

Militant

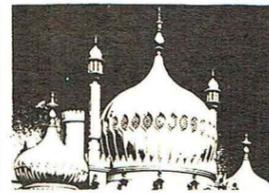
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The Marxist Paper for Labour and Youth

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Inside...



TUC '86

Pages 4
and 5

Youth against the Tories

DEMONSTRATE

**WE CAN'T WAIT TILL '88
SACK THE TORIES NOW!**

OCTOBER 18th

THE YOUTH are on the march! Last week the Labour Party Young Socialists' National Committee launched plans for a national march against the Tories on 18 October.

"Young people cannot go on for much longer being pushed around by Thatcher" said LPYS chairman, John Ellen, "we want the Tories out and a socialist Labour government elected."

This LPYS initiative comes at a time when conditions for young people have never been worse. In the next week millions of school and college students will be starting the new term, many uncertain about their futures.

Education has been savaged by cuts, but there is worse to come. With rate-capping this year thousands of courses could be cut and teachers made redundant.

These, and a host of other crimes the Tories have committed against working class youth, mean that the demonstration on 18 October can be massive.

Tories blamed

Nearly half the unemployed are under 26. Young people, like their grandparents before them, are being forced to uproot themselves and leave home to look for work.

The Tories like to portray an image of "non political" youth. That may have been the case in the past but not anymore. A MORI survey has found that after going to nightclubs and discos and watching the telly, young people spend most of their time *looking for work* and they blame their unemployment on the Tories. According to the poll, young people by a big majority put the blame for unemployment squarely on the government.

Labour can make massive gains. Fully 60 per cent of youth who expressed a preference thought Labour had the best policy on

By John Hird

unemployment with the Tories trailing on 14 per cent and the alliance an equally miserable 13 per cent.

60 per cent thought that everyone should have a right to a job guaranteed by the government and overall 49 per cent will vote Labour at the next General Election, more than the Tories' and alliance support together.

This poll is clear evidence that young people are political: but it could be so much better, if the Labour Party gave a clear lead and commitments to young people, on jobs, education and nuclear weapons.

There are now 6.2 million people in Britain aged 18 to 25 who constitute 15 per cent of the electorate. They have reached voting age since 1979 when Thatcher came to power. 75 per cent are anti-Tory.

They have the votes to elect a Labour government but their support cannot be taken for granted. This is what 18 October is all about.

We have to offer young people guaranteed jobs which they support, a 35 hour week and a £120 minimum wage and this can only be achieved by a Labour government implementing socialist policies.

The opportunities for Labour after seven years of Thatcher have never been better. The LPYS believes the march can have a big effect in winning the youth vote for Labour and building support for a socialist Labour Government.

LPYS branches around the country are already out on the streets campaigning

Continued on page 16



Young Socialists on march against low pay in Manchester in May.

TUC: printers fight on



Sacked printworkers lobby the TUC—see pages 4 and 5 for reports, interviews and comment.

Study Marxism

HAROLD WILSON proudly boasted that he had never got past the non-existent footnote on page one of Marx's *Capital*. The cold war warriors of the fifties boldly consigned the ideas of Marx back to the British museum. Now they are demanding the expulsion of Marxists from the labour movement in order 'to safeguard democracy.' In truth the old and tired, tried and failed ideas are those of the so-called 'new realists'.

Marxism provides a scientific explanation of how the world really works. The *Militant* Marxist Weekend School will show how it illuminates all aspects of the struggles of the working class.

Sessions will discuss the double exploitation of women and black workers and the application of the theory of permanent revolution to South Africa and Ireland. There are also sessions on the history of the Russian revolution and the British trade unions.

There will be straight confrontation between the ideas of Marxism and Neil Kinnock's Communist Party mentor Eric Hobsbawm in the debate between leading 'Eurocommunist' Monty Johnstone and *Militant* editor Peter Taaffe, which should be a humdinger.

The working class has paid too high a price too many times for the theoretical bankruptcy of its leaders. The Marxist Weekend School is one step in making sure that never happens again.

Turning theory into practice we will show our opponents that Marxism is on the march—not the retreat.

By Ian Ilett

For details, see page 2.

Northern Ireland

Sectarian killers—unions must act

THE DEATH threats by the loyalist and IRA paramilitaries affect tens of thousands of Northern Ireland workers. Defence against such intimidation is therefore a central issue for the trade union movement.

Under strong rank and file pressure, the union leaders are discussing a campaign against such sectarian intimidation. This welcome step could mark the end of a long period in which the passivity of the union tops has left their members dangerously exposed to the type of dangers they now face. Until now, the leadership has attempted to play down or ignore this issue.

No general in his right mind would declare war on his enemy and admit defeat at the same time. Yet Terry Carlin, Northern Officer of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions (ICTU), while preparing to campaign against intimidation, has said: "Right now there's not much hope knocking on this side. It's very frustrating. Some branches have spent the last fortnight dealing solely with intimidation complaints and often there is not a great deal the unions can do". (*Irish Times* 23/8/86).

In Short's aircraft factory in Belfast, the union's job in maintaining class unity has been difficult and the courage of shop stewards and other activists is to be applauded. However, the Confed. and ICTU leaders' handling of the issue of recent threats to Catholic workers has made the task of their activists even more difficult.

When timecards were ripped up and direct threats issued to several workers, the union leaders did no more than issue a statement of condemnation and pledge support to management in any disciplinary action. This same support was reiterated for management's letter insisting that political bunting, emblems, etc. be removed.

Instead of attempting to resolve the question through a cosy arrangement with the management, the unions should have taken the issue independently to the membership. There should have been mass meetings involving the entire 7,000 workforce. From there the mood of the majority which is against sectarian intimidation could have been

developed into independent action to call a halt to the threats.

Because they chose to link arms with management in preference to independent class action, the Confed. leaders have squandered an opportunity and allowed the initiative to return to the loyalists inside and outside the factory.

The magnificent strikes which took place in DHSS offices are the living proof of what can be achieved when workers are given a class lead. Protestant and Catholic workers showed that they were prepared to stand shoulder to shoulder to register their disgust at the threats to their workmates. It is the example of DHSS, not the defeatist statements of Terry Carlin, which must set the tone for NIC/ICTU's campaign against sectarianism.

Mass meetings

The old strategy of trying to hide the issue from the eyes of the members and resolve it in private in the boardrooms will backfire. There must now begin a programme of discussion throughout the movement on the trade unions' opposition to sectarianism. There should be mass meetings in every workplace at which the issues could be explained. This should be a preparation for industrial action, whenever any group of workers is directly threatened by paramilitaries from either side.

This would show the working class the power they have to stop the killings. Strikes and demonstrations would have an effect on the paramilitaries as they would feel their base within their own communities begin to shatter.

Such action alone however, would probably not be enough. If sectarian attacks continued, the issue of who can defend workers would remain. Clearly the state forces are incapable of doing so. Virtually every workplace in Lisburn has received threats to its Catholic employees and the police



The faces of loyalist bigotry—Paisley and Molyneux at 'Ulster says No' meeting.

have done nothing except advise workers to take the threats seriously. It goes without saying that the paramilitaries issuing the threats offer no protection to anyone. The defence of working class lives can only be carried out by the working class itself.

One task of the trade union campaign should be to establish defence committees in every workplace to discuss and implement measures to ensure protection both in the workplace and on the way to and from work.

In some working class estates in Belfast, workers have already taken the initiative to organise the defence of their area. Legoniel, in North Belfast has suffered more than its share of sectarian attacks. It was here that *Militant* supporter Colum McCallan was killed in July. Local residents have set up a Community Watch Committee which patrols the estate at night. While this is a mainly Catholic area, those involved in the Watch Committee insist it is not sectarian in composition, as Protestants living in the area are involved in it.

FINANCIAL SUPPORT for the Labour and Trade Union Group in Northern Ireland is still urgently needed. Please send donations to 4 Waring Street, Belfast and take out solidarity membership of the

Similar committees, democratically elected on a street-by-street basis, could provide defence for every area. If these bodies were co-ordinated, the paramilitaries on all sides would be isolated. Workers would ensure not only that their area was protected but that it was not used as a launching pad for any form of sectarian attack on any other area.

Defence force

The trade unions could link up workplace and community defence organisations. A non-sectarian workers' defence force could be created which alone would have the power to stop sectarianism.

However, Protestant and Catholic workers can only remain united against sectarianism if they are also united politically. Defence

LTUG at £2 a year. The LTUG would like to thank those from Liverpool, Bradford and London and two Notts miners who have donated money.

must be linked to class issues such as redundancies and cuts in services.

United action against the sectarian gunmen must become also united class action against the evils of capitalism. It must encompass opposition to all capitalist solutions including the divisive and worthless Anglo-Irish Agreement.

The unions must spearhead a political campaign for a socialist solution. At a moment of grave danger the movement requires audacity, not the timid approach which has handicapped it until now. There must be a socialist campaign to draw workers together in struggle, starting from where the DHSS workers left off.

By a *Militant* correspondent in Belfast



Loyalist protest on Belfast City Hall.

More workers murdered

SECTARIAN KILLERS continue to strike at workers in Northern Ireland. On 26 August a Catholic, Belfast taxi driver, Paddy McAllister (41), was shot dead. He was dozing on the settee of his front room when two gunmen from the Ulster Freedom Fighters (UFF) burst in and fired seven shots, killing him instantly.

Two days later the Provisional IRA carried out the sectarian assassination of Mervyn Bell (22), a Protestant electrician in Derry. He was waiting in his car outside the Council cleansing depot on the Strand Road waiting to drive his

father home from work. Gunmen drew up in a motorbike and fired several times hitting him in the chest. He died in Altnagelvin hospital a few minutes after being admitted. 200 workers at the depot walked out in protest.

The UFF and the Provisional IRA both issued statements after these killings. Paddy McAllister was a 'republican activist', said the UFF and the Provos claimed that Mervyn Bell was part of the British 'war machine'. Neither of these excuses hold water and are an attempted cover for two brutal sectarian killings.

The IRA have re-iterated their threats to those workers whose job puts them in contact with RUC, UDR or Army bases. The original UFF threat warned that if any Protestant was killed by the Provos, then they'd shoot ten Catholics in retaliation.

Urgent action is required from the unions now to resist further killing, attacks and intimidation and to provide for the defence of workers. Time is not unlimited; the labour movement must resist now and mobilise its 200,000 membership or become engulfed in bloody sectarian violence.

Militant RALLY '86

Sunday 16 November

Royal Albert Hall Tickets £4

Speakers: Ted Grant, Peter Taaffe, Tony Mulhearn, Derek Hatton, Linda Douglas, Nimrod Sejake

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Broadgreen Party protests at suspension

BROADGREEN LABOUR Party's executive has protested at the high-handed action of national Party officials in suspending the constituency party pending an inquiry. The pretext for this was the allegation of irregularities at the AGM

Broadgreen is appealing for letters of protest to the NEC to lift the suspension to allow business to resume as normal.

Nearly a hundred delegates and visitors had packed into the annual general meeting (AGM). Before it began, Derek Hatton and Roger Bannister, recently expelled members were allowed to make statements. But two regional party officials and a number of right wing delegates objected and subsequently walked out.

The vice-chairperson, Josie Aitman, then opened the AGM itself, which went on to elect six *Militant* supporters to officer's positions.

A report of the AGM was sent by the new secretary, Elaine Bannister, to Larry Whitty, national general secretary. The Broadgreen executive believe that Phil Robinson, one of the regional organisers who left the meeting, also reported on the events, to Walworth Road, providing the excuse for suspension. The local party officers find this difficult to understand as neither he nor the other official, Ray Gill, chose to stay for the meeting.

"We do not accept that the reports of Phil Robinson are reliable" said a member of the executive.

The executive made it clear that neither Derek Hatton's nor Roger Bannister's name were on the list of delegates given to the Liverpool party agent Peter Kilfoyle and they both withdrew before the start of the AGM.

"We believe" say the executive "that this suspension is the first step in the direction of closing down our party and using back-door methods to attack us and our MP Terry Fields. This will not be tolerated. This is the second valid AGM we have held this year at the request of the officials of the Labour Party."

