

Solidarity price £1

Militant

The Marxist Paper for Labour and Youth

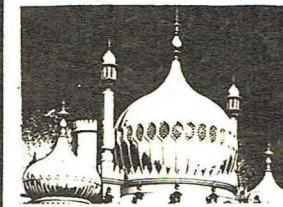
30p

ISSUE 812 29 August 1986

Inside...

TUC '86

See pages
8, 9 and 13



Workers strike against bigots

TRADE UNIONISTS in Northern Ireland struck a blow against sectarianism after the DHSS office in Lisburn received a phone call from the Ulster Freedom Fighters (alleged to be a front for the para-military Ulster Defence Association), demanding that all Catholic workers leave the office and do not return.

The staff held a meeting and agreed unanimously to walk out and to stay out until this threat was withdrawn. Housing Executive workers in Lisburn also walked out after a similar threat.

Staff at other DHSS offices then came out in solidarity with their members in Lisburn. 4,000 out of the 5,500 members of the NI Public Service Alliance (NIPSA) in the DHSS were involved. At most offices there was not even any discussion, just a spontaneous walk-out, usually unanimous.

In Lisburn there has been massive intimidation of workers on building sites and in offices and factories and over 100 families have been forced to move house. In the past when threats have been made, the DHSS have of-

fered transfers to those threatened. But these civil servants, Protestant and Catholic, the majority on less than £80 a week, refused to agree to transfers. The Protestant workers were saying they did not wish to work in segregated offices.

Inspiration

On Friday, the Lisburn workers voted to return to work on Tuesday provided that no further threats were received. None were, but the branch will review the situation if there are more threats. Several NIPSA branches have now called for the NI Committee of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions to organise a campaign against sectarian intimidation, by industrial action if necessary.



NIPSA members demonstrate

This stand by civil servants, at a time of bitter sectarian tension, is an inspiration to the whole trade union movement. It proves that a united workforce can begin to turn the tide against the bigots. Elsewhere in Northern Ireland, the situation remains ominous.

On 9 August there was widespread rioting, bombings and shootings in Catholic areas. Petrol bombs were thrown and rioting took place in the Falls Road and Ardoyne areas of Belfast. In the Bogside in Derry shots were also being fired at the army. Plastic bullets were fired, one of which went through the window of a house. Following the shooting incidents, the whole area was sealed off by the army from 3am until 8 or 9am. Those going to work on the Saturday morning

**Labour and Trade Union Group
Public Meeting
Wednesday 3 September 7.30pm
Heads Hotel
143-145 Kings Road, Brighton Sea Front
Speakers from the Northern Ireland
Labour and Trade Union Group
On seafront, turn right outside
conference centre and 150 yards after
the Metropole.**

Continued on page 2



Photo: Stefano Cagnoni (Report)

TUC—mobilise for Labour victory

THE TRADES Union Congress in Brighton could well be the last before the general election. If the TUC and the Labour Party can unite around a programme which will convince working-class voters that a Labour victory really will change their lives for the better, Thatcher's calamitous years in power can be brought to an end.

Jobs and low pay are the key issues. When an advert appeared in the Newcastle *Evening Chronicle* for 16 engineering and construction jobs in Germany, no less than 1500 applied. They were not lured by the attractions of *Auf Wiedersehen Pet* but driven by despair; three quarters of them were unemployed.

Unemployment is being used to blackmail workers into accepting lower wages. 16 million now live below the official poverty line. Yet Britain's 20,000 millionaires own more wealth than the poorest half of the country put together.

The Tories and the bosses bemoan the 'high level' of wage increases. They do not mention that while workers' wages are rising by 7 per cent, directors' salaries have been going up by 18.4 per cent, topped by a 70 per cent rise for Lord Hanson.

The TUC must speak for that poorer half of society, and many more who work for a living. If the TUC and the Labour Party could offer the prospect of secure employ-

ment and a decent standard of living to these millions, Labour would sweep to power. This requires a programme of:

★ A 35 hour week with no loss of pay, to create jobs and share out the benefits of new technology;

★ A crash programme of urgently needed public works;

★ A guaranteed minimum wage of £120 a week;

★ The public ownership of the millionaires' monopolies, under workers' control and management, with compensation only in cases of need.

★ A socialist plan of production, democratically drawn up, to reinvest in industry and to use the wealth created by the workers for raising living standards and improving social services.

The demand for a minimum wage does not mean support for an 'incomes policy' which seeks to hold down increases for other workers. Union freedom to negotiate the best deal possible for their members is essential to ensure that the minimum wage was paid and that the level is raised in line with rising prices and profits.

This socialist programme and not the 'new realism' that accepts that no fundamental change is possible, is the way forward for the TUC and the Labour Party, if victory is to be assured and a future offered to the next generation. (See also pages 2, 8, 9 and 13).

Militant

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

Union democracy not legal chains

DESPITE THE TUC leaders' compromise formula on trade union ballots, the controversy surrounding the issue will continue. No carefully ambiguous form of words can disguise the issue of principle which is at stake.

Proposals agreed between the leaders of the Labour Party and TUC would commit the next Labour government to "lay down statutory principles for inclusion in union rule books based on the right for union members to have a secret ballot on decisions relating to strikes."

The TUC leaders' formula to go before congress endorses this policy of ballots before all strikes. Neil Kinnock has thus drawn the TUC leaders behind a policy which would leave trade unionists open to legal sanctions after taking strike action in defence of their jobs and conditions. A court in all but name "presided over by a legally qualified person" would have the power to issue instructions to unions in response to complaints by individual members that the union was not complying with its rules. Thus, a single management stooge could prevent strike action being taken in response to a shop steward being sacked, even if the rest of the workforce were willing and eager to walk out there and then.

Under the pressure of the trade union movement, Kinnock has been forced to pledge to repeal the Tory government's anti-union laws. But under the counter pressure of big business, as articulated in the press, he has insisted that legally enforceable ballots must remain.

Kinnock and Co argue however that ballots are 'popular with the voters' and that failure to include provision for them in Labour's programme would harm the party's chances. To a large extent this 'popularity' reflects the bogus 'public opinion' cultivated by the mass media, with their daily diet of anti-union propaganda. To use this criterion as a basis for formulating Labour Party policy is a recipe for capitulating to the Tories at every major issue. It is the duty of a Labour leadership to explain the truth about such laws and defend the principle of trade union freedom from legal sanctions.

It is not enough, however, for left trade union leaders simply to deplore government interference and defend their unions' traditional practices. For Kinnock could not get away with the argument about the 'popularity' of his proposals were it not for the fact that many workers have been genuinely concerned at the lack of democracy and membership involvement in some trade unions. They share the criticism expressed by *Militant* of union full-time officials who are elected or appointed for life on salaries closer to those of the management than the shop-floor and who are remote from the day-to-day problems of the workers they are paid to represent.

In no way, however, can the law and the state be used to put right these abuses. As the experience of such laws under both the Heath and Thatcher governments has proved, the law invariably comes down in favour of the employers. The legal and civil service establishment which operate the laws all share the same wealthy background and the same hostility to organised labour; the whole system is geared to maintaining society as it is with all its privileges and inequalities.

The fight for trade union democracy can only be won by the rank and file themselves, within the unions, by campaigning on the shop-floor and in the branches for the programme advocated by *Militant* supporters. This calls for the election of all union officials, with the right of recall over them, for officials to be paid no more than the average wage of a skilled worker, for full consultation with all the members involved before any action is taken. This means a vote either in a ballot or on a show of hands, but after a meeting at or near the workplace where all the issues can be explained and debated, not a postal ballot where the members can only read the bosses' argument in the pages of the press.

By adopting this programme, union activists can cut the ground from under the feet of Kinnock and Willis, by demonstrating to workers as a whole that trade unions under the control of their members, far from being a threat to democracy, are the greatest bastion in defence of democratic rights. In the 150 years during which trade unions have been fighting to free themselves from legal restrictions, they have always been at the forefront of every other fight for greater democracy.

After seven years of Tory government which has tried to drag unions back to the legal status they endured in the last century, it is understandable that there is now a longing to see Labour back in office. But if Labour wins only to re-impose some of the legal shackles the workers have been fighting to shake off, the battles will have to be fought again to secure a genuinely independent and democratic movement to defend workers' rights.



Photo: Derek Speirs (Report)

Loyalists in Dundalk shelter from missiles after bigot Peter Robinson appeared in court.

Continued from page 1

were forced to run a gauntlet of searches and army checkpoints.

At the Shorts aircraft factory in East Belfast, a number of Catholics had their clocking on cards taken and ripped up by Protestant bigots. Then posters warning named Catholic workers to get out went up in the factory and a Protestant shop steward who, despite threats, attended the recent Irish Congress of Trade Unions (ICTU) conference then found a dead rat in his locker at work.

Growing numbers of trade unionists are beginning to see the need to organise their own defence from sectarian attack, as can be seen from the

motions passed recently at meetings of the North and West Belfast Joint Shop Stewards Committee and the Executive of Belfast Trades Council. Indeed a recent meeting between Belfast Trades Council and the Northern Irish Committee of the ICTU agreed to organise a campaign for trade unionists and other workers against sectarianism.

Now is the time for the trade union movement not just to condemn sectarianism but to work out a strategy of how to protect workers from sectarian attacks and to go onto the offensive and combat sectarianism. The action by DHSS workers shows the way forward.

By a *Militant* reporter

Extryism

DEFECTORS FROM the Labour Party follow a well-known pattern. Robert Kilroy-Silk, who is resigning his Knowsley seat to join BBC Television, follows in the footsteps of a long line of middle-class extryists who have used the parliamentary Labour Party as a vehicle for their careers.

The Labour Party has served its purpose. Fame and fortune, especially a fortune in the form of a media contract is assured. But it looks disloyal, not to say mercenary, to desert the Party so blatantly. Not good for a media-person's image!

So blame the Party! "Of course, I remain absolutely committed to the principles I've upheld all along (self-promotion, self-aggrandisement, etc.). But the Party's changed out of all recognition (they've seen through me!)".

The MP then reveals that the Party has been virtually taken over by dangerous extremists. This reassures prospective bosses that their man has not been tainted by any dangerous tendencies. Fees from the sale of these inside stories to TV, tabloids, publishers also help cover removal expenses, new suits etc.

The classic example is Brian Walden who dumped his Birmingham Ladywood seat in 1977 to become presenter of LWT's *Weekend World*.

The real Labour Party, for Walden, was the one led by right-wing social democrat Hugh Gaitskell. According to an in-depth profile by the *Sunday Times* (18 September 1977), Gaitskell "cultivated" the up-and-coming Brian in Oxford and in 1961 "wangled him the Labour nomination in the Oswestry by-election".

Once in Parliament however, the ambitious Walden failed to flourish. Harold Wilson took over the leadership, but did not provide Walden with the expected "encouragement". Denied ministerial perks, Walden augmented his MPs pay with a few consultancies.

One of these was a £5,000 a-year "parliamentary runner" to the National Association of Bookmakers. He also was consultant to a computer firm, a public relations firm, the Business Equipment Trades Association, the Amusement Trades Association, and the Amusement Caterers Association. All this helped Walden to get by until he was offered the lucrative LWT job, rumoured in 1977 to be worth £40,000 a year.

Of course, it was the party which had changed: "Gaitskell meant what he said, Wilson didn't". "Red Fascists" purported to represent the Labour Party, "Marxism represents evil, does evil and will go on doing evil". His heroes? "Men like Roosevelt and Churchill who... saved civilisation!"

After his resignation, Walden indiscretely let it slip out that, "I was disenchanted before I even took my seat..." But, he told the *Sunday Times*, he remained implacable about his most cherished principle—loyalty: "Disloyalty: destroys all reasonable human intercourse, to me a traitor is ten times worse than a murderer!"

What more can you say?

By Lynn Walsh

Botha's terror fails to break blacks

ELEVEN BLACK people shot dead last Tuesday night in defending a rent strike in Soweto—and three policemen seriously injured by a hand grenade thrown at them—characterise the stormy nature of the present period in South Africa. Rent strikes are continuing in 38 other townships.

Chinks in the curtain of censorship imposed under Botha's state of emergency are now revealing the extent of the terror directed against the black majority.

Some 14 000 are now estimated to have been detained, at least 3 000 of them under 16 years old. Children as young as 12 have suffered electric shock torture.

Black schools have been turned into virtual prisons, with police and troops enforcing rigid discipline in the classrooms. Students are sometimes forbidden to go to the toilet, and, if they plead they are menstruating, asked to "prove it".

Under siege

Many black townships are under siege. At Zwelethembwa, for example, near the small town of Worcester, an army camp enforces a dusk-to-dawn curfew and trains searchlights on the township through the night, which often rest on the front doors of suspected activists.

Yet all this cannot break the will of black working people to change society—to achieve national liberation and socialism. Bloodied, on the defensive for the moment, the movement is fundamentally undefeated.

Botha suffered a major setback at the very time he was 'defiantly' announcing his intention to proceed with his pitiful attempts to put a better face on apartheid—including the dream of turning black townships into "city-states". His puppets in the KwaNdebele Bantustan unanimously rejected his 'offer of independence'.

This was after mass revolt by the

people of KwaNdebele—including an all-out strike by state employees! In the KwaNdebele 'parliament', the Speaker pleaded with the public gallery "not to kill your MPs" but to speak to them instead "as they are your servants"!

Botha's rejection of the pleas of his imperialist backers to make dramatic reforms is a sign not of strength but of weakness. It reflects the impasse of the SA ruling class in the face of an unfolding revolutionary crisis.

At the same time, after two years of struggle which could not break the stalemate, the movement has entered a period of relative ebb—one that will be volatile and explosive, in which activists will be digesting the lessons of the revolutionary upsurge, and working out more effective methods of struggle for the bigger eruptions which will inevitably come.

In preparing for the future, the principal task is extending, deepening, and strengthening the mass organisations. In the trade union and youth field there is the need for organising the unorganised, and for binding workers and youth firmly together around impregnable bastions of local workplace-based organisation.

The first issue of COSATU's newspaper, appearing this month, points the way forward in calling for the building of COSATU locals—and for a campaign for a national living wage, index-linked to price rises.

The COSATU leaders have the task of making campaigns such as these a reality. The ANC leadership also must turn from talking with the bosses and futile urban bombings to guide the work of building trade union and youth organisation. Linked together, such organisations can lay the foundations of a mass ANC on a socialist programme, preparing the working class for the conquest of power from the regime and the capitalist class it defends.

By Richard Monroe

Australian budget assault on workers

THE AUSTRALIAN Labor government's budget is a savage attack on workers' living standards. For British Labour activists it is a warning of what would happen if a British Labour government tried to operate within the confines of a crisis-ridden capitalist economy.

Hawke's government has:

- ★ Cut government spending by £1250 million, including cuts in health (£125m), welfare (£208m), education and foreign aid;
- ★ Deferred pension increases;
- ★ Reintroduced fees for higher education and raised charges for overseas students;
- ★ Delayed promised income tax cuts;
- ★ Increased sales tax on a wide range of products;

- ★ Introduced identity cards to counter alleged social security and tax fraud;
- ★ Removed the ban on the export of uranium ore to France;
- ★ Demanded that wages rise by no more than two per cent when prices are expected to rise by eight per cent.

Not even Thatcher has tried to impose such a range of attacks on workers. They will be met with bitter hostility from the Australian trade union movement. They will reinforce the swing away from Labor shown by polls and by a recent election in New South Wales where there was a 17 per cent swing against Labor.

The budget was provoked by the soaring trade deficit and falling

value of the currency.

Foreign debt stands at A\$90,000 and interest payments account for 35 per cent of exports. Although an advanced industrial country, like many third world countries, Australia has been suffering from the drop in the price of the many basic commodities which it exports.

Bosses pleased

Following Mitterrand in France, Gonzalez in Spain and Papandreu in Greece, Hawke has responded to a crisis in the capitalist economy by making the workers pay. A New York banker's spokesman said he didn't know how this budget would affect the government electorally, "but it should boost the image of

Australia on Wall Street."

What should particularly concern British workers is that Hawke has taken these drastic steps in a situation which apart from the commodity price falls, is far more favourable than is likely to face the next Labour government here. Unemployment stands at 7.4 per cent, compared to 11.9 per cent in Britain, and production is growing at four per cent a year, while here it is virtually stagnant.

If Kinnock follows Hawke in trying to implement reforms for the workers at the same time as operating a capitalist economy geared to making profits, he will end up with budgets even worse than this one. Electoral defeat will loom as large as it does now for

Hawke. This budget provides the clearest proof that there is no way Labour governments can satisfy both workers and bosses. Their interests are in inevitable conflict.

