

Militant

The Marxist Paper for Labour and Youth 30p

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After the election
what now for Labour?

Militant public rallies. See page 12.

Tories declare war on youth

NO to forced YTS labour

100,000 YOUNG SLAVE LABOURERS will be the Tories' first present to their big business backers.

The Queen's speech confirms that Unemployment Minister, Norman Fowler's plans to force youth onto slave labour schemes will be a top Tory priority.

Fowler aims to stop benefit payments for the 30,000 school-leavers who refuse to go on YTS—the Tories' infamous slave labour scheme. And 70,000 sixteen to eighteen year-olds who have left schemes or education for what he calls "negative reasons" will have their dole chopped too.

The 'freedom-loving' Tories are introducing conscription for youth!

If you are one of the thousands of sixteen to eighteen year-olds who find themselves on cheap labour schemes where they learn nothing, "Keep working or starve!" is the Tories' message to you.

If you refuse to go on a scheme in the first place, because you want to get a proper job, Fowl Norman will give you nothing.

Even if you are looking for a place on a scheme you will get less than you're entitled to now...and that pittance will be

By Tony Cross

stopped after six miserable months!

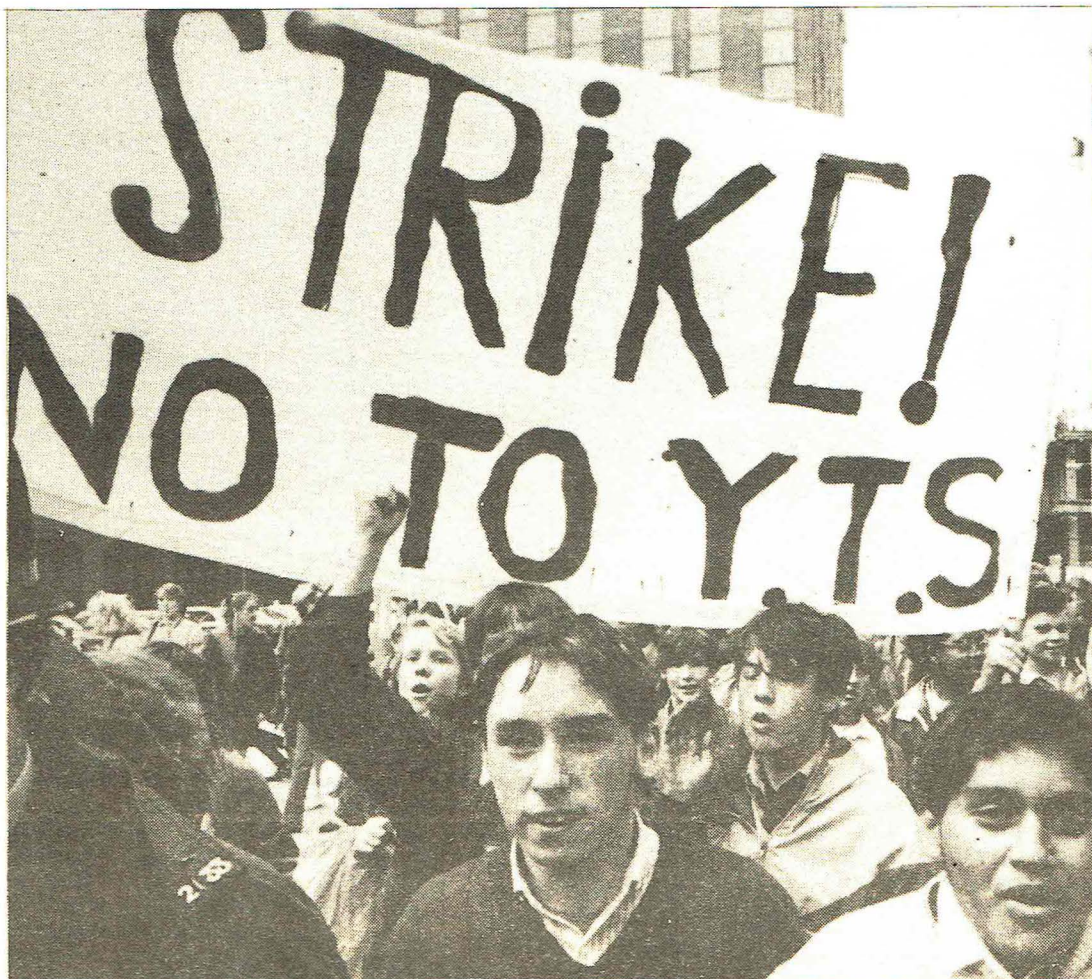
Of course Fowler's plans have their advantages...for the Tories and their millionaire friends.

The Tories will be able to knock a few thousand more off the unemployment statistics; their twentieth fiddle of the figures so far.

And the bosses will get more labour for which they don't have to pay a penny, and which they can throw back on the scrapheap after two years.

The Tories are spending £1 billion on this giant subsidy to big business. They've just launched a £2 million advertising campaign to try and clean up YTS's stinking reputation.

They won't convince the youth or the labour movement that this Tory poison is good for their health. The unions and the Labour Party must organise young workers and school students to fight against industrial conscription and for proper jobs for youth!



Striking school students on the march against Tory YTS plans.

Photo: John Smith (IFL)

Young Socialists' demands

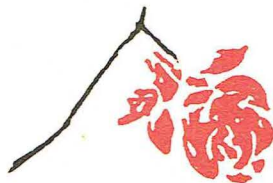
THE LABOUR PARTY Young Socialists (LPYS) have committed Labour's National Executive to opposing the Tories' conscription plans.

The LPYS have a proud record of fighting for proper jobs for youth. They demand:

- ☆ Trade union rights and rates of pay for all young workers
- ☆ Proper training and a guaranteed job
- ☆ Proper health and safety conditions
- ☆ A 35 hour week and five weeks' paid holiday a year.

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Militant

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CPSA stands firm on pay

THE TORIES have reduced civil servants' real wages by 30 per cent since 1979, and now their miserable wage offer of 4.25 per cent has led to the well supported series of regional strikes.

But with a renewed parliamentary majority it is clear that the Government feels well able to ride out this limited action. This was the lesson too of the 1981 pay campaign when, after 21 weeks of selective industrial action, the right wing leadership refused to take the next logical step of a ballot on all-out action.

The only way to win this campaign is to hold an all-out strike. This was the conclusion of the CPSA Broad Left NEC.

It is amazing then that, prior to the CPSA NEC deciding on an all-out strike ballot, the SCPS decided to call off their planned regional action. SCPS General Secretary, Leslie Christie, said: "We were aware that the CPSA vote was likely to create a split in the strategy".

This action will outrage SCPS members. The SCPS leaders have ended their campaign, using the CPSA decision as their excuse. In so doing they have given sustenance to the Tories.

It was the so called Communist Party controlled Executive Committee of the SCPS who were the architects of the present rolling programme of industrial action. It was they who persuaded the BL84 in CPSA to back this strategy with the result that it was accepted by the CPSA conference, where many delegates were hoodwinked by the dishonest arguments of the BL84/right wing alliance. They did not argue against the all out strike, but that the time was not right.

The *Militant* CPSA Conference Bulletin the following morning read: "We shall see in the weeks ahead whether the promises of BL84 and the CPSA/SCPS leadership that they will support an all-out strike if this further limited action does not win the claim is translated into action or whether, as many feel, it was all a smokescreen to hide their lack of confidence in the members and our bargaining power."

After 11 weeks of government intransigence, it could not be clearer that regional action is insufficient.

Now this cynical betrayal of CPSA members will have dramatic repercussions upon the leadership of the SCPS. Their members will want to know why a programme of action which they were told could be sustained between now and Christmas, has been unceremoniously dumped.

The *Morning Star* writes "The SCPS will now 'call the Government's bluff' that no further money is available while industrial action takes place." But the Tories have made clear there will be no further increase on basic rates, unless the unions agree to the divisive regional and merit pay.

The Tories have managed, with the almost certain collusion of some union leaders, to split the two unions, the better they hope to move in and inflict large scale damage to the Broad Left led CPSA. This is obvious from the massive avalanche of Tory media abuse being heaped upon the CPSA for daring to ballot its members on all out action, and accusing it of being responsible for splitting the unions. The NUM were vilified for NOT having a ballot now CPSA are attacked for having a ballot.

Rank and file SCPS members must be persuaded to put the maximum pressure on their leadership not to back down. If the CPSA ballot is successful CPSA will have to re-approach the SCPS leaders to reconsider a joint campaign. In fact all unions would have to be approached again. The local campaign committees must continue to function and build quickly for the all out strike.

According to the *Independent* of 24/6/87: "If there were strong membership support in the ballot, an all-out strike could have a big impact on Government operations and close benefit offices and computer centres and disrupt air and sea travel." Even if CPSA was out alone, in other words, it would have a mighty impact.

CPSA members facing poverty, claiming the very benefits they administer and working in appalling conditions, cannot wait for some union bureaucracy to tell them that 'the time is now right'. The time for all-out action is now and the ballot must go ahead.

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Labour right learn no lessons

AT ITS first meeting since Labour's election defeat, the Party's National Executive Committee held only a brief discussion, mainly on organisational aspects of the campaign.

General Secretary, Larry Whitty declared that it was a wonder to behold how the Tory vote had held up after a Labour campaign which had won such praise from the media. He conceded however that the tax question and fear of labour coming to power had allowed the Tories to run away with it towards the end of the campaign.

Michael Meacher said that the Tories had been lucky with the economy and that the natural working class was shrinking and being replaced by the white-collar and technical workers.

Eric Clarke of the miners' union attributed Labour's Scottish triumph to Labour being seen at the front of the struggles over Caterpillar and Gartcosh. He said that extra-Parliamentary action would have to be taken to build up the Labour party, but that we must not water down our policies.



Joan Maynard referred to the big swing to Labour in Liverpool, saying there are lessons we can't escape.

This was taken up by Linda Douglas of the LPYS, who pointed out that campaigns waged by right-wing candidates had not been as successful as those of the left even in the same regions.

In Yorkshire the biggest swings had been in Bradford. In the West Midlands in Birmingham where the right wing campaigned the results were not good, but in Coventry there was a

bigger swing, and it was the same with Liverpool and the rest of the North West.

In Liverpool they had concrete things to show for the fight they had waged for the working class. Their vote went up, whereas in places where they took the advice of the leadership to fight with a 'dented shield' and put the rates up they lost seats.

Sixty per cent of the electorate, she said, had made up their minds before the election was called, and that was the time when the NEC had been having witch-hunts and banning candidates.

'Distraction'

Although he had asked for there not to be a full political analysis of the election, Neil Kinnock responded to some of these points. It was a 'distraction', he said, to compare different results in different areas and compare what 'council X' or 'tendency Y' was doing.

Socialism, he argued would have to be achieved in stages. Eventually we would have to own and

control everything in society, but we have got to earn it first by showing that we are capable of running bits of it.

We must not be afraid of the modern working class, he said; even Marxists have argued that there is not one homogeneous working class.

On the three organisational questions currently being discussed, the youth organisation, the women's organisation and 'one member, one vote' for reselection of MPs, discussion was postponed until July. The deadline for comments on the future of the youth was extended until 31 July.

National Organiser Joyce Gould is to visit Liverpool to 'talk about' re-setting up the District Labour Party and it was announced that the Party has to cut its spending by £500,000 and there will be talks with staff about possible redundancies.

The National Constitutional Committee has expelled Neal Diplock, from Stevenage Labour Party. Decisions on other Stevenage members were deferred.

Coventry celebrates Labour victory

"I AM here to tell you that young people will not put up with another five years of Tory government" Kelly McSorley, a school student who had joined the Labour Party Young Socialists during the election campaign, told a post-election Militant meeting of over 100 in Coventry.

Steve Kirkwood (16) a part-time landscape gardener agreed: "The only future for the young is to get rid of Thatcher and fight for socialism, the only system that can provide us with real education, training and a job—things that should be a birthright".

Militant editor, Peter Taaffe, compared Labour's performance in Liverpool with the results in the West Midlands, with its large number of marginal seats. The right wing, who dominate this area, he said, had completely failed to mobilise support for Labour. The campaign in Coventry South East on the other hand, res-

ulted in Dave Nellist being re-elected with the biggest swing to Labour (5.2 per cent) in the region.

This had been achieved not only because Dave Nellist had built up a reputation for fighting for working people, but also because of the election campaign itself, a campaign to convince workers to vote Labour and support socialist ideas.

The Labour leadership's attitude to supposedly 'well-off' workers, he added, had proved mistaken. Roy Hattersley's pledge to increase taxes had had a particularly damaging effect on skilled workers in the West Midlands.

Class unity

Nationally the Tory vote amongst them increased from 38 to 42 per cent. The only way to win their support was, as Dave Nellist and other socialist candidates had done, to warn them that unless the class was united against Tory attacks, they too would be

dragged down into the abyss of unemployment.

Pete McNally, the election agent for Coventry South East, paid tribute to the workers who had sacrificed their time and money to campaign for Dave Nellist.

Tony Cross told the meeting that the Labour Party had filmed Nick Raynsford's campaign in Fulham, to show Party members how a campaign should be conducted. Unfortunately the fact that Raynsford lost meant that the nationwide release of this film was now unlikely.

Summing up, Peter Taaffe emphasised that while the election result was a setback for working people, within a short space of time the situation would change. Labour councils, tenants' associations and trade unions would need to organise a fight to defend the rights and gains of generations which the Tories would try to take away.

By a Militant reporter

Come to the Socialist Summer Camp

SATURDAY 8 August sees the beginning of the first week-long Workers' Education Group Socialist Summer Camp.

During the general election, issues affecting the labour movement were discussed on the doorsteps. Now, at the Summer Camp, there is the chance to debate more fully perspectives for socialism in Britain, the lessons of past trade union struggles and the interna-

tional revolutions of today and 70 years ago in Russia.

Two debates have been confirmed — with the Black Sections on "Black liberation and the struggle for socialism" and with the Labour Friends of Israel on "The Middle East — socialism or capitalist turmoil?" More debates on South Africa, Ireland and the national question are planned.

Ian Saville, the Marxist Magician, has agreed to perform at a club night.

All that is needed now are the campers. Activists in Bermondsey are taking advantage of the camp—a mini-bus has been organised for new Labour party supporters contacted during the general election.

Some women's sections have sponsored members to come to the camp, using money received from re-

turned delegation fees and pooled fares from the cancelled Labour Women's Conference.

Please write to the WEG when a coach or mini-bus has been organised from your area, or if your Labour Party or trade union branch has sponsored someone to come to the camp.

By Dave Kapian, Workers' Education Group.

**Socialist
summer
camp
8-15 August
Forest of Dean
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Labour councils face bankruptcy

Tories to crush local democracy

AFTER EIGHT years of destroying industry and stealing money from Labour local authorities, Thatcher has decided to 'do something' about the inner cities.

By Roger Shives

Her solution is to let market forces impose a low-pay, high-profit substitute for lost industrial jobs. Housing and other facilities are to depend on the thickness of your wallet.

The Tories blame Labour councils for inner-city dereliction. Environment Minister Nicholas Ridley berates councils for only building 'rows and rows of council houses'. American executives don't want to live in places like that! He criticised the North East for not having enough golf courses for Japanese businessmen.

To make sure the inner cities get their priorities right, housing action trusts will take over public sector housing in big tracts of land. New urban development corporations, unelected big business dominated quangos, will take over all planning duties,

housing, education and rates from elected local authorities in these areas.

They will base themselves on the London Docklands Development Corporation, which has created a playground for the rich and a treasure trove for top estate agents in the East End of London.

The idea mimics the free trade zones of countries like Sri Lanka, the Philippines and South Korea.

The theory is that jet-set affluence will drip down like coffee through a filter to the rest of us in jobs in shops and services. But these are poverty wage jobs; in the last 25 years, 600,000 full-time shop jobs have been replaced by part-time, 'flexible contract' employment. Docklands locals have been offered mainly part-time cleaning jobs.

Garden festival

Liverpool has seen private enterprise's solutions. A government task force brought forth a Garden Festival which came and went. The Merseyside Development Corporation spent millions of taxpayers' money on incentives for big business, to no avail.

Liverpool's disqualified Labour councillors did infinitely more than any Tory gimmick to regenerate the city, through new homes and new jobs. Former finance chairman Tony Byrne told *Militant*: "I would warn all people living in the inner cities and all local authority workers that this Tory scheme threatens housing services, and maintenance and direct labour jobs. It is ditching public accountability in favour of a quango."