"We are also greatly concerned that the national Labour Party is attempting to treat Broadgreen AGM differently from Garston which was allowed to stand because

Tony Mulhearn withdrew from the meeting before the AGM started."

After the suspension, the Broadgreen's executive met to clarify its position in relation to its expelled members, and under protest, agreed to accept the NEC decision, but only on this issue. "Broadgreen CLP" a statement said "remains totally opposed to the expulsion of comrades Derek Hatton, Roger Bannister and Tony Aitman, and retains the right to fight the expulsion of these comrades.

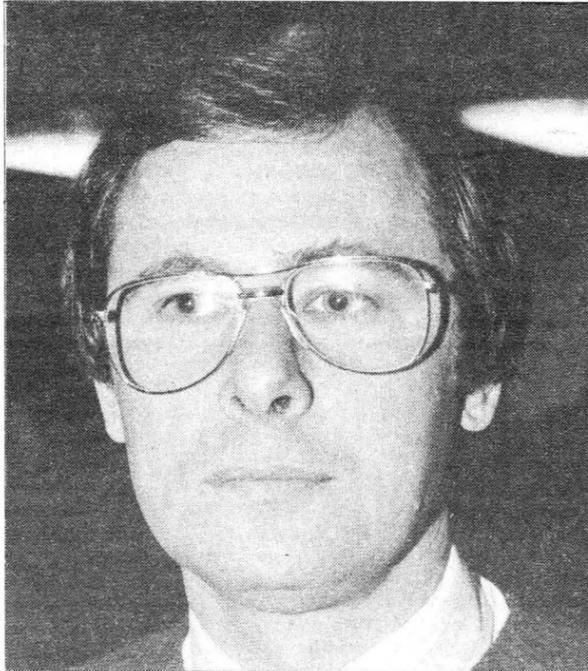
"Recognising that the right-wing dominated NEC could wish to extend the purge and witch-hunt to place the position of our CLP and our MP, Terry Fields, in jeopardy, we therefore understand that the decisions of the NEC have to be ac-

cepted under the strongest possible protest, until Labour Party conference decides finally on this issue."

A further statement from Derek Hatton said: "I recognise why Broadgreen CLP officers have been forced into this position. I therefore now accept that for the time being I can hold no position within Broadgreen or Childwall ward."

Party members must back the fight of Broadgreen against its suspension when it comes before the organisation sub-committee on 8 September.

By Mary Jennings and Caryn Matthews



Roger Bannister, expelled by the NEC

Training scheme is 'like Army'

COMPUTER AND electronics workshops are portrayed as the showpieces of the YTS schemes, but behind the glossy brochures the reality is different. Diane Wilcox talks to a 16 year old YTS trainee at I-Tec in Wolverhampton.

How many trainees are on the scheme?

There are 23, although three left in the first week. They are replaced straight away because the workshop needs the money.

What training have you got so far?

They treat us like infants. The first day we had to learn to sit the right way on a chair, then to practice it for one and a half hours. Then

we moved on to opening and closing doors. The other vital part of our first day was learning to mop the floor—they call it health and safety. Apart from that we covered the city and guilds electronics course in six days.

What other duties do you have?

We do all the skivvying. There are no cleaning or catering staff so the trainees do it on a rota. The trainer's attitude is that if you refuse to work in the canteen then you don't eat either. Friday every week is health and safety day, which means the whole day mopping the place out, cleaning the windows, the lot.

What do the trainees think of the course?

They're brainwashed into thinking that their scheme is the best. On the first day we were taught to chant. When the trainer shouts 'who owns I-Tec?', we shout: 'We do'. They use the chants to control us all the time, so you become used to it, it becomes automatic. I was in the army cadets and it reminds me of the methods they used to control us there. We have to get up and 'present' ourselves to everybody regularly. Sometimes they film you. Any trainee who appears a bit thick is picked on by the staff, I thought I left that sort of thing behind at school.

What do the managers think of the trainees joining a union?

They do their utmost to stop it. They give plenty of chances to let off steam. Anyone can call a meeting of trainees and staff at any time. But they use these meetings to monitor any discontent. No one says what they really think anyway.

What did you think at first?

I thought it was all right. They used a lot of subtle methods to convince you that you were getting a training. They play on your hopes of getting a training in computers. But mostly it is social control. It is humiliating when you see through it. One of the lads went berserk in the first week and threw bottles at one of the trainers.

Campaign to save shop and jobs

A **TESCO** supermarket in Norris Green, Liverpool, was burned down. Small traders whose premises were damaged were offered alternative accommodation by the city council. But Tesco's management have decided not to rebuild the store. So 30 full time and 50 part time staff will be made redundant.

West Derby LPYS have launched a petition and called a public meeting to demand that the store is rebuilt and that the staff are offered alternative work in other stores in the mean-time. The response from shoppers has already been excellent. 1,000 leaflets were distributed and 200 signatures collected in two hours. £7 was raised from small donations to pay for the leaflets. Many shoppers said that they would miss Tesco's and other shops in the area have already put up their prices.

One of the part-timers from Tesco explained that her wage was vital to the family because her husband was unemployed and got only £30 a week in benefit. This will be made worse when, at the same time as losing her job her husband will be going onto social security and will take a cut in benefit. Similar situations face many of the staff.

A spokesman from Tesco said: "It is a very sad day, but we have no other choice but to make these people redundant."

But Tesco is one of the three largest chain stores in Britain with, according to the *Financial Times*, sales of £3.6 billion. Clearly the company could afford to rebuild the store and re-employ its workers.

It all goes to show that Tesco are interested only in the profits to be made from the local community, and not in serving the community or providing jobs.

By Michael Morris, West Derby LPYS.



Northern *Militant* summer camp in Edale. The rain held off for the weekend's activities of debates on France and Stalinism, walking in the afternoon, singing and beer in the evening. "I would like to thank the comrades who made me so welcome," says D Hancock from Bury LPYS who went to the camp. "I'll be back next year."

Labour council closes youth centre

A **COMMUNITY** centre, used by unemployed youth and the black community—closed down. The voluntary committee which runs the centre told they are squatting. The electricity cut off.

These are the actions of a Labour council—in Stoke on Trent. The Shelton Arts centre was opened early this year after several years of renovation, much of the work being done by the local community. The centre was used mainly by the unemployed. Recreational facilities, food and a playgroup were available. Other activities, including printing, metalwork, woodwork and a computer workshop had been planned.

Recently the LPYS held a public meeting on South Africa which attracted many people from the black community who use the centre.

The council set up its own commit-

tee to run the centre but the local community felt that full use was not being made of the facilities—only a small bar was open in the evenings. So they elected their own committee, which has kept the centre open all day so that it could be used by the community.

Squatters

The council then declared the centre was closed and that those running it were squatters. A meeting was arranged between leading councillors and representatives of the centre. But according to one of the centre's activists council deputy leader Smith said "I haven't got time to see you, I'm a busy man." The Community Relations Council had previously published a report recommending that a public meeting be held to

decide who should run the centre. But the council leader and deputy refused to even look at the report, repeated the squatting claim and said they were seeking legal action.

Stan Falkner, another of the centre's activists said: "We are launching a campaign to run the centre for the unemployed according to the constitution. There is 91 per cent unemployment amongst blacks in this area and only about 10 blacks work for the council doing the most menial jobs."

A march is being planned to the next council meeting and Stoke Central LPYS has backed the campaign and has pledged to get support from the local labour movement and force the council to change its mind.

By Steve Jarvis and John Holland.

Restart scheme start of low pay

A **DHSS** worker wrote to *Militant* about his experience involving the Tories 'Restart' scheme.

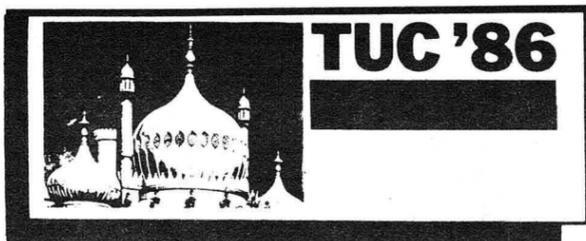
A local man had been for a restart interview at a job centre. He had a wife and two children, and was offered a job of £50 a week. When he understandably refused to take the job his benefit was cut for a year.

The only thing we could do was to advise him to claim for 'urgent needs' which is 75 per cent of the benefit.

Later that day I spoke to him on the phone. There was not a lot I could do but he sounded so confused and bitter—he really didn't know what was happening to him.

The whole scheme has been mismanaged by the Tories from the start. Not only are the claimants confused, but there is confusion between the DHSS, the unemployment offices and the job centres.

I would advise those in a similar position to go to the unemployment office and sign on. If this is not allowed then claimants should appeal against the insurance officer's decision. In the meantime go to the DHSS and claim under the emergency cases regulation 16.



Unity—but at

Reports by Bill Boyle and Martin Elvin.
Photos by Dave Sinclair.

FALLOUT PREVENTION! Alan Harriman



THE TUC conference meets in a mood of hope for the return of a Labour government. The Labour and trade union movement is preparing for power, but the movement's leaders see this as an opportunity to water down policy. The Congress' decision to bring the law courts into industrial relations is a recipe for disaster—a possible repeat of Wilson's 'In place of Strife' legislation which attempted to outlaw unofficial strikes and led to the Tories' Industrial Relations law.

The mood inside conference could not be further removed from that outside, of the lobbies of printworkers, Silentnight strikers, A-1 Feeds strikers, Kenmure plastics strikers and others, giving many a right wing leader a rough ride.

The printworkers in particular have shown their contempt for class-collaborator Hammond. Never can there have been such a stark contrast. Norman Willis' agonising ramblings ended with the despairing comment that: "Whatever happens the TUC would have to pick up the pieces". Outside came the thunderous acclaim of the printworkers who spontaneously threw their leaflets into the air and broke into song.

The TUC leaders seem unaware of the power which lies in their hands.

Abolish all Tory anti-union law

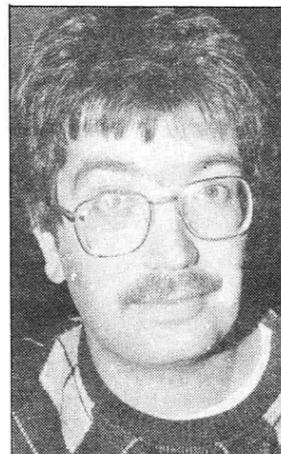
THE TUC'S motto seems to be a "spoonful of sugar makes the medicine go down", but the medicine itself is very bitter.

Composite resolution 1 called for a charter of reforms to protect workers' rights, safeguards against unfair dismissal and discrimination, the right to organise and for a national minimum wage.

While supporting these reforms speakers in favour of the resolution ignored the dangers of shackling the unions to the law. The issue of workers rights has been blurred over, confusing genuine rights with proposals which would mean the interference of the state—the 'right' of an individual to summon the weight of the law against a majority.

As Steve McKenzie, NUPE delegate said: "Retaining the rights of an individual to have pre-strike ballots and to take a trade union to court if it doesn't take place, is making a rod for our own backs should industrial conflict break out under the next Labour government."

"You need only one management stooge or one



Steve McKenzie, NUPE delegate: "You only need one scab to take a union to court."

scab to take the union to court and tie the union up in legal action.

"The TUC and Labour Party don't appear to have learnt from 17 years of Labour governments since the war, when each term has ended in industrial conflict with ordinary working people."

Workers have suffered enough from Tory laws and capitalist courts. These laws should be abolished, not extended.

Workers in struggle need total support

Robert Mor, CPSA delegate to the TUC and socialist MP in Gibraltar, told *Militant*.

"What struck me is the average age of the General Council, about 60. Trade unionists often lose their militancy with age, we need younger delegates."

"This congress has still not discussed the true lessons of the 1984-85 miners' strike. As a result two million votes were massed against the motion from the printers—against the basic class aid to workers in strug-

gle. I find this utterly incredible. They deserve complete support.

"I feel deeply unhappy about the industrial relations law debate. I remember well that it was a Labour government which locked out my Gibraltar members for seven months in 1977."

"I support the Labour Party, but we should not let them interfere in our affairs. We take too much notice of the mass media. We should take more note of our membership."