In Australia the struggle will have to be stepped up for socialist policies for Labor, based on the nationalisation of the big monopolies which control the economy, a break with capitalism and a socialist plan of production. In Britain, the lesson has to be learned and the next Labour government committed to a socialist programme which will make budgets like this one impossible.

By Pat Craven

Tenants demonstrate over boy's death from solvents

TENANTS AND children from an estate in Bermondsey, saddened and angry at the death of 14 year old Lee Kendall after he drank a bottle of typewriter fluid, marched to Southwark council offices to hand in a petition against the sale of solvents to children.

The demonstration of nearly 100, mostly women and children, was joined by John Bryan, Labour's prospective parliamentary candidate, and other members of Bermondsey Labour Party. The petition, with over 1600 signatures, was handed in to councillor Brian Kelly, chair of public services.

Brian Kelly said that the Tories had turned their backs on the problems of Southwark. He said that the council had written to all shop keepers warning them not to sell solvents to children. Trading standards officers had been ordered to crack down on offenders.

Demonstrators applauded when he said that the council would be 'relentless' in its efforts to stop the sale of solvents to children.

The tenants' anger was first directed at a local newsagent who allegedly gave three bottles of typewriter fluid to Lee Kendall and his friends in exchange for a radio cassette recorder. After sniffing the solvent in the local park Lee's friends forced him to drink it which lead to his tragic death.

The newsagent has now been charged with selling solvents to under 18 year olds, handling stolen goods and causing actual bodily harm.

The tenants, from Birtchall estate where Lee Kendall lived, organised a campaign to boycott the newsagent and stop the sale of solvents to children from this and other shops. They picketed the shop every even-

ing for a week and collected signatures for the petition.

John Bryan, who has been closely involved in the campaign, said: "I have two children. Like many people in Bermondsey I'm concerned and angry over the tragic death of Lee Kendall. Bermondsey is facing an epidemic of solvent and drug abuse."

Lee Kendall was the seventh child in South London to die from solvent abuse this year. A survey recently carried out by the National Campaign Against Solvent Abuse found that one in four teenagers in South London had taken dangerous solvents. The problem of solvent abuse now touches every estate and includes children still at primary school.

Stiff penalties

John Bryan called for stiffer penalties for those found guilty of selling solvents to children.

"There needs to be a campaign involving tenants' associations, youth organisations, and the local labour movement to monitor the sale of solvents in local shops. There should also be a massive injection of government cash to train school staff, produce videos, and run courses in schools to warn children of the dangers of drug abuse.

"Drug and solvent abuse can only be stamped out when the conditions which lead to addiction are tackled. We need a Labour government to regenerate the inner cities by building new houses and leisure facilities and creating jobs for youth, to wipe out the hopelessness and despair on which drug addiction and solvent abuse feeds".

By Willie Griffin



Liverpool parties back Militant

DESPITE ATTEMPTS by the Labour Party leadership to witch-hunt socialist ideas from the party, five constituency Labour Parties in Merseyside have sent in amendments for the Labour Party conference, moved by *Militant* supporters.

Amendments sent in from Broadgreen and West Derby both defend the proud record of the Labour Party Young Socialists and condemn the NEC's attempt to neuter the youth section's campaigning abilities. Other amendments call for the end to nuclear power and a socialist alternative to the Tory Anglo-Irish Agreement. Crosby CLP, in solidarity with their Liverpool comrades are demanding an end to the NEC inquiry and the witch-hunt of Derek Hatton, Tony Mulhearn and other Liverpool socialists.

Liverpool Parties had already submitted resolutions demanding support for local authorities fighting government cuts and one congratulating Dave Nellist on his campaign against low pay and calling for £120 a week minimum wage.

The right wing's attempts to defeat the ideas of *Militant* by organisational manoeuvres has clearly failed. The task now falls on the shoulders of Labour activists to ensure that the conference rejects any further expulsions and draws up a socialist programme capable of sweeping away the Tory government and ending once and for all the nightmare conditions facing millions of workers.

American impressed

The *Liverpool Echo*, which has devoted acres of space to denigrating the achievements of Liverpool City Council has published the following letter which in a few lines contradicts all their slanders:

"As an American on holiday here visiting my husband's family, I find the local political scene both fascinating and puzzling.

"For instance the *Militants*, are they responsible for all the

marvellous houses, urban renewal schemes, the Everton Park schemes etc?

"I keep reading and hearing that Liverpool has a *Militant* dominated council. Is that such a bad thing if they are doing such good things? At home I vote Republican, but if we had your *Militants* over there I would vote for them."

Evelyn Hughes,
Liverpool 4.

Marxist Weekend School

London, 13 and 14 September

University of London Union, Malet Street, London WC1

Starts 10am Saturday/Finishes 4pm (approx) Sunday

- DEBATE BETWEEN Peter Taaffe, editor *Militant* and Monty Johnstone, editor of *Marxism Today*.

- Rally on Hungary 1956 and the political revolution today with Alan Woods speaking.

- Main courses will be: South Africa and the colonial revolution with Tyrone Simpson speaking and Ireland with a speaker from *Militant Irish Monthly*. Courses will also include:

theory of Marxism, Russian Revolution, Marxism and the trade unions, women and the struggle for socialism, black struggles and Marxist economics.

- Eisenstein's film *Battleship Potemkin* about the 1905 Russian Revolution will be showing. Also video, 'Kemira—diary of a strike' about Australian miners' stay-down strike. Book now for your free course study guide.

Disco and bar Professional crèche

All this for £8/£6 unwaged. Book now and get free detailed course study guide.

Name.....

Address.....

..... Course

Need crèche.....

Need accommodation.....

Please make cheques payable to 'MWES', return to MWES 3/13 Hepscott Road, London E9 5HB.

THE 1986-87 football season started last week with many clubs panicking about the future. KEVIN PARSLAW looks at the problems which beset the 'industry' which runs the world's most popular game.

The clubs are trying to restore the friendly image of Britain's favourite sport. But the picture which has stuck firmest in people's minds has been the bloody and bandaged faces of rival football fans after a 'pitched battle' on a ferry back from Amsterdam.

Football pundits like businessman/commentator Jimmy Hill have come up with the usual solutions—withdraw their passports, lock them up, ban them. Yet when Hill was contemplating a football tour of South Africa, he had no criticism of the organised thuggery of the Botha regime.

What is more, these 'solutions' would not stop the hooliganism which reflects the increasingly violent society we live in. The 'British disease' is not unique to Britain. Thugs known as the 'brave warriors' attend football matches just for the fights in Argentina, where 96 people have died at matches since 1958.

Fans neglected

Hooligans are not football's only problem. Soccer is dominated by big business, as the huge profits and advertising revenue of the World Cup showed. But that has not stopped the professional game slipping into problems. The fans themselves are neglected, a prime cause of their disaffection.

Financial problems are perhaps the biggest headache for football internationally. In South America the situation is precarious. The best players go to Europe because South American clubs cannot afford to pay the same money. In many cases wages are not paid at all for several weeks!

Penarol of Uruguay owed its players \$65,000 at one stage. Boca Juniors of Argentina had to give 33 of its players free transfers because it could not pay them. To bring Brazil's top player Zico back from Italy, a consortium involving Coca Cola and Xerox paid \$450,000; his wages are now partly paid by sportswear firm Adidas. In return the companies gained important advertising deals in World Cup year.

In Europe sponsorship is equally important. In Spain only three first division clubs regularly make a profit. Real Madrid, the Spanish champions, owe \$5 million to the banks. In Italy Juventus was the only first division club to make a profit of more than \$20,000 in their last financial year, and most top clubs receive sponsorship of over \$750,000. AC Milan has debts of at least \$10 million!

In England in the last financial year 56 out of 92 football league clubs lost money. Half the clubs had debts greater than all their assets except their stadiums. Although in their last published accounts the clubs together broke even, their combined debt amounts to £30 million. In 1947 only six out of 92 football league clubs lost money!



Mexican fans at the World Cup.

Football chasing the big money, neglecting the fans

The crisis is compounded by falling attendances, with 25 per cent fewer people watching Football League matches than in 1978-79. To offset this and rising expenditure, clubs raise the admission prices. Most clubs in the First Division will charge £2.50-£3 to stand, sometimes without cover. Real prices of admissions have doubled since 1968. Linked to the threat of violence and the poor facilities (especially since the events at Brussels and Bradford last year) this led to an accelerating fall in attendances last season giving further impetus to the economic catastrophe facing English football.

Some clubs have turned to other 'solutions'—Tottenham Hotspur raised £4 million on the Stock Exchange, and installed "Executive Boxes" aimed at big business, at rates of £10,000 or more per season. These 'solutions' are not available in the lower divisions—a fourth division club would not find many buyers for its shares on the Stock Exchange if it was financially unviable to start with.

Football is run by the rich for the rich and workers just pay their money, without a say in the running of clubs. It does not matter whether they are genuine sports clubs as in much of the Continent or limited companies as in Britain or Italy. The committees and boards of directors comprise

businessmen and lawyers, who have got rich making money out of workers in other companies.

Despite their self-styled expertise, directors sack managers and coaches normally after very short periods of time, thus ensuring no continuity of plans or tactics. They have also no real idea about how football nationally and internationally should be run.

The press predictably put forward Thatcherite solutions. They would like to see a smaller first division and fewer clubs. Some clubs will have to replace full-time professional players with part-time semi-professionals.

Super League

The big clubs, threatening a breakaway Super League, have gained some advantages. More income from TV and sponsorship will go their way and they will have a bigger say in the running of the league. A few seasons ago they agreed that all money collected from attendances should go to the home club rather than a share going to the away club. This has hit smaller clubs who looked forward to journeys to Liverpool or Manchester United more for the financial reward than league table points.

The trend is clear; the weak are to go to the wall, just as bankruptcies have increased under the Tory government. Already several clubs

such as Swansea, Hull and Bristol City have only been saved by the intervention of a new consortium of businessmen.

When the Labour Party Young Socialists raised the question of a total reorganisation of football to benefit ordinary people, Bobby Robson, now the England manager, attacked the idea of the "nationalisation of football". Yet he is prepared to advocate state money in football in the form of taking young football apprentices on YTS.

The football clubs also wish more state money would come their way. Apart from TV, football receives via the government £7 million from Spot-the-Ball competitions, and the clubs would like to see the £5.5 million from the pools companies each year topped up by a share of the £200 million in tax revenue from those same companies. And clubs have offered to sell their grounds to local authorities to stave off ruin temporarily.

The fans who pay to stand in the wet and cold all winter have little or no say in how their clubs and football should be managed. The Jimmy Hills just tell them how they are going to organise football. No wonder supporters are staying away in droves.

Many of them are not leaving football though; the amateur game is involving more clubs and players

than ever before. In these small clubs, normally run by elected committees, footballers can get a say in how their club should be organised. That should be the structure throughout the game, with supporters and players joining together.

450 million viewers

In the near future, many players in the lower divisions who do not earn the exorbitant salaries of international players could face the dole if they are not prepared to go part-time. A mood of anger could even raise the prospect of footballers going on strike as they did in Spain two years ago.

There is no diminished interest in football internationally. 450 million people watched the World Cup Final in 1982 on television. Only Neil Armstrong's first steps on the moon had more viewers.

Every commentator and writer on football says the game should change with the times. What they mean is that it should become even more under the control of big business. But football is divided by the class system just as capitalism divides society and in the struggle to change society, the parasites who run sport in general will be swept away by those who really want to organise sport as recreation for millions of people internationally.

£1,000 for Militant

A 62 year old *Militant* supporter, Ernie White from the Isle of Wight, has given a massive £1,000 donation to the paper's fighting fund.

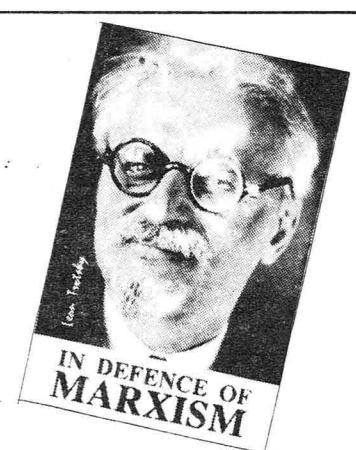
Ernie was made redundant, having worked almost 20 years as a shipyard labourer.

He joined the Labour Party in 1982 following the nurses' pay dispute, when the workers at his shipyard went on a half day solidarity strike. He became a member of the party to replace the career-minded right-wing leader-

ship with a fighting socialist leadership in touch with the rank and file.

The *Militant*, Ernie believes, is the only newspaper that consistently supports workers in struggle and fights for the improvement of the living standards of ordinary people. The donation, he says, will go towards helping *Militant* publish daily, enthusing even more workers with socialist ideas.

By Peter Serjent
(Portsmouth LPYS)



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

Make plans for mass youth march

KICK OUT the Tories—we can't wait 'till '88. Bring Labour back in with socialist policies. That is the message from Bermondsey Labour Party Young Socialists. They've called for a massive demonstration against the Tories on 18 October.

Conditions in Bermondsey for young people are like many other inner city areas—heroin addiction and solvent abuse is widespread. Today 7,584 are unemployed in Bermondsey. On some estates the unemployment rate is 80 per cent.

So get your LPYS branch to organise

a contingent to the march. The demonstration will be backed by the LPYS national committee.

Every section of the movement should also give support, particularly those preparing to foist changes on the party's youth section designed to undermine its campaigning strength.

Labour could win a clear majority of the youth vote in the next election, but this cannot be taken for granted. The Party must put out a call for young people to join, and take part in a massive youth campaign which could inspire the whole party.



Unemployed youth keeping warm under the heaters in front of Littlewood's in Barnsley.

Photo: Philip Gordon (Reflex)

Racism behind the scenes

PARLIAMENT outlawed racial discrimination in the mid 1960's but life for millions of black workers has not improved.

Firms advertising for catering, secretarial and lower management vacancies use employment agencies to perform their initial recruitment screening process, and counter accusations of racial discrimination by cowering behind the veil of client confidentiality.

Not suited

Sue, an ex-employee of a West London employment agency, told *Militant*.

"Companies make no attempt to hide the fact that a black person would not be 'suited' to their vacancy."

"The abbreviation WASP is used daily to describe suitable applications over the phone. It stands for White Anglo-Saxon Protestant. Other coded descriptions are NB—No Blacks, or a personnel department will say the applicant must speak 'perfect English'—again code for no blacks or asians."

"One client said he couldn't hire a black catering assistant as his patrons didn't like to see black people handling food. Another time I was told that a young woman I had sent on an in-

terview for a secretarial position had all the skills, experience etc required for the job, but she wasn't an 'English rose'—in fact she was Asian."

Rarely proved

The only written communications between agency and client is the final invoice for services rendered.

If employment agency staff allege racial discrimination they get the sack. Employment agency staff are rarely unionised. With no written proof of such discrimination cases are rarely proved.

A racist employer can publicly state that his company is an equal opportunities employer, whilst in reality you would be hard pressed to find more than the token black or Asian worker within the workforce, probably in a menial position.

Sickened

Sue adds: "Several of my colleagues left, sickened by the racist attitude of many companies. I went to my manager to complain about a request a client made for a 'white' retail shop manager, when I had a suitably qualified Asian applicant on file. I was calmly but firmly

told 'he who pays the piper calls the tune'!"

As long as agencies condone these colour bar practices (to oppose it would reduce their profitability or put them out of business) a genuine non-racist employment policy is as far away now as it was in the 1960s.

Well intentioned reforms to outlaw racial discrimination, though welcome, are

largely ineffective. Power still remains in the hands of racist bosses.

Freedom from racist employment practices can only be achieved by the implementation of a democratic socialist system where the right to hire and fire lies in workers' hands.

By a Militant reporter

Shoppers against apartheid

'SHOPPERS AGAINST Apartheid!', proclaimed East Kilbride LPYS when launching its campaign against a local foodstore stocking South African goods.

We have picketed the local Safeway and drawn up a petition asking shoppers to demand Safeway management stops buying in South African produce, reports Jackie Galbraith.

LPYS members met with placards, petitions, stickers and a tape recorder playing Special AKA's 'Free Nelson Mandela'. Virtually all those who were asked signed the petition so the worried manager of Safeway told us to move on or he would phone the police.

We were doing nothing illegal so he retreated but later

retaliated by sending out a Safeway balloon, on which he had written "Safeway for South Africa!"