The government plans to behead local authorities. The Tyne and Wear Development Corporation will get £160 million to develop private housing and hotels etc., while Newcastle and Gateshead councils will receive £17.2 million for inner-city development next year.

Many local authorities face a financial crisis, following their failure to fight alongside Liverpool city council for more government resources. The District Auditor has resurrected the threat of surcharge for councils which delayed setting a rate in 1985.

Eight London Labour boroughs together face a £500 million gap in their budgets which they had tried to put off through 'creative accounting'. They



started deals where assets like library books and bathroom fittings were sold to investment companies and then rented back.

The money was to be used to bridge the budget gap, but government pressure has made the investment firms withdraw.

Local councils face being

usurped by quangos and being bled to death by government cut-backs. If Labour local authorities do not want to preside over massive job losses and cuts in services, they will have to mobilise for the biggest fight back in their history.

Liverpool City Council

No retreat on programme

THE BATTLE-LINES for Liverpool City Council were drawn the day after the general election. Lord Young's speech about money 'wasted' on Liverpool made it clear there would be no concessions from the Tories.

Next year's budget will have a gap of something like £56 million, which would mean a 30 per cent rates rise and £2 minimum rent rise to fill it.

The Labour Group must combat any attempt by officers to undermine the Urban Regeneration Strategy, through which the house-building programme was co-ordinated. They must defend the two units which pushed the strategy through, the Central Strategy Unit co-ordinating the departments and the Support Unit as a political campaign body.

Under the administration of the disqualified 47 councillors, Liverpool had the greatest political control of any authority. They were determined to carry out the programme and not be bogged down by bureaucracy. But at a seminar for new councillors, Chief Officers warned the councillors that their first duty was to uphold the law, not carry out election manifestos.

Campaign

Some of the 'lefts' are now falling for this line. Even some of the right wing of the 47 are beginning to believe the myth that they did not really know what they were doing. Yet the present Labour Group



Moving into new home built by Liverpool Council—building must continue.

were elected precisely because of the road the 47 took. The movement will not allow people who are in positions, some of them imposed councillors, to forget the programme of the District Labour Party (DLP) on which they have been elected. And neither will they let them forget the massive rates rises and cuts carried by the Liberals and Tories before 1983.

The priority for the Labour Group must now be to rebuild the campaign with local authority trade unions and Labour Parties, around the DLP. While the DLP is likely to be reformed by September, it must be fully reinstated, not in a trimmed-down version with less rank-and-file par-

ticipation.

Unfortunately at the last meeting of the Labour group, on which the right wing now hold all the positions, a resolution calling for its immediate reinstatement was not allowed to be discussed.

Surcharged

Now the election is over, new efforts must be concentrated on the plight of the surcharged 47 councillors. A video film is being made to highlight the history of their struggle against Thatcher, which will be available for showing around the movement.

The NUM President, Arthur Scargill, has promised

to circulate the appeal to every NUM branch. NUM members must follow this up by committing their branches to donate regularly.

The TGWU conference will be discussing a resolution to support the continuation of their great assistance.

Facilities at the council buildings should be available next week to assist the 47. For speakers, appeal forms, etc. please contact the Liverpool 47 Defence Fund, c/o Merseyside Trades Council, Unemployed Resource Centre, Hardman Street, Liverpool L1 9AX

By a Militant reporter

Manchester

Thousands of Council workers face sack

JUST ONE week after the general election, the Labour leaders of Manchester City Council dropped a bombshell on the city. According to their report, between 8,000 and 16,000 jobs will have to go from the local authority workforce, and rents will have to be massively increased, if the council is to balance its books this year.

The effects of Tory cuts have left the city with an £80-£100 million gap in its finances, even after the mortgaging of £200 million of council property.

The crisis implied by the Tory cuts was staved off in the last two years by eating up all the council's assets built up in the post-war period.

Now there is no 'collateral' left to entice the bankers into further loans to keep the city afloat. The 'left' leaders of Manchester council, who have attempted to dodge and weave the Tories, rather than confront them, have now turned to propose vicious attacks on jobs and services. Already they have jacked up rates by 20 per cent and carried out £6 million of cuts in this year's budget.

The immediate result was a loss, in the local elections, of nine seats which Labour had won in 1986.

The tragedy is that had council leader Graham Stringer announced the consequences of these Tory cuts before the general election, rather than banking on a Labour victory, these facts could have swung the whole of Greater Manchester to

Labour.

Instead, he has descended to the current debacle where the manual unions have been invited for discussion and promised that the main burden of the job losses will be in administration, ie. will face NALGO, NUT, NATFHE, and some NUPE members.

Disaster

The proposed strategy will prove a disaster for workers and for Labour. Immediate meetings of the party and the local authority unions must be convened to refuse to accept one lost job or drop in services and any further increase in rates and rents.

The Tories have no mandate in Manchester; they have just lost their last MP in the city and have a miniscule representation in the council.

The Labour group should convene a conference of the whole of the Manchester Labour and trade union movement to prepare resistance to the cuts. As a first step the local authority unions must show their determination with a one-day strike and mass protest leading to a city-wide 24 hour general strike, to draw in all layers of the city.

The government has taken £250 million from the city coffers to pay for tax reductions for the rich. The bill to balance the books must be put at the government's doorstep.

By John Byrne, Manchester City Councillor

Fight for party democracy

WITHIN DAYS of the election, the press was reporting that Neil Kinnock is determined to try to push through 'one member, one vote' for the selection of Labour Party candidates.

A Consultation Paper, with eleven different options, has been sent to Party branches and affiliated bodies. Responses have to be submitted by 31 July. It will then go to Party conference in October.

Some Labour right-wing MPs hope that 'one member, one vote' would swing the balance of the Party back to the right, by loosening their accountability to what they dismiss as 'unrepresentative hard-left cliques' in control of the general management committees (GMCs) which select candidates at present.

Most of these MPs originally opposed the automatic reselection of MPs. Their talk of 'extending democracy' is a smokescreen to hide their wish for just the reverse, to be less subject to democratic scrutiny.

At present ward branches and affiliated union branches submit nominations and send delegates to the GMC, which first draws up a shortlist, which must include a sitting MP, and then holds a selection conference. Every member does have a vote in the nomination of candidates and the election of delegates to the GMC.

Advantages

This system has two advantages. Firstly it involves the trade unions directly, in a way which many of the proposed options (1-4) for 'one member, one vote' do not. Other options (5-6), for an electoral college, would preserve the role of the affiliated unions and give every individual member a vote. This appears to be the policy adopted, on the Chairman's casting vote, by the executive of the Transport and General Workers' Union.

The second advantage is that it gives the power to select to a GMC which meets regularly so that it can receive reports from the MP, question him or her and check that he or she is carrying out the pledges on which he or she was selected.

None of the new proposals would preserve this continuing accountability. An MP could argue that since he or she was not selected by the GMC he or she was only answerable to 'the membership', who would only come together

By Pat Craven

to call their MP to account once every five years.

The right hope that 'one member, one vote' would lead to the selection of 'more moderate' candidates. They will be expecting and would undoubtedly receive, endorsements in the Tory press from rabid columnists like Woodrow Wyatt and Frank Chapple, who already intervene to back right-wingers in union elections.

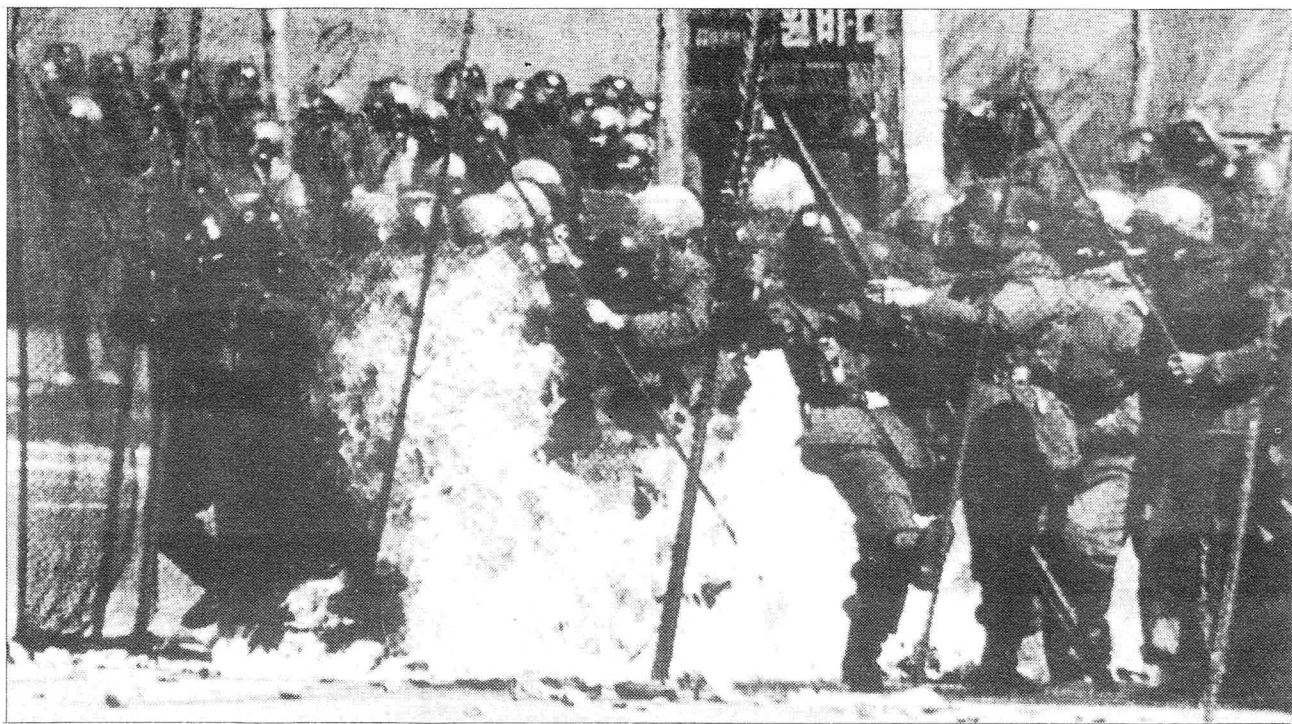
They would try to play off the less active layers of the membership against those who do most of the work in the Party.

This danger would be still greater if the option of postal balloting were adopted, which would deny members the chance to hear the candidates views and ask questions. But since the Paper says that "whichever procedure is adopted, a form of exhaustive ballot should be used", it is hard to conceive how it could be done by post, since this can involve as many as six separate ballots. The time and the cost would be enormous. It is essential that any form of selection involves a meeting for the candidates to speak and be questioned.

One highly dangerous proposal which is smuggled into the Paper suggests that "the NEC shall be responsible, after each election, for determining the timescale when selections and reselections shall take place, rather than the present 18-month rule". This would remove the automatic right to reselect and give the NEC power to postpone selections for political reasons.

Although the present system (option 10) needs improving, especially by more involvement of workers in the union branches and the workplaces, it is better than the proposed alternatives and should be backed.

But whatever procedure is adopted, the Party rank and file will fight resolutely to defend the principle that MPs who are elected to represent workers must always be answerable to those who put them there and liable to deselection if they fail to carry out the policies on which they stood.



Revolutionary crisis grips South Korea

TWO WEEKS of daily pitched battles between thousands of fearless students and youth and the riot police; 65,000 students demonstrating in 45 universities on just one day; 10,000 office workers and middle class marching to support a student occupation of a cathedral in the capital Seoul; 30 riot police captured and disarmed by the students—these are the undeniable signals of a revolutionary crisis that is gripping South Korea.

Like the other 'miracle' economies of South East Asia (a region much admired by Thatcher when she visited it), capitalism has found no place for democratic rights. A virtual military dictatorship is presided over by President Chun, who himself came to power by means of a coup. Yet he was Reagan's first foreign guest when he entered the White House seven years ago.

For the 'miracle' South Korean economy was propelled forward by American investment and foreign aid, to construct a counterweight to the Stalinist regime in North Korea. 40,000 American troops are still stationed in this strategically important country.

Industry

South Korea is no backward third world country. Thirty years of heavy foreign investment and rapid growth have transformed it. Two thirds of the population live in the towns, including Seoul, the world's eighth city. There is a modern industrial base, giving South Korea a GNP per head greater than Portugal's.

By Jeremy Birch

With the continuing revolution in the Philippines undoubtedly encouraging the South Korean youth, American imperialism is now frightened that another of its proteges faces overthrow, and US investment and interests put under threat.

The US has desperately been pushing the South Korean dictatorship to concede discussions with the opposition parties, about a controlled move towards some more democracy. The student revolt was sparked off by Chun's abandonment of constitutional talks, and the declaration that another former military leader—Roh Tae Woo—would be his successor as presidential candidate in December. With the rigged electoral college that decides the presidency, this guarantees him victory. The opposition will boycott the presidential vote, demanding direct elections.

Under American pressure, talks are now to resume with some opposition figures and there may be an amnesty for those arrested

during the recent upheavals. But there is no commitment on the crucial question of the method of election for the presidency. With a genuine democratic vote, Roh would now be defeated.

The strategy seems to be to wean away the more moderate opposition leader, Kim Young Sam, who is himself clearly worried by the sweep of the movement. He has warned that concessions must be made: "Otherwise I do not see how we can prevent the people from coming out on the streets and voicing their demands."

Self-confidence

That is the dilemma for the South Korean ruling class and their American backers—how to make democratic concessions to defuse the crisis without enormously increasing the self-confidence of the masses, who will then push ahead with more far reaching demands, to avenge a generation of repression.

Meanwhile the other prominent opposition figure, Kim Dae Jung, who supports trade union rights and has voiced opposition to the big monopolies and to the presence of US troops, remains under house arrest.

Up to now the industrial working class has had only a limited involvement in the



President Chan.

struggle. Unions and strikes are banned in South Korea, and there is no party of labour. The economic success has been built on the sweated labour of a heavily oppressed workforce. The students have fought on a number of occasions against repression, particularly in 1960 and 1980, suffering defeat at heavy cost. Economic progress has at least opened education opportunities. In a country where two thirds are under 30, there is a higher proportion in higher education than in Britain, and growing graduate unemployment.

But the student movement on its own could exhaust itself, while the government makes modest concessions. They must turn to the workers, even helping to organise them into action. The workers in shipbuilding, the car industry and textiles have the real social weight in South Korean society.

Only a revolutionary struggle of the workers and youth, to remove the dictatorship and capitalism, could guarantee basic rights to vote, to free assembly and to strike, within a socialist democracy.

Asian workers reject defectors

DURING THE election, the national and local press carried stories about the problems of Roy Hattersley in his Birmingham Sparkbrook Labour Party.

In this inner-city area, with 40 per cent unemployment, the right wing in the Labour Party have traditionally done deals with the so-called 'community leaders' of the Asian population to get the 'Asian vote' out for Labour.

Many of these 'leaders' are either small businessmen—supermarket or clothing factory owners—or religious leaders like the Muslim Imams.

When the Tories in Sparkbrook opportunistically put up an Asian candidate, Nazir Khan, four or five Imams from the Muslim Centre called on their followers to "vote Muslim", ie vote Tory. This was followed by some Asian Labour Party members also publicly switching over.

One of these was Abdul Rashid, Chairman of the Sparkhill Branch, who took with him 30 or 40 other members. (Though this should be seen in the context of a Party that has 40/50 applicants each month, most of whom do not keep up their dues, so that the party is broke).

Abdul Rashid, who owns two supermarkets, is a thwarted MP. In a completely unprincipled manner, he first opposed black sections, then when he realised that Hattersley also opposed them, he switched to supporting them to try to get support to replace Hattersley.

Yet he gave his reason for voting Tory the fact that Sparkbrook Labour Party had allowed back into membership three black section supporters who had previously been expelled!

Hattersley and his right-wing have for years patronisingly relied on Asian workers to vote Labour, without campaigning among them with the ideas of socialism. Instead he has relied on these middle-class Asians to mobilise the vote for them.

They still voted overwhelmingly for Labour, but these events are a clear warning for the future.

By Bill Mullins

Militant International Review

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Labour right fail election test

In past elections capitalist commentators, and with them the right wing of the Labour Party, have searched desperately for evidence to underline the "demise of the left". But in all the painstaking examination of the electoral entrails little or no mention is made of the outstanding results for the left.