Militant

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Kinnock's consensus

SEVEN DEVASTATING years of Tory government have ensured that for all the workers represented by the TUC, a general election victory for Labour is the immediate priority. Neil Kinnock's fraternal address to Congress reflected this impatience to see the back of Thatcher at the earliest opportunity.

He condemned the Tory "architects of ruin" who "will leave us with an economy laid waste", in which manufacturing output is still six per cent lower than in 1979, manufacturing investment 18 per cent lower and unemployment at least two million higher. "In the past seven years" he said, "the same policies which have vastly increased needs have also destroyed the means of meeting those needs."

Workers, however, are asking the question that Kinnock himself posed rhetorically: "What must we do to get the country out of this crisis?" They will welcome his commitment to "an emergency two year programme to create a million jobs", but they will look in vain for evidence of how this is to be done. "We mean business" he declared; "we've got what it takes"; "we will put first things first"; "we will work our way to work". Such meaningless clichés could be used by the leader of any party.

He referred frequently to 'consensus'—"Murdoch, MacGregor, Tebbit and Thatcher are the enemies of consensus. We will work for government by agreement. We either live and work together or we decline and are out of work separately. Partnership is essential between the government, workers and employers". The implication is that the present economic crisis is just the responsibility of specific Tory leaders and businessmen who have pursued mistaken policies, rather than a crisis of the capitalist system they operate.

Many of Kinnock's ideas for generating investment hark back to George Brown's "national plan" in the 60s, which presumed that most big businessmen would cooperate with a Labour government to produce the goods and supply the services that society needed, 'in the national interest'.

The total failure of that 'plan' proved that no 'consensus' is possible between the owners of the big monopoly industries and banks and a Labour government which hopes to plan production in the interests of 'society as a whole'. The only 'partnership' that big business will consider is one where they give the orders, backed up with threats to stage a 'strike of capital' unless the Labour government reverts to pro-capitalist policies.

Mitterrand in France, Gonzalez in Spain, Papandreou in Greece and Hawke in Australia, when in opposition all made more radical promises than Kinnock did to the TUC. Yet in every case they were forced by the pressure of big business and the logic of the capitalist system to abandon their reforms and bring in austerity programmes, wage restraint and public spending cuts. Kinnock's only lesson from these socialist leaders' experiences seems to be that if you make fewer promises you will have less to apologise for when confronted with the 'realities' of power. "I am not going to offer blank cheques" he told the TUC; "I would rather face the people of today with the truth than the people of tomorrow with excuses".

The truth is that Kinnock will inherit a worse crisis than these other left leaders. The arrogant ruthlessness of Thatcher, Tebbit, Murdoch and MacGregor reflects the state of British capitalism today. Far from being a 'consensus' over what needs to be done, there is a chasm dividing the classes. For big business, only sustained and intensified attacks on 'excessive' wages and 'wasteful' public spending will restore their profit margins to the level where they would find it profitable to re-invest in British manufacturing. Were a Labour government to attempt the slightest measures of redistribution of wealth in favour of workers and the poor, there would be a revolt in the boardrooms and the government would face a financial crisis even more severe than those which confronted the 1964 and 1974 Labour governments.

In a society where 20,000 millionaires own half the country's wealth, there is no way that minority is going into partnership with a government which threatens that wealth. Only by mobilising the power of the workers' movement to transfer the ownership of that wealth to the workers who produce it can a Labour government begin to transform society. A socialist programme for the nationalisation of the big monopolies, under democratic workers' control and management, with compensation only on the basis of need is not an "easy option", but it is the only one which can provide the jobs and reforms which have been promised.

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what price



Jim Brookshaw, sacked AEU printworker (right) arguing with AEU leader Jordan over their failure to back the NGA resolution.

Morale boost for printers

THE HIGH point of Monday's conference agenda was the nearly two to one victory for the National Graphical Association (NGA)'s resolution on the News International dispute.

The resolution congratulated the sacked workers for their fight, and attacked the TUC General Council for not instructing EETPU members to stop their strike breaking activities at Wapping.

Officials of the EETPU had acted as blatant recruiting agents for Murdoch's plant, said Tony Dubbins, the NGA general secretary. The right wing in the TUC had made much of the "bad effect" the passing of this resolution would have on the image of unity.

Dubbins stressed that the NGA needed a Labour government at least as much as any other union but unity could not be on the ashes of printworkers' jobs through accepting the role of the EETPU. The TUC's support for the print unions had been lukewarm. All

they had done to discipline the electricians' union was to slap it on the wrists.

To heckles and boos, EETPU leader Eric Hammond once more kicked trade union unity and the 200 sacked members of his own union in the teeth. He said the print unions had created the problem. They had he claimed, walked into a trap by striking instead of 'negotiating' with Murdoch's ultimatum.

Strategy for victory

He denied he had been involved in a 'plot' but made no real attempt to justify his recruiting activities or his threat to use Tory laws against the TUC if they had to take action against them.

TUC general secretary Norman Willis admitted that some of the things the EETPU had done were 'unacceptable' but said real action against the union would have been 'illegal'. The TUC would carry on working for negotiations.

Mick Wainwright, USDAW delegate
"One crucial debate for USDAW members will be on low pay, especially with the abolition of the wages councils which did give some protection to workers in unorganised workplaces.

"A statutory minimum wage is vital for shop workers and other people who are low paid. USDAW is putting forward a policy of a £115 minimum wage.

"But a minimum wage for low paid workers has to be fought for. It can't be, as Hattersley says, paid for at the expense of other workers who are not quite so low paid, that will just set workers against one another.

Lynn Johnson, BIFU delegate.

"BIFU has raised the issue of making the youth conference a proper forum with resolutions for the past few years.

"We agreed to remit the resolution because we had heard that most unions would oppose our resolution making it difficult to get it raised on the General Council. We asked to speak on the issue.

"We heard that unions like the T&G thought it would lead to political influence. This shows the unreasoning fear of the potential power of youth to change the character of the trade union movement."

The NGA resolution's victory by 5.8 million to 3.1 million was a great morale booster. Along with the decisive ballot victories against Murdoch's 'offers' and big demonstrations at Wapping it reflects the feeling of workers that they want effective unions and more action for victory. Tony Dubbins said that if peace talks failed he expected the TUC to act against the EETPU.

But the resolution, which criticised the TUC for slapping the electricians' wrists ended up just slapping the TUC general council's wrists. It offered no way to win the dispute which has lasted many long months.

The TUC and its affiliates have the authority to make this strike bite through extending the action and stepping up the mass picketing. The resolution did not instruct the TUC to change its role from one of begging Murdoch for negotiations to one of pushing for victory. The commitment to solidarity and support in words must be translated into action.



Harriet Stevens, CPSA delegate.

"The attitude of the TUC seems to be unity at all costs, but on a totally unprincipled basis of forgetting your policies.

"The media and the Tories see through it, but above all the working class will want to see a fightback and can see through it too.

"We can see from the lobbies of strikers that all the ingredients of a real alternative to the TUC leadership are there, instead of the fudging, I'm confident that a future TUC will play a role in leading the fight for socialism."

In the shadow of revolution

THE PAST week's events in Soweto underline the fragile nature of Botha's "law and order" in South Africa.

Over 20 were gunned down by police in street battles to protect the people on rent strike—and the authorities backed off from evictions.

This was followed by the panic-stricken flight of Soweto's town councillors—government stooges 'elected' with 10 per cent of the vote—to white Johannesburg.

With up to 14,000 arrests and repeated police attacks, the regime may just succeed in keeping the lid on the revolutionary pressures for a while. But the *Financial Times* recognises "growing signs of black refusal to be cowed by the renewed repression..." (1 September).

The shadow of the advancing revolution fell perhaps most starkly across a multi-racial church service in

Soweto, where Bishop Desmond Tutu spoke in an "anguished whisper" of his fear that many more would die. White liberals, clasping flowers, joined in a "fervent chant" of "Peace, peace!"

But among the black congregation, the mood was described as "joyous" rather than tragic.

Undoubtedly the regime will alternate repression with gestures of "reform"—such as the latest concessions to black homebuyers—but it will gain no "peace".

A long period of struggle lies ahead. The acute fear being displayed by the ruling class and middle-class reformists alike are a sign of the underlying tensions in South Africa—of the titanic character of the struggles waiting to be unleashed when the workers and youth have rallied their forces for a new onslaught against the regime in the months or years ahead.

Bristol docks

How workers can fight apartheid

THE LABOUR movement in Bristol has a key role to play in assisting the struggle of black workers in South Africa.

The Labour controlled city council owns Avonmouth docks which handle £2 million worth of trade.

To its credit the labour movement in Bristol has raised the issue of sanctions. But because of a high handed approach by the Labour group and sections of the District Labour Party (DLP), who wanted to impose immediate and unilateral sanctions, the council has been forced into a humiliating climbdown by dockworkers, worried about their jobs.

Initially, the Liberals opportunistically called for all trade between Avonmouth and South Africa to be halted. Then in an attempt to destroy any initiative at all the right wing on the Labour group proposed a three-month boycott. This played into the hands of Labour's enemies and the press who whipped up the understandable worries of the dockers about job security.

But some of the left also backed this action, arguing that dockers should be prepared to sacrifice their jobs because of the sacrifice made by black workers in South Africa.

Militant supporters and others on the left proposed that the DLP distance itself from the group's decision and propose instead a policy of sanctions in partnership with the dockers. But the DLP would not even agree to a press statement, so the public debate went ahead while the Labour Party remained silent.

After the initiative of Militant supporters, the DLP has now agreed to hold an all-Bristol aggregate meeting,

open to all Labour Party members, to agree a policy. Dockers, while remaining hostile to the Labour group have agreed to attend and put their case.

Many dockers are prepared to take action, but not on a unilateral basis—only together with other ports. The power of the working class is not a tap which can be turned on and off when its representatives see fit. It can be reached when workers are convinced that a course of action is correct, and their leaders are prepared to stand at the front of the struggle.

This needs mobilising, campaigning and convincing. The dockworkers have a proud record of supporting international struggles, but they have been angered by the haughty approach of the Labour group. The Labour group will not get their support by lecturing the dockers on the need to lose their jobs.

Militant supporters are proposing that, in order to convince the dockers to take action, the council should guarantee that sanctions will not lead to any redundancies; that dockers' earnings are guaranteed; that the council sponsors a conference, in consultation with the TGWU and other unions involved, of all dockers' representatives from around the country to discuss united sanctions.

Also the council should allow mass meetings in work time to be addressed by Labour councillors and speakers from South Africa, particularly from the trade union COSATU.

By Brian Kelly

Bristol District Labour Party

Plan for autumn sales drive

Militant is planning an autumn sales campaign to coincide with the Labour Party Conference as an answer to all our critics. From Thursday 25 September for the duration of the conference we urge our supporters to take advantage of the national publicity that the *Militant* newspaper will receive. Plan days of action and special sales.

The best reply to the lies of the media and manoeuvrings of the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party is to take the *Militant* out to every school and college, every dole queue and office, every factory and estate in a drive to boost the readership of the paper.

Special promotional material is available and we can offer help and advice to any seller participating in the campaign.

You don't have to wait until October to build the sales! Our supporters in Coventry sold an extra 150 the other week on the strength of a double page feature on their city. Why don't other areas follow the example?

Even the rain can't dampen the enthusiasm of our London supporters who braved Hurricane Charlie to sell 75 papers at the Notting Hill Carnival.

Send your greetings to Labour's conference

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 Hepscoot Rd, London E9 5HB.

Rosa Luxemburg

"WE HAVE sustained, at one blow, two heavy casualties and together they fuse into one great loss."

These were the words of Leon Trotsky at a mass meeting in Petrograd to commemorate the deaths of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, who were murdered on the same night in January 1919.

Rosa's body was dumped into the Landwehr canal and retrieved over four months later. They were murdered by the Freikorps, the semi-lumpen gangs who were later to rally round Hitler and the Nazis, but it was also with the connivance of the Social Democrats Erbert, Noske and Scheidemann with whom they had once shared a Party platform and who later turned their backs on the heroic German working class.

