil war we were led to believe that the imperialist armies of foreign intervention were in Russia acting as saviours to the mass of the Russian people. There was no analysis as to why these armies in-

tervened in Russia.

The 'teacher' put the Bolshevik victory down to

the disunited white forces and the patriotism of the peasants against the foreigners.

It is obvious to anyone that the Bolsheviks could never have survived without the mass support of the Russian working class. But this support was denied to even exist by the 'teacher'.

This year we celebrate the 70th anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution. When the ideas of the Bolshevik revolution are finally fulfilled true history will take the place of the distortions and lies of the bourgeois historians in the present day history textbooks.

Yours fraternally Mark Murphy Huddersfield

Scottish Nationalists offer no solutions

THE TORY Party in Scotland, facing its worst electoral defeat in history, has already suffered a mini-exodus. In the last months alone four prominent Tories have resigned. All four have chosen the Scottish National Party (SNP) as the new vehicle for their political ambitions.

This is an answer to those who have been mesmerised by the SNP's phoney radicalism. While they churn out slogans like "A Socialist Scotland or a Tory Britain" for the consumption of Labour supporters in the inner cities and housing estates, the SNP is essentially a pro-capitalist party.

THE SNP'S programme for an independent Scotland contains not one sentence which would repel the Tory deserters, who have been welcomed with open arms.

By Alan McCombes

The party's membership is still drawn overwhelmingly from the well-to-do middle class. It is no accident that of their ten 'target seats', nine are in rural areas.

In the 1970s, following the discovery of North Sea oil, the SNP for a while attracted an array of millionaire industrialists and bankers, hypnotised by the vision of a land awash with oil wealth where they could become big fish in a little pond.

Industrialists Sir William Lithgow, Sir Hugh Fraser and Lord Clydesmuir, merchant bankers Ronald McNeill and Ian Noble and brewery magnate Colin Tennant were some of the dignitaries who graced party conferences.

Today the SNP describe the possibility of Thatcher winning a third election as "the doomsday scenario". Yet only a short time ago they dismissed the difference between Labour and Tory as that between the scaffold and the electric chair. They were both damned as "English-based parties", irrelevant to the people of Scotland.

Indeed the SNP played a key role in paving the way for Thatcher, when they joined forces with the Tories in Parliament to bring down the Labour government in 1979. This followed their infamous collaboration with the Tories to try to defeat Labour's shipbuilding na-

Nationalisation

Had they succeeded there would be no shipbuilding industry on the Clyde today. Yet now, without a hint of embarrassment, the SNP leaders call for the nationalisation of Caterpillar, to save jobs.

Nationalism is a completely reactionary force in Scottish politics, even when masquerading as "socialist republicanism". The political and economic dismemberment of Britain and the division of the labour movement on national lines would be a catastrophe for the working class of Scotland, England and Wales.

The position today is entirely different from the early 1920s when the great Clydeside Marxist John Maclean raised the slogan of "a Scottish workers" republic"

Even then the idea of a separate socialist Scotland was a tragic mistake, made by a genuine revolutionary fighter. Because the tumultuous events of 1919-20 were largely confined to "Red Clydeside", Maclean concluded that "the socialist revolution is possible sooner in Scotland than in England."

A few days before his death in 1923, Maclean even argued that there would be a new world war before the English working class would be ready to struggle.

This prediction was confounded by subsequent events. Just three years later British capitalism was shaken to its foundations by the general strike of 1926, when the workers of Scotland, England, Northern Ireland and Wales rose to their feet.

Native capital

Undoubtedly if Maclean had lived just a few years longer he would have modified his position in the

Moreover, in the 1920s, the Scottish economy was still an almost independent unit. The majority of Scottish workers were employed by native Scottish capitalists. Nearly half the trade unionists in Scotland belonged to separate Scottish trade unions. Even in the 1950s there remained around 20 exclusively Scottish unions. Today only two are left.

unification of the labour movement has taken place alongside the increasing integration of the economy. Today only a tiny proportion of the workforce is employed

Workers on both sides of the border have been drawn togther by the big national and multinational monopolies. To a greater degree than ever before they are confronted by exactly the

to the days of a separate Scottish labour movement could only weaken the movement, with disastrous consequences. This should be resisted everywhere.