Despite a gale force wind, YS members, with the help of shoppers, managed to burst the balloon. But the manager did us a favour. His support for apartheid and his contempt of his own customers made even more people signed the petition and two people refused to shop there.

We will be picketing every Friday night and Saturday afternoon and will be organising a rally on South Africa.

Don't buy the fruits of Apartheid!

No more Sowetos—forward to a socialist South Africa!

THERE COMES a time when you have to say enough is enough. Back in January that time came for me.

I was living in bed and breakfast accommodation on social security and had given up all hope of ever finding gainful employment or a better future.

Then Norman Tebbit came up with his new proposals for cutting benefits in areas of lower unemployment.

Does he know what it's like to be unemployed and harassed without losing more benefit? No! So don't stop reading here, Norman, because I'm about to tell you.

Whilst staying in bed and breakfast accommodation last January I received the following amounts from social security every fortnight, £164 total. £104 of this was for two weeks rent and £60 was for two weeks food, clothes, laundry, bus and train fares to look for jobs, etc.

The bed and breakfasts in our area are all full up and the only one I could get into charged me £60 each week for rent. DHSS refused to pay the extra so I lost £16 of my food money. That gave me £44 every two weeks for food etc.

With no cooking facilities and forced to live on takeaways I don't have to spell out that £22 each week didn't even cover two meals a day for seven days. Not forgetting my laundry, fares etc.

In Ilford we have met with the civil service union, CPSA, at our local DHSS and intend holding a public meeting with them. They too are in dispute with the proposals as well as complaining of being understaffed! We intend to make this meeting a success and hope that together we can fight back for a better future.

By Jerry Feasey
(Ilford South LPYS)

RAPE brutal symptom of a rotten society

THE RECENT spate of violent sex crimes like the murder of TV secretary Ann Lock raise serious questions for socialists about the cause and prevention of such crimes.

Detectives involved in Ann Lock's case are still investigating 27 other cases of violent attacks on women over the last few years. South Yorkshire police believe that one man may be responsible for nine rapes in the Rotherham area, and the case of the 'Stockwell Strangler', involving violent attacks and sexual assaults on elderly men and women will have struck fear into the hearts of thousands of old people living alone and without protection. These are not isolated incidents—every day of the week reports of callous and brutal attacks on women, children and the elderly can be found in the newspapers.

Increase

Accurate statistics on the increase in sex crimes are not easy to find. Government figures are not helpful, lumping together all 'sexual offences' under one heading. But they do reveal that between 1983 and 1984 (the most recent figures available) there was a seven per cent increase in the number of reported rapes and that almost half of those convicted for sexual offences were men under the age of 21. A regional breakdown also shows clear links between high incidence of sexual offences and unemployment blackspots.

The Tory government claims to be the defender of 'law and order'. In reality, of course, increased funding and manpower for the police has been used not to 'make the streets safe to walk in', but to maintain a massive police presence on the picket lines during the miners' strike, at Wapping, and anywhere else that the mass movement of the working class looks set to pose a threat to Tory rule.

Local councils, crippled by rate-capping have no

By Andrea Capstick

money for improved street lighting, and the deregulation of bus services has led to many late night services being withdrawn. The streets have never been less safe to walk in than they are under the Tories.

The British Crime Survey of 1984 shows that although 'the affluent, the well-educated and those in non-manual occupations tended to feel safer than others, presumably reflecting in part the nature of the areas where they live', 30 per cent of women said they were 'very worried' about the possibility of being raped if they walked alone in their own area after dark.

The gutter press likes to record these cases in gloating detail, dragging in any salacious detail they can find or invent to sensationalise sexual offences. With blatant hypocrisy they use this as an excuse for printing fanatical demands for tougher sentences for offenders, at the same time decorating their pages with pictures of naked women. Well, it's all good for the sales figures, isn't it?

Women who report that they have been raped face prolonged and often hostile questioning by the police, who frequently advise them not to press charges. If the case does reach court, the woman is likely to be questioned not just about the attack itself, but also about her previous sex life. All too often the case being tried seems to be not whether the victim has been raped, but to what extent she might have been 'asking for it'. Faced with this prospect, it is hardly surprising that many women choose not to report rape so that it remains largely a hidden crime and the victim is left to cope alone



(Top) Fleet Street exploit sex crimes to boost their sales (Below) Women demonstrate "against male violence" in London in July. Photo Cristina Sganga (Report)

with the horrifying psychological effects.

As socialists we must be open in expressing our outrage at such acts of violence. But we must not fall into the same trap as the feminists who generalise the blame for sex crimes without generalising the causes. To the feminists all men are to blame for the brutality of a minority. They limit their arguments to the conflict between men and women without considering the more deeply-rooted conflicts caused by the economic system under which we live.

Rape can only become as widespread as it is today in a society in crisis—which degrades both men and women and devalues the relationships between them. It is a symptom of a society rotten to the core, in which there is no hope of normal family life for millions. A society where children grow up in an atmosphere of family stress, their minds and

bodies stunted by poverty and where their parents' despair too often vents itself in violence against them. They grow up with no experience of how to form normal relationships and the cycle of poverty, deprivation and violence repeats itself.

Safety

There are many measures that socialists can and must take to prevent rape and protect women in the present crisis. We must campaign through the labour and union movement to ensure the safety of women in vulnerable jobs, and we must campaign for increased public spending on transport, lighting, social services and to provide adequate counselling for victims. We must insist that the labour movement takes common sense measures like ensuring that women do not have to walk to and from meetings alone. But above

all we need to commit ourselves to the removal of this brutal capitalist system, a system which is concerned only with profit and ignores the material and emotional needs of the vast majority of the population.

This is a question which has far reaching implications, ones which the capitalists may prefer to ignore, but which working class women will not.

"The actual liberation of women," as Trotsky wrote, "is unrealisable on the basis of generalised want."

The only way we can rid ourselves of the horror of violence against women is to create a society where production is based on need, not profit, where men and women are equally valued and allowed to develop their full potential without fear or prejudice. Only by working together for the socialist transformation of society can we achieve this.

his former job, i.e. writing fiction. Readers of "Left and Right" will therefore not be surprised by his claim in the *Edinburgh Evening News* that he "ran for Britain and did the 100 metres in 9.6..." The world record is held by Carl Lewis of the USA at 9.93 seconds.

Stinking bureaucracy

THERE IS a stink of corruption in Stalinist Russia. Forty eight tonnes of cheese have been lying in a siding since March according to *Pravda*. The local manager complained the cheese was off way back in that month, but after various visits by government officials the 6400 cheeses are still standing there smelling to high heaven. The latest situation is that a report has been sent to the Ministry of Trade "in accordance with the established procedure." Further developments will be reported in this column.

Left and Right

Thatcher's admirers

THATCHER NEARLY received a rousing welcome at the Commonwealth Games as President de la Madrid of Mexico at the World Cup. Now, after her chauffeur has wiped the fruit and veg from her car, she must be wondering whether she can be safe in any town in the country.

Not to worry though. She has been given the "freedom of the town" by Tangaat in Natal, South Africa, because of her stand against sanctions. While black workers in South Africa suffer under the pass laws and influx control, she can wander around as she pleases, no doubt picking up a few hints on "crowd control"

from Botha and his pals. As the old saying goes: "By your own friends be you known." We can be certain if she ever does go to take up the offer, South African workers will make her reception at Edinburgh seem like a tea-party.

Principles and priorities

REMEMBER the weighty document being produced by the Labour leadership to set out the "principles of democratic socialism"? This was going to once and for all crush the "old-fashioned" ideas of Marxism. Many of us were waiting with interest for this noble work, for it would

at least provide the party with much-needed political discussion.

Neil Kinnock, however, has decided that "the project was not essential to victory at the next election and ordered priority to be given to work on more immediate policy matters" (*Daily Telegraph*). Readers following the spate of expulsions of *Militant* supporters recently will know to what "immediate matters" our Neil is referring. Is democratic socialism not essential to victory, or is it just that our leaders have forgotten what those principles were in the first place?

Fast fiction

THOSE WHO have been following the statements of Jeffrey Archer, vice-chairman of the Tory Party and the man intent on making Thatcher popular will know that he hasn't really changed from

Tribute to Daisy Rawling

On Sunday 11 August, Daisy Rawling, *Militant* supporter and life-long socialist, died at the age of 69. She was a marvellous inspiration and example to other comrades, young and old. Right up to the last weeks of her life she was a tireless worker and activist, always encouraging and motivating others. CHRISTINE and HEATHER RAWLING here present an appreciation of Daisy, their friend, mother and comrade.

"Tyneside's Labour movement lost one of its most tireless activists when lifelong socialist Daisy Rawling died this week" (*Newcastle Evening Chronicle* 14/8/86).

Over 100 people attended the funeral of the "political mother" of *Militant* supporters on Tyneside. She was an inspiration and example to us all.

Up to two months ago Daisy, at the age of 69, was selling *Militant* outside the shipyards and outside Parsons engineering factory, even selling it on her own sometimes. She was always fresh in her approach to politics, sometimes even more youthful than the youth.

She first had the idea to book Newcastle City Hall for a *Militant* meeting two years ago. Her dream was realised in March this year when one thousand heard Peter Taaffe and Derek Hatton speak there.

Little did she know she'd be on the platform speaking alongside them. It was her first major political speech, although she was well known for her timely contributions in meetings.

Fund raising

Daisy understood the importance of money for building *Militant*. As an old age pensioner she donated £5 every week but she was also active in encouraging other *Militant* supporters on Tyneside to collect fighting fund from their friends and relatives.

She collected for the miners during the strike, continuing a lifelong tradition of collecting money for workers in struggle. In some notes of a talk she gave, she wrote: "Two things which have stuck with me all my life is that the only war worth fighting is the class war and that you never cross picket lines... a picket line is the workers and if you cross it you put yourself on the bosses' side."

Daisy was inspired by the growth of *Militant*'s support and influence and died confident of a socialist future. Yet any defeat of the working class hit her hard. She was bitterly disappointed when the Tories were elected in 1979. She knew better than any of us what that would mean to working men and women. The end of the miners' strike saddened her.

She was admitted to hospital for a hysterectomy after cancer had been diagnosed. Even when she was in hospital she was discussing

politics with the nurses and reading political books.

The consultant said that the cancer unit at the hospital had a world-wide reputation. Doctors from as far away as New Zealand would pay to be trained there. Yet it is run on a shoestring, relying on charity to keep going. He had just raised a few hundred pounds from a salmon lunch.

They had a computerised system for the cervical smear test but they were selling the system to other health authorities to raise money for their unit.

What an indictment of capitalism that cancer research depends on profit for survival!

Daisy did not just believe in socialism, she practised it. She was always helping others, being an unpaid social worker to a street of mainly old people, and at one time a meals-on-wheels service to the Tory lady across the road.

Daisy's deep commitment to socialism and her wide reading, including Marx, Lenin, Engels and Trotsky and her analytical mind kept her on the path of Marxism even through difficult times like the '50s.

No article about her would be complete without mentioning her commitment to the emancipation of women.

Her mother had been a pioneer of birth control in the 1920s (and after eight kids who could blame her?). After her own bitter experiences she was active in AMS (Association for Maternity Services) in the '50s. But she was first and foremost a class fighter, recognising the need to fight for socialism and encourage women to get involved in the struggle.

It is in keeping with her life and struggles that a Daisy Rawling *Militant* Appeal fund has been established to pay for a *Militant* day school for women on Tyneside. (Donations to Jen Pickard, 2 Leeming Gardens, Gateshead).

Daisy was born an atheist and died an atheist, and the Internationale was sung at her funeral. 'Whilst sad we want to celebrate her life with the comrades. Her death makes us fight that much harder.'

In her words "Our task is the building of a daily *Militant* as a powerful weapon in the workers' struggles ahead. We have no gold in Fort Knox, but by gum we have it in Marxism."



A lifelong socialist, tireless worker and activist, fighter for women's emancipation

I WAS a Young Socialist in 1934 and cut my first teeth on an Independent Labour Party card. I am not going to indulge in a mood of "I remember" just for the sake of it but to show the deep commitment to socialism that one family has given to the Labour Party, mainly in East Newcastle.

There were many more families of course, Audrey Wise's father went to the same socialist Sunday school in the '20s. John Maclean, who held classes on Marxism in Glasgow at the turn of the century, taught a whole generation, including my father, who was a life long Marxist and a member of the Labour Party.

My mother was five times presi-

dent of Northumberland Women's section in the '30s. They were very big organisations in those days. She had eight children and like most people, not much money, but she made socialism her life's work. As a life long pacifist she was expelled from the Labour Party at the beginning of the war after a membership going back to its beginning.

James Connolly

As we have consistently said the right wing will not stop at *Militant*, but will attack anyone who disagrees with their very narrow view of local politics. In my ward if you mentioned anything a yard

outside its boundaries they don't know what you are talking about. Even Newcastle West is a prohibited area.

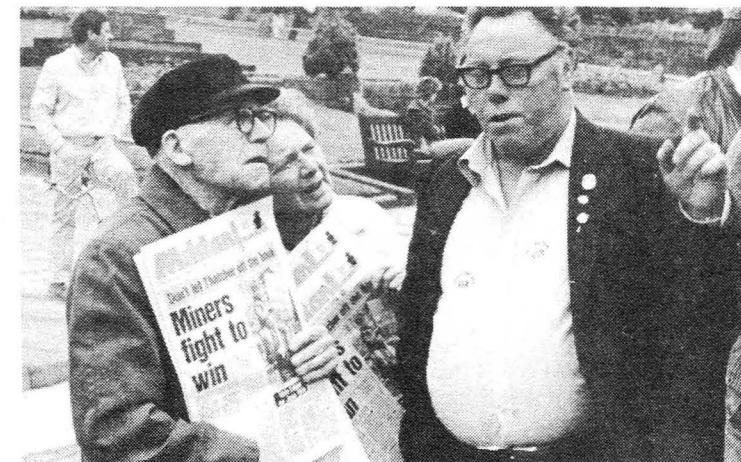
My earliest memories are of collecting for James Connolly's widow. He was the Irish Marxist shot by the British in 1916. He fought all his life for workers' solidarity in Ireland against the capitalist system, Irish or British.

We also collected for Italian comrades—communists, murdered by Mussolini and for miners in 1926 and for Spanish workers in 1936. My family took hard knocks from the right wing in their day but remained socialists all their lives and never went after the glittering prizes that so many of the others were seduced by.

There are people in the party just as dedicated today who have been or are under threat of expulsion. If we had had more *Militant* MPs in the party in 1945 we would not be fighting these battles again today.

Jack Rawling, sitting here beside me, is 80 years old this year and has done all the hard graft in the Labour Party, the foot-slogging and knocking on doors. I am 69. Let the young today take up the challenge.

We have had enough martyrs, let us see that we get a socialist government committed to socialist policies in this generation.



Daisy and husband Jack selling *Militant*.

A pound for a workers' paper

MARVELLOUS examples of fundraising are starting to come in as *Militant* supporters set about the task of raising the £70,000 we need to reach this quarter's target.

A collection at the DHSS central office in Newcastle raised £56 from the CPSA members' own pockets, which is the best response to the attack made against them in the Tory press last week.

The slogan of "a pound for a workers' paper" is being taken up with great success around the country. Almost £25 was raised in Swansea last week in extras for the paper. £19 was raised in Southampton, while in Ipswich £8.25 was collected in "solidarity price".

We appeal to every reader to contribute to the financing and expansion of the *Militant* by paying the solidarity price of a pound or more for the paper each week.

From every area we need a massive campaign now to meet the midway target of £35,000 by 16 September, only three weeks away.

£10,000

We need to receive £10,000 a week, and we are relying upon your efforts.

Special thanks this week to Mary Thomas from Harlow TUC Pensioners who donated £1 and gives regularly, and to Michio Itoh

a Japanese supporter who donated £40. \$10 was also received from a Canadian reader.

OTHER DONATIONS this week include: Geoff Curl from Nottingham £10; Charlie Allom a pensioner from Ryde 70p; R Bradley Ossett NALGO £20; Paul Mullins of Ealing IRSF £10; P Petty a sacked SOGAT member £2.20 and S Hanson (8 years old) 20p both from Sittingbourne. Dave Subacelin £50; E Maxten from the Isle of Wight £10; From Hackney, A Scarborough £35 and H Chapman £5. £20 was raised at a readers' meeting in Chesterfield.