Outstanding

"Rosa Luxemburg" is a remarkable though very personal film about one of the most outstanding revolutionaries of this century. The director, Margarethe Von Trotta, says "It was not my aim to create a work of history, but a portrait of Rosa."

Although the film is impressive it is difficult to agree with Von Trotta's interpretation of Rosa. 'Red Rosa' or 'Bloody Rosa' as she was known to her enemies, was tireless in her defence of Marxist ideas.

She fought a long, bitter battle against the 'revisionists' in the German Social Democratic Party, who tried to revise the revolutionary content of the party programme.

She spoke out against national chauvinism when her party voted for war credits in 1914. Imprisoned for her anti-war agitation, she was never a pacifist, but pledged herself instead to the war against the capitalists and their imperialist policies.

Along with Karl Liebknecht she co-founded the Spartacist League, a tiny propaganda group based on Marxist ideas, which later founded the German Communist Party. She also participated in the insurrection of January 1919 which was brutally crushed by the military.

Much of the film deals with Rosa's personal rela-



Luxemburg and Liebknecht are arrested on the eve of their murder.

tionships and with her thoughts and feelings during her long terms of imprisonment. This emphasis on the personal rather than the political leaves the film a little one-sided.

Although many of Rosa's superb speeches at congresses and party rallies are featured, the film does not convey the huge revolutionary events shaking society at that time.

There is little reference for example to the events in Russia. However the effects of the war are shown with some chilling archive film of the devastation in the trenches and there is some rare footage of Germany in November 1918.

Barbara Sukowa gives a superb performance as Rosa, a role which won her best actress in Germany and at Cannes Film Festival.

She captures the power and energy of the revolutionary Marxist, ridiculing the grey old men of the social democracy as cowards and careerists. In one scene she rips into Bebel and Kautsky for not wishing to rock the boat with a general strike before an election: "Your parliamentarianism has become an end in itself!"

The film caused a political

storm in Germany when it won the prize for best film. Ironically the Tory minister for art had to present the award after delivering a scathing attack on the misuse of arts subsidies for political purposes. The film is bound to embarrass the leadership of the SPD whose left wing credentials are severely criticised.

In Poland too, where Von Trotta first looked for a Polish born Jewish actress to play Rosa, there was con-

siderable resistance from the authorities. One official said "Why must you drag her back out of the canal?"

Internationalist

No look at Rosa Luxemburg can avoid highlighting her Bolshevik internationalist position which stands in stark contrast to the rule of the bureaucracy.

"Rosa Luxemburg" is an impressive, well-researched film. Von Trotta

read over 2,500 of Rosa's letters and interviewed some of those who knew her personally. All of the speeches and much of the dialogue have been transcribed as far as possible from the original.

Now showing at the Lumier Cinema, St Martin's Lane, in London's West End, it will shortly go on release to selected cinemas throughout Britain. Don't miss it!

By Chas Berry

Fight against racist violence

BRICKS THROUGH windows, people beaten up in the street, verbal abuse—such things have become a horrific feature of life for black, and particularly Asian, families in certain parts of the country. East London has suffered the worst racist violence.

Such stories are nothing new. The pattern of racial violence of recent years is very similar to that of the 1930s. Then the victims were mainly Jewish, today they are mainly Asian.

A *Sunday Express* article in 1936, under the headline "The fear-haunted East End", described the daily attacks faced by the Jewish community of East London. Oswald Mosley's British Union of Fascists was very active in East London, attempting to play up racial differences, blaming the

Jews for unemployment.

Mosley's Blackshirts would regularly go on the rampage through Jewish areas, shouting racist slogans, smashing windows and attacking people. Today, the organised Fascists are tiny in number (although just as vicious) but racism and racial attacks remain a major problem for the labour movement.

In the 1930s the 'leaders' of the labour movement and of the Jewish community advised workers to ignore the Fascists and to "stay away" from confronting the Blackshirts at meetings or rallies. However, as a writer in the *Jewish Chronicle* asked, how was it possible, "to stay away from the chalking of offensive remarks on the pavements and walls of the houses, the placards stuck on the doors and the people

who...intimidate Jewish shopkeepers. Jewish pedestrians set on by gangs of thugs would be only too glad to stay away."

So the workers fought back. Everywhere the Fascists tried to organise they met the opposition of the working class. On 4 October 1936 250,000 workers turned out to stop the Fascists marching in the East End. The anniversary march this October gives the labour movement the chance to commemorate the struggles of the 1930s but also to launch a major campaign against racism today.

By Matt Wrack

Bow and Poplar LPYS and Cable Street Demonstration Committee

Left and Right

Quote of the week

Sir Peter Cadbury, grandson of the founder of the chocolate empire, has homes in Chelsea, Hampshire and the Bahamas. He has also bought 31 expensive new cars in 40 years and yet he says "I think, comparatively speaking, we really lead a very modest lifestyle."

Reactionary steak

A restaurant in Middlesbrough features this item on its menu: "Beef Stroganoff—originally created for a Russian nobleman so we don't recommend this if you've a *Mili-*

tant Tendency. Chunks of Fillet Steak in an onion, cream, mustard and wine sauce, served with rice."

Strictly fish and chips for committed socialists it seems.

News of the scabs

No longer burdened with long hours in parliament or in his constituency MP Kilroy-Silk has more time to devote to writing. A recent issue of *News of the World* carried one of his articles. Will Neil Kinnock be rushing to expel him for writing for a scab newspaper?

Thanks to Phill Umpleby and Ian Pringle

Labour Party Young Socialists East London Rally

1936-1986 50th anniversary—'The battle of Cable Street'
Monday 22 September, 7.30pm

Speakers: Tony Benn MP, Linda Douglas, Abbas Uddin (Labour councillor)
Venue: The Crypt, St. George in the East, Cannon Street Road, London E1
(Junction with the Highway, down the Highway from the Wapping Picket line)

Demonstration: 50th anniversary of 'The Battle of Cable Street'
Saturday 4 October. Assemble 12 noon, Altab Ali Park

Livingston dreams turn sour

LIVINGSTON, ONE of Scotland's new towns, was built to provide new homes, new hope and a new future for the thousands who flocked there in the 1960s and 1970s from the overcrowded cities of Glasgow and Edinburgh. But the picture today—of unemployment, homelessness and drug abuse—is very different from the one planners painted 20 years ago when Livingston was begun.

When she came to Livingston 11 years ago HEATHER BARR thought at first that her dreams had come true: "Moving from a one-bedroom flat with three kids was like moving to paradise, but after a few years the reality began to set in, with the lack of facilities and damp houses."

Many houses were built with flat roofs, which often led to dampness after only a few years. Families had to be moved to alternative accommodation. Many houses are still boarded up and empty, yet hundreds of teenagers are forced to sleep on the streets. A survey by Livingston Action for Teenage Homeless in 1983 highlighted the appalling situation for young people in the town. It told of a girl who slept in a surface water drain for two weeks before eventually turning to theft for food, because her mother would not hand over the DHSS giro. A teenage boy was offered a roof over his head in return for homosexual activity. One young man slept in a sleeping bag on the roof of a community centre and a 16-year-old girl was sleeping among dustbins in East Calder.

The Tory notion that the new 'sunrise' industries hold

the key to Britain's future make many in Livingston grit their teeth. The town's industry is based on the 'sunrise' electronic factories, ideally suited according to the Tories for a new town with an average age of 26 and unemployment of 21 per cent. But these new factories recruit their workforce from school leavers who have no experience of organising in the trade unions and pay very low wages. Very few older workers are employed because they would have to be paid more. In the words of unemployed 22 year-old, JOHN YOUNG: "You are over the hill and past it at 21 in Livingston." The attitude of these firms was graphically demonstrated by one company which showed a video to their workers which described them as "important commodities."

Slalom course

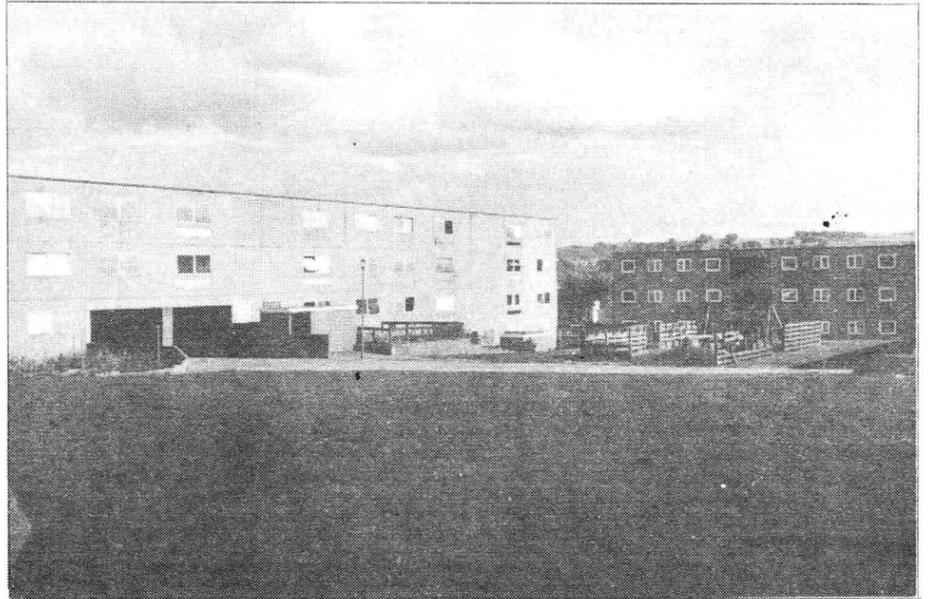
Health and safety standards come under the hammer in these companies' drive for profits. According to a young worker: "Safety conditions are at times deplorable with pools of water on the floor. Fire extinguishers are used to keep doors open and half-built machines block

passageways. If ever there was a fire here, most employees would have to go through a slalom course to get to the fire exits".

Livingston is notorious for its lack of facilities. The main shopping centre was built ten years after the houses were started. All age groups are affected with very few play areas for young children and only one disco for the older ones. With nothing to do, and with youth unemployment in parts of the town standing at 70 per cent, drug abuse and crime are a constant feature of life.

The Tories make much of the need to be tough on young hooligans to stamp out crime, with the 'short, sharp shock' treatment. The result is the Glen Ochil young offenders' institution where seven young people have already taken their own lives. One Livingston 18 year-old, MATTHEW FLEMING, who has experienced these Tory 'solutions' tells his story: "At 10 I started stinging glue and playing truant. By the time I was 14 I was hanging around in a gang, breaking into houses and schools, fighting with the police. Through the glue sniffing my weight dropped to 4.5 stone. I was taken to an assessment centre, then when I was 16 served time in a young offenders' institution. After I came out nothing had changed."

It is not only the young who are affected by these



(Above and below) The Knightsridge estate in Livingston, with problems of damp and vandalism.

conditions. With no cafes and places where people can meet during the day, old people feel especially isolated. As a result, people do not know when others are in need of help. A couple of months ago an old alcoholic died and was only discovered four weeks later. Many old people's lives will be sheer misery, their only company the four walls of their house.