Irrespective of the SNP's bankruptcy, however, Scottish nationalism will rear its head again in the near future. Opinion polls in the past year have consistently shown that 80-85 per cent of

light of experience.

The trend towards the by native Scottish capitalists.

of home rule. same enemy. Turning the calendar back

by socialists

Scots now favour some form

SCOTTISH SCO Ju**s**H



Hard facts of Scotland's decline

- 500,000 unemployed (over 5m pop.)
- 1 million on or below the poverty line
- 950,000 living on margins of poverty
- 1 in 4 leave school without qualifications
- Almost 60% of manufacturing jobs lost in the past ten years.
- Capital employed by Scottish manufacturing and industrial companies dropped by almost half in past 18 months

It would be a mistake to interpret these figures as a huge swing towards nationalism. The Scotsman revealed that only two per cent of those asked considered devolution among the top priorities facing Scotland, while 62 per cent identified unemployment, with health, pensions and housing all far above devolution.

Nevertheless, there is a reservoir of potential support for home rule which could easily be transformed into an upsurge of nationalism under certain conditions.

The SNP itself is now relishing the prospect of a Tory victory, in the cynical belief that the resulting unemployment and poverty will lead to hundreds of thousands turning to the idea of a separate Scotland as an escape route from a desperate life in Tory Britain.

Assembly

It is to counter this development that Labour must fight for an elected Scottish assembly with the maximum economic and political powers. This is a basic democratic demand arising from the substantial support for devolution among the Scottish working class.

Even in the 1979 referendum, the majority of the Yes

vote came from working class Labour supporters. Now, even previously virulent opponents of devolution such as Brian Wilson, Robin Cook and Neil Kinnock have come round to accepting a Scottish assembly.

Any retreat from that position would play into the hands of the nationalists. In combatting nationalism, socialists must point to the common misery of working people everywhere.

In the past the Scottish working class has suffered a disproportionate share of the hardship meted out by capitalism. Throughout the 1930s unemployment in Scotland stood at twice the national average. Today, in the league tables of unemployment, poverty and deprivation, Scotland has been overtaken by areas like Merseyside and Tyneside.

Left swing

There has also been a swing to the left in these areas, which contradicts the nationalist myth that

Scotland is somehow unique. With capitalism now fighting for its life, every corner of the British Isles will see battles to change society. Not only Red Clydeside, but Red Merseyside, Red Tyneside, Red South Wales and Red London will go into the history books for future generations to read about.

CPSA Conference report

Radicalisation and right wing election manoeuvres

ONE OF the most significant decisions of the Civil and Public Services Association conference last week was the overwhelming vote to ballot members on re-affiliating CPSA to the Labour Party.

The motion was moved by Militant supporter Tony Church and opposed by both the so-called Broad Left '84 (BL84) and Moderate groups. They argued that 'the time is not right' and attempted to dampen down delegates' enthusiasm for the motion and confidence that the members would vote for it.

The hypocrisy of this opposition was clear when the Moderate group, made up for the most part of Tories, Liberals and SDP members echoed the arguments of so-called 'lefts' (including Communist Party members) in BL84.

Dawn Castle, a *Militant* supporter, referred to press reports that shadow civil service minister, Oonagh Macdonald, had promised an extra 50,000 civil service jobs, including 16,000 in the DHSS when Labour win the general election. If the time was not right at the moment, it never would be, said Dawn, and the motion was carried by 75,000 votes to 50,000.

The success of the motion must be seen as an enormous boost to the Labour Party. It was followed up by a motion moved by another *Militant* supporter Danny Williamson, which instructed the NEC to positively campaign for a Labour victory in the general election and to issue material to members urging them to vote Labour. Despite opposition from the NEC this was carried overwhelmingly.

The first motion on the conference agenda was emergency motion no.1 (EM1) on pay. Outlining the Broad Left position it called for an immediate ballot for all-out action as the only way to make victory certain.