Little wonder! Set them down alongside the dismal results for the right wing and the facts leap out to show that the left did immeasurably better.

The election was a laboratory test between the left, particularly the Marxists, and the right. Last week we commented in detail about the figures for Broadgreen and Liverpool. The stand of the City council had a spin off effect throughout the whole of the Merseyside area. A colossal swing of 10 per cent was recorded in Merseyside. This was the highest swing to Labour of any city in Britain!

In North Yorkshire the Bradford seats had the highest swings to Labour. Pat Wall recorded a 9.9 per cent swing from the SDP to Labour. This was not only a magnificent result but was against the background of a six year campaign of personal vilification.

Leaders of the labour movement leapt to the defence of Dennis Healey when he was attacked by the Sun. But where were they when Pat Wall not once but dozens of times was abused by the same capitalist commentators. On the day of the election the Sun carried a photograph demanding that Pat Wall be defeated.

Yorkshire

Not only Pat Wall but also Max Madden recorded a 13.94 per cent swing from the SDP to Labour and in Bradford South there was a 3.35 per cent swing from the SDP to Labour.

Votes for Labour increased with the general class polarisation which was evident throughout Yorkshire. But they were not on the scale of the swings in Bradford.

Dennis Healey in Leeds East recorded a 3.86 per cent swing from the Tories to Labour. Merlyn Rees in Leeds South and Morley recorded a 4.79 per cent swing from the SDP to Labour.

But the greatest contrast was undoubtedly between right and left in the West Midlands. It was here that the Labour leaders had explained before the election that the contest would be either won or lost. And it was here that their campaign proved to be the most disastrous.

Not afterwards but in many articles before and during the election *Militant* warned about the calamitous consequences of Hattersley's and Kinnock's stand on the tax issue.

The Labour leadership invoked opinion polls to show that their proposal to take back Lawson's 2p cut in tax in the March budget was supported by a majority.

But as Ivor Crewe has pointed out in the *Guardian* on June 16th: "When answering a survey on important issues respondents

By Peter Taaffe and Kevin Parslow

think of public problems. When entering the polling booth they think of family fortunes."

He goes on "Prosperity is not an issue or a problem but a blessing, and by a decisive majority the public regarded the Conservatives as more likely to bestow it. Here quite simply lies the key to Conservative victory."

In other words while publicly supporting the idea of tax increases in order to help the unemployed privately because of the stand of the Labour leadership the majority thought that they and their families would be better off under the Tories.

There is of course an objective reason for this. The pre-election credit boom and the rise in living standards for those who have a job played an important part.

But this feeling of "economic optimism" could have been shattered if Labour had really explained the economic catastrophe which faces most families in Britain on the basis of a continuation of capitalism.

"Economic prosperity" and the famous "property owning democracy" were the pillars upon which the Tory campaign rested. In Coventry South East they proved to be chickens legs. Here the battle was taken to the Tories on the door step with marvellous results for Labour.

Thus 66 per cent of those living in Coventry South East own their own houses. As we pointed out last week almost 72 per cent of those living in Broadgreen are home-owners.

In Coventry South East a special leaflet went to every house owner which amongst other things showed that workers who are made unemployed would not receive payment of interest on their mortgage for the first six months they are out of work.

Linked to the idea of nationalising the banks and insurance companies and cutting mortgage repayments this undoubtedly had a big effect on this section

of the working class.

At the same time a detailed explanation of the tax bonanza reaped from the working class by the Tory government since 1979 and the new taxes which will follow after the election were rammed home.

This resulted in enormous dividends for Labour in Coventry. Dave Nellist recorded the biggest swing in the West Midlands, of 5.2 per cent from the Tories to Labour.

Again this had a spin off effect in all the Coventry seats, which also recorded the biggest swings from the Tories to Labour. Tony Benn and Dave Nellist addressed a rally of 750 which attracted workers from the whole of Coventry.

Contrast this with the dismal performance with the right wing in the Birmingham area.

In the 12 Birmingham constituencies there was a 1.1% per cent swing to Labour. In Northfield, a key marginal seat, where the candidate was the right wing EETPU guru John Spellar, there was an actual swing of 0.34 per cent from Labour to the Tories.

Birmingham

In Hattersley's constituency there was a 1.59 per cent swing from the Tories to the SDP! In Smallheath, a seat also held by a right winger, Dennis Howell, there was a swing of 0.81 per cent swing from the Tories to Labour.

In Perry Barr, where Jeff Rooker is the MP and a bitter critic of *Militant*, there was a swing from Labour to the Liberals of 2.79 per cent! In Hodgehill there was a swing of 1.57 per cent from the Liberals to the Tories.

These defeats cannot be ascribed to the "home-owning" and "skilled worker" factors. These were just as much in evidence in Coventry South East as in Birmingham. And yet the swing in Coventry was more than three times that of Birmingham.

In searching for excuses the right wing have enmeshed themselves in a whole series of contradictions. For four years they have attempted to convince the Labour Party that it is necessary to move to the right, to the so-called middle ground, in order to win the middle class.

Yet the "yuppiefactor", this very same middle class



Kinnock's centre-piece role in a smoother media-orientated campaign has won much media praise but the results show that fighting socialist campaigns won more votes.

who were supposed to have been won to Labour by "moderates" like Nick Raynsford in Fulham, are now invoked as the reasons for his defeat. No doubt we will hear similar tales from the right seeking to explain their dismal performance in Birmingham and the rest of the West Midlands.

As significant is the turn out in the Birmingham area. In Hattersley's seat it was 63.5 per cent! In Howell's seat of Smallheath it was 60.58 per cent! Contrast this with the almost 73 per cent turn out in Coventry South East and the 75 per cent turn out in Broadgreen.

In Bermondsey it is true that the turn out was only 65 per cent. But this seat was not held by a sitting Labour MP. John Bryan fought heroically and with some success in increasing the turn out by 3 per cent. He convinced workers that it was necessary to turn out and vote Labour.

If the policies of the right wing were so attractive to working people why didn't the working class flood out to vote in Sparkbrook, Smallheath and other bastions of the right in the West Midlands. Roy Hattersley earned the undying hostility of Liverpool workers for his disgraceful comments about "literal corruption" in criticising the City council in the past.

But what a contrast it is between the performance of the Liverpool labour movement and the right wing dominated Birmingham Labour Party. In the 12 constituencies which make up the Birmingham area there was 14,425 extra votes, an average of 1,202 per constituency. In the six Liverpool constituencies there was 26,615 extra votes, a 4,436 increase in votes per constituency.

This is almost four times the increase in the Labour vote compared to Birmingham and if Liverpool had 12 constituencies there



Pat Wall's fighting campaign mobilised youth

would have been 53,232 extra votes compared to 14,425 in Birmingham.

Could there be a greater contrast between the successful methods of the left, particularly of the Marxists, and the right wing leaders of the Labour Party? We eagerly await the comments of Roy Hattersley and his right wing agent Peter Kilfoyle about the Merseyside results.

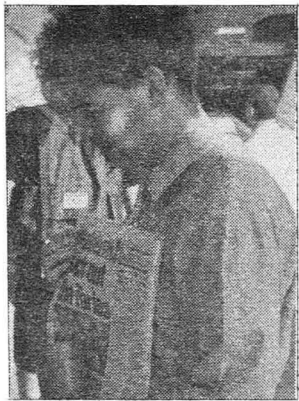
Lessons

There is not a crumb of comfort to be found in the general election results for the right wing. They reinforce in a quite crushing and massive fashion that only if the labour movement adopts a clear socialist programme will it mobilise working people and draw behind it the middle sections of society.

The evidence of the polls, so often the only criterion of the right wing, must be used in the debate opening up in the Labour



Liverpool Young Socialists



Tory smear campaign

SMEARS AGAINST the left have once again been an essential ingredient of the Tories' campaign tactics.

By Lynn Walsh

Most visible were the massive adverts, placed in national papers by Saatchi and Saatchi, which attempted to pillory a number of left—or allegedly left—Labour candidates as dangerous 'subversives'. Aimed particularly at marginal constituencies, this was a crude effort to scare wavering middle-class voters and prevent potential defectors from voting Labour.

Supplying the Saatchis with quotes—most of them misquoted or distorted, all of them wrenched out of context—was one Peter Shipley. A 'researcher' at various times for both Tory Central Office and Thatcher's Policy Unit, Shipley was responsible during this campaign for running Tebbit's purpose-built smear-dispensing machine.

Before taking up his full-time Tory post in 1977, Shipley was associated with an 'Anti-Subversion Conference' organised in 1970 by Geoffrey Stewart-Smith (who ran the right-wing Foreign Affairs Research Institute, 'British Chapter of the World Anti Communist League') and Ian Grieg of the Monday Club, the right-wing Tory grouping which promotes racist policies.

The precursor of this year's Tory campaign guide, *More Than Militant*, was Shipley's 180-page diatribe against *Militant*, distributed by Tory Central Office during the 1983 campaign but printed under the name of Foreign Affairs Publishing. Shipley denied that it was ammunition for a 'Red Scare' campaign against Labour.

But Stewart-Smith admitted that 'it had been rushed out for the campaign.'

While at Central Office, Shipley also wrote an attack on the fascist National



Sell Militant

Fight back

ALTHOUGH THE election is over it is vital that all Militant supporters ensure the thousands of people who bought our paper during the election are turned into regular readers.

Don't forget that Thatcher won the election in 1983 only to be confronted nine months later by the beginnings of the miners' strike which convulsed British society. Building the sales and regular readers of Militant is the only way Marxists will be in a position to intervene and decisively influence coming events in the labour and trade union movement.

The brilliant sales during the general election prove that the estate and street sales are extremely productive. Use the summer months to get the paper known on the streets in your area. Better still why not write a feature on local working class life to boost your sales. Don't hesitate to phone us for advice on how to organise such a feature.

Front, published by the right-wing Institute For the Study of Conflict, a private think-tank which is closely associated with military intelligence and the secret security services.

Despite Shipley's criticisms of the NF, however, it was claimed by the anti-fascist magazine *Searchlight* that Shipley had a past connection with the NF. "In the late 1960s, while a student at York University, he was listed as an NF member, and given the membership number 8699. The NF registered his membership from his parents' Leicester address." Shipley, however, denied the allegation, and told *Searchlight* that he had "no knowledge of how he came to be listed as a member."

This month, Shipley again told the *Guardian* (6 June) that the entry on the NF membership list "must have been a mistake." He said he had "no sympathies in that direction at all."

However, the *Guardian* also reported that "for a

brief time after university he worked at Rank Xerox. It is known that the wife of the then director of personnel was a serving officer with the security service, MI5."

This is not the only connection with MI5. During the 1983 general election campaign, Shipley played a key role in the Tory campaign to smear CND leaders as "communists" and "subversives", part of their effort to discredit Labour's defence policy.

Political interests

One of the MI5 agents employed in the anti-CND operation, Cathy Massiter, resigned in protest at the methods being used and ludicrously justified on grounds of "national security."

"National interest" really means "the political interests of the Tory Party." Even a former Tory party official, Mr Piers Woolley, says that the Tories' 1983 propaganda

drive was based on "attacking people rather than discussing issues...The nature of the campaign was information, disinformation, and on many occasions, character assassination."

Supervised ultimately by Thatcher herself, the propaganda machine operated through a network of committees involving Tory ministers, Tory MPs, and civil servants.

Material from MI5 was fed, through DS19 (a special unit in the Defence Ministry set up by Tory ministers), to the Tory party dirty tricks machine. But Central Office also relied on a number of other outside bodies.

One was the British Atlantic Committee. Supposedly a non-political, pro-NATO charity, its right-wing line made it virtually a Tory-party front organisation. In the period before the election, the Committee's grant from the Foreign Office was boosted from £17,000 to £47,000.

Another body, far more sinister, was the ludicrously

named Coalition For Peace Through Security, financed by the US Heritage Foundation, an ultra-right-wing body which put at least \$60,000 into the Coalition.

The Coalition churned out political 'dirt' against CND and Labour activists, disrupted CND activities, and produced 'black propaganda' (distorted material masquerading as genuine CND statements).

During this year's campaign, however, it has been involved in a new exercise. Under the auspices of 'Policy Research Associates', financed from undisclosed sources, they are running a media monitoring unit to police the TV screens for 'media bias'.

Slavish media

The full story of this activity is yet to emerge. But clearly Thatcher and her cohorts have set out to obtain the same slavish, shamelessly biased and mendacious coverage from BBC TV and ITV as they have long been used to from the millionaires' press.

One measure of the effectiveness of Tory pressure was the BBC's decision to postpone yet another programme in the series 'Secret Society'. It was Duncan Campbell's exposure of the secret expenditure on the 'Zircon' military spy satellite which led to the Special Branch raid—the orders of Tory ministers—on the BBC.

The programme banned just before the election was the episode which exposed all the details of the Tories' dirty propaganda offensive described here!

Labour must expose the ruthless work for the Tories carried out by intelligence services and their mercenaries. Above all, Labour must highlight the class interests which the Tory propaganda machine is used to defend. The only effective way of answering Tory lies is to carry the truth to millions of workers through the mass campaigning activity of the labour movement.

LEFT and RIGHT

Tory 'Christianity'

AT A public meeting in Tuebrook ward, attended by 120 people, Terry Fields mocked the Tories' hypocritical embrace of 'Christian' ideals:

"You should see the ceremony of the state opening of Parliament" he explained, "because at the back of the procession there comes the House chaplain, with his little three-cornered hat... He comes in and blesses the house and says a few prayers... But they only give him five minutes before they throw him out and then they close down schools, close down hospitals, close factories, throw thousands on the dole, throw millions into poverty, break up families...."

House of Commons

The new intake of MPs after the election will need to find themselves accommodation. Of course, the Tory side have well-lined pockets

so their houses won't be at all common.

They could follow the example of Michael Heseltine whose family home, Thenford House in Oxfordshire is described as a Palladian mansion set in 400 acres and is valued at around £2 million. He has a four storey Georgian house in Belgravia worth around £800,000. His third home on Exmoor is described as a cottage but even that has a valuation of £250,000.

Former MP Nicholas Fairburn has a home to retire to. 13th century Fordel Castle is valued at £250,000. A bit cheap for a castle but there are a lot of redundant Tory MPs up there so the market price has gone down.

David Owen bought his Limehouse property for £3000 twenty years ago. It is now worth £750,000. He also bought an ex vicarage in Wiltshire for £7000 and the good Lord has rewarded him pushing the property's price up to £300,000.

TORY ALMS POLICY

10.43 million people living on or below supplementary benefit levels.

1387 pensioners died of hypothermia or cold-related illnesses in 1985.

Prescription charges have risen 1000 per cent since 1979.

The Tories spend £18,000 million on arms every year.



Class politics

TORY VICTORY in the election promises a lot for the wealthiest section of society. Their children's schools are promised the right to opt out of the state system, (if they are in it) and become selective and even free fee paying establishments.

The rest of the population will be left to fight over ever smaller resources where the government will allocate money according to how many parents 'choose' to send their children to a school.

Eight years of Tory cuts already make it hard to keep up basic standards. The lessons of the implementation of GCSE show the problems of underfunding.

Certified unfit...

IT IS NOW examination time for many thousands of school students. Exams are even more important when mass unemployment threatens to herd a large proportion of school leavers into cheap labour schemes like the YTS.

Last year, Liverpool had the fourth highest 'O' level results in the country. Young people see education as a possible escape route from the dole queues.

But at the same time, most working class youth leave school without any formal qualifications. 'O' levels cater for the top 15 per cent of school leavers; the average achievement is CSE Grade 4 in an examination graded from 1-5.

Resources

Improved results need improvements in resources. Liverpool's sacked Labour councillors spent £30 million more than the Tories said they should on education. That is one of the reasons the Tory courts threw them out.

This will be the last year of the 'O' level and the CSE. Next year, the new General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) will replace them. The GCSE was announced

in 1984 and bulldozed through in two and a half years when such arrangements usually take twice as long.

The new syllabuses have more central government control than the old exams, so they will be even more geared to the wishes of big business than to a decent education for working class people.

On the surface, GCSE appears to be replacing the old two tier exam system (where GCEs were 'superior' to CSEs) with a common system. Not so; there will be two types of paper, one 'hard' and one 'easy'. Selection for these comes early, at the start of the fourth year at secondary school. There will be virtually no chance of taking both papers as could be done with 'O' levels and CSEs in the past.