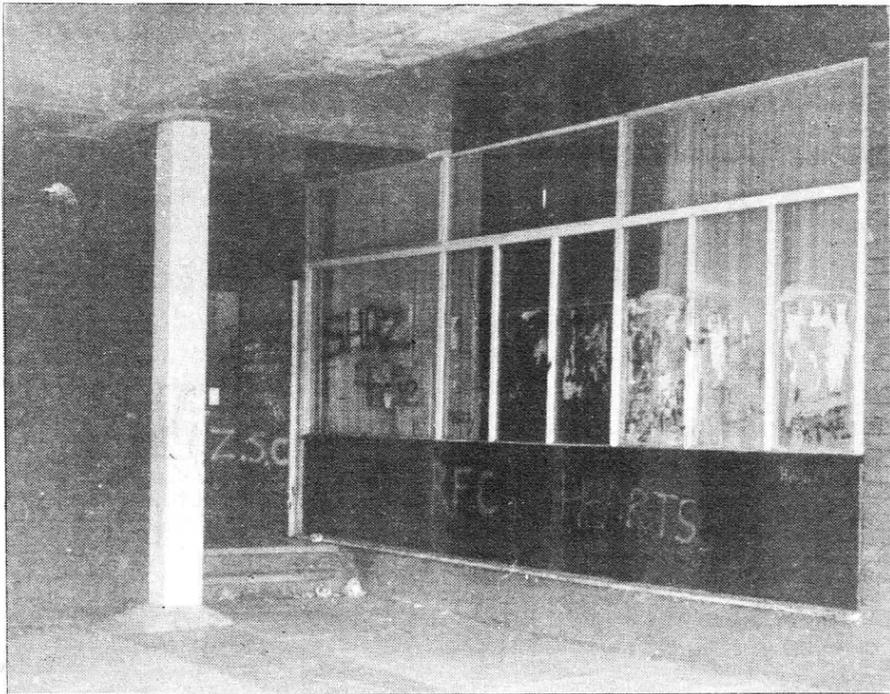
The people of Livingston have shown their faith in the Labour Party by returning a Labour MP at the last general election and two Labour regional councillors with large majorities earlier

this year. The party has a debt to repay the people of Livingston. When Labour is victorious at the next election, it must be repaid in jobs and houses.

Many people we spoke to expressed their support for Liverpool City Council's achievements. Socialist ideas do not frighten people away. On the contrary they offer hope and a future. This was expressed by a friend of Matthew Fleming: "Seeing my young daughter grow from month to month made me wonder what life would be like for her in 16 years time. I was looking for an

answer to the social problems around me. I went along to a public meeting in Edinburgh to hear Derek Hatton. I heard what Liverpool council had done, building 3,500 houses, saving 1,000 jobs, creating 1,000 jobs and topping up the wages of YTS trainees to trade union rates of pay with a guaranteed job at the end. If this is what militancy means then *Militant* it must be."

By Wendy Milne and Philip Stott



Council jobs at risk in Gateshead

AMONGST THE councils to be ratecapped in the 1987/88 financial year is Gateshead Borough Council, a traditional right-wing Labour council in an area of high unemployment.

I came back to work after a few days off to find a letter on my desk addressed to "All Employees" from the leader of the council George Gill. He explained that the government had ratecapped the council and though no details had been given it was estimated that the council would have to cut expenditure at worst by £15 million or 15 per cent of the budget.

Then came the body blow;

as 60 per cent of the council's expenditure is on salaries, redundancies must be expected. To try to avoid compulsory redundancies a number of things could be done:

- 1) All posts vacated would be reviewed to see if they needed to be filled.
- 2) Early retirements.
- 3) Voluntary redundancies.

I have only worked for Gateshead council since 1 April. Before that I worked for Tyne and Wear Metropolitan County Council, now abolished. Since I left school three years ago, although I have never been on the dole, I have never felt secure in a job; there has

always been a threat of redundancy over my head.

I thought after the two and a half years at Tyne and Wear I would now have a small breathing space at least. Now Gateshead council, who increased rates by 23 per cent last year, will be called 'sensible' and 'realistic,' while councils that are willing to take on the government like Liverpool did, by creating jobs and building houses are declared to be 'extreme'.

By Michelle O'Neill
(Gateshead MBC NALGO in personal capacity)

Fighting Fund

This week
£1311

Area	Received	% of target achieved	Target
1 South	328		3100
2 London North West	288		2900
3 Eastern	318		3450
4 London North East	287		3550
5 London South West	119		1500
6 South East	199		2400
7 Humberside	162		2300
8 Yorkshire	361		5600
9 Merseyside	345		7000
10 Northern	214		4550
11 Manchester/Lancs	151		4150
12 East Midlands	96		3050
13 London South East	65		2250
14 Scotland West	79		3850
15 Wales East	35		2150
16 Wales West	83		3350
17 West Midlands	76		4500
18 Scotland East	33		3200
19 South West	22		2150
National	491		5000
Total	3752		70000

Dear Comrades,

Here are two modest donations for the fighting fund. They are modest sums in comparison to the decades of work of Daisy Rawling. The first sum is £2.93 that Daisy and Jack raised in their normal week's activity before she died. The £150.53 was donated at her funeral. This is a small sum to her memory which undoubtedly will be followed by other donations to continue her life's work.

Daisy is an answer to all the narrow, bigoted witch-hunters and long after they are forgotten, she will be remembered by her class.

Yours, Bill Hopwood

The best memorial to the work of Daisy Rawling will be a daily *Militant*. Readers should rush in donations of £5, £10 or more to make this a reality.

Sellers in Childwall (Liverpool) have started a regular paper sale outside their local supermarket. The first week surprised everyone. Despite being in an area where there are two Liberal councilors and one Tory, six papers were sold and £4.80 collected for the Fighting Fund. One new supporter too nervous to sell the paper collected over £4 of this by just using the rattling tin.

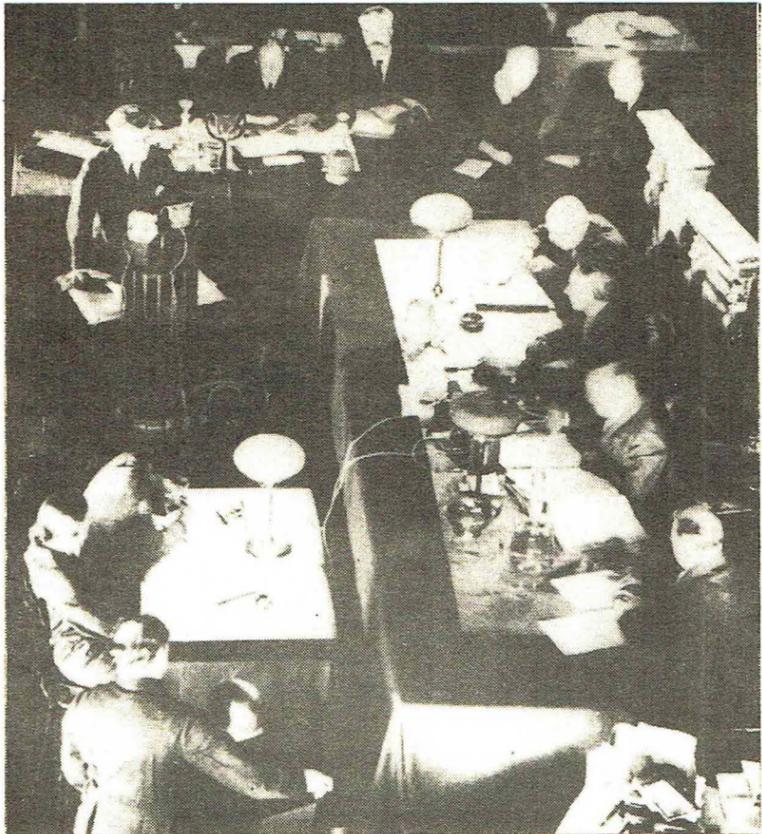
This shows how easy it is to raise money on the streets. Over £120 was collected at the Notting Hill Carnival with rattling tins and selling stickers.

We need the cash to flood in for the expansion of the paper. Thousands of pounds can be raised with the petitions between now and the Labour Party conference. Why don't you take it round at work to your friends and neighbours as well as at Labour Party and trade union meetings.

Just to prove that you are never to old be converted to the ideas of Marxism, Nelly Ware aged 72 from North Wales pays £1 for her paper every week. Thanks to all the readers who are paying the solidarity price.

Thanks also to Constance Cawley of Bridgend who donated £20, and to the comrade in Bradford who organised a collection at his son's wedding and raised £20.

Other donations this week: Kate Phillips, Mansfield SCPS £1; Bob Stewart, Ventnor, a striking SOGAT member 70p; Jimmy Bennett, Edinburgh CPSA £15; P Mendola, Bracknell £3.20; Ian Humphreys, Tuebrook Labour Party £20; Southampton Summer Fete £100; Oxted *Militant* meeting £53.95.



Courtroom scene from an earlier political trial in 1930.

19 AUGUST 1936 saw the opening of one of the most monstrous chapters in the blood-spattered history of Stalinism.

Gregory Zinoviev, Lev Kamenev, IN Smirnov and 13 others were brought to trial accused of the murder of SM Kirov, the Stalinist party boss in Leningrad more than a year and a half earlier. They were further charged with conspiring with Hitler's Gestapo to assassinate Stalin and other leaders of the Soviet Union.

Who were these men who stood in the dock, accused of plotting with the Nazis to carry out a capitalist counterrevolution?

Chief among them were Zinoviev and Kamenev. Zinoviev, a veteran member of the Bolshevik Party, with 35 years in the revolutionary movement behind him, had been Lenin's closest collaborator for years before the revolution. He was a former member of the central committee and politburo, chairman of the Petrograd Soviet after the October Revolution and chairman for many years of the Communist International.

Lev Kamenev joined the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party in 1901, at the age of 18. Like Zinoviev, he had been a Bolshevik from 1903. As head of the Bolshevik faction in the Tsarist Duma (parliament), he was sentenced to perpetual exile in Siberia after the outbreak of World War One.

Lenin's deputy

After the revolution, Kamenev was chairman of the Moscow Soviet until 1925, a member of the central committee and Politburo, where he acted as Lenin's deputy during the latter's illnesses.

IN Smirnov, a party member since 1899, one of the oldest Bolsheviks, several times suffered prison and exile under the Tsar. He took an active part in the October revolution and led the 5th Army which crushed Kolchak. He directed all activities of the soviets and party in Siberia after the victory. He was a member of the central committee and People's Commissar of the Post and Telegraph.

The others had similar records. There were heroes of the Civil War, like SV Mrachkovosky, Marxist intellectual, like V.A. Ter-Vagarian, founder and editor of the journal *Under the Banner of Socialism*, old Bolshevik workers like IP Bakaev and GE Evdokimov and many others.

But the main defendant at the trial was not present in the dock: Lev Davidovich Trotsky, who along with Lenin led the October revolution. He was president of the first soviet in history, in St Petersburg in 1905, author of the "Permanent Revolution" and

many other theoretical works, founder, organiser and leader of the Red Army and last, but not least, leader of the Left Opposition, the true heirs of the democratic and internationalist traditions of Bolshevism and the October Revolution.

As a result of his fight against the rising Stalinist bureaucracy, Trotsky was exiled in 1929, together with most of his family. The new ruling caste and its chief spokesman, Stalin, did not yet feel itself strong enough to murder its opponent at that time. Its methods consisted mainly of lies and slander of opponents, the chief of which was the Big Lie of "Trotskyism", which was alleged to be alien and hostile to Leninism. This was backed up by administrative pressure on Oppositionist workers, who were sacked from their jobs, blacklisted, arrested and subjected to hooliganism and harassment.

However, at this stage, the bureaucracy and Stalin were still feeling their way. The millions of functionaries in the state, industry, the party, the unions and the army, who had risen to positions of power and influence as a result of the revolution and become a powerful conservative force, whose chief concern was to defend its income, privileges and perks, by degrees rose above an exhausted and discouraged working class.

The material basis for the rise of the Stalinist bureaucracy was the isolation of the revolution in a backward country with a shattered economy where the impoverished and largely illiterate proletariat comprised a minority in society. The workers were everywhere elbowed to one side by the increasingly confident bureaucratic careerists and upstarts.

In 1922-23, Zinoviev and Kamenev had entered into a bloc with Stalin, not realising where this would lead them. But then not even Stalin himself knew where he was going at this time. They joined forces in an unscrupulous campaign against so-called "Trotskyism". Zinoviev and Kamenev were later to admit that the whole thing was a put-up job to discredit Trotsky. *But what the campaign against "Trotskyism" really represented was a petit-bourgeois and bureaucratic reaction against October.*

When Stalin began to espouse the idea of "Socialism in One Country", Zinoviev and Kamenev became alarmed and broke with him. Their whole psychology, formed by decades of theoretical training and work with Lenin, rebelled against such an aberration.

Stalin, in alliance with Bukharin and the right-wing of the Bolshevik party, blindly pursued a policy of capitulating to the pressure of the rich peasants ("kulaks") at the expense of the working class and the building up of industry.