The motion was seconded by general secretary John Ellis for the NEC. But his contribution was merely used to sabotage the motion in favour of emergency motion 25 which called for further rounds of limited action before moving to all-out strike.

Both BL84 and Ellis privately favour a 'Teacherstype' campaign. However, in order to defeat the Broad Left motion they dishonestly claimed they were in favour of all-out action.

Emergency motion 1 was defeated on a show of hands and EM25 carried. Card votes cannot be taken on emergency motions. It is clear that nearly every delegate now expects the right wing to move quickly to an all-out ballot by honouring the promises made at the rostrum and contained in motion EM25.

The Broad Left motion on new technology, called for a "comprehensive and national campaign in defence By Steve Dunk (CPSA Inland Revenue, personal capacity)

of jobs, shortening hours, grading and training guarantees and proper health and safety protection.

Ironically the motion was given qualified support by the right wing NEC but opposed by BL84 on the grounds that the "no job losses" clause was "impossibilist".

A delegate in favour of the motion said one question which BL84 leaves unanswered is why there has been a conspiracy of silence on their part over the Land Registry's excellent new technology agreement.

Surely, he asked, it had nothing to do with the fact that the Land Registry Section Executive Committee is Broad Left controlled and that they had achieved a no job loss guarantee for all members in their department.

The conclusion the delegate drew was that if a Broad Left SEC can achieve this sort of agreement it augured well for what a Broad Left NEC could achieve nationally. The motion was carried by a substantial majority.

A composite motion was passed calling for a national staffing campaign which should build awareness amongst members and set out union proposals for extending services in each department and public sector body.

The campaign should lead a national fight back against job losses using a programme of industrial action. The NEC supported the motion and tried to suggest that their record was a good one. The mover pointed out that 150,000 jobs had been lost in the civil service, not much of a record.

Constitution

In the constitutional amendments section of the agenda the vital changes to the constitution to place control of the unions back in the hands of the membership were moved by *Militant* supporters.

The right wing over the past twelve months, with the aid of their lawyers, have blocked and ruled out every attempt to make the leadership of the union accountable.

The President changed the rules governing ballots in order to favour right wing candidates, particularly in the re-run general secretary election.

Although the Broad Left won an overall majority on every constitutional amendment at conference it failed to get the two-thirds majority required for insertion in the constitution.



John Ellis, general secretary, and Marion Chambers, CPSA President.



John Macreadie, believed to have won deputy general secretary election, with Terry Fields MP on CPSA picket line.

They were blocked by an alliance of BL84 and right wing branches on the spurious grounds that a review of the union's rules and regulations should be carried out by the NEC over the next twelve months and that it was premature to change rules before that review

The antics of the right wing in setting aside the results of the general secretary and general treasurer elections last summer were condemned with an enormous vote in favour of motion 501 censuring the NEC.

The only defence came from the top table and from a leading BL84 activist Stewart McLennan. The mover of the motion, in her right of reply, noted how many delegates from the traditionally right wing Ministry of Defence (MOD) had spoken in favour of the censure.

She warned the NEC that they had better not try anything like it again, particularly as it appeared they were delaying the announcement of the deputy general secretary and NEC election results because the vote had gone against them.

A Broad Left motion moved by a Militant supporter, caling for CPSA's own national local initiatives on cancer screening to be linked to a campaign for a properly funded, comprehensive NHS screening programme for all women, was passed unanimously.

Equality

Motions exposing the shallowness of management's commitment to equal opportunities by their total failure to assist civil servants

with child care were debated.

Motions calling for a real campaign including industrial action to force management to concede work-place creches were carried overwhelmingly despite NEC opposition.

The proposal to create regional women's officers was carried, despite the arguments of *Militant* supporters that given the lack of a regional structure for the union as a whole the proposition was premature.

It will create a new layer of officials completely unaccountable to the membership who will bring no benefits to the anyone except the women chosen to fill the

The time allocated to deal with full-time officers' pay and their accountability to

the membership was taken up by a debate around a particularly weak motion on the John Raywood pay-out, submitted by a leading BL84 supporter.