Coursework research by the student outside school hours, accounts for 20 per cent of the total marks in examinations in all subjects. It will severely handicap night school students, overwhelmingly working class people who work during the day, and others with families who cannot study during the day.

There is an opportunity to pass a GCSE without coursework to help such

Education in Thatcher's third term



Photo: Dave Sinclair.

Education Secretary, Kenneth Baker, arguing with teachers in Bradford during the election.



London school students protesting at compulsory redeployment of teachers.

students but this is recorded on the student's certificate, making it in effect, a second class GCSE.

Many parents and workers would take the one year GCSE where two years' work is crammed into one. With the emphasis on coursework, they would have to take fewer subjects.

Twelve hours

But the most sinister effect of the new GCSE will be on students who study under the twelve hour rule. If you are unemployed you can claim benefit as long as you are not studying for more than 12 hours a week. The DHSS may well construe a GCSE course as being more than 12 hours study. Thousands of students risk either losing benefit or stopping their education.

This new exam, which gears education even more to the wishes of big business, has gone through with very muted opposition from unions in teaching and local government and from the NUS.

The Further Education Labour Students, the national School Students' Union and rank and file union activists must build a mass movement to take education out of the hands of big business. They only want a formal education grading system to justify their throwing workers on to the scrapheap. We need a system geared to the needs and aspirations of working class people and the real needs of society.

By Emy Onuora

(Liverpool NALGO Education department, personal capacity)

...and underfunded

THE NATIONAL Association of Schoolmasters and Women Teachers have concluded from a survey that most schools are inadequately equipped and prepared to meet the initial demands of GCSE courses.

They point to lack of funds, understaffing, insufficient training and preparation, as well as shortages of equipment, textbooks etc.

In theory, the examination and the new courses should encourage all teachers to have greater involvement with, and control over a student's work.

In theory, it should encourage the tackling of practical tasks and the understanding of real problems rather than abstract knowledge. But gross underfunding makes a mockery of such aims.

The new exam would need more resources to cope with assessment, preparation and practical and oral work. But one in five of the local education authorities they looked at admitted they had taken money from other areas of their budget such as library funds, playing fields or had made unspecified cuts.

The courses' demands for more practical work are likely to be dished in many areas. A Sheffield science teacher said they could do no more practical work than for 'O' level because the one overworked lab steward would not be able to cope.

Only six per cent of authorities who answered the union's survey had employed more teachers in time for the GCSE's first year. In fact, falling school rolls and local government cutbacks led to reductions in many areas.

There were grave shortages of the proper textbooks due to financial problems. Almost one in three English teachers mentioned a lack of basic stationery.

A third term of Thatcher means more underfunded terms for teachers and the 14-15 year olds who are the guinea pigs of this rushed and underfinanced experiment.

The unions must fight for restoration of all cuts, for a programme of teacher training to bring class sizes down to 20 and a massive programme of school building and refurbishment. Then we could see real improvements in education.

By a Militant reporter

Fighting Fund

Area	Received	% of target achieved	Target
1 Scotland East	864		2800
2 Scotland West	1047		3500
3 London	2754		9400
4 Northern	1347		4600
5 East Midlands	872		3250
6 Wales	1236		4850
7 West Midlands	1206		4850
8 Yorkshire	1934		8450
9 Eastern	612		3050
10 Merseyside	1375		7500
11 Southern	519		3100
12 South West	237		1900
13 Manchester	431		4050
14 South East	211		2250
15 National	11331		6950
Total	25975		70000

Preparing for new battles

DURING THE election campaign *Militant* sellers in Bradford were surprised to see Tory candidate for Bradford North, Geoff Lawler, outside their regular sale at Whiteheads.

Lawler was trying to con workers with a leaflet which said one thing in English and totally the opposite in Urdu.

But as the shift changed, no one stopped to talk to Lawler who had to watch workers queue up for copies of *Militant* and drop at least £5 in the collecting tins. A shortly to be redundant Tory MP left with the sound of cash for socialism ringing in his ears. Such support could be

seen in every part of the country. £65 was collected in small donations in ERSKINE in West Scotland. In Bristol almost £20 came in from collecting tins on the streets. £41 was raised in Fife in the last week.

Turn the anger at a third sentence of Thatcherism into support for Marxist ideas. We only have six weeks left this quarter to reach the full fighting fund target. This would be a great victory for workers who anticipate many battles against the Tories.

Make this possible by rushing in your donations and by organising a sale of *Militant* and a collection at your workplace and

amongst your friends. Why don't you draw up a 'hit list' of everybody who has read *Militant* or supported Labour in the election and ask them for a donation. And make sure you ask for the solidarity price of £1.

Thanks to Martin Quinn a SOGAT member from Nottingham who donated £60. David Watts from Hull sent in £19.80 and Tracey and Mark Cowley from Liverpool gave £5. Thanks also to Mark Gallant, who paid off his £50 IOU from LPYS conference and Julie Donovan who paid another £100 of the £400 she pledged.

The socialists

MARXIST CANDIDATES did not get the praise from the media that Labour's national campaign received after the voting was over. Nevertheless, they achieved spectacular results, in the face of dirty opposition campaigns and national press attacks.

The labour movement's traditional methods of campaigning on the streets and at the workplaces were combined with genuinely useful innovations. Thousands of workers were won over to voting Labour and many got active in the movement. Here, participants give accounts of three such campaigns.

5.2 per cent swing to Labour

"ASK YOURSELF, does Dave Nellist represent you and your family's interests?" said an election campaign leaflet put out by Alan Grant, the Tory candidate in Coventry South East.

By Tony Cross

On polling day, 17,969 voters answered Grant's question in the affirmative and voted Labour. The red scare campaigns run by both the Tories and the Alliance rebounded on them. Both parties' votes dropped over 1200 while Dave Nellist's majority almost trebled.

Winning the Midlands was crucial to Labour in this election. With Coventry South East's 5.2 per cent swing, the Birmingham Tory marginals of Yardley, Northfield and Selly Oak would

have been won. In Northfield, where Labour's candidate was right-wing witch-hunter, John Spellar, there was actually a small swing to the Tories!

The constantly repeated argument that being on the left loses votes was conclusively disproved by the Coventry result. Dave Nellist's opponents continually associated him with *Militant*.

The Tory raved about *Militant* wanting to overthrow capitalism and abolish the Monarchy and the House of Lords and accused Dave Nellist of such heinous crimes as calling shareholders 'parasites' and opposing expulsions from the Labour Party. Judging by the votes, this villainy has not offended Coventry workers as much as it does the delicate Mr Grant!

As for the SDP candidate, Frank Devine, the local paper described him as "a single issue

politician if ever there was one." And what was the single issue? "*Militant, Militant* and more *Militant* are the issues he is hammering home on the doorstep."

Driven to desperate measures, the SDP rang the local paper and claimed that companies were not investing in the city because of Dave Nellist. Not unreasonably, the journalist asked which ones. "Er...we'll get back to you on that" came the reply. Even though they questioned a number of Tory captains of industry, journalists could find no evidence at all for Devine's allegations!

The gutter press also weighed in against Dave, distorting his views on defence beyond recognition. A laughable article in the *Daily Star* appealed to Coventry readers' memories of the blitz to get them to vote against Dave and solemnly told them that he was once arrested for obstruction and

released "during involving striking to storm the C

Many workers to this sort of no Tory press that it effect on them tended. One po reported that switched his vote the Alliance bec reprinted the sc tacks. Workers a Rolls Royce fac asked Dave to opinions on the happy enough v

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Bradford North

Campaigning at the factory gate

THE CAMPAIGN to get Pat Wall elected in Bradford North used every possible method to get socialist ideas to workers.

Over 70 local people heard Pat speak at a street meeting on the Ravenscliffe estate, despite pouring rain. As knocking up for the meeting took place over 100 posters were snapped up, with every other house in one part of the estate showing a vote Wall. 'The socialist republic of Ravenscliffe', was how one comrade described the atmosphere.

Pat spoke at 17 workplace meetings. In the pouring rain, he spoke outside a bakery where 20 came out and many more leant from the windows. With Pat was Terry O'Neill, President of the Bakers' Union who said: "After 30 years in the trade union I'd stake my reputation on Pat."

In one of several health service meetings, Pat attacked one of the Tories' most disgusting acts, forcing low paid cleaners to bargain down their wages as part of privatisation.

At Renold, which used to employ 3000 only 200 work now.

As soon as we hit the streets the children would start yelling "Maggie, Maggie, Maggie, Out! Out! Out!"

But they backed Pat Wall and donated their loudhailer. One worker after hearing Pat went home and convinced the rest of his family from voting Tory.

At the textile firm Whitehead, 100 of the 500 mainly Asian women turned up to hear Pat speak. At the end even the personnel manager bought a copy of the Working Women's Charter.

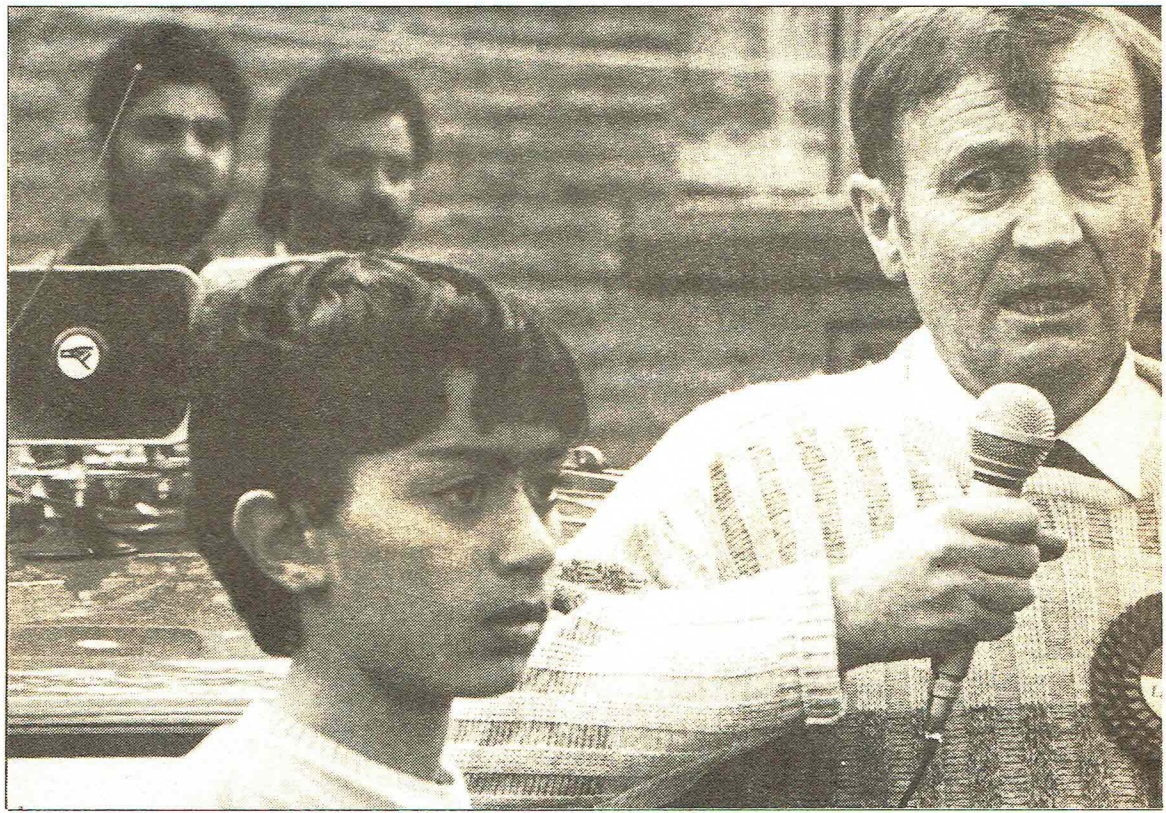
Workers in struggle backed Pat as well. He spoke at a CPSA strike rally and at a teachers' meeting which invited all three candidates. But the Tory did not turn up as he felt it would be a hostile audience. The Alliance speaker got a very cold response.

Twenty thousand leaflets were printed exposing the real Victorian conditions and even worse plans of the Tories for working class women.

One meeting at the Swayne House estate heard Razina Boston, Joan Maynard and Pat Wall. Pat told the meeting of a woman who worked 30 years in the office of a large firm. She looked after her ill mother, and work was her main social life.

After all the loyal years she was made redundant. The personnel manager asked why she was crying when she was given her cards. She explained that she would now lose all her friends. He only replied: "Well we've paid your wages haven't we? What more do you want?" So much for caring Tory Britain.

Not only did the meeting explain the importance of socialism for working class women, it practised it. A creche was organised for this and for every other activity of the campaign.



Asian workers rally to Labour

THE ASIAN community in Bradford is perhaps the most close-knit and traditionalist in the country. But, despite linguistic and cultural differences, Asian workers joined Pat Wall's election campaign whole-heartedly, showing how these barriers can be weakened and united action achieved through struggle.

By Nina Rahel.

The beginning of the campaign coincided with Ramadan, a month of fasting from sun-up to sun-down for Muslims. Nevertheless, Asian workers were out on the streets convincing others both to vote Labour and to join the fight for a Labour victory.

Nine street meetings took place in the predominantly Asian areas, gaining such an echo that even those that took place in the rain were successful. *The Observer* was forced to admit the success of Pat's campaign amongst Asian workers: "The Labour man was greeted enthusiastically with chants in Urdu."

A public meeting aimed at Asian women was an historic step forward. In the build-up to it, we spent an afternoon with two local women, Mrs Bashir and Parveen, who took us from home to home speaking to women they know. Despite the pressure on their time of looking after home and family, they still stopped to give support to Pat Wall.

Mrs Bashir and Parveen are prime examples of the militancy of the most oppressed, displaying dynamism and determination. But they were also affected by the traditions and sub-culture of the Indian sub-continent, which at times keep women in a state of feudal subservience. At one point, they scuttled into an alley and hid their faces because two local male elders were walking towards us. The Bradford campaign cut through some of these shackles of the past.

On the Young Socialists' demonstration, a contingent of Pakistani workers led chanting and dancing. The Punjabi pangara dance on the streets added to the almost festive mood of the march. The next day a public meeting

attracted 8 LPYS.

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Asian bus worker kept interrupting the speakers to assure them that "there is no problem for Mr Dave Nellist around here."

In the better-off Cheylesmore area, teenagers and women workers vented their anger over YTS. "I thought it would be boring, but it was brilliant!" one youth told friends who were scoffing at him for attending the meeting.

All the estate and workplace meetings were bigger than in 1983, an indication that he has won workers' loyalty because of his record as MP. Everybody knows that he kept his promise to live on a worker's wage and that this proves that here is an MP who is not 'in it for himself'.

Unable to denigrate Dave Nellist's record, a few right-wingers have taken to saying "If only he hadn't got involved with Marxism, he'd have been a first class

MP." Dave's answer is that he would never have become active in the Party but for the energy and enthusiasm generated by Marxists.

The Coventry South East Labour Party ran the sort of vigorous socialist campaign at grass-roots level which could have won the election nationally.

Home-owners

The right-wing's excuses for losing the election could easily apply to the constituency. About two thirds of householders own their own homes and many are skilled workers, a group among which Labour lost support nationally. They were won over by the local Party's warnings of what a Tory future has in store for them.

A leaflet aimed at home-owners pointed out the Tories'

plans to cut mortgage interest benefit to the unemployed and asked: "Who today can say they are safe from the threat of redundancy? If the Tories are re-elected, losing your job is likely to mean losing your home."

A dozen other leaflets were produced, including one in three Asian languages. Another feature of the campaign was the enthusiastic work of the Young Socialists who recruited many young class-fighters to their ranks.

The few crumbs some Coventry workers may have got from Thatcher's 'boom' will vanish within months. Jaguar, flaunted by the Tories as an example of recovery, will be crushed by its rivals in the event of a downturn in the US economy. Coventry workers need committed socialist representatives for the battles that lie ahead.