The gre frame u

THE MOSCOW Trials began 50 years ago last month. Leaders of the Revolution were denounced and condemned to death by Stalin for 'crimes' to which they were subjected through torture to confess. In the first part of a two-part article, Alan ... events leading up to the trials, explains why they took place.



Chief Prosecutor Vyshinsky.

Having broken with Stalin, Zinoviev and Kamenev entered the United Left Opposition (as opposed to the earlier Left Opposition led by Trotsky in 1923) which stood for the industrialisation of Russia through five year plans, gradual collectivisation of the peasantry by example, the fight against bureaucracy, the defence of workers' democracy and internationalism.

The defeat of the Left Opposition in 1928 was a decisive turning point. Trotsky was forced into exile. Thousands of Oppositionist workers—veteran revolutionists—were expelled from the party, arrested and exiled.

Capitulation

Zinoviev and Kamenev and their supporters, fearing the result of a split, decided to capitulate to Stalin. Unlike Trotsky, who understood the need to stand firm to leave behind a tradition for the future, they thought they could outwit Stalin by tactical manoeuvres, compromises and capitulation. They justified their surrender in terms of expediency and "realism"—"after all, tomorrow things will be different, and we will be able to make a comeback."

But capitulation has a logic of its own. Stalin compelled them to make humiliating political recantation, compromising them in the eyes of the working class and the young generation which had looked to them. Not satisfied with this, he subsequently forced them to capitulate on two more occasions. "With each new capitulation," wrote Leon Sedov, Trotsky's son, "they made still greater concession to Stalin, and, falling lower and lower, they became his prisoners." (L Sedov *The Red Book* p36).

However, even these measures were insufficient for the new ruling caste which by the early 1930s was beginning to acquire con-

Throughout the trials the only real 'evidence' produced were the confessions of the accused. And what confessions! Prompted by the prosecutor Vyshinsky, the Old Bolsheviks, Lenin's comrades-in-arms, covered themselves in excrement:

Vyshinsky: Defendant Kamenev, how would you yourself appraise various articles and statements which you have written and in which you have expressed your loyalty to the party? Was all this deception on your part?

Kamenev: No, it was worse than deception.

Vyshinsky: Perfidy?

Kamenev: Worse than that!

Vyshinsky: Worse than deception? Worse than perfidy? then find a word for it. Treason?

Kamenev: You have found the word.

Vyshinsky: Defendant Zinoviev, do you confirm this?

Zinoviev: Yes I do.

Vyshinsky: Treason? Perfidy? Double-dealing?

Zinoviev: Yes treason, perfidy, double-dealing.

Vyshinsky: In your struggle against the leaders of our party and government, were you guided by base personal motives, by lust for power?

Kamenev: Yes, we were.

Vyshinsky: Have you then been on the side of the counter-revolution?

Kamenev: Yes, we have."

fidence and a consciousness of its status within society.

From a Marxist point of view, the historical justification for a given socio-economic system consists in its ability to develop the productive forces, Stalin and his cronies had rejected as 'utopian' the arguments of Trotsky and the Left Opposition in favour of industrialisation, five year plans and collectivisation, along with their repeated warnings that the policy of 'face to the Kulak' (summed up in Bukharin's famous slogan "peasants, enrich yourselves!") would have disastrous consequences.

By 1929 they were faced with a massive grain strike organised by the counter-revolutionary Kulaks. The cities were faced with starvation. The revolution was in mortal danger.

In a panic reaction, Stalin broke with the Bukharinite right and did a 180 degree turn. Borrowing in a caricatured form some items from the programmes of the Left Opposition (but not those points relating to workers' democracy and internationalism), the Stalinists went on an ultra-left binge, proclaiming virtually overnight the "liquidation of the kulaks as a class".

The attempt to force the peasants into collectives at gunpoint led to a catastrophe from which Soviet agriculture was not recovered to this day. The peasants slaughtered their livestock, and a famine ensued in which millions perished. Civil war and mass reprisals led to millions of other deaths.

In 1927, Stalin mockingly likened Trotsky's plan for the "Dnieperstroy" hydro-electrical scheme to "a peasant buying a gramophone instead of a plough." When Trotsky asserted that it would be possible, under the five year plan to achieve a growth rate of 20 per cent, he was denounced as a 'super industrialiser'.

Terrible cost

Now the Stalinists demanded growth rates of 30 and 35 per cent and "a five year plan in four years", provoking severe dislocation in industry. In 1932, industrial production rose by only 8.5 per cent, instead of the 36 per cent planned for.

Despite the terrible cost of bureaucratic management, the economy went forward, demonstrating conclusively the benefits of a nationalised planned economy.

Nevertheless, the bureaucracy did not feel safe. The growth of inequality and privilege gave rise to discontent among the workers. The presence of a layer of Old Bolsheviks who remembered the democratic internationalist traditions of Bolshevism, and who, despite all their recantations, might under certain conditions act as a rallying point for this discontent, was now intolerable to the ruling caste. *A line of blood had to be drawn between the bureaucracy and the October Revolution. That is the real explanation of the purge trials.*

As early as March 1929, Trotsky

eat

ip

...sian Revolution were they had been forced Woods examines the



Left oppositionists in exile in Siberia in 1928 celebrating the anniversary of the October revolution.



Lubianka prison in Moscow—scene of torture and murder.



Trotsky

the assassination of Kirov. Great efforts are still needed to find out who really was to blame for his death (!). The deeper we study the materials connected with Kirov's death, the more questions arise. Noteworthy is the fact that Kirov's killer had twice before been detained by Chekists (security police) near the Smolny and that arms had been found on him. But he was released both times on somebody's instructions.

Deliberate accident

"And the next thing this man was in the Smolny, armed, in the corridor through which Kirov usually passed. And for some reason or other at the moment of the assassination, Kirov's chief bodyguard was far behind him, although his instructions did not authorise him to be such a distance away from Kirov.

"Equally strange is the following fact: When Kirov's chief bodyguard was being escorted for questions—and he was to be questioned by Stalin, Molotov and Voroshilov—the vehicle, as the driver said afterwards, was deliberately involved in an accident by those who were taking the man for interrogation. They said that he had died as a result of the accident, although he was in fact killed by those who were escorting him.

"In this way the man who guarded Kirov was killed. Later, those who had killed him were shot. This was no accident, apparently, but a carefully planned crime. Who could have done this? A thorough inquiry is now being made into the

circumstances of this complicated case." (Report in Programme of the CPSU, 18 October 1961)

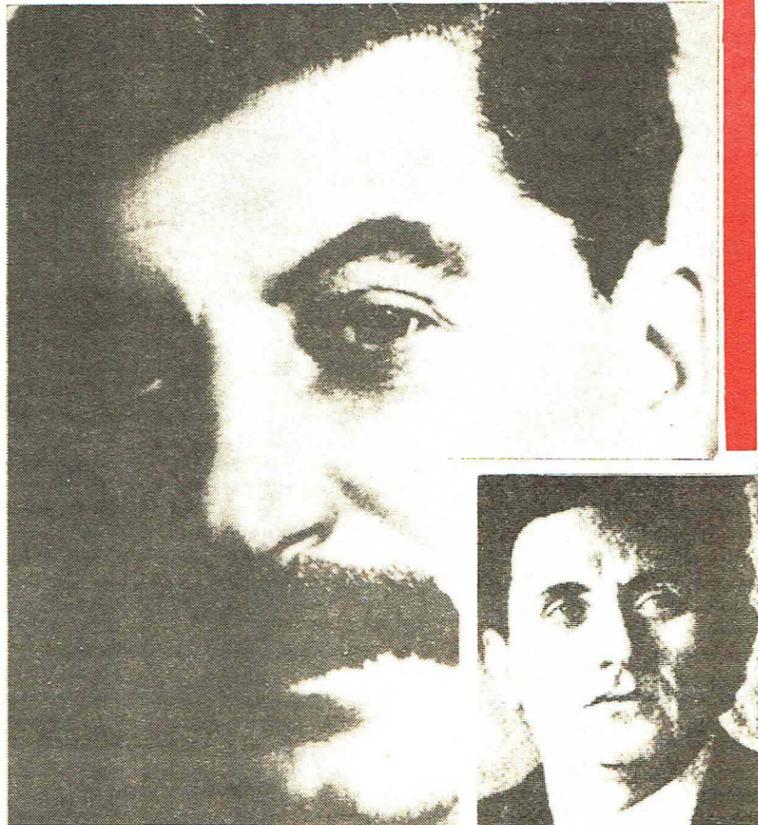
Twenty-five years later, we are still waiting for the results of this 'thorough inquiry'. In reality, neither Khrushchev, nor any of his audience, had the slightest doubt as to who was 'really behind' the Kirov assassination.

The social crisis caused by the zig-zags and reckless policy of Stalin during the first five year plan and collectivisation caused rumblings of discontent within the bureaucratic apparatus itself. In 1932-33, talk was rife about the possibility of removing Stalin. It appears that Kirov was seen as a likely candidate for the leadership.

Those ex-members of the Left Opposition who had recanted and abased themselves in public posed no threat to Stalin. Removed from positions of power and influence, they had no political perspective and no serious alternative to offer. Their repeated recantations had demoralised and disorientated the youth who had looked to the opposition. *Nevertheless their very existence posed a potential threat to Stalin.*

Nor can the personal element be entirely excluded. Politics becomes reality through the thought and action of men and women, with all their strengths and weaknesses. In his last writings Lenin gave a striking pen-picture of Stalin, emphasising his rudeness, disloyalty and spitefulness. And spite in politics, as Lenin said, plays the most pernicious role.

Stalin's victory was not achiev-



Stalin



Zinoviev

ed by theoretical ability or farsightedness. The records show that he understood nothing and foresaw nothing of the processes taking place in Soviet society in the period 1923-33. Short-term calculation, personal ambition and a blind, empirical reaction to events were the hallmarks of his method.

Bureaucratic caste

The fact that he triumphed over men and women infinitely more capable and educated than himself can only be explained by the circumstance of *general political reaction* within Soviet society, the exhaustion of the workers after long years of war, revolution and civil war, those great consumers of human nervous energy.

Above all, the isolation of the revolution in a poverty-stricken and illiterate peasant country which flowed from the defeat of the workers in Hungary, Germany, Britain and China, created the condition for the elevation of the bureaucratic ruling caste above the rest of society.

The flood-tide of the revolution brought to the fore men of genius: Lenin, Trotsky, Bukharin and the other outstanding leaders of the Bolshevik party. The period of reaction which acquired irresistible impetus after the death of Lenin needed a leader cast in its own image: an image precisely of theoretical crudity, ignorance, narrow 'practical' empiricism, cynical calculation and boundless personal ambition. Stalin fitted that role perfectly. It was not Stalin that created the bureaucracy, but the

bureaucracy which, in the person of Stalin, created a leader after its own image.

Men like Kamenev and Zinoviev were politically and intellectually superior to Stalin. Publicly they joined in the abject chorus of grovelling praise to the 'great leader'. Under their breath they cursed and ridiculed him. No doubt in private conversations between the Old Bolsheviks, they dreamed about a change of leadership. But, once having entered on the slippery slope of capitulation, they lacked the political authority and the material means of providing an alternative. They were Stalin's prisoners.

There is no doubt that Stalin hated this layer of Old Bolsheviks, whose very presence served to remind him of his past. But personal vengeance, jealousy and spitefulness, although present, are not the fundamental reason for the bloody extermination of the Old Bolsheviks.

Trotsky characterised the Purge Trials as "a one-sided civil war of the bureaucracy against the Bolshevik Party." In order to consolidate its rule, the bureaucracy had to drown in blood the last vestiges of the traditions of October. All those leaders and party members who served as a living link with the traditions of the past had to be physically destroyed before the victory of the new ruling caste of upstarts, careerists and gangsters would be complete.

Next week—the Moscow Trials and the Communist Party.



Kamenev

had predicted what would happen. He wrote in the *Bulletin of the Opposition*: "The naked declaration that the Opposition is a 'counter-revolutionary party' is insufficient: no-one will take it seriously... There is only one thing left for Stalin, to try to draw a line of blood between the official party and the opposition. *He must at all cost link the Opposition to attempted assassinations, to the preparation of armed insurrection, etc.*" (my emphasis, AW)

As early as 1926, the GPU (secret police) infiltrated an agent into the ranks of the opposition and then accused it of having "connections with one of Wrangel's officers". (Wrangel was a counterrevolutionary White Guard). The reason was that this agent had been an officer in Wrangel's army!