The mover made a purely opportunistic speech full of empty rhetoric unconnected to the content of the motion. It failed even to censure the NEC for its handling of the Raywood case. It merely called for the NEC to explain the background to the pay out to members via a circular.

Conference debated at length, and carried with minor amendment, a comprehensive document on the question of racism within the civil service and the formation of an Anti-Racist Advisory sub-committee.

Conference also went on to debate the formation of trade union black sectons within CPSA branches. The motion was overwhelmingly defeated, with *Militant* supporter Steve Ion arguing that black only sections within trade unions reinforced divisions when unity was essential to defeat attempts to use the racist card to divert members' from the real enemy.

This was an excellent conference for the Broad Left. Many young delegates and observers joined. The BL84 group, especially their leadership, were indistinguishable from the right wing. Any pretence of support for even vaguely socialist policies has now been dropped.

BL84 and the right wing have already formed electoral pacts in DHSS and DNS. This alliance will extend throughout the union. But just as it failed in DHSS and DNS this merger of the 'old' and 'new' right will fail on a national basis.

Members no longer have time for the careerists who rise to the top of BL84. They need a fighting leadership prepared to defend jobs and living standards. More genuine members of BL84 will become increasingly disillusioned with the leadership's antics. Already at this conference some disowned their leaders from the conference rostrum. The door of the Broad Left will alway remain open to genuine socialists.

photo: Dave Sinclair

Left victory

All the indications are that the members have elected a Broad Left leadership for CPSA. True to form, the right wing are seeking to undermine the results. Despite the requirements of the constitution the election results were not announced at conference.

Even more outrageously, the president, Marion Chambers, has ruled that the current NEC should stay in office after the end of conference. This is the most serious and blatant piece of manoeuvring in the union's bistory.

history.

No "disregard" of the results can be allowed for the second time in a year by this NEC. If the results are in any way altered branches must be prepared to immediately call a Special Delegate Conference which will stay in session as long as is necessary to remove the current NEC and see the election victors installed in office.

The new NEC has a massive task in front of it. It has a pay campaign and Labour Party affiliation ballot to run and win. It must intervene with the CPSA membership in the general election to help ensure a victory for the Labour Party.

On top of these major campaigns it must pick up all the policies which have been ignored by the right wing NEC. It is therefore vital that the controversy over the election results is cleared away as quickly as possible and this important work gets under way.

Fight Glasgow college privatisation

WORKERS IN the canteens at Glasgow College of Technology are determined to fight the decision taken by the Colleges Board of Governors on 12 May to privatise the canteen services.

Despite protests from staff and students representatives on the Governing Body, that there had not been enough discussion on alternative proposals, on a vote of 10-7 the contract was awarded to Gardner Merchant, who for the last year have operated a Management Agreement with the College and have suceeded in increasing the canteen deficit to £152,000.

The decision will result in redundancy for all of the 41 staff involved, with selective rehiring on poorer terms and

conditions. From 1 September a price increase of 7 per cent is to be added to the 4 per cent implemented in April which will mean further deterioration in student living standards because of ever decreasing grants.

The unions involved, GMBATU and Nalgo, have never at any stage been contacted despite minuted commitments that at every stage they would be involved in the decision making processes.

Joint lobby

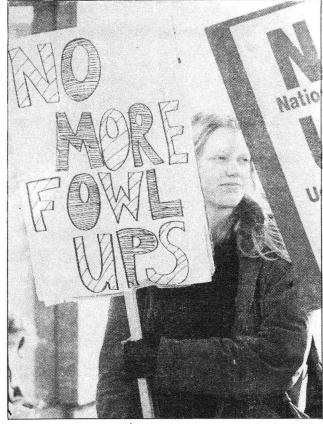
The College canteen staff, many with long-service, have been walked all over and are now beginning to fight back. Unfortunately, the campaign should have begun months ago when both the Students Union and Scottish TUC

representatives on the governing body warned that privatisation threatened.

All is not lost however, as GMBATU members have decided to take action and lobby the next Board of Governors on 26 May. This lobby will be joined by GMBATU, Nalgo, Astms, EIS and student union members and will mark the beginning of the campaign to preserve both the jobs and services in the college.