Fighting Fund

This week
£2441

Area	Received	% of target achieved	Target
1 Eastern	306		3450
2 London West	178		2900
3 South	175		3100
4 Humberside	133		2300
5 London South West	70		1500
6 London North East	137		3550
7 Yorkshire	236		5600
8 East Midlands	91		3050
9 Merseyside	209		7000
10 South East	75		2400
11 North	70		4550
12 Scotland West	76		3850
13 Wales East	35		2150
14 London South East	30		2250
15 Manchester/Lancs	58		4150
16 South West	13		2150
17 Wales West	49		3350
18 West Midlands	34		4500
19 Scotland East	0		3200
National	467		5000
Total	2441		70000

'New realism'

road to disaster

THIS YEAR'S TUC Congress takes place at a crucial time. Working people across the country will be looking to the supreme parliament of the trade union movement to provide a clear way forward, in particular, in hammering out a firm socialist programme for Labour at the next election.

By Nick Toms

In the last seven years working people have been battered by the Tories. Unemployment has rocketed to record levels with an increase of 50,000 in the last month alone. If the government figures were recalculated on the pre-1979 basis there would be over 3.9 million officially on the dole.

Many basic industries have been reduced to a fraction of their former size. Public services have been decimated through privatisation and cuts. The basic rights of ordinary working people have been undermined through a series of anti-union laws.

But now the Tories are on the rack. Crises over Westland, Rover, Libya and more recently over Northern Ireland and South Africa have shattered the confidence of the government. The prospect of a Labour victory at the polls is filling working people with new confidence and optimism. At last an end is in sight to the misery of the Thatcher years.

Concern and alarm

But faced with this marvellous opportunity, many activists in the labour movement have looked at recent developments within the TUC and Labour Party with growing concern and alarm. Some of the policies being put forward by the Labour leadership are to be welcomed. In particular, the proposals to reduce unemployment by a million a year, to introduce a statutory minimum wage and to improve and restore employment rights at work.

But none of this can compensate for the virtual abandonment of renationalisation, the endless talk about 'realistic' priorities for restoring cuts in public expenditure and, worst of all, the plans being put forward to keep some of the provisions of the Tories anti-union laws on the statute books.

The leaders of the labour movement seem to have drawn all the wrong conclusions from the experiences and struggles of working people over the last seven years.

The magnificent miners' strike, the NGA dispute at Warrington and the banning of trade unions at GCHQ all dealt crushing blows to the ideas of 'New Realism'—that workers will not fight and, therefore, there must be compromise with the Tories—advanced by individuals like Len Murray and Alistair Graham after the 1983 general election.

The miners' strike, above all, demonstrated the gulf that has opened up between the classes in



Lea Hall Pit, March 1984. Scenes like this during the miners' strike—graphically demonstrating the role of the police and the state to break the strike—have forced open an unprecedented gulf between the classes in Britain. Photo John Harris (IFL)

British society. Despite its defeat, it marked a watershed for the labour movement. Beyond doubt it showed the need for a fighting socialist trade union leadership.

Yet since the end of the miners' strike the ideas of 'New Realism' have begun to re-emerge. The right wing trade union leaders have looked at the miners' strike with the same horror that their counterparts looked at the 1926 General Strike and repeat, like them, "Never Again!" Congress also takes place against the background of the eight month-old News International dispute. Had the print union leaders drawn on the rich lessons of the miners' strike, and campaigned amongst their members for a spreading of the dispute throughout Fleet Street then there is little doubt it could have been won months ago.

Instead, however, they have limited the dispute to an ineffectual 'boycott' campaign and attempting to maintain a good 'media image'. In their efforts to steer clear of the Tories anti-union laws and the courts the SOGAT leaders have now gone to the disgraceful lengths of threatening some of their members with disciplinary action should they continue to try and organise effective pickets outside the News International plants. As if 'reasonableness' and 'good publicity' will have any real effect on the ruthless Murdoch.

The attitude of the print union leaders has enabled the TUC to sit on the sidelines for much of the dispute. Even when faced with the disgusting role of the EETPU leaders the TUC felt able to content themselves with no more than a slap on the wrist before even asking Eric Hammond, the EETPU general secretary, to intervene in negotiations to solve the dispute!

Far from any of this 'moderation' leading to a victory for the printers, it has merely prolonged the dispute and encouraged Murdoch and the police to go on the offensive. This has been highlighted

recently by the victimisation of a number of activists including *Militant* supporter, NGA member, Peter Jarvis.

The ideas of 'New Realism' have also made an appearance under the new guise of 'modernising' the trade unions.

Not surprisingly, these ideas have been advanced with greatest enthusiasm by the right wing of the trade unions. The 'no-strike' agreements and sweetheart deals made by unions such as the EETPU and the AEU have become infamous throughout the labour movement.

The ideas of 'New Realism' have also begun to be taken up by a number of formerly 'soft left' and 'left' trade union leaders. In an interview with Bill Morris, the new deputy general secretary of the TGWU, the *Financial Times* (10/6/86) felt able to comment that "the old leftism and the new realism are combining." Bill Morris himself stated: "We are aware there have to be small steps, certain temporary shifts of position. But pragmatism and socialism are in no way incompatible providing we maintain a firm idea and position."

Pop concerts

One of the foremost exponents of these ideas has been John Edmonds, the new general secretary of GMBATU. In an article in a recent edition of *New Socialist* he stated,

"Unions—let's face it—haven't been able to stop poverty pay and appalling conditions in these areas. (Amongst low paid women workers etc.—NT) Nor, since they have not been able to prevent job losses and redundancies, can they base their appeal on an argument that unionism is all that stands between a worker and job insecurity."

In place of 'no longer plausible' pledges will have to come 'a new form of trade unionism'. This will involve trade unions trying to draw together, isolated, fragmented groups with a programme of

demands for 'individual' level changes.

Trade unions he says, must "increasingly find a stronger place in the non-work areas of the lives of members and potential members. Trade unionism ought to be central to popular culture—to local group expression and participation, from sports to rock concerts... Unions can and should provide benefits for members not only as workers, but also as consumers, as holiday-makers, as parents, as motorists and so on."

This 'way forward' for the trade unions has also been echoed by individuals like Tom Sawyer of NUPE and Peter Carter, the Communist Party Industrial Organiser, in his pamphlet *Trade Unions: The New Reality*.

Nor are these benefits, in GMBATU at least, to be limited to union members and potential members. Launching a new drive into the high-technology industry recently, Edmonds explained "We have more experience than any industrial relations department in any company in the country. If a company—a UK company or an international company—wants to set up in this country they will know that not only will they get from us detailed knowledge of existing law, for instance, but also advice, help and support to set up a successful company within the British environment."

Underscoring all of these arguments put forward by Edmonds and others is the idea that the trade unions have been gravely weakened under the Tories and, in the words of Edmonds, "are in danger of finding themselves utterly irrelevant to the needs of workers."

Certainly, unemployment and the destruction of manufacturing industry under Thatcher have taken their toll on union membership, which has fallen from around 12 million in 1980 to around nine and a half million today. But unlike the 1920s when membership fell by

half at one stage, there has been no major haemorrhage or exodus from the unions.

Despite all the anti-union legislation and the attacks of this government the trade union organisations have remained intact. A recent survey by the Engineering Employers Federation, reported in the *Financial Times* (28/5/86), found that the closed shop "is alive and well in engineering" being featured in 64.1 per cent of establishments for manual staff and 11.6 per cent for white-collar staff.

The *Financial Times* also commented that "the EEF survey suggests union organisation at the workplace is still very much a presence". There was a convenor at 89 per cent of establishments and a joint shop stewards committee at 72 per cent of those firms surveyed. Above all, the magnificent results in the political levy ballots have underlined the tremendous loyalty working people have towards their traditional organisations.

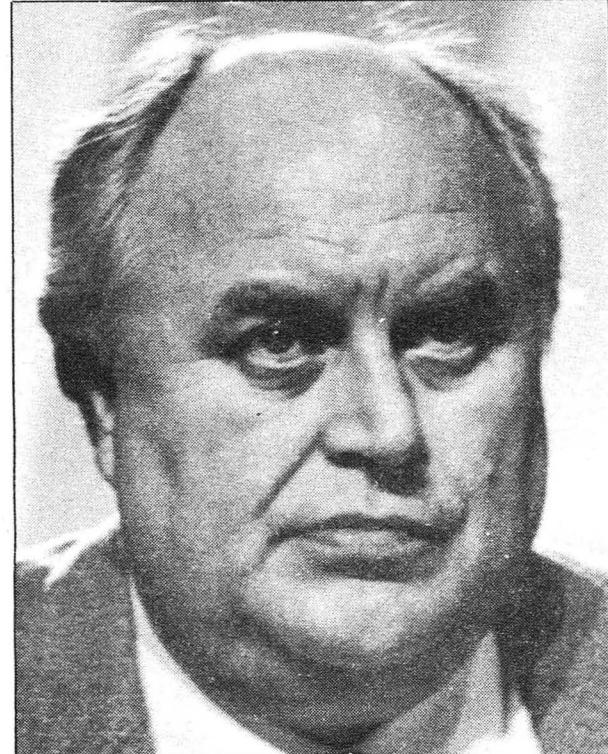
No middle way

If the unions face any danger, of becoming "irrelevant to the needs of working people" then it is solely because of the abject failure of the trade union leaders to lead an effective struggle against the ravages of the Tories. The way to prevent this from happening will

not be, as Edmonds suggests, for trade unions to involve themselves in sport and pop concerts. It will be through re-arming the unions with a fighting socialist leadership capable of defending the interests of working people.

In reality, the ideas of New Realism are not based on the weakness of the trade unions but on the weakness of the trade union leaders.

Capitalism faces a desperate, fundamental crisis for which there is no lasting solution other than the complete socialist transformation of society. Gone for ever are the

Norman Willis, TUC general secretary. Photo *Militant*

Brenda Dean talking to printworkers lobbying the TUC as it discussed the EETPU role in staffing the scab Wapping plant.

boom years of the 1950s and 1960s. With the end of the boom went the days of collaboration and compromise, of "tea and cucumber sandwiches" at No 10 Downing Street.

Even the smallest struggles in the workplace today are more often than not "win or lose" situations with no real in-between or room for negotiation. The death agony of capitalism has undermined for ever the social basis on which the reformist ideas of the trade union leaders rested.

Trotsky pointed out that in such a period the trade unions can either serve as instruments for disciplining workers and obstructing their struggle, or, they can become instruments playing a key role in the socialist transformation.

But because the trade union leaders have no confidence in their members' ability to struggle, they have no understanding or strategy in the face of a far more ruthless and determined employing class.

They have therefore abandoned the very idea of struggle and under the guise of 'modernising' the trade unions they are rummaging at the bottom of the barrel of the old failed policies of the past. They want to return to the earliest days of trade unionism when the trade unions were little more than benefit societies for their members.

In the process they have forgotten the other side of the early history of trade unionism, the traditions of *struggle* and *sacrifice*. These traditions will become increasingly relevant in the coming period despite the best endeavours of some trade union leaders.

It is these ideas of latter day 'New Realism' that also stand behind the wholesale abandonment of many of the socialist policies and aspirations of the Labour Party by many of the leaders.

Thatcher, it is claimed, has not only 'weakened the unions', she has also supposedly 'won the arguments' and 'shifted politics in Britain to the right'. As Peter Carter attempts to explain in his pamphlet mentioned above the Tories have succeeded (!) in imposing "a new vision on British society in which socialist values are entirely absent, and support for collective responsibility is replaced by individual greed."

Basing themselves upon arguments such as these, the trade union leaders, even a number of those formerly on the Left, have fallen in behind Neil Kinnock and the right wing of the Labour Party. They desperately want a Labour government at any price which they see as the only hope for the future. In the words of Jimmy Knapp: "the NUR has no future without a Labour government".

If Neil Kinnock says that a Labour victory will only be achieved through Labour appearing 'moderate' with 'extreme' socialist policies being ditched as 'impossibilist' then they are prepared to go along with that. If strikes and disputes are 'unpopular' then the

trade union leaders will do what they can to prevent them.

A Labour victory is without doubt the top priority for the majority of trade union members and the Marxists in the movement will be to the forefront of Labour's election campaign. *Militant* supporters will be the hardest fighters for a Labour victory.

But if victory is to be guaranteed then a socialist programme is not just so much unnecessary baggage. It must be a vital component part of Labour's strategy to lift the hopes of ordinary working people, to offer them a way forward out of the nightmare of their present day existence.

Socialist policies are not unpopular as the Liverpool councillors have shown over the last three years. They have simply never been put by Labour's leaders, explained or campaigned on.

Labour's leaders risk committing

trade unions, in the absence of any alternative, have for the time being been prepared to go along with the strategy of the leaders. In the interests of unity and achieving a Labour victory they have been prepared to bide their time, reserve judgement and even accept certain moves to the right in policy and the witch-hunt.

In the absence of any clear lead from the top and with limited apparent prospects for success in struggle then a section of activists, as well, have drawn the conclusion that, for the moment, there is little choice but to hold back their members, negotiate the best deals possible and wait for the return of Labour to power.

But all of the crushing problems facing working people remain: privatisation, low pay and poverty wages together with a seemingly endless attack on working conditions by the employers. Even

This desire for change was superbly illustrated in the election for a new general secretary in the CPSA following the welcome departure of Alistair Graham to the Industrial Society. The right wing in the CPSA were supremely confident that their candidate, John Ellis, would be swept into office with a big majority.

Ellis himself went on holiday at the start of the election campaign. They received the shock of their lives when the election result revealed a brilliant victory for 'Broad Left' candidate and *Militant* supporter John MacCreadie.

Whilst a section of activists may have accepted, for the moment, the strategy of the trade union leaders, the attitude of the rank and file as to what they hope to gain from a future Labour government is poles apart from the trade union tops.

A delegate to this year's NUPE conference expressed this

Labour's revival are growing more confident at the negotiating table and niggling disputes are reappearing. The government is tending to overstate its case that there are no industrial relations problems or that they are a thing of the past."

Regardless of the attitude of the Labour leaders, the ruling class clearly understand that a Labour victory would enormously revive the confidence and aspirations of working people. Workers sacked or victimised during Thatcher's government would be taken back into the workforce.

No matter what Neil Kinnock feels about a general amnesty for sacked miners it would become an accomplished fact. After eight years of hardship and misery under Thatcher workers would be looking to recoup all that has been lost.

A Labour government would come under tremendous pressure to carry through reforms far greater than they may originally intend.

The Labour government of 1974/75 was elected on a programme of reforms in some respects much greater than those being put forward by the Labour leadership today. Denis Healey, for example, promised to "squeeze the rich until the pips squeaked". But because the Labour leaders were not prepared to break with capitalism, then inevitably the capitalist crisis forced them to go from reforms to counter reforms and capitulate to big business. They paved the way for Thatcher.

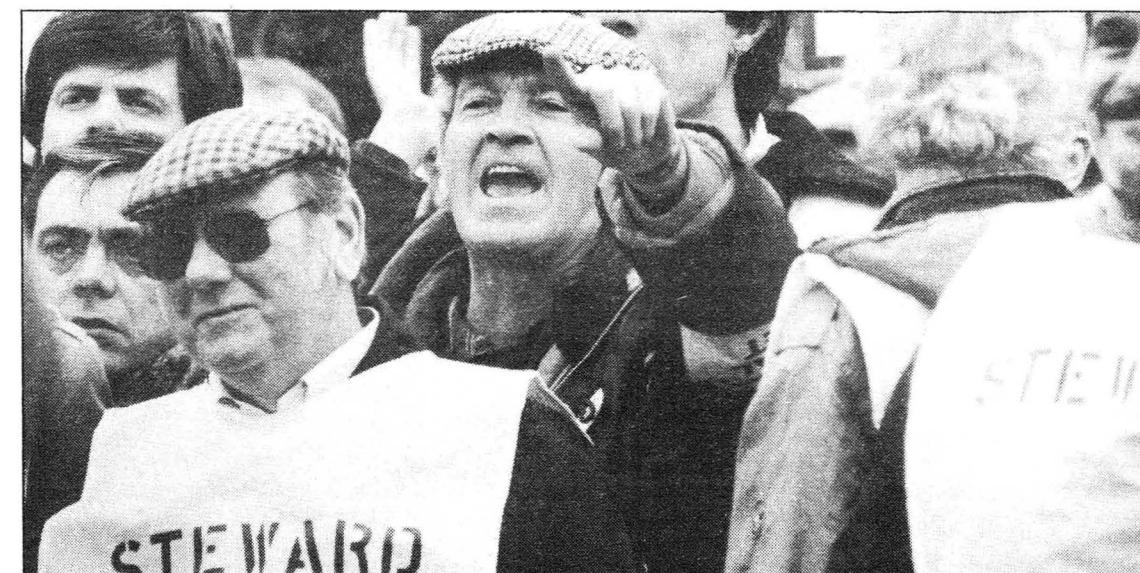
Transform society

If the present Labour and trade union leaders fail to grasp the nettle of capitalism and transform society on a socialist basis, lock, stock and barrel, then they too will be forced to go down the same sad road of the last Labour government. In that situation the full wrath of the working class would be upon them. The pressure cooker will explode in their faces.