Labour

Asians and raised £100 for the

ollowed success. The daily pres-
mpaigners led to the children
erm 'Labour wallah'. As soon as
reets everyone knew, because the
uld start yelling: "Maggie, Mag-
e, Out! Out! Out!"
s and some of their hangers on
sly jealous of our success. Thugs
spiked knuckle-dusters tried to
t by disrupting a 200-strong meet-
y the Kashmiri Association. They
he meeting continued. To great
e three Bradford Labour can-
vasted the Tories' racist campaign
ed the use of ex-headmaster and
Honeyford.

an workers helped us on polling
ough they were not yet Labour
ers. If a socialist campaign had
ted nationally instead of the 'Oh
mpassionate rose' one, the work-
uld not be blighted with another
f the Tories!

Workers rediscover Labour

Bermondsey

THE CAMPAIGN waged by Southwark-Bermondsey Labour Party was magnificent. For three and half weeks, every home was bombarded with leaflets and broadsheets which hammered home two points.

By A Militant reporter

First, that the Alliance was a second rate Tory Party, and that a vote for the Liberals was a vote for Thatcher.

Secondly, that Labour locally stood for socialist change. As candidate, John Bryan, wrote in the final leaflet distributed on the morning of the election: "My fight is for decent homes, jobs and the health service. More than that I will fight for a socialist future. It is a future worth fighting for. It is within our grasp."

Canvassing was organised every day and evening. All the information was then logged on computers, and used to target doubtful voters with special mailshots and individual discussions.

The numbers involved in canvassing steadily increased as the campaign gathered momentum. On the final weekend over 700 took part. This marvellous turnout was repeated on polling day.

Successful public meetings generated local support, and provided a steady stream of new canvassers. During the campaign over 200 signed up to join the Party.

Labour posters and banners went up on every estate. Every day more appeared. Labour supporters recognising each other by their stickers, nodded and winked as they passed in the streets.

One of the outstanding successes was the street meetings. Dozens of them were held throughout the constituency. Estates



John Bryan posters were everywhere in Bermondsey.

were leafleted beforehand, then at the appointed time, the Young Socialists' 'battlebus' would pull up into the middle of an estate blasting out Labour's theme music. (Rocky IV, not Brahms).

Crowds would gather in the forecourt or on their balconies, many displaying posters or home made banners. Many had lived there all their lives, but they had never seen anything like this before.

The doors at the back of the bus would burst open and Young Socialists would take their positions, one or two on each balcony. The Young Socialist choir would warm up the proceedings, then the climax as local workers listened enthusiastically to Labour's candidate explaining the ideas of real socialism.

A special cheer would go up when a Liberal poster came down in a window, and a Labour poster replaced it. Time and again this happened as workers rediscovered the Labour Party was their party. It was the old methods of the Labour pioneers, of the soapbox, which won support amongst the most downtrodden sections.

The 64.9 per cent turnout was a testimony to Labour's campaign. It was three per cent up on 1983. These were all new Labour voters enthused by what they saw and heard from the Party's campaign locally. Labour's vote increased by 23 per cent.

As for the Tory campaign, their lowest share of the vote in London was in Bermondsey, just 12.6 per cent, even lower than 1983. Undoubtedly the Liberals gained from a layer of Tory supporters, who voted Liberal to prevent Labour from winning.

'London effect'

The Liberals, unable to answer Labour's arguments, fought a campaign based on smears. At the beginning of the campaign, they boasted they would increase their majority. In the end they scraped home with their majority slashed from 5,164 to 2,779.

Labour achieved a 3.6 per cent swing from Liberal to Labour in Bermondsey, while across London there was a 0.5 per cent swing from Labour to Tory. Labour seats like Fulham (held up as a model of how to win elections),

Battersea and Walthamstow were lost to the Tories.

These defeats are being blamed on the 'London effect'. But what is that? Over the last three years, Labour controlled councils in the capital, including ILEA, have capitulated to Tory attacks on local government. In the last year this has led to severe cuts, rent rises and where councils have not been ratecapped, massive rate increases—60 per cent in Waltham Forest. A policy which had the full backing of the Labour leadership nationally.

Compare the experience of a worker living under the Labour council in Southwark, with that of a Liverpool worker. Over four years Liverpool Council built 5,000 new houses, froze rents and expanded services. Southwark has not built a new home for four years, although 21,000 are on the waiting or transfer lists. Last month rents were increased by £1.09. Thousands of essential repairs have not been started.

Despite vigorously arguing that the Tory Government was responsible for the housing crisis, Labour canvassers could not overcome the deep disillusion and often outright hostility to the Labour controlled council. There has been a Labour council here for 60 years, and many voters were justifiably asking: What has Labour done for us? The old right wing local Labour Party, when Mellish who has now defected to the London Docklands Development Corporation was MP, was guilty of criminal neglect.

If Labour councils across London had followed the Liverpool example, Labour could have gained dozens of seats from the Tories in the capital, instead of losing three.

Bermondsey has shown that the working class of London will respond to a traditional fighting socialist programme, that is related to the everyday concerns of all.

Japan: the end of an era

THROUGHOUT THE 1960s and early 1970s, Japanese capitalism expanded its share of international markets, and established itself as the second-largest economic power in the world.

By our correspondent in Japan.

Today the Japanese capitalist class is faced with trade wars in retaliation for the huge trade surplus they have built up over their rivals. The US and European capitalists are demanding that Japan buy more of their goods, and export less.

Now the Japanese capitalists, trying to ride out the crisis, are attempting to burden the working class with the consequences: 'rationalisation', privatisation, and large-scale redundancies.

In 23 shipbuilding companies, management is reducing the workforce from 70,000 to 20,000. At Hitachi Zosen, one of the biggest, management has made an agreement with the company union to dismiss 8,000 out of 15,000 workers.

In the steel industry, leading companies are carrying out large-scale dismissals.

The automobile and electronics industries, reducing their production for export, are cutting the number of temporary workers.

On Japan National Railway, management followed privatisation with the dismissal of 93,000 workers in April. (see *Militant* 835, 844) Telecommunications have also been privatised.

The ruling class is even demanding the 'rationalisation' of municipal workers.

Onslaught

It is against this background that Japanese workers are facing the monopolies' onslaught against jobs and wages. Organisation and unity is vital in the struggle against "rationalisation" and "re-organisation".

But the Socialist Party, the traditional mass organisation of the working class, has failed to take any initiative.

In last year's general election, the capitalists' Liberal Democratic Party was allowed to gain 304 out of 500 seats in parliament, while the JSP went down from 100 to 80 seats.

The recent history of the JSP has been failure after failure. In the main private industry unions the leadership has been taken over by the right wing. The big-



Members of the National Railworkers' Union (Kokuro) in the struggle against privatisation of JNR. "Resistance and unity" proclaim the slogans of the workers in front, who were on hunger strike. The banner behind is from the Tokyo Youth Branch of Kokuro. But this courageous campaign was betrayed by right-wing Kokuro leaders who split the union, by opposition from the JSP leadership and by lack of support from the JCP.

gest support of the JSP now lies in the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (Sohyo), mainly consisting of public-sector unions.

In spite of that, the JSP failed to prevent privatisation of Japan National Railway, and allowed the break-up of the National Railworkers' Union (Kokuro), which had been one of the most radical unions in Sohyo, supplying many ardent political activists.

The JSP leadership, especially over the last ten years, has made desperate efforts to reconstruct the party on the basis of rightwing ideas. Supported by the 'liberal' capitalist media, they excluded members of the left-wing Socialist

Association, which has gathered the union activists and youths under the name of Marxism, from the Central Committee.

But the ideas and methods of the right wing only worsened the decline. Last September, following the election disaster, the party's president was forced to resign and for the first time in Japan's political history a woman president, Takako Doi, was elected.

Far removed from socialist ideas, she and the right-wing have been very busy emphasising the party's 'soft and mild' image. But once again they proved unable to stop the government's massive cuts in health care and social

security, and they supported the privatisation of JNR, against the workers' will.

Under this leadership the JSP cannot hope to win back the workers' confidence.

In terms of membership, the Japanese Communist Party is bigger than the JSP. But it is unable to mobilise the mass of the working class against the attacks of capitalism. Its leadership has zig-zagged throughout the post-war period, and given up the ideas of class struggle and socialist revolution.

The JCP opposed the privatisation of JNR, but did not agree with strike action by the workers. Public sector workers, they belie-

ve, should always serve the whole public!

In spite of the weakness of its present political leadership, the working class of Japan has great opportunities before it.

The Liberal Democrats have shifted to the right under the leadership of Prime Minister Nakasone. He has tried to increase military spending, which has always been less than 1 per cent of Gross National Product, and wanted to introduce VAT on almost all household goods.

At the same time, he intends to continue with cuts in services and social security.

There has been massive opposition to the VAT proposal. Trade unions, and even the medium and small shopkeepers—who have been among the LDP's most stable supporters—have organised protest demonstrations and meetings. The LDP itself was divided on the issue.

In a by-election in a Liberal stronghold on 8 March, the LDP lost to the JSP. Following this, both the JSP and JCP gained seats in the local elections on 12 April.

Swing to JSP

On 15 April the LDP resorted to physical force to pass the VAT bill in parliament. But a week later Nakasone had to withdraw the bill for fear of losing his position in the LDP. It is now said that his resignation is inevitable in the near future.

The swing to the JSP and the JCP shows that the majority of the working class still see those parties as their anchors. On the other hand, 40 per cent of voters are doubtful and never vote, though they don't agree with the LDP. This includes especially younger people between 20 and 30 years old.

But the youth sections of the JSP and JCP, like the parties themselves, have suffered a long decline as a result of right-wing leadership. No important public activities are organised, except picnics!

Youth who want radical change, but can see no reason for supporting any of the political parties, could be drawn behind a clear socialist programme reflecting their demands and ideas.

On the basis of Marxist ideas the traditional mass party, the JSP, could be built into a fighting organisation uniting workers and youth.

Not only in the fight against VAT, but against the ruling class attacks, the JSP should reawaken the workers' fighting spirit, and show the way to working-class unity on a Marxist programme.

Union/management collaboration

DURING JAPAN'S economic boom period, the ruling class and the right-wing trade union leadership collaborated in establishing company unions.

They introduced a repressive system of control under the name "independent management activities" to mobilise workers to work hard without questioning. Under the initiative of pro-management union leaders, the workers were divided into small groups to implement so-called "quality control" activities.

In the quality control groups, workers must make proposals to improve productivity in competition with each other. The result of 'winning' is wage increases or promotion.

Every worker is forced to attend the group meetings after work,

without overtime pay. There is no room for choice under the pro-management union leadership.

"Consultation" between management and unions is another important method to control the workers. The aim is 'better understanding' between management and unions, on the basis of the profitability of the enterprise.

Collective bargaining has been replaced by "consultation". The right-wing union leaders are happy to agree to "no disputes".

Workers in company unions have to obey the union leadership. To rebel against the union means isolation in the workplace, or even losing your job, usually with the accusation of being a "communist" and the threat of physical violence.

Low-paid labour

ABROAD, "jobs for life" has been seen as a feature of working in Japan. In fact, less than 20 per cent of workers are assured of work until the age of 55 or 60.

Japan's backbone industries of steel, shipbuilding, cars and electronics have a high proportion of temporary and part-time workers. The capitalists turn workers into part-time workers in order to create cheap labour.

The basis was laid after the Second World War when the Liberal Democratic government and the capitalists destroyed the agricultural sector with their strategy of importing almost all wheat, cotton and beans from the USA and Australia.

Peasants were forced to look for temporary work during the slack season in order to stay alive.

In Europe, many workers from the ex-colonial countries have been used as cheap labour. In Japan, temporary

workers from the rural areas have been used as 'guest workers'.

Basic wage rates are low in Japan, forcing many workers to rely on overtime. Many housewives also do part-time work on assembly lines and in the food industries in order to boost their family income.

In addition, every big industry has its own network of sub-contractors.

Workers in sub-contracting companies have worse conditions than "parent company" workers. They are always threatened by the parent companies' demands to reduce costs or shorten the delivery period, with no guarantee of future employment.

These rightless workers can be used by management to break strikes by permanent workers who are pushed into struggle. Non-unionised workers continue to work because nearly all company unions exclude temporary workers from membership!

South Africa's NUM at a crossroads

SOUTH AFRICA'S National Union of Mineworkers is facing the most important challenge in its five-year history. The battle opening up with the Chamber of Mines over the 1987 wage claim will have enormous implications not only for the lives of mineworkers but for the whole working class movement.

By Philip Masters

The NUM has taken major strides forward in the last five years, both in membership and organisation. With 300,000 members, it is the strongest affiliate of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU).

The Chamber of Mines is the most powerful employer in the country, with its own private "security forces" and the full backing of the apartheid regime. As in previous years, it is making a split offer—18 per cent maximum on the gold mines and 12.5 per cent on the coal mines—to divide the workers.

But neither the bosses nor the workers doubt that the NUM has the strength to inflict a defeat on the mineowners if it is able to mobilise all its forces, and rally the support of other organised workers and youth. Significantly, the demand passed by NUM conference for a united 55 per cent increase across the board got the biggest applause at the rally after the conference.

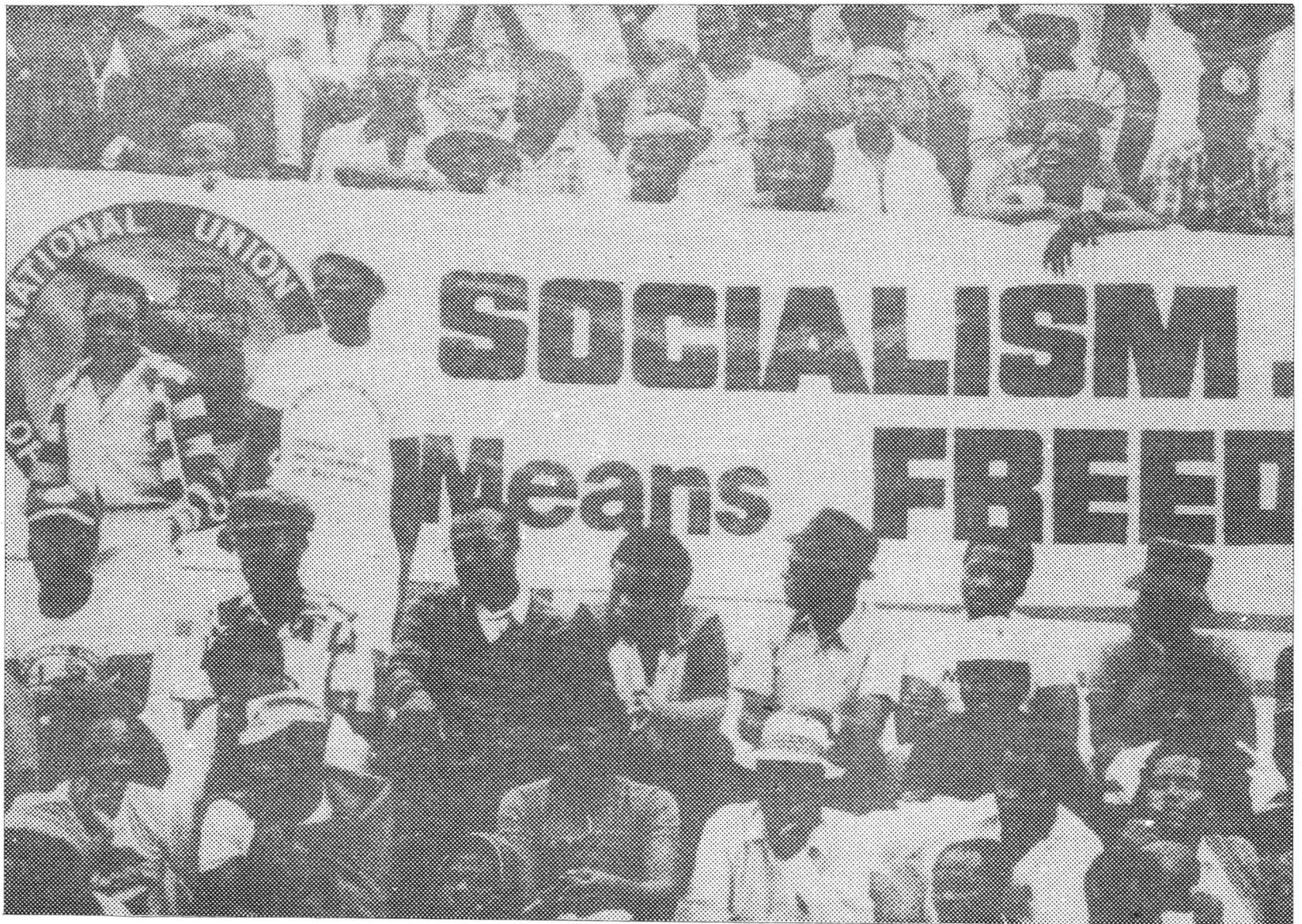
Victories

Despite the blows suffered by the working class under the State of Emergency, and despite the stepped-up repression against COSATU, big victories have been notched up by workers. The victory of the OK Bazaars strike earlier this year, and the latest victory by the railway workers against the state-owned SA Transport Services, are examples which other workers are ready to follow.