The decision to privatise this canteen was a political one. Labour msut give a political commitment to these workers that if they are returned on 11 June they will safeguard these 41 jobs and the canteen services.

By Douglas Blackstock (President, Glasgow College of Technology Students' Union)



Education has been under continual attack from the Toriesstudents and college workers must unite. Photo: Militant.

Union conference round-up

"I HAVE had more to eat in the last two days here at Scarborough than I ever had at home", said one of the delegates at last week's Nupe conference, reflecting the problem of low pay for the union's 600,000 public sector members.

Held with the general election looming, low pay and the threat of more privatisation all the delegates were determined to go all out for a Labour government on 11 June.

Rodney Bickerstaffe, Tom Sawyer and John Prescott MP all graphically described the Tories' record over the last eight years, and stressed the need for unity, which held back some of the criticisms which would have otherwise been voiced against the union leadership.

Nupe policy for a national minimum wage of two thirds

Nupe unity mood for Labour victory

the average earnings, 35-hour week and longer holidays were all reaffirmed. As a warning to an incoming Labour government, Bickerstaffe warned against another "Winter of Discontent" and significantly incomes policy was rejected and the Labour Party conference figure of £80 for a minimum wage, was derided as totally inadequate.

Economic policy

Unfortunately the executive opposed calls for a socialist economic policy as "fairytale" and their speaker claimed that to demand jobs for all school leavers was "unrealistic" and unbelievably argued that we should not demand rena-

tionalisation of all industries sold off because "some workers may prefer private ownership".

That from a union whose membership have struggled locally for the last four years against privatisation in the NHS, local government and the water industry!

Discontent with the lack of a national lead in the campaign against privatisation came to the surface in that debate. The critical mood forced the EC to support a composite committing the leadership to a national campaign including national industrial action if necessary against compulsory tendering of local services if the Tories are re-elected.

The EC were only overturned once—on the issue of Labour Party re-selection. Delegates rejected a backdoor attempt to change policy in favour of one person one vote. Having fought for years to assert democratic accountability in the Labour Party, conference was not going to let it go, particularly for an incoming Labour government.

Accountability

However, at this moment most delegates are not prepared to extend that accountability to their own leaders and full time officials. This is particularly unfortunate in view of the experience in North Kent where an area officer was moved against the express wishes of all his 13 branches

and now the replacement area officer has resigned after less than three months!

Campaign for Democracy in Nupe pamphlets sold well—over a hundred. Particularly after receiving a free advert from the EC who were clearly disturbed by some of its contents. It is around this issue and future struggles that the Broad Left will grow.

There was also considerable disquiet over the conduct of the recent EC elections where thousands of ballot papers were not received. The elections did not show any significant change in the composition of the EC but a Marxist candidate in Wales narrowly missed election by 300 votes, with 600 of his branch's

members never receiving voting papers.

Overall the conference was low key with eyes focussed on the election. The union leadership has an enormous fund of credit amongst most members due to its past campaigning role. However, in the impending struggles against what ever government is elected the union leadership will be put to the test.

Conference showed a marked change in attitude to *Militant* compared to last year when by a vote of 10 to 1 a motion supporting expulsions was carried and active hostility displayed. This year nearly 100 papers were sold and over £300 collected for the fighting fund. The forces of Marxism were stronger at this conference than ever before. We are confident that trend will continue.

By a conference delegate

Astms debates merger

THE TWO major issues facing delegates at the 1987 Astms annual delegate conference in Cardiff last weekend were the proposed merger with Tass and the forthcoming general election. On almost all of the motions debated at conference the overwhelming desire to get rid of the Tories was evident.

Delegates representing Astms members in the NHS from the MPU (doctors) and MLSO (laboratory scientists) sections told conference that they had suffered equally from Tory cuts but their's didn't receive the same publicity as the nurses. They argued that only a Labour election victory could save the NHS from dismemberment.

Two issues showed the leftward shift of conference. Delegates supported the call for a national minimum wage of two-thirds the average industrial wage and for democratically elected committees with the power to appoint and dismiss senior police offices and be responsible for policing policy, finance and resources.