A new Labour government operating under conditions of capitalist crisis would open up mass opposition within the trade unions and the Labour Party. The ideas of Marxism would flourish across the labour movement. What has taken place in the CPSA would spread throughout the trade unions. The Broad Lefts, now in some cases a small minority would emerge as the leadership of a number of unions.

The TUC Congress this week faces a clear choice. Either they can give a clear lead in putting forward a fighting socialist programme, in which case workers will respond and the labour movement will become a head taller, or they can continue down their present road.

In the latter case they too, in the course of time, will be swept aside in a rising tide of Marxism rearming and re-building the labour movement from top to bottom with the ideas of socialism. This will prepare the way for the struggle to end capitalism for good and to build a socialist society.



Trafalgar Square, April. A worker heckles a speech by Norman Willis at a mass trade union rally in support of sacked print workers. Photo: Andrew Wiard (Report) II

a serious mistake in jettisoning all remnants of socialist or radical policies. Far from their strategy guaranteeing victory it could throw the election away.

Without doubt the broad mass of workers have a tremendous desire for a Labour government and an end to the Tories' rule. It is this and not the strategy of Kinnock and the Labour leadership that makes the victory of Labour the most likely result of the next general election.

In the course of the past year the trade union leaders have cynically exploited this desire for a Labour victory to drive through right wing policies at the union conferences together with a witch-hunt against the Marxists in the Labour movement. They have also succeeded in the interests of 'unity' and 'not rocking the boat' in stifling many struggles and potential disputes.

The trade union leaders would, however, be foolish in the extreme if they were to believe that the temporary setbacks for the Marxists and the Left at this year's union conferences gives them any grounds for confidence in the future.

A layer of activists within the

before the next election, if backed into a corner and given no way out, then workers will move into struggle in spite of the efforts of the trade union leaders to prevent it.

This was shown clearly in the recent dispute involving UCW members over changes in their working conditions. If the Tories push ahead with their plans to extend compulsory tendering in local government, threatening tens of thousands of jobs, then here too a major struggle could develop.

In reality, the trade union leaders are sitting on the frustrations and problems of their members like a huge pressure cooker waiting to explode. Beneath the surface in the trade unions there is a growing wind of change.

Support for Labour

A recent poll conducted by a Sunday newspaper revealed that when it stated "the political perception influencing thinking is down to earth. A Labour administration will shift the balance of power from management back to Labour... the rumbling about settling old scores if the political tide changes is never far from the surface" and further "the ground is starting to shift. Unions, attempting to cash in on

graphically when he said "Our support for Labour is not unconditional. All the hours we spend on the door knocker and canvassing for support for Labour amongst our members have a price at the end of the day. We want a Labour government that will defend the interests of our people in the same way Thatcher has defended the interests of her people".

This speech was received with great applause at the same conference that saw a decisive victory for the right on policy and on the witch-hunt.

Despite the best efforts of Neil Kinnock to show himself 'safe' and 'reliable' the ruling class are filled with trepidation at the prospect of Labour winning the general election.

An article in the *Daily Telegraph* (3/6/86) clearly testified to this when it stated "the political perception influencing thinking is down to earth. A Labour administration will shift the balance of power from management back to Labour... the rumbling about settling old scores if the political tide changes is never far from the surface" and further "the ground is starting to shift. Unions, attempting to cash in on

Chile

Pinochet regime is disintegrating

This is the first part of a two-part article by Alejandro Rojas. To be continued next week.

CHILE STANDS on the edge of a revolutionary upheaval that will open a new chapter in the history of the working class.

The divisions among the bourgeoisie, radicalisation of the middle class and heroic movements by the youth signify that the revolution has begun.

Despite the use of troops against protests in May and July, and continuing torture and repression, the regime has never been in a weaker position. This is reflected in almost daily disagreements and splits within the ruling military Junta, which has the blood of an estimated 30,000 workers and youth on its hands.

So isolated is Pinochet that he could not win a majority for re-introducing a State of Siege. Fearing the tidal wave which is building up, one after another of the armed forces' chiefs came out against Pinochet's objective of staying on in power after 1989 (when the military are due to step down under their rigged constitution of 1980).

However, the clearest indication of divisions at the top has been the recent arrest of 38 serving and retired officers (including four generals and four colonels, amongst them ex-Junta member and Air Force head Gustavo Leigh)—for “illegal” killings and disappearances in 1976!

Final days

Such developments signal the final days of the regime. The arrests are almost certainly Pinochet's answer to those in the armed forces who are bowing to the increasing pressure from US imperialism and Chilean capitalists that Pinochet must stand down and allow a return to parliamentary democracy.

The arrests give an added twist of irony to the revolution. For in Chile, more officers have been arrested for murder and torture under the dictatorship than in Argentina after the fall of the Generals!

The dictatorship is now totally isolated. Chilean capitalism, collaborating with US imperialism, is cautiously trying to piece together an alternative to the dictatorship, and remove it from power.

These developments are a testimony to the tremendous struggle spearheaded by the youth, especially during the last three years. **The movement of the masses, not the intentions of the ruling class, has been the decisive issue.**

On the other hand, the question is clearly posed: why, if the move-

ment is so determined and the regime so weak, has it been able to cling to power? Why, if Lenin's three objective conditions for socialist revolution (splits among the ruling class, a neutralised middle class, and willingness to struggle by the working class) exist, has the regime not been overthrown?

This question, increasingly being asked by the youth and activists in the interior, raises the crucial issues of perspectives for the Chilean revolution and the programme of the workers' parties.

For it is the absence of Lenin's fourth condition, a Marxist leadership, which is now acting as a brake on the revolution.

Every revolution tests all ideas, methods and strategies—not in the abstract but in the heat of class struggle, where the issues are fought out in the sharpest possible manner. Ideas are put to the clearest examination, demonstrating their validity or falseness. Chile is no exception.

Within the underground, the Communist Party is currently the largest organisation. Better prepared for clandestine work, and with long traditions, it has built a powerful influence amongst the youth, and plays a dominant role in the MDP (the main alliance of the left). The CP has a crucial responsibility in the development of the revolution.

The Socialist Party at this stage is fragmented, lacking the powerful structure and membership currently enjoyed by the CP. However, with massive latent support and the tradition of being the party of Allende, the SP will emerge as the dominant working-class party when, with the fall of the dictatorship, the masses flood into political life.

The CP's so-called “two-stages” theory, involving an alliance with a “progressive wing” of Chilean capitalism to secure a period of stable parliamentary democracy, is being tested in practice. **And it has been found wanting, unable to bring the movement to a successful conclusion.**

Chilean capitalism has demonstrated that it has no progressive role to play in the revolution, before or after the fall of the dictatorship.

The dominant sections of the capitalist class, together with US imperialism, have moved into conflict with the regime because they fear the rising movement of the masses. By reform from the top, they hope to prevent revolution from below.

A return to parliamentary rule thus serves their interests better, at



Funeral of Rodrigo Rojas, burnt alive by thugs in uniform during the general strike of 2-3 July.

this moment, than military-police dictatorship—even though these latter-day converts to “democracy” are the same who organised or supported the coup in 1973.

In the course of the movement against the regime it has been shown what the idea of securing an alliance with these “progressive capitalists” really means. **It has served to extend the life of the Pinochet dictatorship, by holding back the movement of the workers and youth.**

In seeking an alliance with the main capitalist party, the Christian Democracy, the workers' leaders have constantly delayed the struggle. Most graphically this has been shown around the issue of the general strike.

As the protests have continued month after month, pressure has mounted from the ranks for the calling of a general strike. The youth, in particular, have drawn the correct conclusion that more than protests are needed to overthrow the dictatorship.

But the workers' leaders, dominated by the CP, have constantly held back from calling a general strike until the Christian Democracy will support it.

When the first general strike was called in October 1984, the answer was clear: the Christian Democracy, fearing the movement of the masses above anything else, refused to support the strike.

The failure of the Christian Democracy to act decisively, coupled with the deepening of the crisis, has now led to a certain disillusionment among their followers, and a general radicalisation throughout

Chilean society, affecting not only the working class and youth but the middle class as well.

It began with elections in the universities last year. The massive swing to the left, among a section belonging to the upper layers of society, shook the whole of Chile. For the MDP in the first round came within a few votes of defeating the Christian Democracy. In the second round, victory for the MDP was a virtual certainty.



13-year-old Nadia Fuentes: shot dead by the military on 2 July on her way home from the baker's.

However, to avoid the crisis this would have provoked, and demonstrate to the Christian Democracy the “reliability” of the workers' leaders, the MDP withdrew its list! Thus a tremendous opportunity was lost.

For had the MDP stayed firm, it would have caused a split in the Christian Democracy. A section would have been drawn behind the MDP, rather than see the Christian

Democracy win with the votes of Pinochet supporters.

Nevertheless the radicalisation has continued and support for the workers' parties has increased. **Most importantly, in recent trade union elections in the crucial Chuquicamata copper mine, the Christian Democracy was defeated among the white-collar as well as the manual workers—a clear indication of the movement away from the populist Christian Democracy towards the workers' parties.**

Strikes

These developments have been accompanied by strikes among teachers, doctors and other layers of the middle class. Recent protests have included a high participation by previous supporters of the regime, the bus owners and truck drivers.

A more favourable opportunity for the workers' parties to take the lead and organise a movement to overthrow the regime could hardly be wished for.

The disintegration of the state apparatus at the top has been accompanied by important incidents below, among the soldiers and conscripts who make up 60 per cent of the armed forces. Despite the use of the most hardened sections of troops in brutal acts of repression, among other sections clear support for the workers and youth can be seen.

Thirteen soldiers were arrested recently for singing anti-government songs in the streets. From some barracks come reports of soldiers writing on bullets the names of officers for whom they are intended!

Under such conditions the workers' parties could win overwhelming support for a decisive movement against the regime.

Chile meeting

THE LONDON LPYS has called a public meeting on Thursday 11 September to commemorate the 13th anniversary of Pinochet's coup d'état.

It is likely that this year's anniversary will unleash mass protests, possibly heralding the downfall of the regime. Chile is living through dramatic times. Find out more at the meeting.

Speakers will include John Ellen, National Chairman of the

LPYS, Eric Heffer MP and Terry Fields MP have been invited.

VENUE: Conway Hall, Red Lion Square (nearest tube: Holborn).

TIME: 7.30 pm.

On Saturday 6 September the London LPYS is organising street collections to raise money for Chilean dockworkers. Every YS should be out with rattling tins and leaflets advertising Thursday's meeting.



Pinochet and accomplices: deserted even by the capitalists who installed them in power.

Greece: workers fight company closure

ON 29 JULY the year-old dispute at Edok-Eter, Greece's second-biggest construction company, took a dramatic turn when workers occupied Athens Cathedral to focus attention on their demands.

The workers are fighting against closure of the company, caused by the bosses' mismanagement, and for a year's unpaid wages.

Management has run up debts of 17 billion drachmas (£85 million). The company owes 670 million drachmas (£3.35 million) to the state and 780 million drachmas (£4 million) to the workers' insurance fund. But instead of investing this money in production, they have squandered it on luxuries such as private planes.

As early as 1982 the workers told the Pasok (Socialist) government what was happening, and warned that the company would close. But the government took no action.

Without support from their national leadership, the workers have fought a long and militant campaign. The only tendency giving them real support have been supporters of *Xekinamah*, Marxist paper in the Greek labour movement.

Discussion

Intensive discussions have taken place among the activists in the struggle, and many of *Xekinamah*'s demands have been taken up by the Edok-Eter workers:

- * Nationalise the company under workers' control and management!

- * Nationalisation of the construction industry, under workers' control and management!

- * Election of all workers' representatives, subject to the right of immediate recall.

At an earlier stage the workers had occupied the company offices. When they resorted to occupation of the cathedral, *Xekinamah* supporters decided to go through the experience with them.

The occupation was timed for the day before a national celebration which the President would attend. At midnight 160 workers and *Xekinamah* supporters moved



ed into the cathedral.

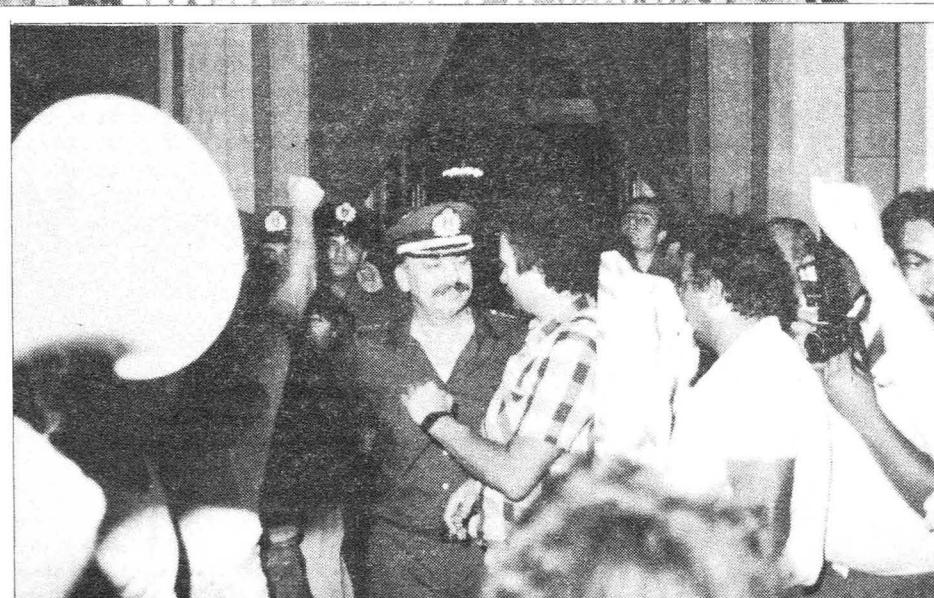
The authorities reacted with alarm. Water, electricity and phone were immediately cut off. The police were called and surrounded the cathedral.

The activists responded with a fraternal appeal to the rank-and-file police: "The State has told you to beat workers who cannot eat. Your brothers, sisters, mothers and fathers are workers also. Tomorrow they will tell you to beat them up!"

Many of the police were obviously sympathetic towards the workers, and hostile towards their own officers. When the workers shouted their support for a police trade union, policemen smiled in agreement.

When it became clear that the police were reluctant to act against the workers, special plain-clothes police were moved in to clear the cathedral. But the workers had won the political argument, and marched out in a bold demonstration, singing songs of struggle.

The president of the Edok-Eter Workers' Union



(Above) Workers' banners on the Cathedral steps; (below) debating with the police.

summed up the conclusion of many workers, when he told *Xekinamah* supporters: "After ten years, you are the first real revolutionaries I have seen. This struggle could not have continued so long without *Xekinamah*. Next time we will chain ourselves to the Prime Minister's office, lock the chain so the police can't remove us, and give the key to *Xekinamah*!"

**From correspondents
in Athens**

ON 1 AUGUST Greece's Pasok (Socialist) government abolished rent control, supposedly to "liberalise" the housing market and ease the housing shortage.

The result has been a doubling and trebling of rents in many cases, and a 100 per cent increase in eviction notices. Workers on the average income of £300 per month might now pay half their wages on rent.

This attack has been followed by a 15 per cent rise in public utility charges. Workers are furious and the leaders of the GSEE (trades union federation) have warned that the rent issue must be resolved, or it will lead to "serious social conflict".

Protest strikes have been called in seven cities on 20 August—an indication of the storms that will erupt if labour leaders persist in their policies of trying to salvage the floundering capitalist economy.

USA:silence before the storm

A TELEVISION feature on the state of Louisiana the other Sunday recreated the Depression of the 1930s before my eyes.

Louisiana is an oil state. It was rich because of the liquid gold which was expected from the land and from the seas offshore.

Now the rigs along the Gulf coast are standing like giant dinosaur skeletons, beginning to rust away like the steel mills in the Rust Belt further north. The sound of Depression has taken over—a vast silence.

The television shows you the haunted eyes of people in Louisiana.

"I've worked for 21 years, never missed a day and earned good money working for oil. Now there's nothing", says one man. He is one of the 50,000 who lost their jobs because

US STEELWORKERS are on the move. USX, the country's largest steel producer, is strikebound. At issue are cuts in pay and concessions which USX is demanding of its 21,200 employees.