At the same time as the mineworkers enter battle, the newly-amalgamated National Union of Metal Workers (COSATU's second-biggest affiliate with 130,000 members) is fighting for a wage of R4.50 (£1.35) per hour. Linking these two struggles together would greatly strengthen both.

Above all, the struggles of the mine and metal workers provide the best opportunity of translating into effective action the National Minimum Living Wage Campaign launched by COSATU earlier this year.

The revolutionary upsurge of 1984-86 has receded. Botha's regime has been unable to inflict a fundamental defeat on the working class, while the working-class movement has not yet built the forces to carry through its revolutionary challenge against the regime.



The NUM conference earlier this year. "The workers of this country", the mineworkers resolved, "are not only striving for better conditions but for a democratic socialist society controlled by the working class."

Unable to crush the unions, the bosses and the regime would like to reduce them to mere 'collective bargaining' instruments, each concerned merely with 'economic' issues in its own industry.

The best response by COSATU's leadership would be to mount a united struggle on the wage question. A national campaign on the wages question—linking all sectors of organised workers together, drawing in the unorganised, and calling on the huge energies of the youth—would at the same time mobilise the movement for political struggle against the regime.

But it is essential to name a specific demand, a target to enthuse the widest numbers of workers. This, unfortunately, COSATU's leadership has refused to do, and this is a major reason why the campaign has not yet got off the ground.

Now there is the opportunity of taking the campaign forward, spearheaded by the power of the black mineworkers and metal workers. Fighting for their own demands, they could at the same time raise the demand for a specific national minimum wage, inspiring weaker sections of the working class, and galvanising the fighting youth.

This would provide the basis for self-defence of the movement against UWUSA killers and other vigilantes, for fighting the state's attacks on COSATU, and for building COSATU to two million members.

Unfortunately, the NUM leaders up to now have tended to approach the wage struggle purely on the basis of negotiating tactics.

To force major concessions from the employers

would require a clear demonstration of the workers' strength and determination, with massive mobilisation even before negotiations begin. There is no sign that the NUM leaders have done this.

Yet the ranks of the NUM are showing the greatest preparedness to struggle, and a clear appreciation of the socialist tasks of the movement.

This year's NUM conference adopted the ANC's Freedom Charter, which calls for the nationalisation of the mines, banks and monopolies, as its basic political programme. In the words of the resolution, "apartheid and capitalism are inseparable evils".

Socialism

"The workers of this country", it goes on, "are not only striving for better conditions but for a democratic socialist society controlled by the working class."

"Socialism means Freedom" read the huge banner which dominated the NUM conference.

In adopting the Freedom Charter, the NUM has taken the same position as other COSATU unions. This programme, based on the same socialist understanding, should now be taken to COSATU's second congress next month.

Unfortunately there are signs that the NUM leadership are backing away from this position. In a recent interview NUM General Secretary Cyril Ramaphosa said:

"Our resolution focuses on the national oppression that we are fighting against... Ultimately there has to be ... a socialist system—but then you have to canvass mandates from people. We believe that it

would be incorrect at this stage to actually say we want this kind of socialism."

But if, as the mineworkers understand, "socialism means freedom", how can the struggle against national oppression be separated from the struggle for socialism? How many more "mandates" does Comrade Ramaphosa want?

The real test of Comrade

Ramaphosa's standpoint will be the ability of the NUM leadership to take up and fight the struggles now on the agenda: for a living wage, abolishing the hostel system, smashing the vigilantes, ending the persecution by the bosses and the regime.

Decisive and lasting gains will only be possible if mobilisation on these immediate issues is linked to building the forces that can

overthrow apartheid and capitalism, bringing into existence a democratic socialist South Africa.

Spelling out the content of such a programme of genuine national and social liberation precisely "at this stage", the NUM leaders can enthuse and unite the vast mass of mineworkers with the ranks of COSATU and the youth in action on a level even higher than that of 1984-86.

Masses inflict defeat on Pakistani regime

PAKISTAN'S RIGHT-WING government has suffered a humiliating defeat by the mass reaction against its budget proposals put forward on 5 June.

New taxes were imposed, prices were increased and subsidies on gas and electricity removed. As a result, consumer prices went mad.

Workers immediately showed their anger as spontaneous demonstrations erupted against this "worst-ever" budget. There was a massive boycott of goods which showed big price increases—such as soft drinks, up from 2.50 rupees to Rs.4.00 (Rs.30 = £1).

Vehicles carrying soft drinks to the shops were set alight by the angry masses in different towns. So the association of cold drink factory owners were forced to go on 'strike' against the government!

The 10 per cent so-called defence tax proposal threatened all traders and shopkeepers. So they also opposed the budget.

None of the opposition parties took any initiative to lead the masses. The Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD), a nine-party opposition alliance including the mass-based Pakistan People's Party (PPP), for the first time talked about a general strike. But it was left to the workers themselves to take action.

Railway workers in Lahore were the first to demonstrate, followed by low-paid government clerks. On 11 June successful general strikes broke out in four big cities in Punjab: Lahore, Faisalabad, Multan and

Rawalpindi-Islamabad.

No shop was open in any of these cities. Marches were held and there was a semi-revolutionary mood in the streets.

Under this pressure Prime Minister Jonejo withdrew all the proposals, saying he did not foresee that the budget would have such consequences.

The general strike in four cities had a greater effect on the government than the two-month-long campaign by PPP leader Benazir Bhutto when she returned from exile in April 1986.

Millions flocked to the PPP banner at that time, but no lead was given to rise against the regime. Miss Bhutto rejected the demand for a general strike put forward by supporters of the Marxist journal *The Struggle*, claiming that it was too extreme and the masses were not ready!

As a result of the absence of leadership, that movement ended in disappointment. But the events of June have generated new momentum in the struggle, and showed that the workers are far from defeated.

Many grievances remain. In particular there is enormous anger at the shortage of electricity and daily power cuts.

A determined initiative by the PPP leadership to show a way forward would spell the end of the hated Jonejo regime, and put the overthrow of capitalism and landlordism on the order of the day.

From a correspondent in Pakistan.

After the election What now for Labour

Stafford 29 June, The Riverside Centre, 7.30pm

Leicester 29 June, Secular Hall, Humberson St, Leics, 7.30pm.

Tower Hamlets 29 June, Bromley Public Hall, Bow Rd, 7.30pm.

Chesterfield 1 July.

Potteries 2 July, Hanley Town Hall, 7pm. Speaker: Jeremy Birch.

Telford 7 July.

Southall 14 July, Old Town Hall, 7.30pm.

Got no sole

Dear Comrades,
An article tucked away in a corner of the *Dagenham Post* last week illustrates just how flimsy the so-called North/South divide is.

An 18 year old was given a conditional discharge after admitting stealing a pair of shoes from Marks and Spencer. The pair he

had on were borrowed from his brother. He simply couldn't afford to buy any. After paying £20 to his sister for rent, he had £4 a week spending money. And they call this the 'Soft South'.

Yours fraternally
Maggie McGinley
Barking

No time for union work

Dear Comrades,
South Glamorgan County Council last week circulated a letter attempting to curtail and undermine NUPE activists, with, as usual, very little protest from either our branch secretary or our full time official.

The county are at pains to explain that it is not an attempt to restrict the time allowed off, merely the money. From now on shop stewards will only be paid one hour for a meeting, any extra time needed to get trade union work done will mean loss of pay.

That threat to a shop steward on a very low wage, will mean a reluctance to participate in representing their case. This is a subtle form of what the Russians do to trade unions. Our hypocritical councillors support Solidarity over there, but deny it in Wales.

Yours fraternally
Ann Bennett
Cardiff

Good news for the rich

Dear Comrades,
On the day following the elections, the news interviewed a number of young city slickers who were celebrating the Tory win with flagons of champagne. These spivs told us that it was "the best result possible" and that "the party would last for years".

The last five years have been a massive binge for the ruling class. Even their

representatives in Parliament have had a ball, indulging themselves in prostitutes, mistresses and rentboys. As Norman Tebbit explained on the Wogan Show on June 15 when asked about his years in government: "We've had an enormous amount of fun."

Yours fraternally
Kevin Williamson
Edinburgh

When parliament just doesn't pay

Dear Comrades,
Out of work Ian Wrigglesworth, former SDP member of Parliament for Stockton South aims to find a better paid job now his 13 year Westminster career is over.

When asked his reaction to losing his seat he said "It's not the end of the world, there are lots of other things in life than being an MP. I took a pay cut to become an MP and I hope to earn a great deal more money out of the House".

Wrigglesworth's comments give an insight into how many MP's view their jobs as a poorly paid sideline which they can ditch to go back to earning 'real' money.

What a contrast to those MP's just elected who pledge to take only the average wage of a worker and never forget what they are in parliament for, to fight on behalf of working people.

Yours fraternally
Andy Walker
Redcar Labour Party Young Socialists

Letters

Send us your views, comments or criticism.

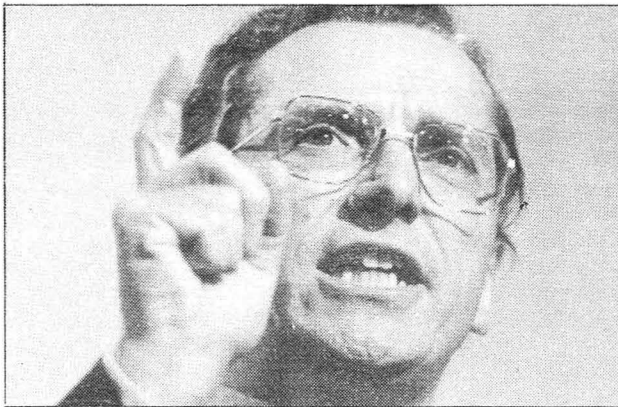
Militant,
3-13 Hepscott Road,
London E9 5HB

When is a cut not a cut?

Dear Comrades,

It is well known that politicians cannot call each other 'liars' even if they are making up the biggest pork pies imaginable. So when Nigel Lawson called Roy Hattersley a liar during the election campaign, Hattersley was struck dumb by such affrontary.

So what words can be found for Thatcher and Fowler over their claims that the NHS is in safe hands with the Tories? The Office of Health Economics (funded by the drug industry, some of the Tory Party's biggest backers) have just reported that NHS hospitals have been underfunded by £900 million since 1980. Of course, they sat on the report until four days after the election.



Norman Fowler. Photo: Dave Sinclair.

Dear Comrades,
A letter received by the wards at the **Queens Medical Centre** states that due to the reduction in the maintenance budget, work is unable to be carried out to the wards.

I have since discovered that £36,000 has been spent on the refurbishment of the main entrance to the hospital, proving once and for all that a hospital's public image is more important than the care and well being of the patients.

Yours fraternally
Fiona Connolly
Hucknall Labour Party Young Socialists

The report also reveals that "health spending by the private sector...grew at an annual rate four times greater than the NHS during the past decade".

I've looked in Roget's Thesaurus for another phrase for that politically

unmentionable word. So, Thatcher and Fowler, I accuse you of...terminological inexactitude. (Surely a phrase Neil Kinnock would be proud of).

Yours fraternally
Steve Wood
Bradford

Review

Portrait of a Radical

"E Sylvia Pankhurst—Portrait of a Radical" by Patricia W Romero. Yale University Press.

By Jane Hartley

Sylvia Pankhurst is remembered first for being a suffragette, all the more because she organised in the East End amongst working class women and inspired by the Russian revolution, was involved in the foundation of the early Communist Party.

Unfortunately, this attempt at a biography has been made with no sympathy for Sylvia, her life or ideals, mixed with an ignorance of politics.

The highlights of the book are of Sylvia's work in the East End. In memory of her father and in close association with Keir Hardie, Sylvia remained in the labour movement whilst her mother and sister cut themselves off, ran the Women's Social and Political Union as a dictatorship and based themselves on the middle and upper classes, ending in acting as recruiting sergeants for British imperialism in the first world war. Sylvia could not separate votes for women from all the other social questions, of prison conditions and life for working class women.

She went to prison many times, underwent hunger strikes, forced feeding and later repeated re-arrest under the 'cat and mouse act'. Yet Romero begrudgingly states she "exacted from her followers no more than she was willing to endure herself. She lived on little (bread and margarine mostly)".

The war found Sylvia a pacifist and despite lack of sympathy in the East End initially for her ideas, she remained to fight for support for women, for widows and orphans, equal pay for female munitions workers,



higher pay for women generally and fought attempts to raise prices and rates.

Sylvia had established a paper *Dreadnought*. It was the first to speak out supporting the Russian revolution when many others hesitated. In an editorial on June 2 1917 she stated "that Kerensky, too will go, for...Kerensky has failed to realise the greatness of the movement that he would lead." The middle-class donations began to dry up as Sylvia took a firm revolutionary position. In June 1919 the Women's Suffragette Foundation raised £200 in the East End to finance agitation amongst the dockers to refuse to load munitions for the whites in Russia.

Determined

In order to attend a meeting in Germany with Clara Zetkin and unable to get a response, Sylvia travelled via Italy, climbed across the Alps at night into Switzerland, all at the age of 37. In order to attend the second congress of the Third International, she stowed away on a Norwegian freighter to Copenhagen, across Norway and Sweden and made the final leg in a small fishing boat. Sylvia was a woman of action and heroism, but not tempered with a grounding

in Marxist theory.

In Britain many small groups wanted to affiliate to the Third International and many were opposed to standing for parliament or affiliation to the Labour Party. Lenin took these ideas up in "Left Wing Communism—an Infantile Disorder"—particularly aimed at Sylvia and Willie Gallacher.

Despite all that workers' control, the attitude to women and all the revolution meant to her, Sylvia was unable to buckle down to the disciplined work of developing a Communist Party. Not as the author says because "Lenin was contemptuous towards women". Such a man would not have sent Alexandra Kollantai as the main Bolshevik agitator to work on the front at Kronstadt, a key position.

Sylvia remained a communist, but without an organisation, concentrated on her personal life and trying to earn a living writing and running a tea room, gradually drifting away from the workers' movement.

Whatever her failings, what stands out even in a book as confused as this, is the heroism, devotion and sacrifice of a real fighter and even now an inspiration to working class women.

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○ Out now, no.15 of L'Avance Socialiste, French Marxist paper. Articles on May 1968, the Chirac government's arms programme, the French nuclear industry, need for Socialist-Communist unity, Spain, South Africa. Subscription rates: £5 for 5 issues (inc. postage), £10 for 12 issues. Cheques to: L'Avance Socialiste, BP no. 705, 75531 Paris, Cedex 11.

○ Offensiv camp in Sweden. Monday 6-Saturday 11 July 1987. For information write to Offensiv Bragegatan 2, S415 01 Goteburg, Sweden. Tel 031 844 162.

○ Cassette tapes with two issues of Militant (one each side.) Available fortnightly. Tapes £3.50 per quarter, £13 per year. To be returned or send blank C-90 tapes. Contact Dave: 14 Harrowby Road, West Park, Leeds 16. Tel: 0532 624917.

□ Chorlton every Thursday, The Southern Hotel, Mauldeth Road West, Chorlton. 8.30pm.

□ Blackburn every Wednesday. The Trades Club, 8.30pm.

□ Southampton marxist discussion group. Wednesdays 12.30pm. 7, Goodwin Close, Millbrook, Southampton. Creche provided.

Eye-witness report from the Philippines

How British bosses exploit Filipino women

A TRADE union activist from South Wales went to the Philippines at the invitation of the KMU, the major radical trade union federation. He visited a Manchester-based British company in the capitalists' showcase, Bataan Export Processing Zone, where multinationals are attracted by concessions and cheap female labour. This is his report.

ON 5 MAY I set out from Manila to the Bataan Export Processing Zone.