It was also seen in the increased vote for left winger Ian Gibson in the election for Astms representative on the TUC general council. He received half the vote of general secretary Clive Jenkins as opposed to a third last year.

The major debate of conference was on the proposed merger with Tass. Whilst the mood was overhwelmingly in favour many delegates argued and voted for the new union to retain existing Astms

democracy.

Dave Clark from Birkenhead, who moved a vital resolution in this debate, explained that: "My branch fully supports the merger, which would create the largest white collar union in Western Europe. We supported all the calls for things like a branch-based annual conference, retention of funds by branches and divisional councils and elections for delegates from Astms to the TUC and Labour Party conferences.

"But we understood that the only way this can be guaranteed is if the first conference of the new union, which would establish the rules, is instituted on a democratic basis. We were pleased to see that our resolution calling for direct representation of all Astms branches at this conference was carried by a three to one majority against the wishes of the NEC".

Muriel Turner, vice president of Astms was so irate at this defeat of the NEC that she tried to tear down posters advertising the *Militant* public meeting. In spite of this over £300 was raised for the fighting fund and 40 papers sold during the conference. *Militant* supporters in Astms will be campaigning for the merger based on the motions passed at the ADC amd for a Labour victory on 11 June.

By Bernie Schneider

(Bedford General 577, personal capacity)

Democratic leadership needed in SCPS

THE CONFERENCE of the Society of Civil and Public Servants (SCPS or 'Society') took place in Bournemouth at the same time as the other main civil service unions.

Although it's the second biggest, with 86,000 members, Society's internal life is somewhat less exciting than the CPSA. This is not just because its membership is generally a little older and better paid, but because of the political stranglehold of the secretive 'left' grouping which controls the union.

Their politics are those of the Communist Party and the 'Tribunite' left, as with the 'Broad Left 84' grouping (BL84) in CPSA and they present a real warning as to how the CPSA might have been run had BL84 ever gained control. Their main concerns seem to be 'trot-breaking', CPSA-bashing, not supporting strikes and leaving themselves plenty of room for maneouvre!

Not even their massive tame majori-

ty at conference can maintain this permanently, however, when our members are constantly under attack from the Tory government. The engine of change will be the SCPS Broad Left, who have been chipping away at the edifice of bureaucratic control for a couple of years now.

Election reforms

Last year we managed to secure election addresses and a political fund ballot, and this year we extended the right to introduce election addresses in the departmental group of the union. We also secured a policy against all nuclear power, defeating the EC's capitulation to the handful of branches deluded by the pro-nuclear lobby.

However, we were unable to get much support for more sweeping democratic change, such as the election of senior full-time officers. Many delegates unfortunately seemed to have been temporarily frightened off the whole idea by the chaotic antics of the CPSA right wing in the last year.

In general the Broad Left's intervention was excellent given the hostile environment. Four open meetings were held and seven leaflets given out, all eyecatching and well-written. There was a growing amount of sympathy and interest in the ideas of the Broad Left and Militant, particularly from newer, younger delegates and visitors.

Society's membership is mostly promoted from CPSA grades and we are confident that many activists will come from this source in the future, to help us change our union into an open responsive fighting organisation.

Any SCPS reader who has not yet joined the Broad Left should write to Lee Kettlewell, 19 Buvkleigh Rd, London SW16, 5RY. CPSA readers should also mention the Broad Left to any Society members who might be interested.

FBU general secretary backs Terry Fields

THIS YEAR'S Fire Brigades Union conference ended as it began, with confidence that by a bold campaign around Labour Party policies the election can be won. Terry Fields MP Broadgreen and former FBU EC member received a warm reception from conference when he arrived on Wednesday.

At the annual reception hosted by the executive council the general secretary, Ken Cameron, started an appeal on behalf of sacked miners. He was interrupted by the kidnapping of a London delegate by a couple of 'Glaswegian spivs' who then attempted to auction them for the miners' fund. Unfortunately all the money they received was in payment to keep

After this humorous interlude, Ken Cameron went on to make a more serious point that if we are ever

to get justice for miners then we must elect a Labour government and especially socialist MPs like Terry Fields.