Last month LTV, the number two steel producer, tried to cancel the health and insurance benefits of 66,000 retired workers. The steelworkers struck, and claimed victory in only six days.

This is against the background of complete stagnation in US industrial production and continual attempts by the bosses to make workers pay. Local authority, timber and Greyhound bus workers have all been in action recently.

of the world oil glut and falling prices. "What's a catastrophe for us looks like a celebration for other parts of the country where the cost of oil has dropped steeply", says another. "It affects sleep, eating habits; you're living on the edge".

The catastrophe hits the individual,

lost \$625 million. The city of New Orleans is cutting its police and fire departments. Other oil states like Oklahoma and Texas are going through the same experience.

People are trying to find new jobs. It's a terrible struggle for non-existent jobs.

A black man with a Master's degree

in geology sells clothing in a shopping mall. He receives no salary but only a commission on sales, which does not give him enough to get by.

"I can't see any light at the end of the tunnel", he says in despair.

The silence of the Gulf coast is fearful. It has the sound of Depression. We of the older generation went through it fifty years ago, and we can feel empathy with people who suffer today.

But the American Dream of riches will be shattered once and for all this time around, and the reverberations will be felt around the world.

**From Betty Traun
in New York**

SA Marxists attacked

THE DEBATE on policy in the ranks of the African National Congress of South Africa was highlighted by a report in the SA *Sunday Times* (circulation 3.4 million) on 27 July.

Dealing with an article in the SA Marxist journal *Inqaba ya Basebenzi* (no. 18/19) on the workers' struggle against Chief Buthelezi's reactionary Inkatha organisation, it quotes the amazing admission by ANC President Tambo that the exile leadership had encouraged Buthelezi in the formation of Inkatha.

The *Sunday Times*, in the divide-and-rule tradition of the ruling class, sets out to blow up the "scathing attack" on the ANC leadership by what it calls the "breakaway" Marxist Workers' Tendency of the ANC. It falsely presents the ideas of Marxism as "ultra-leftist" and outside the mass following of the ANC.

It distorts and conceals the clear purpose of the *Inqaba* report—to explain the character of Inkatha, the methods by which it has drummed up mass membership, the mistake of the ANC leaders who thought the "legal opportunities provided by the bantustan programme" could be used in building the movement, and the policies by which the labour movement can isolate and defeat Inkatha's gangster leaders.

Forgery?

The *Sunday Times* also mentions *Inqaba*'s "challenge" to the ANC leaders to state whether a letter from Nelson Mandela to Buthelezi, "written in a warm, friendly tone", is a forgery or not.

The ANC leaders have kept silent, but Buthelezi hastened to claim in the next issue of the *Sunday Times*: "I am on 'good terms' with Dr Nelson Mandela... It is therefore somewhat ludicrous to read that the Marxist Workers' Tendency of the African National Congress queries whether Dr Mandela's letters to me are forgeries..."

At the same time Buthelezi, like his masters in Washington, London and the SA Chamber of Mines, squirmed at Botha's blunt rejection of imperialist "peace missions". To a businessmen's conference the Chief complained that a time might come when he would have to "revise" his collaborationist position "before I become an outdated, has-been politician"!

But all Buthelezi's opportunist efforts to patch up a compromise with the ANC leadership cannot cover the chasm between the capitalist interests which he defends, and the revolutionary demands of the mass of ANC supporters.

And all the attempts by the capitalist press to smear Marxists in South Africa with the crime of splitting the mass movement will not conceal from activists that only on a Marxist programme to smash apartheid and capitalism can lasting unity in action be built.

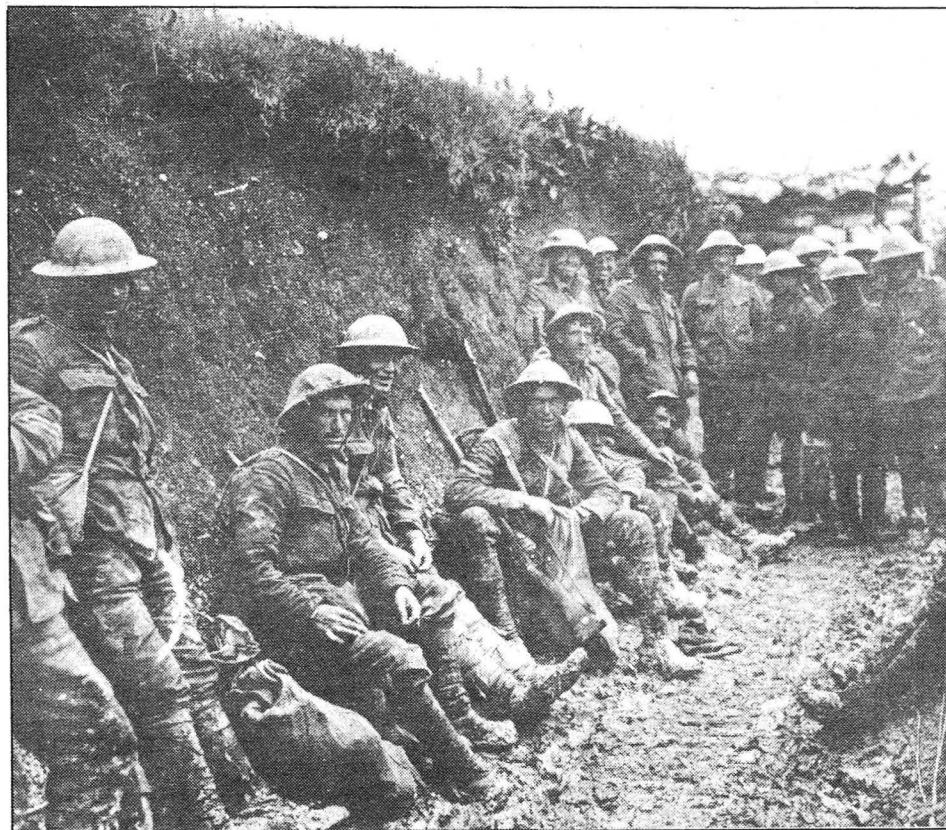
By George Collins

War museum glorifies slaughter

Dear Comrades,
The Imperial War museum in London have got some 'unusual exhibits' on view to mark the 70th anniversary of the Battle of the Somme. Perhaps our museum of death and destruction has decided to highlight some of the many anti-war diaries and poems written by the ordinary squaddies. No such luck I'm afraid. According to the July issue of *Soldier*, the British Army magazine, among all the machine guns you will find... a football. This is the one Captain W Nevill of the East Surrey Regiment used to "encourage his men to go forward and attack the enemy".

I wonder what happened to that other football, the one from Christmas 1914 when the ordinary British and German soldiers decided to play games with each other instead of killing one another?

Yours fraternally
Bob Harker
Gateshead East Labour Party



Men in the infamous trenches of the first world war.

Letters

Send us your views, comments or criticism.

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

Inequalities of health care



The standard of health care in Britain is high for those who can afford to pay for it. Recent government figures show that the poor receive greatly inferior health care to that offered to the rich.

Dear Comrades,
Who says the NHS has suffered under the Tories? Recently in Scotland an old lady felt a bit rough after eating some fish. She was rushed many miles by the RAF to Aberdeen Royal Infirmary and given a ward all to herself. To be fair that's what I call service.

Right wing attack youth

Dear Comrades,
Recently we were holding the regular sale outside our ward Labour Party when Rob Murray (witch-finder General), secretary of Attercliffe CLP turned up.

After buying a paper, he asked us what we thought of Sawyer's proposals to lower

the age limit of the LPYS to 21. We replied that it was a blatant attempt to halve the membership of the Young Socialists and deprive it of its leadership.

In response he said "Well, if you can't control it, close it down."

What a remarkable example of honesty!

Yours fraternally
Dave Milson and Sharron McDermott, expelled members of Attercliffe Labour Party.

know why they are trying to expel you—all you have done is build houses".

These simple words said more about the real attitudes of workers towards Liverpool council than all the filth dreamed up by the so-called 'free press'.

Yours fraternally
David Read
Liverpool 17

Support for council

Dear Comrades,
On a paper sale in Liverpool one worker came up to us beaming and shaking his fist and said—"I'm 100 per cent behind you. I don't

David Mahoney

Coventry Militant supporters extend their deepest sympathy to the Mahoney family on the recent tragic death of their son and Militant supporter David. He struggled for a better society and his contribution will be sorely missed.

Public support for Militant

Dear Comrades,

Whilst on a paper sale at the local shopping centre, a man who bought a paper said "You stand for what the Labour leadership forgets it's supposed to stand for. You must be doing something right because you're getting up the nose of people on the right who I don't trust".

Let comments from ordinary people serve as a warning to Kinnock and the right-wing.

Yours fraternally
Mark Hazlehurst
Wallasey Labour Party
Young Socialists

Fit to be executed

Dear Comrades,

A recent article in *The Guardian* describes how the US Supreme Court is enlisting the services of psychiatrists to treat prisoners on Death Row.

Apparently the long wait between the sentence and the execution (usually several years), often results in the prisoner being driven to insanity. Unfortunately, since US law does not permit the execution of insane people,

the psychiatrists are being asked to bring these prisoners back to full mental health so that they can be legally killed.

Meanwhile, the Tories in Britain, having sentenced a large number of the population to mass unemployment, are expressing concern that not enough of them are being trained in new technology skills.

Are the Tories applying the logic of their American counterparts in calling for those sentenced to unemployment to be made fit for punishment?

Yours fraternally
Graham Casey
Liverpool

Still a rebel

Dear Comrades,

Floors Castle at Kelso, scene of the Royal engagement, received a shock recently, in the form of a bus load of pensioners on an outing from the old pit village of Sacriston in county Durham.

First in the queue to get in was 66 year old Ivy Urwin, a long-time worker and fighter. "£1.60? Don't we get a reduction? We're pensioners."

"That is a reduction, from £1.80" came the snooty rep-

ly. "Well I'm not paying that, we're Geordies y'know, always good for a strike!" "That's right! We're not paying that" chimed in most of the rest of the coach load. So that was that, off they went.

"They wouldn't show ordinary people the way they really live and think anyway" explained Ivy.

As for Royalty and the Tories—parasites, she'd have rid of them. Not the sort of person to be ripped off by the owners of Floors Castle!

Yours fraternally
Ian Hunter
Sacriston Labour Party

True blue to 'a bit radical' red

Dear Comrades,

It was interesting to see your piece in Left and Right about the ad for Ferguson portable colour TV's 'From True Blue to Militant Red'.

After a recent paper sale a few of us were walking past the Radio Rentals shop in Tuebrook, which had this particular ad in the window.

However, there was one

word in the slogan which was blanked out. When we enquired about this we were told that Radio Rentals "Do not advertise products that they don't sell". Nice try, but I don't believe it.

Yours fraternally
Mike Morton
Broadgreen Labour Party Young Socialists

Dear Comrades,

The headline in our local newspaper the *Harlow Gazette* reads:

"Militant hot-bed" in Harlow Unemployed Centre says Jeremy Hayes MP (Tory).

Considering the miserly increases in benefits that this government have recently given us, I am very grateful to know where I will be able to keep warm this winter.

Yours fraternally
Olive Edwards
Harlow

Classified ads

15p per word, minimum 10 words. Semi-Display £2 per column centimetre. Three weeks for the price of two. *Militant* meeting ads free. All advertisement copy should reach this office by first post on Friday, the week before publication.

Towards the Political Revolution

Trottskyist Workers' Tendency of Solidarity

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

London LPYS Chile Rally "Smash Pinochet, for a socialist Chile". Thurs 11 Sept. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, WC1. 7.30pm. Speakers invited: Eric Heffer MP, Terry Fields MP.

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

New video *The launch of COSATU* available for hire from: PO Box 77, London E8 4TB.

SALEP broadsheet *Workers and youth direct links campaign 1986*, 20p plus p&p from: PO Box 77, London E8 4TB.

WORRALL: Leeds LPYS say—Don't do it Dave—Just say no.

Congratulations to Muna Al-Baldawi on the recent birth of her twin daughters Pamela and Leila. Love from John, Paul, Mathew, Bill, Sue and all the Stoke comrades.

LONDON YTURC Disco. Saturday 6 September, 7.30-midnight at the Florence Nightingale, Westminster Bridge Rd, London SE1. £3 waged, £1 unwaged. All proceeds to the London Youth March (see page 5).

Militant Meetings

Westminster and Kensington LPYS rally on South Africa. Speakers from SALEP, LPYS and Ben Bosquett (PPC for Kensington) at Bay 63, Acklam Road, London W10. Near Ladbroke Grove tube at 2pm, Saturday 30 August.

Caerphilly Marxist discussion group. Working Mens Hall, Caerphilly, every Monday 7.30pm.

Labour Party Conference Greetings Closing date for copy: 18 September. Rates: semi-display, 3 col. centimetres £6, 6 col. centimetres £12. Display, sixteenth of page £20, eighth of page £30, quarter of page £60. POs/cheques to 'Militant Publications'. Send copy and money to: *Militant*, 3/13 Hepscott Rd, London E9 5HB.

Choices facing the Congress

Martin Elvin looks at two major TUC debates

FIRST ON the agenda of the forthcoming Trade Union Congress are resolutions under the heading of trade union organisation and industrial relations.

Behind the bland title lie issues which are also top of the agenda for millions of workers. They will be looking to the leadership of the trade unions to come up with some answers—not just in Brighton but for the months ahead.

The vast majority of Tory media and publicity in relation to employment has centred upon their trade union laws and their spurious claims to be 'democratising the unions' and 'giving the unions back to the members'.

Far less publicised but equally serious has been the massive erosion of workers' conditions and rights through statutory and other means.

The low paid, especially in poorly-unionised service industries are being deliberately ground down.

The battery of new legal advantage to the employers is appalling: abolition of the Wages Councils, repeal of certain laws in order to make it easier for employers to sack people, repeal of a whole number of laws safeguarding employment, contracting out and privatisation, the spread of temporary work and short term contracts.

It is to this problem that resolution No.1 from the GMBATU draws attention. The GMB calls for: "the next Labour government to enact a new system of industrial relations law which includes a wide-ranging charter of legal rights for all people at work."

It goes on to list specifically:

ly protection against unfair dismissal regardless of length of service, legal protection against discrimination be extended, health and safety laws tightened, for a "statutory minimum earnings guarantee which provides decent pay and conditions.

The motion wants the labour movement to: "campaign for a system of legal rights which will enhance the lives of all working people and put the law on the side of the low paid and oppressed."

An amendment from Usdaw would legally require employers to recognise a trade union in their workplace where employees express this wish.

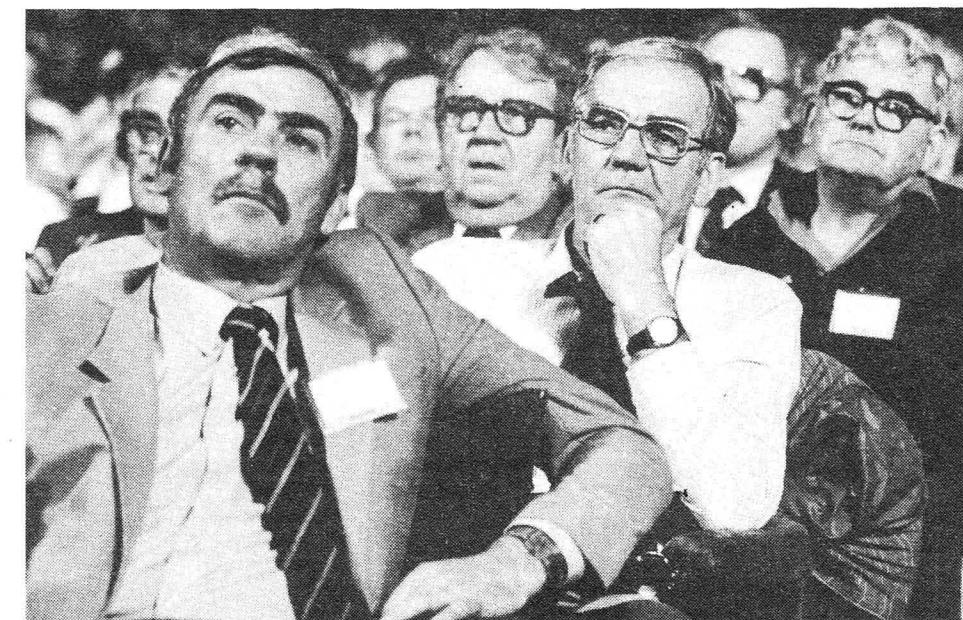
A Sogat amendment calls for: "Legal protection against unfair dismissal whilst participating in an official dispute which has been subject to a secret ballot".