Bataan Province is made up of nine major towns. Sixteen thousand mainly female workers are employed there in low-cost assembly work, producing micro-chips, textiles, toys, etc. The area is sealed off by armed Zone police, military police and checkpoints.

At Marivela we were met by Rina B., an activist with Amba-Bala, the Bataan Alliance Labour Association, a loose federation of 37 trade unions with 9,000 members, affiliated to the KMU. More than 70 per cent of members are young women.

There were 32 companies in Marivela last year. Five have shut down since, leaving 3,000 workers redundant. No redundancy payments have been made, no severance pay, nothing.

Most companies simply closed on a Friday without telling the workers, who turn up on the Monday to find the factory gates locked and guarded by heavily armed Zone Police or security guards.

Unemployed workers get only the very meagre social security benefit of 20 pesos a day for three months (33 pesos = £1).

A 16-hour day and a seven day week is 'normal' in the EPZ. Many companies provide amphetamines, usually benzedrine or dexadrine, to keep their employees going. The workers are not told what these drugs are.

One union organiser was sacked by the British-owned Intercontinental Garment Manufacturing Company (IGMC) for trying to get this practice stopped.

This company has a notorious reputation. I talked to Wemlou P., a former employee, now a KMU activist.

IGMC is based in Manchester, owned by a certain William Bird. It is producing 45,000 coats per week, selling to Debenhams, Littlewoods, British Home Stores, C&A, etc.

Wemlou started work for IGMC in 1975, aged 17 years. Her pay was then three pesos a day. She had to pay 20 pesos per month for her bed space, not including water and electric.

She had to work a lot of overtime, up to 16 hours a day, six or seven days a week. Sometimes management provided transport to take women home to change their underwear. No meals were and are provided when these hours are worked; sometimes the women are given a bun each.

There were 1,200 women working under these conditions. Today the pay is 60 pesos a day. Thirty per cent of the women are breadwinners of their families. Even single women often have families in the



Thousands of Filipino women are forced by poverty to accept low-paid jobs under the most oppressive and degrading conditions. But they are organising and fighting back.

Many foreign companies operate in the EPZ, using Filipino capital to get around legal restrictions on multinational. If 60 per cent local and 40 per cent foreign capital is used, the multinationals can invest what and where they like.

Most companies pay the minimum legal wage of 53 pesos for an eight-hour day (33 pesos=£1). Overtime rates are just 25 per cent above the standard rate.

Most workers live in dormitories and pay 125 pesos rent per month. Single rooms cost 300 pesos per month - too expensive for their wages. Food and lighting are extra. Canteens charge 10 pesos for a meal.

By law, female workers are entitled to 45 days paid maternity leave. In practice, most women who become pregnant are sacked. Those who manage to keep their jobs may be forced to work up to the time they go in-

to labour, and be back within a couple of days.

Sexual harassment of women workers is normal. As one woman told me, it is a question of "lay down or be laid off".

The law also says that companies employing over 300 women workers should provide a nursery. I did not come across one factory where this was the case, and my guides did not know of one either.



President Cory Aquino - no champion of women workers. She is sending a committee to 'investigate' the widespread sexual abuse of Filipino women in the Middle East and Hong Kong. But multinationals in the Philippines get away with every crime from sexual abuse to murder.

provinces to support.

Wemlou worked out the average retail price for the coats they produce is £63 (2,079 pesos) in Britain.

In 1976 the women formed a union, the IGMC Employees' Union. The president is Lucy Salau. She explained that there are now 1,370 workers - 90 per cent women, 56 of them clerical staff. The union has 876 members and 13 elected officers. It is affiliated to the KMU.

Tuberculosis

Many women, Lucy says, have serious health problems caused by the fibres, dust and restricted bench work. Permanent tuberculosis affects twelve out of every 1,000 workers. Many I spoke to had milder forms of TB, spots on the lungs, etc.

The necessary medical treatment for TB would cost 500 pesos per

month, obviously out of reach for most workers, who can't afford even a balanced diet. Just two days in hospital would cost 1,000 pesos or more.

Very few companies have any kind of medical insurance, and workers are 'entitled' to a maximum of 15 days' sick leave per year. After that they lose pay.

IGMC provides one company doctor for three hours daily, and one full-time nurse. No medicine is free, unless you stay at work.

The company is still providing amphetamine to its workers.

Posing as a prospective jeans manufacturer interested in a site in Bataan, I managed to have an interview with IGMC general manager, Mr Shepherd.

Reclining in his air-conditioned office, away from the unbearable heat on the factory floor, he said that Filipino workers are not as productive as British workers. They

had picked up some bad habits from the Spanish, he said. They like their siesta around midday.

On a 16-hour day, dosed up with benzedrine, I didn't see how his workers could have time for any siesta.

I asked about labour relations. Mr Shepherd said he could not deny that there had been some problems, fomented by a few Communist or Left-wing types. In January, he said, a few terrorists had put the fear of god into the workers, who then called a general strike in Marivelas.

He thought the authorities were too lenient. It was only after four days, when the workers had put up barricades, that the police moved in.

That was Mr Shepherd's story. Afterwards I spoke to over 20 workers to find out what really happened.

On 27 January a general strike was called in Marivelas by Amba-Bala to demand implementation of Cory Aquino's labour reforms. It lasted for four days, until the military were called in by the EPZ companies.

Opened fire

The workers said they formed human barricades - i.e., picket lines - to prevent supplies and scabs going through.

A full battalion of soldiers, armed with M16 automatic rifles, moved in and opened fire without warning. Two workers were killed instantly, seven others were wounded (two died later).

The soldiers then set on the women workers with clubs and rifles butts, seriously injuring 36 more.

I talked to some of the victims. Young Evangeline A. is just 21

years of age. Her hand was smashed by bullets and is still paralysed. She has had to have three operations, which she could not afford.

Luz B., 33 years, an IGMC worker, was shot in her left thigh and waist. She was hospitalised for two months. Mr Shepherd gave her just fifteen days paid sick leave. The company medical insurance did not cover her as she was on strike.

Little Evangeline C., 24 years, had all her front teeth smashed out by a rifle butt. She was continually beaten with clubs while lying on the ground. She still suffers from continuous bleeding during monthly periods.

She can't afford the necessary dental operations and dentures. She said she still hurts but at seven pesos per tablet she can't afford analgesics to kill the pain.

Amba-Bala does what it can to help injured members faced with big medical bills, but trade unions in the Philippines are desperately short of funds.

Bataan today is like a NATO exercise ground: troops and checkpoints everywhere. Also, more sinisterly, right-wing vigilante groups have sprung up, and union activists have been murdered.

But having met the young women activists and union members, I think the days of a docile, female Asian labour force that Mr Shepherd dreams about are surely over. Five companies were on strike while I was there:

Doophil, a South Korean-owned plant (400 workers);

Sutai, a Hong Kong company (800 workers);

Buiron (300 workers);

Inter-Asia, a Japanese-Filipino company (120 workers); and

I.E.I., a local electronic company (300 workers).

Industrial Reports

Yorkshire gala shows miners still defiant

THE hundredth Yorkshire miners' gala in Barnsley last Saturday was massively attended. Much media attention was focussed on the two guest speakers, Arthur Scargill and Neil Kinnock.

But another important thing underlining this year's gala was British Coal's proposal for six day working at Margam. Jack Taylor, Yorkshire NUM president spelt out the view of the Yorkshire Area officials that the working week should be shortened, not lengthened.

Following Jack Taylor, Arthur Scargill gave one of his best speeches for years. He pointed out that the first miners' demonstration had been in Barnsley as early as 1844, and that over one hundred years later miners were still fighting basically the same vicious Coal bosses and Tory government.

To tremendous applause he pointed out that what is wrong with society, "is not one woman called Margaret Thatcher. It is the whole rotten, corrupt, capitalist system."

He criticised Labour's defence policy during the election. What was the point in scrapping nuclear weapons if the money thus saved was spent on conven-

By Simon Duerden
tional weapons? Savings from unilateral disarmament should be spent on people.

He called for the same dedication from future Labour governments to our class as Tory governments give to theirs, saying that this meant the common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange. He then demanded extra-parliamentary, as well as parliamentary action to defeat the Tories in the next period.

On Margam he argued that: "British Coal are using a sprat to catch a mackerel". If six day working was introduced at Margam it would then be introduced into the rest of the pits in the country, causing a further 20 pit closures and the loss of a further 25,000 jobs.

He explained how in 1908 an historic battle had been won for the introduction of a five day week:

"We shouldn't be talking about a six day week, but fighting for a four day week" he demanded to thunderous applause.

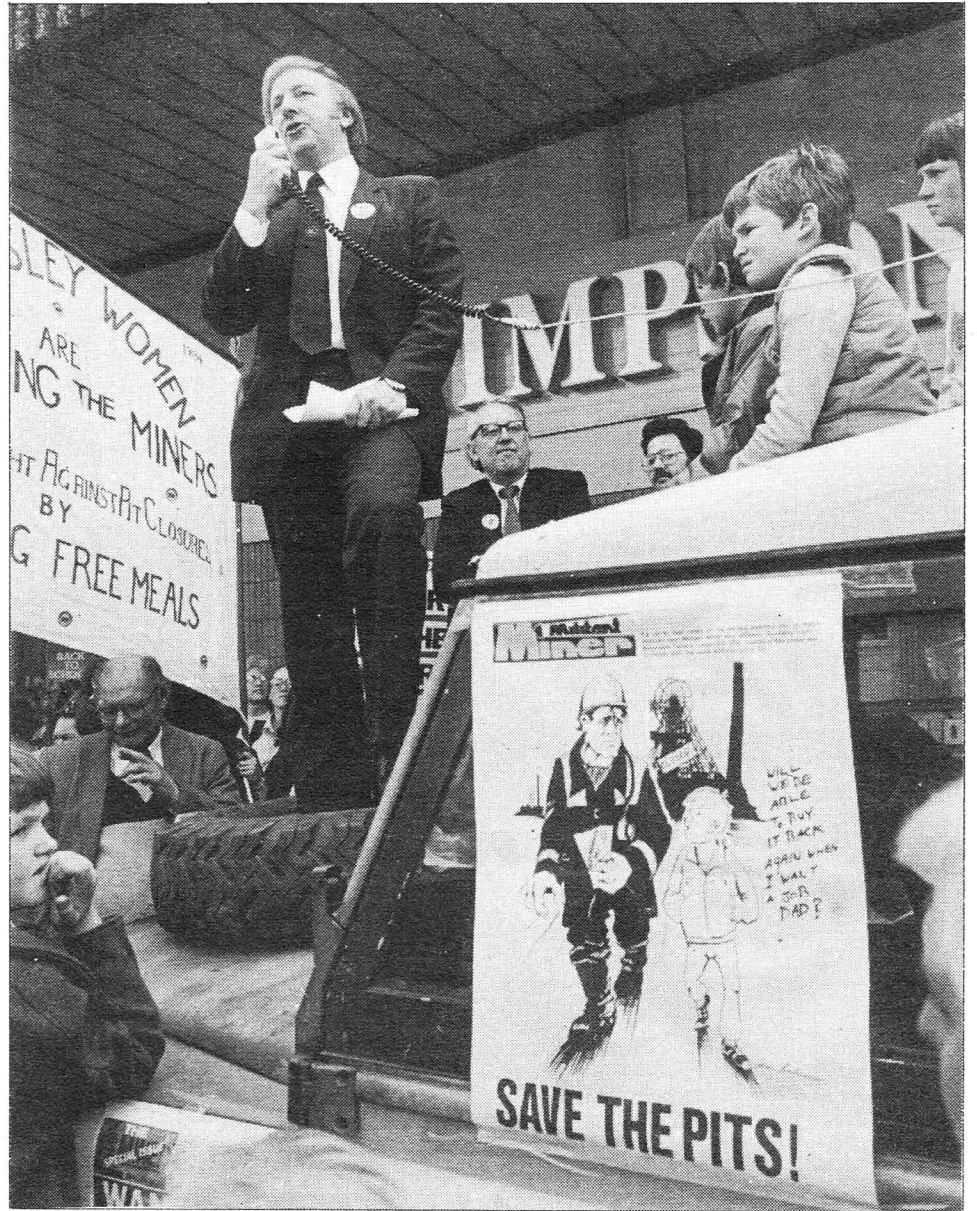
Scargill also explained how British Coal had unilaterally introduced a new disciplinary procedure, which meant miners can now be dismissed for incidents which take place in public houses.

The NUM national executive committee have unanimously recommended industrial action if management won't withdraw the disciplinary procedures. He also demanded full consolidation of bonus payments and a 20 per cent rise in wages for all miners.

Socialism

He finished to tremendous applause on this note: "The next general election will usher in a Labour government. But we need a Labour government that's pledged to make the socialist dream of our forefathers the socialist reality of tomorrow".

As Kinnock rose to speak small numbers of miners greeted him with shouts of 'Scab'. Many others walked away from the marquee in protest. In a



Arthur Scargill speaking during '84/5 strike.

long speech he spelled out the dangers of further Tory privatisation. He also spelled out what a myth Thatcher's "people's capitalism" was.

Unfortunately the socialist alternative to Toryism was somewhat difficult to find in his contribution. But he did make time for a veiled attack on the left.

Calling for party unity he then said that there was no place for 'sectarian gestures' in the Labour Party that do us no good. He didn't explain which sectarian gestures he meant.

At the end of his speech he was greeted with polite applause and perhaps a third of the audience in the marquee stood up for

him.

Militant supporters were prominent throughout the day. Over 160 papers were sold and a magnificent £124 was collected for the Ivan Malaza fund from the sale of Militant For a Socialist South Africa stickers. A large and noisy contingent of LPYS members were also present.

Rail passengers pay whilst workers hit



Photo: Militant

BOTH PASSENGERS and railway staff alike have been astonished on reading articles in the daily newspapers of British Rail putting Inter-City fares up, because of too many passengers!

This astonishment has been turned into anger for this is the second time in six months.

But to put the fares up because of too many passengers is pure bureaucratic mismanagement.

Instead of putting up the prices it would make more sense to add carriages (or another train) to help cope with the overcrowding on existing trains.

If there is not sufficient rolling stock or locomotives why has British Rail Engineering Limited (Brel) been dismantled, knowing this?

Control

If there is not sufficient numbers of staff to cover the extra work load why have no new employees been taken on?

The railway is being run without sufficient staff at the moment, and underpaid staff are doing overtime just to make ends meet.

This one issue raises the question—who should run the railway?

Who knows what the passengers and staff need? Its obvious that our un-elected British Railways Board (BRB) does not.

However, if they did they would give passengers a cheap, reliable and regular service, which in turn would improve wages and give better working conditions for BRB staff.

Privatisation

But the policies put forward by the BRB only reflect the Tories' attitude toward the railway and other nationalised industries ie. run the industry down and then privatise the profitable remains.

That is why nationalisation cannot be fully achieved simply by the changing of the director and the higher management like in 1965, but the workers and passengers have to be given the right to elect representatives from both unions and passengers to run the railway efficiently and effectively in the interests of ordinary people not capitalist accountants.

By Andy Viner

Management play on divisions

I WORK for British Rail Southern Region, as a Railway Shopman at Selhurst Depot. I have been there for just over two and a half years.

For the first two years or so I worked as a fibreglass laminator and now I work in the repairs shop as a lifter.

This involves stripping down the Bogies and replacing old and worn springs, brakes, wheels etc.

Unfortunately relations between the workers in the repair shop are not good and the management have used this to their advantage.

They have repeatedly played off our shop against the inspection sheds and the paint shop.

The safety standards in our shop

are diabolically low. There is no trained nurse on the whole depot and our 'first aid' room is just a 'portacabin'.

The floor is filthy in some areas, and there must be an inch thick of mud and grime on it.

The fumes in the Fibreglass shop, were above danger level and that situation has only recently been seen to.

When the trains come into the shop for repairs, the 5mph speed limit is often ignored and instead they come hurtling in! Management have done nothing about this.

I recently organised a collection for the railway strike in South

Africa and got £35 which I thought was good.

I was really impressed by the response of some of the workers who donated to it. I hope that I might be able to discuss Militant's ideas and sell the paper to these workers as they seemed very interested and concerned to hear about the strike.

The NUR recently set up a workplace branch, which meets once a fortnight. I can see the long overdue and desperate need for strong and united workforce at Selhurst especially now that the management seems to be tightening their grip.