In 1928, Trotsky's secretary in the War Commissariat, GV Butov was arrested and cruelly tortured to make him 'confess' to connections with the White Guard. Butov went on hunger strike, fasted for 40-50 days, and died in prison.

Similarly, J Blumkin, a GPU agent sympathetic to the opposition, was shot in 1929 for having met Trotsky in Istanbul. Blumkin had evidently refused to collaborate in the concoction of an amalgam, linking Trotsky to a terrorist plot.

On 1 December 1934, SM Kirov, first secretary of the Leningrad party was shot inside the Smolny palace by a young party member, Nikolaev. This action was the excuse and legal basis for all the future trials. Yet it is now clear to everybody that the murder of Kirov was organised by Stalin himself.

At the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, Khrushchev, in an attempt to place all the responsibility for the horrors of Stalinism on the 'cult of personality', cautiously lifted the curtain and partially revealed what happened:

"The mass reprisals began after

Pakistan

Pakistan: regime drops liberal mask

OVER FIFTY have so far been killed by Pakistan's so-called 'civilian' government during the mass campaign launched by the opposition Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD) in mid-August.

Most of the killings were in Sind province where, again, the masses have shown the greatest hatred towards the Zia regime.

Railways in the province were disrupted and trains to Karachi at a standstill for two days. Many government offices were burnt down, police stations attacked and political prisoners set free from two jails.

Such was the mood of the masses after the arrest of Miss Benazir Bhutto, leader of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP—the mass opposition party) on 14 August.

The movement erupted when, despite a ban, rallies were held throughout the country on 14 August. Benazir Bhutto spoke to a meeting of over 30,000 in Karachi even after police efforts to arrest her. Later she was arrested during a press conference at her house.

Contrary to the tradition of recent years, huge rallies have been held throughout Punjab. In the provincial capital, Lahore, twelve were killed as police opened fire on demonstrators.

Now the army has taken over the administration of the interior of Sind province. The regime's policy is to open fire on any demonstration in Sind, while legal permission has been given for demonstrations in Punjab. By this technique they hope to split the movement.

Liberals unmasked

But their efforts to isolate the movement in Sind is having an opposite effect in Punjab—participation in legal demonstrations is increasing. The rulers will have to move towards more severe repression in Punjab if it becomes the focus of the movement.

These events have torn the liberal mask from Zia's civilian government. The regime has returned to its traditional brutality. The masses have learned that a past dictator cannot become democratic in the future.

The regime did not dare to attack "Benazir's Revolution" in April and May, when millions were on the streets. It has waited for a more favourable opportunity to curb the movement.

A vital question for activists to understand is why the earlier momentum of the movement has been lost, presenting the regime with the opportunity to strike.

In April and May it was vital to link the struggle to the overthrow of the dictatorship. The masses as well as the activists were confident that Zia could be defeated.

But, unfortunately, the

From a Pakistani correspondent

PPP leadership had the illusion that by showing mass support they would force Zia to call new elections on a party basis.

To pacify the militant mood of her supporters, Benazir classified the struggle against Zia into different "stages". According to her, the first round was to "see and meet the people".

Two revolutionary months were spent (squandered) on this, as over seven million demonstrated for Zia's immediate overthrow.

Benazir herself admitted that power was there for the taking—but she was opposed to any violent action to topple the regime!

The second round of struggle was to organise the "doves of democracy"—a layer of party workers who would demonstrate and sacrifice (peacefully) for the cause of democracy when called upon to do so.

This slogan was extremely unpopular among activists, as the dove is considered the most passive bird! Activists wanted to be eagles, not doves. So the "doves of democracy" were still-born.

The "third round" of struggle, according to Benazir, would be to set a time schedule for the movement to force elections if the regime failed to set a date by the end of autumn. But by this time the regime had already started a "fourth round" by arresting, wounding and killing hundreds of PPP activists.

Supporters of *The Struggle* (Marxist journal in the PPP) have argued throughout for a well-planned combination of demonstrations, mass rallies and eventually a general strike linked to the question of smashing the dictatorship.

The call for a 24-hour general strike on 5 July (anniversary of Zia's take-over in 1977) in a leaflet distributed by *Struggle* supporters at rallies in April and May was rejected by the Central Committee of the PPP. Nevertheless there was a spontaneous but successful general strike movement affecting a hundred towns in the interior of Sind, including Larkana, Miss Bhutto's home town.

Such was the mood of the masses.

The PPP leadership was not only weak in strategy; its programme offered no new concessions to the masses. No nationalisation, no land distribution, more foreign loans—these were the main points of Benazir's alternative "People's Budget"



Despite the PPP's bourgeois policies, the masses are rallying to its banner and the symbol of its murdered leader, Ali Bhutto (father of Benazir), in search of unity in the struggle.



Read *The Struggle* Pakistani Marxist journal
Order from: PO Box 46, 136 Kingsland High Street, London E8.

announced in June.

In fact, Benazir proudly announced, several of her demands for reforms had already been met by the junta. But her demand for general elections has been met with the present wave of atrocities.

Undoubtedly, it is the failure of the leadership to lead that has brought the movement to its present impasse, and encouraged the regime to attack.

While turning their backs on the tasks of the revolution, the nominated PPP leaders have been engaged in other business. They have earned millions of rupees selling nomination tickets for "future" elections to corrupt landowners and middle-class careerists. It was clear to everyone that a parliamentary nomination by the PPP meant an easy victory.

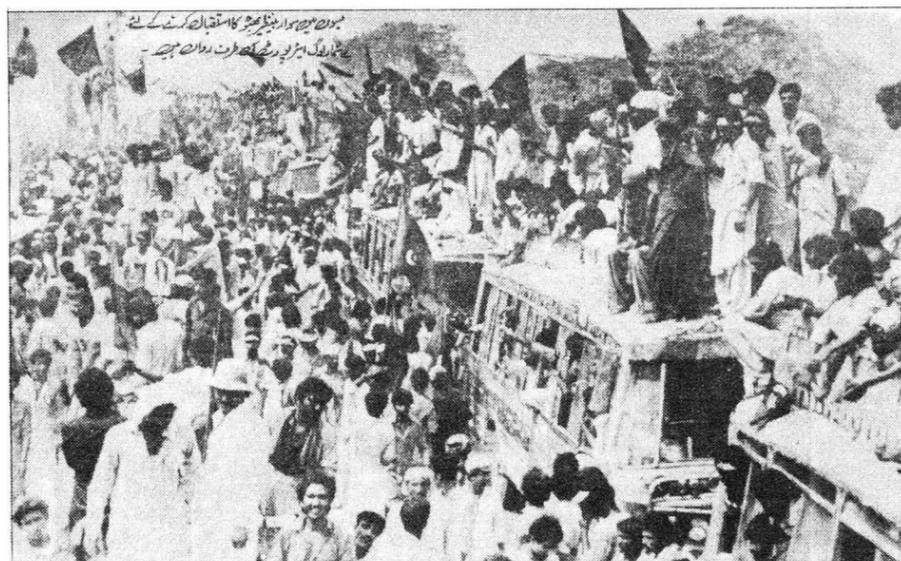
Dinner parties

Benazir's dinner parties have also been highly profitable, collecting money from "future" parliamentarians. Yet there was no money for printing the party programme or other literature.

But despite the corruption of these nominated leaders, and despite its bourgeois nature, the masses remember that the PPP was thrown up by the revolutionary events of 1968-71. It is clear from the rallies that when the masses move it will be through the PPP again.

The PPP leaders became mass heroes in April and afterwards. Party branches had new life. More and more were coming to the meetings. It was the biggest mass mobilisation, especially among the youth, in the history of Pakistan.

In nine years of military dictatorship a new generation has grown up, which has known nothing but the tyranny of the present



April: Workers stream to Karachi airport to welcome Benazir Bhutto on her return from exile. Now she is in prison and the PPP leadership have split.

regime. The basic goals of the PPP are, to them, democracy and socialism.

In spite of the leadership's efforts to show "neutrality" towards US imperialism, the militant youth have burnt US flags at many mass meetings of the party.

But the time factor is vital in a revolutionary movement. The mood cannot be sustained for months on end. The regime, in holding back from attacking the movement in April and May, was no doubt influenced by the following calculations:

- (1) The industrial working class was not yet in the forefront of the struggle;
- (2) The ideas of the PPP right wing were no threat to the regime;
- (3) A campaign led by the right wing would frustrate and exhaust the struggle of the masses.

Since April the passivity of the PPP leaders has led to a decline in the mass movement. The military hoped that, following its pre-emptive crackdown, the movement would fizzle out altogether. In fact, the

masses responded with an upsurge but, as a result of the unpreparedness and lack of determination on the part of the leadership, the movement will inevitably slow down for a period.

Major events could spark off a wider protest again, but with the main outburst ebbing the immediate overthrow of the regime is not a very likely perspective.

Turbulence

The regime still has a certain social base, mainly because of extensive imperialist aid, huge foreign remittances, 6.5 per cent annual growth in the economy and a good harvest this year. But in spite of this the regime will be unstable, facing consistent turbulence in society in the coming period.

With the decline of the present wave of struggle, and with frustration setting in, movements may erupt among national minorities—especially in Sind and Baluchistan—raising the perspective of secession. Communal, regional,

religious and sectarian conflicts could come to the fore, threatening to turn Pakistan into a bigger and bloodier Lebanon.

The semi-capitalist, semi-feudal system in Pakistan offers only a nightmare future for the masses. To the vast majority, life is a constant horror. This will intensify as capitalism slides into international crisis.

The working class, despite national, regional and sectarian divisions, has proved in past struggles its ability to unify and its decisive strength. It will prove it again and again.

A revolutionary effort is now needed to raise the understanding of the workers' movement, the realisation of its power in society. A mass movement led by a conscious, organised working class could overthrow the dictatorship and, if sustained, could appropriate the capitalists and landlords.

This would emancipate the masses from all exploitation, and open the door to a socialist future.

Revolution looms in Chile

IN THE recent period, the leaders of the MDP (the main alliance of the left, dominated by the Communist Party) have passed leadership of the struggle to the capitalist class through the medium of the 'Civil Assembly'—a body of 228 professional organisations, student federations and trade unions, dominated by the Christian Democracy (DC: main party of the bourgeoisie).

As a result the general strike of 2-3 July was organised by this body. Events rapidly demonstrated that, above all, its leaders fear a powerful movement of the masses which might get out of control.

The CP has justified its strategy by emphasising the "weakness" of the workers' movement, and the need for unity of all sectors prepared to struggle against the dictatorship.

Unfortunately, they confuse the idea of mass unity with a programmatic bloc with the leaders of the DC.

All Marxists are committed to building the unity of the movement in struggle—to unify all layers of the working class and youth, and draw behind them the middle class. Clearly, the sectors represented in the Civil Assembly must be won to participate actively in the revolution.

In fact they are already participating in the movement against the dictatorship. Barricades set up in wealthy areas of Santiago during the recent protests are indication enough of this.

The crucial question, however, is that of programme. Revolutionary unity can only be forged if the workers' parties demonstrate in struggle that they have a clear and decisive programme which can solve the problems of the middle class, and society as a whole.

For example, 550,000 home owners face immediate bankruptcy due to debts to the banks totalling US\$1.5 billion. Thirty per cent of doctors are unemployed. Under such conditions, the workers' parties could easily win the middle class to the idea of a socialist plan of production to resolve the crisis.

Democratic rights

The CP leaders, however, proclaim that the struggle is for "democracy only".

Marxists are at the forefront of the struggle to win democratic rights, such as the right to vote, organise trade unions and political parties, etc. Working people need these rights in order to end the misery they suffer—not only political repression but mass unemployment, poverty and human degradation.

But democracy and decent living conditions can only be secured by abolishing the capitalist system which is the direct cause of repression and deprivation.