Fudged

This is fine in principle but surely the labour and trade union movement must fight to ensure that no employer is able to get away with sacking workers in dispute or on strike whether the action is official, subject to ballot, or not.

Trade union legislation and a future Labour government's attitude are the most controversial issues at this year's TUC.

What appears to have happened at time of writing is that in the usual attempts by the trade union leaders to fudge anything which may cause contention nearly all the resolutions on trade union organisation and industrial relations have been composed into one omnibus composite.



Last year's TUC dodged dealing with the EETPU—will it duck opposing legal interference in union affairs this year?

A UCW resolution headed 'Positive Rights for Workers', with amendments submitted from the TGWU and NUM has been drafted into a composite with the GMBATU resolution No.1, referred to above, along with a series of other resolutions and amendments.

It looks as though Ron Todd has already done a deal to put the TGWU amendment into the main composite in order to avoid 'embarrassing' Neil Kinnock but the NUM amendment still stands. This and a strong Tass resolution may provide a focus of opposition to legal interference in ballots and industrial action.

The UCW resolution calls for a "Workers Rights Act", not only to cover wages, conditions and health and safety, but to give workers positive rights to belong to a union, working time facilities for union activity, the right to strike and the right to picket.

However, the UCW motion also included "a right to have an individual secret

ballot before asked to participate in industrial action." It is that clause which the NUM amendment would delete.

The Tass resolution insists that: "individual members, through collective decision, should determine their own rule books." The guidelines it proposes for Labour Party policy include: "opposes any interference in unions' internal democratic procedures by outside bodies and rejects intervention-by the state and the courts."

Activists throughout the trade union movement must commit their organisations and delegates to supporting the NUM and Tass.

It is disgraceful that in both the recent TUC/Labour policy statement on the unions and in the public utterances of Neil Kinnock and other Labour leaders, they have referred to retaining some sections of the Tory anti-union legislation, in particular on the



Rodney Bickerstaffe and Tom Sawyer of NUPE

question of pre-strike ballots.

The GMBATU/UCW composite appears to be supported by the TGWU, Sogat, Usdaw, SCPS, STE, and Astms. But these decisions have in most cases been taken by union officials without consultation with their members or even their executives.

There is still time for rank and file pressure to be reflected in the TUC delegations which make the final

decisions on voting.

Marxists have been at the forefront of the fighting for the maximum democracy and accountability in the trade unions. Pre-strike ballots are not wrong in principle. On the contrary where campaigns to explain the issues have been waged, where ballots have decided in favour of action, the voting has helped to involve the members and strengthened the solidarity of the strike.

However, there are times when action has to be taken quickly and a ballot isn't possible. Retaining legally required statutory balloting before any action is retaining legislation which can be used against the unions.

It is also enabling the law to continue to intervene and shackle the trade union movement. That is the essential difference between that and all the other proposals being put forward by the UCW.

Real strength

The positive rights proposed by the UCW should be supported and a future Labour government pressurised to implement them.

However, we should not have any illusions in the law. It has often been pointed out that unlike other countries we have not had much in the way of statutory rights but just legal immunities.

Despite that Britain has had, and still has, one of the most powerful trade union movements in the world.

That is precisely because the rights and immunities we enjoy have been won by the working class in struggle against the bosses and their political representatives.

The TUC should look to defending and extending those positions. The only way to do that is by campaigning and mobilising its millions of members.

Economics debatable

ALL THE resolutions on the economy draw attention to the devastation of Britain's industrial base over the past seven years. Not one, even those from unions without members in the industrial or manufacturing sectors gives any hint of support to the Tory idea that it is possible to have a healthy economy without a strong industrial base.

Unfortunately, however, none puts forward anything like the clear and rounded out programme of economic planning and reconstruction which is needed to match the depth of British capitalism's crisis.

The AEU calls for a Labour government to: "restore the wealth creation capabilities of manufacturing", "increase the level of investment in the public and private sectors", to "deter the export of capital" and to "create the incentives and...public funding for research and development."

The motion lacks any explanation or proposals as to how these aims are to be implemented.

Increased investment is desperately needed. But experience shows that public investment in the private sector merely enables shareholders to line their own pockets.

How is the export of capital to be deterred when the financial institutions and the banks have a stranglehold over capital flows and are capable of creating a financial crisis for any government which at-

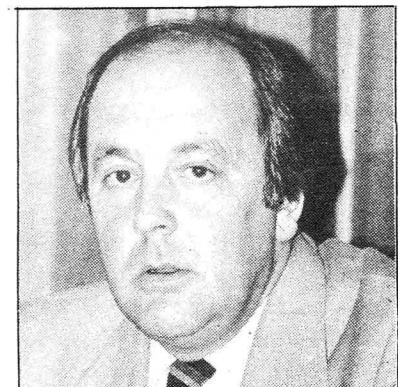
tempts to restrict their activities? Who is to receive tax incentives? The bosses have enjoyed a virtual tax holiday under Thatcher whilst expenditure on vital research and development has plummeted.

The TGWU puts forward a more ambitious series of demands, including a call for "investment in the nation's infrastructure", "reduced working time, including earlier retirement", "a guaranteed job for every young person at the end of a two-year programme of training and education".

This last demand, which was condemned as "impossibilist" by Neil Kinnock when raised by the Labour Party Young Socialists is a vital one for the thousands of young people rotting on the dole and to provide the skilled and experienced labour essential to develop a healthy economy.

The NUR calls for the next Labour government to: "secure a fundamental change in the balance of wealth and power in favour of working people". And in order to bring this about: "a reaffirmation of the movement's commitment to public ownership."

The influence of so-called 'new realism' and the Labour leadership's jettisoning of even the language of socialist planning is reflected in the abandonment of the Alternative Economic Strategy. Unfortunately the only element which remains is the continued illusions in import controls.



Alan Tuffin of the UCW

The working class, however, cannot walk away from the question of who owns and controls wealth in Britain so easily.

Only by linking the still enormous power of the trade union movement to a programme for socialist transformation can the misery which has already engulfed millions—and threatens millions more—be ended.

A minimum wage of at least £120 per week, a massive programme of public works to build homes, schools, hospital and other social facilities, a guaranteed job for all, a 35-hour working week—these are basic and necessary demands.

Their achievement requires a massive campaign throughout the trade unions and unorganised working class. Only by taking control of the banks, financial institutions and 200 top companies which dominate the economy will society be run by the working class for the working class. Any programme which falls short of that will lead to disaster.

Militant Readers Meeting (T.U.C Brighton)

Tuesday 2nd September
1986
Wagner Hall, Regency Road, Brighton. 7.30pm

Speakers

Doreen Purvis (Chair)
CPSA Vice President P/C

Brian Ingham
Industrial Correspondent

Steve Mc Kenzie
NUPE Delegate

Striking Print Worker



DOREEN PURVIS,



Striker's TUC message

I AM a Silentnight striker, now on fourteen months. It's been hard.

For the first few months money was a real problem. Doing without everything. I haven't been able to afford any clothes apart from a pair of trousers I bought with a tax rebate.

I've learned a lot about how the bosses run this country. We went through all the steps, with a ballot and all that, but we were still sacked.

The police told us they were on nobody's side, but there's been thirty arrested at Sutton. In one incident a picket was dragged away for speaking to a driver.

But I've made some strong friendships. When I was working you hardly knew anyone at the factory. Now I know most people

and we stick together.

What's kept it going for me is learning from other people's experience. They've shown us the need to carry on. Miners have told us to stick it out. We just can't let down all the support groups that have been set up around the country.

My brother went back to work at Sutton. Four months ago he got married. It would have been the first time the family had been all together for years. But I wouldn't go.

As for the trade union leaders, they seem to support things on paper, but it's the rank and file we get most support from. The leaders don't seem to relate to workers. They should listen more than they do.

We sent an appeal sheet to Neil Kinnock. While he said he gave us his full support all he sent back was a photo of himself signed with a red felt tip pen.

The trade unions need to work together so that no-one is forgotten about. Silentnight strikers go to Wapping every week and striking printers come up to see us as well.

My message to the TUC is this. I vote Labour—but I can't wait for the general election to solve our problems. We've got to win our dispute.

I appeal to the TUC to act now for all strikers across the country who are looking to them for support—from Silentnight to the printers and many others.

by David Oselton

South London hospitals hard hit by cuts in service

IN THE health district where I work, Southwark and Lewisham, each day brings more news of cuts in the service.

200 acute beds have been closed in Guy's hospital since the beginning of 1984: 174 in general medical and surgical wards plus 16 children's beds.

300 jobs will have been axed in the 12 months to this spring.

The number of patients waiting over a month in Lewisham and North Southwark for urgent treatment has gone up by 50 per cent since savage cuts were imposed 18 months ago.

25 per cent of patients face delays of over 12 months for non-urgent treatment even according to DHA figures.

Despite the year's massive cuts the health authority has still overspent by £5.4m.

There has been a 30 per cent cut in out-patient appointments and we have been told to expect the



closure of four local hospitals.

We also have the threat of privatisation looming in domestic areas—first at

Guy's.

As if this is not enough, at the last health authority meeting we found out that four key wards and 152

hospital staff face the axe at Lewisham hospital.

We were told that a local general hospital will close next year—a hospital that is

continually full.

Already patients are being discharged far too early, only to be taken half way round London on their next emergency admission as a result of early discharge.

Even patients with cancer are under threat, with a specialist breast unit gone and plans to make Guy's cancer unit an out-patient unit only.

The working class of Lewisham and Southwark, many waiting in agony, are the ones to suffer.

On the other hand there is a 119-bed private hospital costing £17 million going up opposite Guy's. Patients will be paying upwards of £200 a day.

It is conveniently placed for use by the consultants who are no doubt reassured that in any emergency over the road they can use NHS facilities at Guy's.

By Ruth Herdman
(NUPE nurse)

Union attacks nurse

THE WITCH-HUNTING antics of the right wing of the Labour Party have reached rank and file activists in the health service.

As an auxiliary nurse I was keen to participate in the union in Cleland Hospital Lanarkshire. I attended the COHSE meeting intending to play a part in my branch activities.

Within a few weeks I raised the concern of my members about Sid Ambler's decision to vote for "witch-hunts" against the Liverpool City councillors.

I was informed that his decision was that of the COHSE national executive committee.

Nevertheless I was called in front of the branch secretary of COHSE and the trade union officials specifically for the purpose of defending my case that I am not a "member" of Militant.

However, before the meeting took place the union officials told the branch secretary to take immediate disciplinary action against me. As yet I have had no opportunity to offer my defence.

This now leaves the nurses at Cleland unrepresented as a direct result of blatant outside union interference on purely political grounds.

At a time when the average take home pay in Cleland is £65 for a 37 1/2 hour week it is a disgrace that these union officials spend their time hounding a young nurse instead of helping us fight for a decent wage and conditions.

By Elizabeth Karren

COHSE (Cleland branch personal capacity)

Aberdeen postal strike shows hardening national opposition

ABERDEEN POSTAL deliveries were seriously disrupted on 7 August when over four hundred workers, mainly delivery postmen and drivers but also some indoor staff, went on a 24-hour unofficial strike.

By Andy Lovie
(Chair, Outdoor Section, Aberdeen UCW, personal capacity)

As in many other offices up and down the country, management had been creating the conditions that led workers to see strike action as necessary—by the constantly increasing use of cheap temporary and part-time labour.

But the last straw was the use of these "associate" and "casual" workers to do postmen's overtime duties, cutting the amount of overtime available to full-time permanent workers to supplement their low basic wages.

Workers had demanded that management let them hold a union meeting on Post Office premises during working hours to discuss their grievances.

When this was refused, an unofficial meeting was arranged anyway for 6am on Tuesday in the Head Post Office basement, with workers in attendance from the Head Office, Parcels Of-

order to clear up the backlog of undelivered mail from the strike.

This is despite the fact that such actions break a national agreement between the Post Office and the UCW. Such measures could lead to further strike action being taken.

Since returning to work, staff have been protesting against the cut in overtime by refusing to do any overtime at all—a course of action which, on top of the 24-hour strike, has led to an increasing backlog of undelivered mail.

A UCW executive member is to visit Aberdeen soon, and staff in other large offices like Glasgow are watching developments in Aberdeen with interest as they face very similar problems.

So the action in Aberdeen, coming soon after strike action in Leeds and in response to management measures being taken in offices all over the country will be watched closely by workers and management alike to see where further developments lead.

Tory appointed to TUC

THE APPOINTMENT of a Tory to the TUC local government committee by Nalgo is an appalling insult to the thousands of council workers who have been hit by this Tory government.

25 per cent of Nalgo members are low paid. The abolition of the metropolitan counties and GLC, ratecapping and cuts in central government grants were all deliberate government attacks on local jobs, services and local democracy.

And our union has the audacity to appoint a leading Tory trade unionist to the TUC's policy making body for local government—which will include consultation with the Labour Party!

This action must call into question the political make-up and judgement of the Nalgo national executive. It reinforces the importance of the by-election being held for the North West and North Wales division executive seat where the campaign of official Broad Left candidate Roger Bannister is going well. This Tory appointment emphasises the need for a socialist fighter like Roger Bannister on the national executive.

By a Liverpool Nalgo member

MINERS' BROAD LEFT

Open to all members of TUC affiliated mining unions and bona-fide Women's support groups



First national conference

Saturday 20 September 10.30am

Barnsley College of Technology
Church Street, Barnsley



For conference details and credentials (£1 each) contact: Stan Pearce, 1 Hillthorne Close, Columbia Village, Washington, Tyne & Wear. Tel 091 416 5060

Pit overtime ban on

THE OVERTIME ban in the South Wales pits is biting.

Although only a limited ban this action has the Board on the run, costing some £450,000 in lost production. The interests of the membership are safeguarded by implementing the ban at the point of production and by adopting a flexible approach.

The national overtime ban in 1984, preceding the national strike, saw many pits unprepared for operations after a weekend without safety cover of 'essential' work (in the NCB's terms).

This resulted in the bulk of the workforce being sent home and denied a day's wages. The current ban does not affect normal working. Now other areas are preparing to follow suit.

The Area Director has panicked in the Durham coalfield. Within days of press reports of the decision to hold a ballot for a proposed overtime ban in opposition to the closure of Seaham, management had produced and distributed leaflets condemning any such action.

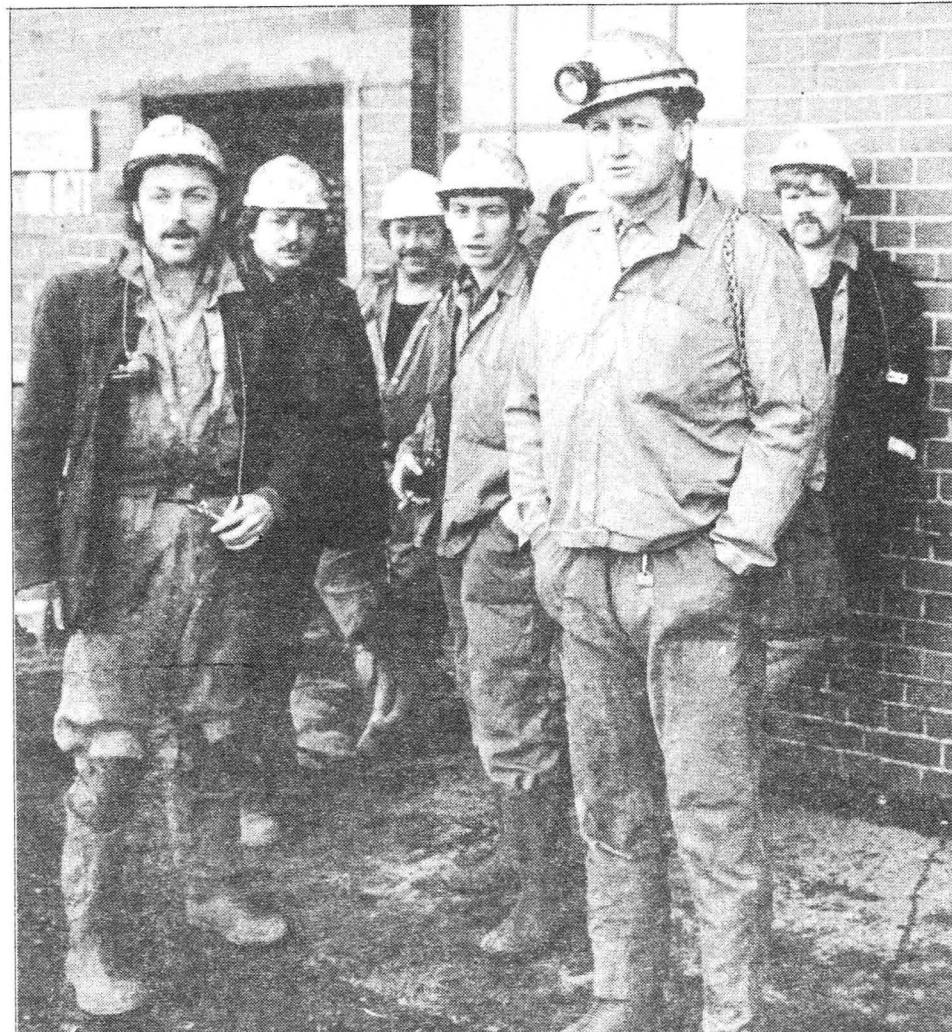
Individual pit leaflets/circulars have also been distributed. The Board are terrified of the prospect of this industrial action spreading.