By Clive Kilmartin

Industrial Reports

Democracy on crutches in GMB

Boilermaker Dave Platts has had to take out a High Court injunction to force the GMBATU leadership to admit him to the union congress to which he had been elected delegate.

He had topped the Boilermakers section in Yorkshire in elections for conference delegates last February.

He had received correspondence up to May, but following the postponement of the Congress for the election the union leadership at-

tempted to exclude him from the Congress this week.

Dave broke his leg in April and came out of hospital last Thursday. On Monday he phoned his area official to find out when the congress was being held, only to be told it had started that morning in London at TUC headquarters.

The official said that upon seeing a report in the local newspaper about Dave's accident he had

assumed Dave wouldn't be going and appointed another delegate!

Dave insisted upon his right to attend and travelled to London to demand admission. He was eventually admitted to the standing orders committee.

But after some deliberation they refused to admit him or to give any reason for their decision.

To protect his democratic rights and those of other rank and file

members open to such bureaucratic manoeuvres—he was forced to go to the High Court and obtain an injunction against his own union leadership.

Finally at 10.30 Wednesday morning he was given delegate credentials and admitted to the conference, on crutches, in a victory for rank and file democracy in the GMBATU.

Apex — GMB merger

DUE TO the calling of the general election the Apex union conference was cut to one and a half days on 6 and 7 June in Scarborough.

The conference is to be reconvened in November to discuss outstanding business and receive a report from the Executive Council on its detailed negotiations about a proposed merger with the GMBATU.

The merger issue dominated conference. Due to the role of the EETPU during the Wapping dispute a motion preventing any discussions with the EETPU was overwhelmingly passed. The Apex delegates to the TUC were also called upon to support any disciplinary action against the EETPU including expulsion for their role.

Composite motions involving any further talks with ASTMS/Tass or the AEU were ruled out and the EC position that full talks with the GMBATU were most suitable, were passed.

Any report produced by the EC if acceptable to conference in November will then be taken to a full ballot of the Apex memberships. All Apex branches must ensure that any issues on merger are fully discussed at rank and file level prior to conference in November.

The other issue at conference involved rule revisions where the right wing clawed back some of the concessions gained on democracy within the union three years ago. Attempts to remove the proscribed list of organisations and newspapers (including *Militant*, of which a number were sold) were defeated.

The absence of any organised left intervention in conference was all too apparent. While the right wing have openly organised their campaigns for elections under the title of "Apex first", the soft left have prevaricated around a grouping with no name.

The time is now ripe for an open and democratic Apex Broad Left working within Apex's constitution. Only in such a way will the left be able to make and consolidate any gains.

By Bill Blackstock
(personal capacity)

Cohse must fight to defend NHS

IN THE wake of the Tory election victory the leadership of Cohse have returned to the ideas of 'new realism' with a vengeance.

By Mick Barwood

'There is no alternative', was the final warning given to conference by the new general secretary Hector McKenzie, speaking for the national executive committee rule changes to fall in line with the Tory anti-trade union laws.

Fearful of the possibility of the loss of their salaries and privileges, Hector McKenzie reeled off a list of trade unions who have faced such a fate. He underlined the point by saying it cost the miners £2 million to learn that there is no alternative.

Mr McKenzie then must understand that if there is no alternative to bending the knee to the Tories and their friends in big business, many of whom are now running the NHS, he will be overseeing the demise of the NHS.

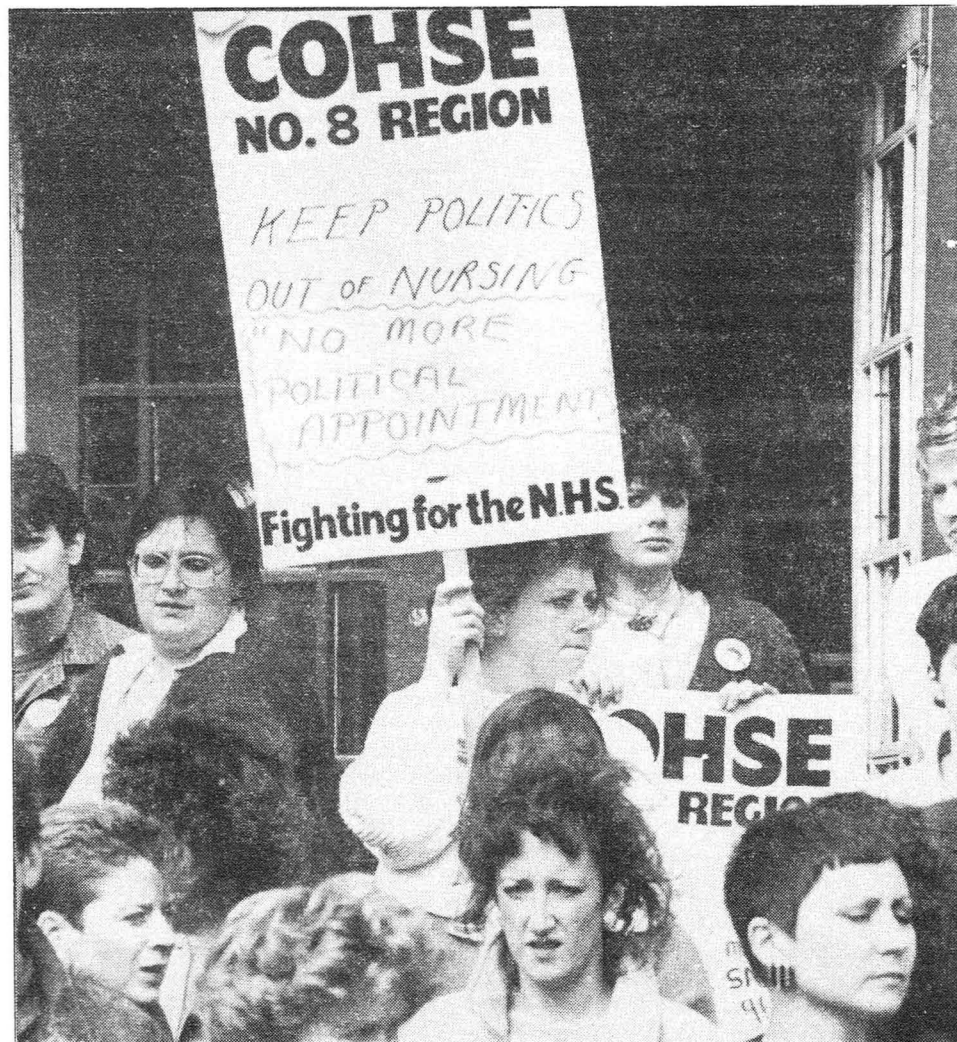
He prefers instead to rely on the fact that "the NHS is the Achilles heel of the Tories" and that it is this which will bring the Tories tumbling down.

Undoubtedly the NHS, amongst other issues, is a vulnerable one for the Tories. But McKenzie somehow imagines that the Tories will go without a push.

He would prefer to rely upon spontaneity rather than firm and positive leadership campaigning to defend jobs and services and giving a fighting lead.

The phrase 'The next election starts now', which Neil Kinnock made straight after the election has already been adopted here by the leadership as meaning wait until the next Labour government is elected.

One can admire his op-



timism, but between now and the next general election thousands upon thousands of NHS workers will suffer the blunted Tory scalpels cutting away at hospitals, jobs and services.

They cannot wait for the next Labour government and they dare not wait for a lead from their so-called leaders. For bubbling under the surface is a mood of dissatisfaction and anger.

As Broad Left presidential candidate Kevin Mullins said to the conference in his hustings speech: "The days of cosy, peaceful and fruitful discussion and negotiations are gone".

No amount of witch

hunting, *Militant* baiting or organisational manoeuvres will alter that fact. The future opening up for the NHS is one of protracted battles and disputes.

Those in the Broad Left offering an alternative and showing a fighting lead will more and more become accepted as the real alternative within Cohse.

Solid base

The growing potential for the left was shown in the debate on the Labour Party's 'Youth Consultation' proposals. Adrian O'Malley from Pinderfields hospital in Wakefield, an ex-Young Socialist member

won support for a resolution opposing the proposals on a show of hands.

The obstacles the left faces were exposed crudely when the president delayed a card vote until full time officials had rushed round delegates in the coffee bar pushing them into conference to support the leadership on an issue they never heard debated.

But Kevin Mullins' second place in the presidential elections, albeit with 380 votes against 2,569 (in a branch vote) shows a solid base of support for the Broad Left to build on in the many impending struggles.

By Bob Russell
(Willesden No1 NUR,
personal cap.)

Ashton garment strike against wage cuts

163 MACHINISTS, mostly women, walked out from H.R.Howards, garment makers of Ashton in Cheshire, in response to management attempts to impose drastic wage cuts.

The action follows a strike in January over the same issue which was successful in temporarily beating back management demands.

Even after a secret ballot of 4 to 1 in favour of strike action, management refused to negotiate and instead offered the "choice" of being sacked without redundancy pay or continue working but with new pay and conditions.

The new pay scales would mean a reduction from £103 to £87 a week with further cuts coming from changes to the piece work agreement.

A further ballot was called and the result was 163:5 to come out.

11 workers from the cutting room and 2 general workers took solidarity action.

Although some sections of the workforce are still inside, work is at a standstill. As one picket, Ann Tiplady commented, "What's left in are being paid for looking through the window".

24-hour picket lines were immediately organised with up to 30 workers, waving red union flags despite the thunderstorms.

Delegations were sent to the sister factories in Barnsley, Middleton and Halifax to ask for solidarity action.

Barnsley gave immediate support — half the workforce come out in sympathy.

Middleton refused to handle Ashton work. Halifax came out two days later and are sending fraternal pickets to Ashton.

The mood on the picket line is determined and confident. In the past, workers have forgone pay rises "for the sake of the company", even though many of the workers are the only wage earners in the family or are single-parents.

The attitude towards management is hostile as they "drive scabs through the line in their D-registration cars with free petrol."

Elaine Palmer the NUHKW (National Union of Hosiery and Knitwear Workers) convenor, who spoke to *Militant* commented, "all we want is our jobs and a fair deal—it's not much to ask!"

Messages of support to: Elaine Palmer, NUHKW convenor, c/o 57 Dona Street, Stockport, Cheshire.

Rail union faces Tory attacks

This year's NUR (National Union of Railwaymen) conference is one of the first union conferences since the general election defeat.

There can be no doubt that the British Rail Board would have gained renewed confidence to continue pushing the 'Traincrew concept', planning and pushing for privatisation.

That's why it is vitally important that resolutions on the respective issues

which refer to opposition must be supported, with the understanding that campaigning is important to explain the issues but equally, if not more important, is putting forward a strategy, raising questions like "How do we involve all grades of the NUR?" and "Which is the best possible way to gain support from other unions?"

Over the past couple of years we have definitely

won the propaganda war, but we have not explained how we can win. Now that the Tories are back in, this must be the priority because with the policies BRB are putting forward, within a couple of years we will probably have to take industrial action to defend our jobs and conditions. Even the right to organise is in the BRB's sights.

That's why every barrier must be broken down be-

tween grades and other rail unions not just nationally but more importantly locally. These coming years look bleak but if we learn from our mistakes, get well organised for the forthcoming events and put forward socialist policies this Tory government can be beaten.

Militant

S. Korea in revolutionary crisis.
See page 4

S. African miners at a crossroads.
See page 11.

Civil servants vote on all-out strike

THE NATIONAL Executive of the CPSA has decided to ballot members on all out industrial action from 20 July in pursuit of their 1987 pay claim. 11 weeks of selective action has had no effect on the Tories. The only effective step left is an all-out strike. But the CPSA's partners in the dispute, the SCPS, used the decision as a pretext to end their involvement in the joint campaign.

On Monday 22 June, a joint meeting of SCPS and CPSA heard the SCPS delegation reject the CPSA strategy of all out strike action, but they offered no credible alternative to it. Instead, they and their echoes on the CPSA national committee, the BL84 group wanted to continue with the programme of regional and selective action, apparently indefinitely.

The SCPS rejected the CPSA's call for unity in action and have now decided to try and do their own deal with the Treasury, while taking no industrial action at all.

Unity

It must be made clear that CPSA did not destroy the unity of the civil service pay campaign. Since the Union's conferences in May, CPSA has bent over backwards to accommodate the SCPS leadership, who insisted their strategy of regional selective action would win the dispute.

Now the SCPS leaders have unceremoniously abandoned their own strategy. CPSA members must appeal to them to ballot their members as the CPSA is doing. There is still the possibility of a united pay campaign.

CPSA's Broad Left leadership carefully considered SCPS's decision, but have decided that in order to win our pay claim, and to fight off the introduction of regional pay and merit pay, an all out indefinite strike is the only course open to us now. Plans have been laid to launch a campaign among members to secure a massive 'yes' vote in that ballot.

By Danny Williamson
CPSA National Executive
Committee
(personal capacity)

NO ALTERNATIVE

The Tories have made their intentions clear, they want to make civil servants the example for the private sector. They intend to abolish the national rate of pay, using regional pay where unemployment can be used to lower wages. They want to introduce merit pay where supervisors' assessments can determine living standards.

These measures if introduced would not only drive down even further the living standards of low paid also shatter the national unity of the union, setting member against member, region against region, and further weakening our ability to defend ourselves, and the services we provide.

CPSA members therefore have no option. We must defeat the government's plans for regional and merit pay, we must win the claim for £20 a week. We must use the massive power that is available to us in that fight. An all out strike involving the customs, the revenue services, the imports and the benefits services would be a massive show of power to the Tories.

Without CPSA members' the whole machinery of government would grind to a halt. Ports would close down and the Government would lose most of its revenue. As was shown in the 1981 strike, a CPSA strike would be a tremendous financial cost to the Tories.

The current programme



Civil servants picket Whitehall during the selective action programme.

Photo: Stefano Cagnoni (Report).

of regional action will go on with a two day strike of CPSA members in London and the South on the 25 and 26 of June. That will be followed by a two day strike in Wales, the Midlands and the North West on the 2 and 3 July.

National rally

A national rally has been organised for Sunday 5 July in London, followed by a series of town rallies over the next week between 6 and 8 July. Balloting will take place between Mon-

day 6 and Friday 17 July at workplace meetings.

Branch activists must now prepare for the ballot by arranging local meetings, circulating advice to members on how to cope in an all out strike situation and by signing up all non union members to the union immediately.

Civil servants can and must win the pay claim in 1987. We have no alternative but to fight. The all out strike is the only strategy that can win that campaign. Now for a 'yes' vote in the ballot.

The bankruptcy of right wing CPSA general secretary John Ellis, is shown by the fact that he can say to one newspaper that he wanted to suspend the industrial action as a means to "shock the government", and to

another newspaper that: "We have tried unsuccessfully to solve these problems since 1981 by talking and negotiations" and getting absolutely nowhere. How can he believe the Tories will ever listen to reasoned argument?

'Splits in the civil service unions?' See editorial, P2.

MacGREEDY! CHIEF



From the Sun 15 June

Sun slanders Macreadie

THE SLANDEROUS Sun has reported that the CPSA's newly elected Deputy General Secretary, John Macreadie, has broken a promise he made in his election campaign. It says he is drawing the full salary that goes with the post.

This is a lie. John refused to accept the General Secretary's salary. Last year John froze his salary as the union's Assistant Secretary and donates the difference between that and the average wage of a skilled worker back to the labour movement. Since then he has refused to accept any further increases.

The Tory rag has manufactured the story to demoralise civil servants during the pay campaign and discredit the Broad Left, whose candidate John was.

The Union is suing the Sun, a course of action which will undoubtedly be welcomed by the whole labour movement.

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- Reversal of all Tory cuts and a massive programme of public works on housing, education, the health service, etc.
- A minimum wage of £120 a week tied to the cost of living for all, including sick and disabled people.
- A socialist plan of production democratically drawn up and implemented by committees involving the trade unions, shop 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 a World Socialist 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, one-third from the TUC representing the working class as a whole, and one-third from the government.
- Opposition to the Tory government's anti-union laws and reversal of attacks on the trade unions.
- Massive cuts in arms spending. Support for unilateral nuclear disarmament, but with the recognition that only a socialist change of society in Britain and internationally can eliminate the danger of a nuclear holocaust.
- Nationalisation of the top 200 monopolies, including the banks and insurance companies which control 80 per cent to 85 per cent of the economy. This should be through an Enabling Bill in Parliament with minimum compensation on the basis of proven need.