Pledging support for Terry he then presented him with £1500 on behalf of the union. Donations from the regions, £500 Merseyside, £200 Strathclyde and a number of individual donations took the total to over £2,200. Calls were also made to help canvass for Terry in Broadgreen.

Sales of *Militant* were well up on previous years with 69 papers sold. Over £150 was also raised for the fighting fund.

By Rob Chalmers and Andy Dark (conference delegates, personal capacity)

CPSA conference

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Election reports

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Rolls Royce sold to city sharks

GOVENTIV

THE SELLING OFF of Rolls Royce to the rich businessmen in the city is a taste of things to come if the Tories get back into office. Their manifesto aims to sell off everything but the kitchen sink in a further £20 billion give-away of Britain's biggest companies.

Rolls Royce shares hit the stock market on Wednesday and immediately made their owners a 50 per cent profit. "The instant profits because of government under-pricing show the real reason behind privatisation—quick profits for the city's spivs" said Dave Nellist MP for Coventry SE where the Rolls Royce Parkside factory employs 2,500 workers.

The pretence of peoples' capitalism is proving harder and harder to keep up. In fact three quarters of the 1.2 million people who bought shares in British Aerospace when it was privatised had sold them within three

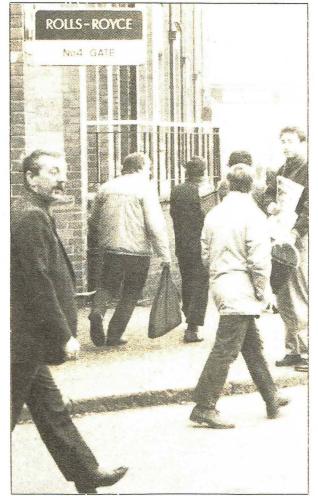
When defence minister, Archie Hamilton, told Dave Nellist in the House of Commons that Rolls Royce employees relish the idea of privatisation, 80 per cent of shopfloor workers at Parkside signed a petition against it!

The Alliance have shown how two-faced they are as well. Every single Alliance MP voted with the Tories to sell off the company. The SDP candidate standing against Dave Nellist is strangely silent on this question!

Tommy Hartopp, senior convenor at Rolls Royce in

Coventry said: "Unless we get a Labour government things are lost. Rolls Royce and privatisation is an issue in this election. Workers in the factory will come out to support Labour. We will campaign for all our members to vote and work for Labour. We are not beaten. The unions in the plant are knitted together better now. The combine is stronger-we've learnt an attack on one is an attack on

Rolls Royce Labour Party branch has already promised to canvass for Dave Nellist on Sunday 24 May.



After Jaguar and Unipart the Tories are now selling off Rolls Royce, another major employer in Coventry. The only ones to benefit will be the wheeler-dealers in the City.



Public funds pumped in

DURING A parliamentary debate in May to discuss the privatisation of Rolls Royce, Dave Nellist pointed out that:

'When Rolls Royce was last in private hands it went bankrupt because of shortages of funds. Huge amounts of public money have been pumped into the firm during the past 16 years.

"The workforce has been forced to make enormous sacrifices, especially in terms of the 20,000 jobs that have been lost during the past four or five

"Now that the company is again making a profit and taxpayers are just beginning to get some of their money back, the Tory government intend to plunge Rolls Royce back into the doubt and uncertainty of private ownership.

"Such profits as there are will not now go to tax payers who made it all possible but to the new speculators who hold the shares.

"I and other Labour Members will argue not only for the return of Rolls Royce to public ownership, but for the co-ordinated planning of the aero industry, with wider public ownership of firms such as Westland and Lucas."



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- A minimum wage of £120 a week tied to the cost of living for all, including sick
- A socialist plan of production democratically drawn up and implemented by committees involving the

- trade unions. stewards, the unwaged and small business people.
- Opposition to the capitalist Common Market, the EEC. For a socialist United States of Europe as a step towards World Federation.
- 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, onethird 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 reversal of attacks on the trade unions.

1 1

- 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

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