But the frustration and anger that has been building up in the coalfields over the past year is coming to the surface.

The Northumberland Area will consider introducing the ban within two or three weeks if there is no movement on the wages question. The Board are still refusing to pay the £5-50 a week accepted by the NUM.

Individual pits up and down the country are considering similar action.

Coal stocks in March of this year were 'at their lowest level for more than a decade' according to the NCB Annual Report. Conditions are at their most favourable for



Miners at Tower Colliery, South Wales. This Area is showing the way with its overtime ban.

the development of this kind of action as far as the miners are concerned.

The beauty of the limited form of action being undertaken is that it can be further spread and extended if the Board do not yield to

means of defending jobs and conditions. He also called for the spreading of the overtime ban. However many area leaders are hesitant.

The rank and file themselves must take the initiative and press their

developing overtime ban is essentially correct given the levels of coal stocks and the need to carefully nurture and develop the confidence of the membership to take effective action and win concessions from the Coal Board.

Pressure must be exerted for a massive propaganda campaign to be initiated by the national leadership to convince wavering elements of the necessity of the ban and to explain that unity in action can score a much needed victory.

By Chris Heriot sacked Monktonhall miner.

Swansea convenor stands for AEU national executive

A NEW round of important elections to national and local positions will take place in the Amalgamated Engineering Union in September.

One of the most keenly fought will be for the executive committee seat in division six, which covers South Wales and the West of England.

The West Wales Broad Left have adopted Ken Armin from Swansea to challenge the right-wing incumbent, John Weakley.

Ken Armin is convenor at Ayers and Jones (Mono) factory in Swansea. He is a member of the District Council and is also active in the Labour Party. He is a firm supporter of the policies and ideas of *Militant*.

He is campaigning for:

* an end to the erosion of democracy within the union;

- ★ support for all workers in struggle to defend jobs and conditions;
- ★ all full-time officials to receive the average wage of their skilled members;
- ★ a Broad Left leadership for the AEU;
- ★ kick out the Tories—for a Labour government committed to socialist policies.

EC division six covers a huge area. It includes important centres of industry such as Bristol, Yeovil (Westlands), Southampton, Portsmouth (dockyards), Basingstoke, Swindon and the whole of the South Wales.

The postal ballot will commence during the first week of September and last for three weeks. It is vital that activists in the above areas make sure that members are aware of the issues and what Ken Armin stands for.



Photo: Tina Carroll

Nove Leather seven-week picket

NOVE LEATHER in Liverpool has been hit by strike action for seven weeks. Shop steward Janet Bowman talked to Carl Cole of Garston LPYS.

Conditions at the factory were a disgrace. The building was filthy and we didn't even get any overalls. There was one sink for all of us and one heater for the whole factory. In summer it was too hot and in winter too cold.

Instead of holidays we were laid off. The top pay was £65 for a 42 hour week.

We decided to organise a union because we were sick

of being treated like crap by the boss. We would be able to discuss our pay and conditions without being slung out of his office.

The boss also exploited young people on YTS (Youth Training Schemes). He would take on say six but keep two. With this turnover, plus the periodic layoffs he created a permanent temporary work-force.

When he got wind of the union he tried to nip it in the bud. On the morning after I was elected I was made redundant. The union members, 13 out of 17

Keetons strikers call for blacking

THIRTY EIGHT AEU members have been on strike at Keeton and Sons in Sheffield since 2 July, when a secret ballot resulted in a two to one majority to stop work.

Convenor Neil Earnshaw and his deputy, Mark Simpson, spoke to *Militant*

This was over management's refusals to honour an agreement that was reached in November 1985. The agreement was a concession by the workforce to work on more than one machine.

Management said it was a 'job saver', and agreed to abide by certain safeguards insisted on by the shop stewards committee that: it would operate only where practical and possible; there would be no redundancies or lay-offs; it would not operate in periods of short-time working; and there would be no harassment or intimidation.

However, management never stuck to it. Workers were harassed and bullied into working machines more than 25 yards apart. There have been redundancies and lay-offs.

When workers refused to operate extra machines during another lay-off period, at the beginning of July, and repeatedly asked for talks, management refused talks and to pay for that shift.

The men held a meeting, during which management and staff began to run the machines. When asked to stop they refused. The workers decided to ballot over strike action. This was even supervised by management and when the two to one result was known, management claimed it was still unofficial.

Before the workers left (five minutes later) they were given dismissal letters stating they had sacked themselves, and if re-engaged they had to

be non-union.

Since then every striker has been offered a pay-off of £50 for every year of service. Between them the strikers have put in over 600 years service and have been repaid by a kick in the mouth. They believe the strike was engineered to avoid redundancy payments.

In a letter to Keeton's customers the strikers warn that their products are of questionable quality as they are being produced by an inexperienced and unproven scab workforce.

They are appealing for Keeton's products to be blacked (Keetons is the trade name) and also the haulage firm of JJ Shepherd whose drivers are crossing the picket line. The strike is official and now nine weeks old. They are getting good support from many local workers and are now organising mass pickets to step up action.

The attitude of management and particularly the managing director Doyle is a typical one—"He thinks he's JR, running a big company, but it's only a tuppenny ha'penny firm" said one striker. Another said "He's a true-blue Tory, he'd charge you for the air you used if he could."

The boot is being put in. Just down the road at the steel foundries Elford Steel and Son, management have demanded a two per cent pay cut or jobs will go. One Keeton's picket said he'd been working on machines made in 1944 and in the 1960's there were over 400 at Keeton's, now it's 40. It's clearly mismanagement and Tory policies to blame.

Black Keeton's products, support the mass pickets. Messages of support and donations to: Keeton's Strike Committee, C/O AEU House, Furnival Gate, Sheffield S1 3HE.

clude all workers and management in any ballots. This would give the boss an easy majority.

The time for talking is over and pressure should be put on. Littlewoods and USDAW, who take some 90 per cent of Nove's output should black its products. This would break Nove.

We have to stay together and stick it out.

Morale boost

Terry Fields MP has been a great boost to morale on the picket line. "I think it's tremendous that these young workers with no union experience can display such class consciousness, despite attempts by management to divide them. It's a shame that the national TUC leadership hasn't displayed the same solidarity."

There will be a mass picket at Canning Place, Liverpool from 7.30-9am Friday August 29 followed by a fund-raising social in the evening at the Dolphin pub, Canning Place from 8pm. Donations and letters of support to Nove Leather Strike Fund c/o Tony Hayes, Transport House Islington Liverpool L3.

Militant

Football Page 4

Rape Page 6

CPSA right run amok

A SCURRILOUS attack on the Broad Left of the Civil and Public Services Association (CPSA) appeared in the *London Standard* on 21 August.

Repeating charges from an old article from the *Mail on Sunday* of November last year, the *Standard* claimed that "the moderate-led executive of the union has launched an investigation into what happened to almost £1,000,000 of union funds said to support a strike in the union's *Militant*-dominated DHSS central office branch in Newcastle."

By the time the story appeared in the next day's papers, acting general secretary John Ellis was saying that "These reports are largely true. However, the suggestion that almost £1 million has been siphoned off is nonsense. We have proof that £96 has found its way into *Militant* funds." From £1 million in the *Standard* to £96—quite a feat of journalism!

In fact no 'proof' of any misappropriation was produced. Ellis's libellous

By Frank Bonner
(Civil Aviation Section executive, in personal capacity)

statements will be the subject of legal action to prevent the spreading of these smears.

The press, the right wing and Mr Ellis will be challenged to produced evidence to substantiate their allegations. The report presented to the CPSA national executive committee by two firms of accountants completely exonerates Newcastle Central Office branch from any form of financial malpractice.

Broad Left

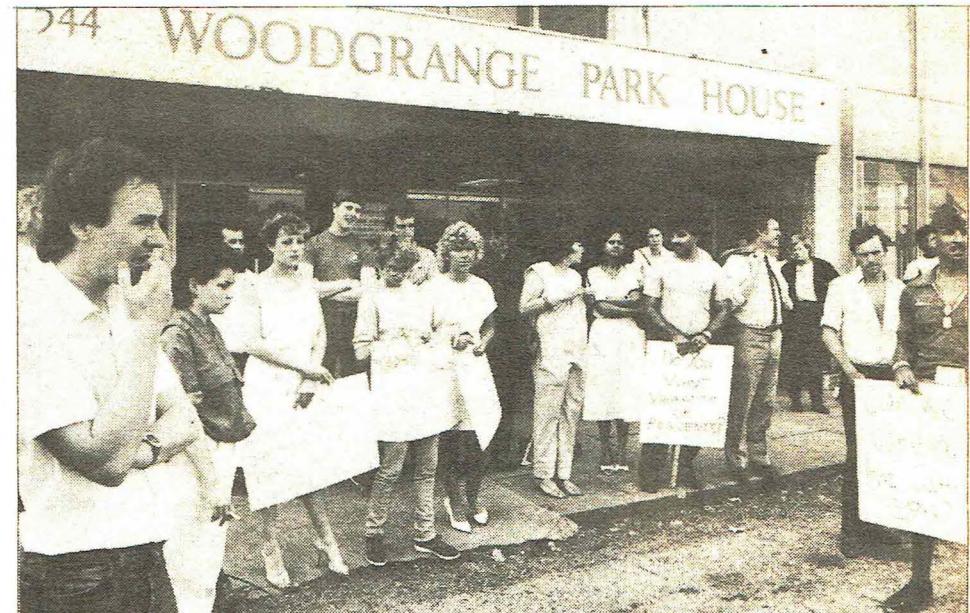
Since the split within the CPSA Broad Left in 1984, the right wing and the rump Broad Left 84 organisation have consistently labelled the Broad Left a *Militant* front. Anyone giving a cursory

look at the Broad Left will treat these statements as nonsense. Anyone who has been present at a Broad Left Organising Committee conference would be aware that the majority of those present are not *Militant* supporters.

These smears are part of a campaign to discredit the supporters of John Macreadie prior to a possible re-election campaign, following his successful election to the post of general secretary and the right wing coup which prevented his from taking office.

Meanwhile, in the absence of John Macreadie as general secretary, the right wing on the NEC are running amok with the union. Only a paper put forward by John Macreadie, drew the executive back from talks with the government on 'geographical pay', based on the employer's ability to recruit and retain staff, which would mean areas of high unemployment being areas of low pay.

They also expelled Martyn Jenkins, the Corporate



CPSA members on strike at Woodgrange Park DHSS office in East London.

Trustee Director and Broad Left secretary, from the NEC with no advance warning and no right of appeal, for the 'crime' of being secretary of the CPSA Elections Defence Fund.

They voted 18-3 to debar John Macreadie from attend-

ing the TUC and installed leading right-winger Kate Losinska, on the General Council of the TUC, a move which will disgust the majority of members.

The union cannot afford to let this continue. The conference must be recalled im-

mediately. Motions to this effect must flood in, together with money to pay the legal costs incurred in defending the union's democracy. Send it to Martin Jenkins, CPSA Broad Left Secretary, 48 Elsinore Road, London SE23 2SL.

Peter Jarvis: police to take no action

FIVE PRINT workers were in the High Court on 18 August to oppose the granting of an injunction to Rupert Murdoch's scab delivery firm TNT. The five, including *Militant* supporter, Peter Jarvis, are accused of involvement in attacks on TNT depots in Maidstone, Luton, Bradford, Southampton and Thetford.

This civil action was merely the first shot in a legal offensive, not a trial of innocence or guilt. They were asked to give undertakings to TNT not to do a whole list of things which would have made it virtually impossible for them to continue activity in the dispute.

All opposed TNT's application. But it quickly became obvious that the judge was going to come down in the company's favour. Three of the printers therefore offered alternative,

limited undertakings, basically not to break the law, whilst making clear that this was in no way an admission that they had done so in the past.

The barrister for the other two pressed on to the bitter end but the judge ruled against them and awarded TNT the injunction.

National strike

Peter Jarvis thanked those who attended the lobby of the High Court and Old Street police station the previous Friday.

He explained why he had given an undertaking whilst protesting his innocence.

"This is an attempt to intimidate leading activists after print union leaders have backed down in the face of legal action," he said.

"The way to win this

WHEN PETER Jarvis was first arrested, it was in connection with possible criminal charges, not the civil action taken by TNT. However, he has now received a letter from the police to inform him that "...as result of further inquiries into the matter that resulted in your attendance at the City Road police station, London, on 12.8.86...no further action will be taken against you in this matter."

This confirms that there was no evidence of any

strike is for the print union leaders to campaign for a strike of Fleet Street workers leading to a national print strike.

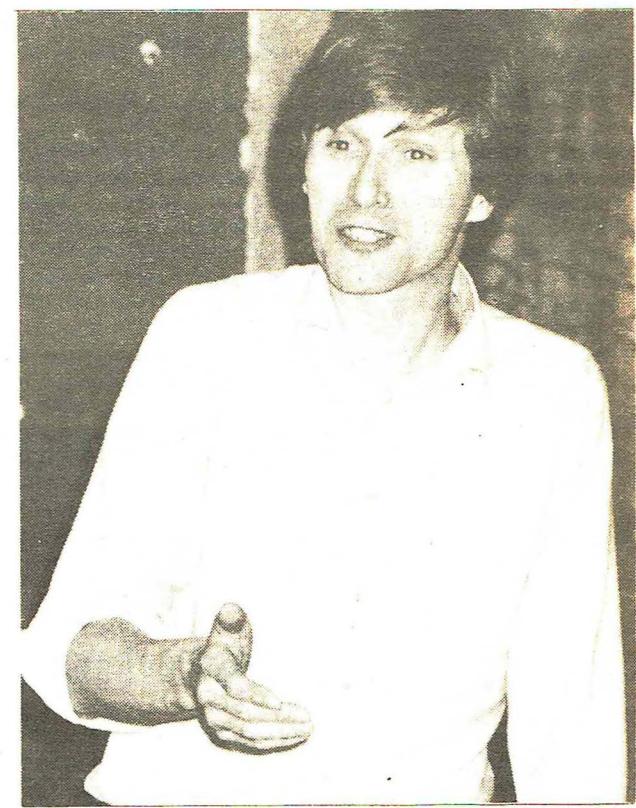
"If that was being done we could realistically be demanding action from the TUC and win solidarity action by printers making appeals to the rank and file

criminal act. Peter Jarvis and all those who rallied in support of him have been vindicated. The suspicion remains that the police, on the basis of an approach by TNT, arrested a union activist, and his three-year-old daughter, before they had any evidence, because of his involvement in the dispute. Had there not been such an immediate angry response from the labour movement, criminal proceedings might well not have been dropped.

even if the leaders refuse to support us.

"It is that campaign for mass action which we have to put our energies into to stop Murdoch and defend unionism in the print."

By Ian Ilett



Peter Jarvis

Become a
Militant
supporter

Name
Address
.....

Send to
3/13 Hepscott Road, London E9 5HB



Subscribe

BRITAIN & IRELAND

13 issues £5.50

26 issues £11.00

52 issues £22.00

EUROPE (by air)

26 issues £15.00

52 issues £30.00

REST OF WORLD (by air)

26 issues £18.00

52 issues £36.00

Name
Address
.....

Make cheques payable to *Militant*, and return to the Circulation Department, *Militant*, 3/13 Hepscott Road, London E9 5HB.

Donate

I would like to donate £ p each week/month to the fighting fund.

Sell

I would like to sell papers per week (minimum 5) on a sale or return basis.