Thus the Marxists, while supporting the call for immediate elections to a constituent assembly, demand a revolutionary constituent assembly as the only means of resolving the problems of the masses.

The Communist Party, on the other hand, has now declared that it would accept "a military Government without Pinochet" as "one formula" to secure a transition "towards" parliamentary democracy!

How could the generals be trusted to call elections? Only the masses themselves, seizing power through their own organisations, could hold genuinely democratic elections.

The concrete task now is to build up organisation which can serve as an effective focus for mass struggle. Committees of action—or, in the tradition of the Chilean workers, *cordones*—are essential to prepare the movement and organise a general strike to overthrow the dictatorship.

Concluding a two-part article by Alejandro Rojas

Unfortunately, while speaking of unity, the workers' leaders have adopted a strategy which effectively disunites the workers' movement itself.

As in all revolutions, the mass of workers need to feel their combined strength in action in order to take further steps forward. Instead, the leaders have called out one sector after another—even one district or one college at a time—so as not to frighten their bourgeois 'allies'. This has allowed the repression to concentrate its forces, without allowing the workers and youth to realise the full extent of their power.

While facing in a 'moderate' direction in its dealings with the capitalist class, the CP has also reflected the pressure of the youth for armed struggle against the dictatorship.

The instincts of the youth are entirely correct. A decisive question in Chile in the next period is that of arming the mass of the working class and youth.

The mood of the youth has unfortunately been channelled into a campaign of individual terrorism. A relatively small grouping around the FPMR (military organisation of the CP) has tried, with a campaign of bombings and assassinations, to substitute its own struggle for that of the mass movement.

Such a campaign, however heroically conducted, can only lower the consciousness of the workers and youth. The development of the socialist revolution requires, above all, the active participation of the masses in the struggle and in governing society. Attempts to substitute a small group for the mass movement can only throw back the workers' understanding of their tasks.

Rather than supporting 'guerrilla' tactics, the workers' leaders should be preparing the movement for insurrection, in part by accumulating arms and training. Above all, however, is the need for a clear programme to overthrow the dictatorship and transform society, which alone can draw the movement together.

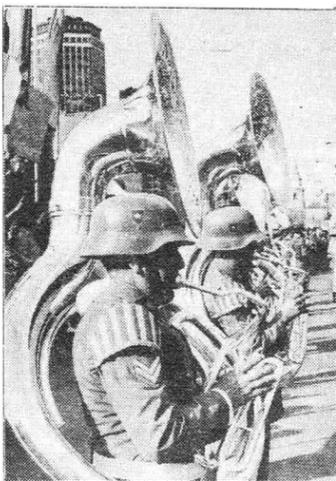
For such a programme will not only win enthusiastic support among the workers and youth, it will also offer an alternative to the ranks of the armed forces. With them lies the key to the mass of workers acquiring arms, and the overthrow of the regime.

The movement must offer more than protest; it must offer an alternative to the brutal power of the officer caste. The soldiers must be convinced that tomorrow they will not have to face the same officers. Then only would they be prepared to cross to the workers' side, leaving Pinochet a general with no army.

This revolutionary programme is the only solution to the problems



Young protesters in 1983.



Pinochet's army.

of the Chilean masses. But notwithstanding the failure of the workers' leaders to give a lead in this direction, the days of the dictatorship are numbered.

It is possible that an explosion could be ignited by an incident, and result in the downfall of the regime. It seems most probable, however, that the capitalist class—supported by US imperialism and a section of the officers—will be compelled by the developing mass movement to force Pinochet out.

Floodgates

This would open the floodgates of revolution. After thirteen years under an Iron Heel, the workers and youth will present their bill.

The workers' leaders are likely to accept the Christian Democracy in a provisional government. But, within the framework of crisis-stricken capitalism, none of the acute problems facing the working class can be solved.

Any government of the capitalist parties will pass from crisis to crisis, eventually giving way to a government of the workers' parties. Such a government will arouse huge expectations amongst the Chilean masses. It will have the prospect of carrying through the revolution, or succumbing to the pressures of capitalism.

During such a period of intense revolutionary upheavals the workers and the youth will seek out the road to a genuine Marxist programme and place on the agenda the socialist revolution. Such a movement will avenge the deaths of those slaughtered under the dictatorship, and begin the socialist revolution throughout Latin America.



The slums of Santiago.

International Notes



ZIMBABWE'S SIMMERING national tensions have subsided for the moment as the country awaits the outcome of the "unity talks" between Prime Minister Mugabe and leaders of the opposition ZAPU party.

But with massive unemployment, landlessness and poverty, frustration and the danger of renewed conflict remain—especially with the South African regime poised to exploit divisions in the region.

A reminder of this threat has been the joint "campaign against Marxism" announced by the SA-backed MNR terrorist movement in Mozambique, and external leaders of the ZANU (Mwenje) splinter party in Zimbabwe. This turn to open reaction spells political death for ZANU (Mwenje) in Zimbabwe, and ties it hand and foot to SA imperialism.

Failure by the Zimbabwe government to tackle the root

causes of discontent with socialist policies will leave the door open to SA manipulation and splits on a more serious scale in the future.

SPAIN'S ANDALUCIA province is the scene of a serious struggle between farm labourers, organised in the militant SOC union, and the Socialist government in Madrid.

About 350,000 landless workers, employed on average for no more than 60 days per year, live in poverty. The government promised them relief, but a land reform programme was abandoned when the landowners challenged it in court.

SOC has organised a campaign of land occupations. The government has reacted by sending in the para-military Civil Guard. A thousand activists are now awaiting trial.

SOC leader Diego Canamero has already been sentenced to 30 days and is due to enter prison on 5 September. A campaign of town hall occupations has been called in protest, which will culminate in a demonstration outside Prime Minister Gonzalez's office in Madrid if Canamero is not pardoned.

Come to the CHILE RALLY

to commemorate the 13th anniversary of Pinochet's coup.

Thursday 11 September, at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1, at 7.30pm.

Speakers: Terry Fields MP; John Ellen (LPYS Chairman); I Sevastio (CSDC). Video: "Chile on the brink"

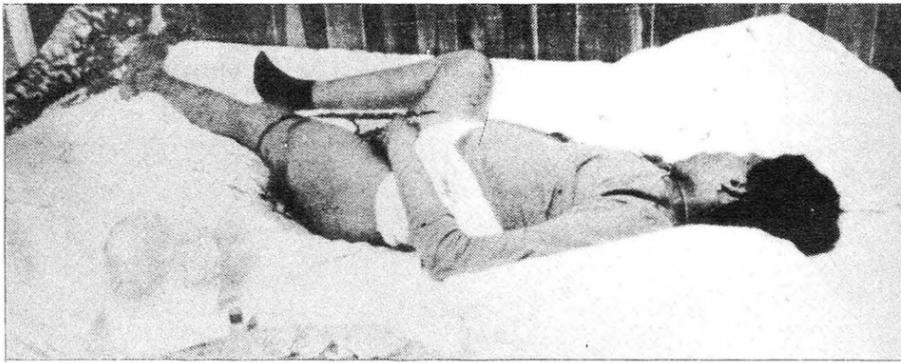
Despair behind addiction

Dear Comrades,
On the day that the 'A' level results were released and unemployment figures showed another rise of 50,000, two youths (about 17) were discovered sniffing cocaine in a groundfloor toilet at my workplace, County Hall, Swansea.

One youth ran off immediately but the other, locked in their office by the security staff, dived through a plate glass window to escape.

Most young people come to County Hall for careers advice, but this incident shows how futile that advice can be when the only future for many is unemployment and drug addiction.

Yours fraternally
Bill Williams
Swansea East
Labour Party



Drug addict dead from overdose.

Dear Comrades,
At a recent interview for an office job with the Metropolitan Police, I was asked what I thought of the police. I mentioned that harassing young people for drugs is no solution to the increase in drug abuse, and that it was mainly due to the

increase in unemployment, bad housing and the cuts in Customs and Excise staff.

The reply from the interviewer was "wouldn't it be better to defoliate the areas where cannabis, opium etc. is grown?"

I wait with bated breath for a resolution at the next

Police Federation conference on how the Thatcher government is going to get away with napping Burma, Thailand, Pakistan etc.

Yours fraternally
Jon Johnson
Medway Labour Party
Young Socialists

On yer bike — or boat

Dear Comrades,
During a dole sale, I was discussing with a claimant who said that people should go looking for jobs.

I told him that not only did I 'get on my bike', but I also 'got on my rowing boat' and sailed up to the Shetland Islands for a job.

I then rowed back to the mainland, got on my bike and cycled down to Manchester where I worked for six months, working three different shifts with occasional 16 days on the run — for £60 a week.

I explained that it wasn't the lack of bikes, 'incentive' or even rowing boats, but the lack of decent jobs that was the problem.

Yours fraternally
Melanie Horridge
Preston, Lancs

Dear Comrades,
Ten weeks ago my friend overdosed on a drug widely used by addicts as a heroin substitute. She obtained her drugs from a private Harley Street doctor.

This drug and other heroin substitutes are rarely prescribed by national health doctors, except perhaps at drug treatment centres.

Yet these same drugs are freely available from a number of private Harley Street doctors, for a price.

Ten weeks on, my friend is still in hospital, badly brain damaged.

This doctor and many others, continue to 'sell' prescriptions for dangerous drugs.

The next Labour government must abolish private medicine if we are to see an end to this form of legalised, highly profitable 'drug pushing'

Yours fraternally
Margaret Munn
Southampton

Letters

Send us your views, comments or criticism.



The real East enders

Dear Militant,
Born and bred in Hackney, I find it encouraging to read that real East enders today are not such a daft lot as they are represented in the BBC version.

You are doing a good job in showing up the real conditions of the working class in London.

Yours fraternally
Kathleen Jones
Shropshire

TUC advises SA investors

Dear Comrades,
The TUC have just brought out a booklet about what can be done on the South African crisis.

The booklet called *South Africa, a bad risk for investment* puts over the fact that as the South African economy is in steep decline you should be looking for other options with your investments.

It is contemptible that the TUC should waste its resources offering a free booklet to South African investors. Those resources should be used in support of an international trade union campaign to 'black' South African trade and bring their economy to its knees overnight.

Yours fraternally
Andrew Dinkenor
Bournemouth

Exploiting divisions

Dear Comrades,
The recent coverage of the royal wedding was given a bit of spice with an 'exclusive' in *The Star*, with the story that there were two gay lovers on board the royal honeymoon yacht.

There was naturally, little concern for the two gay men involved, one of whom as a result has been hounded out of the navy.

The next Labour government must remove all anti-gay laws and legislate to protect gay people from discrimination and harassment and bring an end to the profit system which creates and exploits divisions in the working class.

Yours fraternally
Peter Anderson
East Kilbride Labour Party Young Socialists

Miracles on YTS

Dear Comrades,
While I was watching the television one night a programme investigating YTS came on.

Although this programme was pure propaganda for YTS we did get a true example of how educational the schemes can be.

When asked how much he had learned on the scheme one of the trainees replied: "Well, they've taught us how to milk lambs..."

Yours fraternally
Jon Driscoll
Middlesbrough

Limited age

Dear Comrades,
Recently an LPYS member told me that one of the reasons why the leadership of the Labour Party want to lower the YS age limit from 26 to 21 is "so the right-wing can gain control of the youth section and

have them thinking along the same lines as them".

Surely if the right-wing leadership wanted LPYS members to "think along the same lines as them", they would do the obvious thing—lower the age limit to two years old.

After all, they're both narrow-minded, oblivious to the real world and inclined to throw a tantrum if they don't get their own way.

They also have one other vital thing in common—they'll both smile at you and then crap all over you when you're not looking.

Yours fraternally
Bobby Harker
Gateshead East
Labour Party

Chilean socialists impressed

Dear Comrades,
Comrades in Liverpool Riverside were privileged this weekend to have the company of two Chilean young socialists Ivan and Carmen.

We were delighted to show them round our city with its extensive areas of fine new housing, sport centres and parkland.

Such is the standard of housing in these inner city areas (and such is the standard of housing in Chile) that Ivan was heard saying that old, crumbling, tenement blocks awaiting demolition resembled ordinary middle-class housing in Chile!

I think at first they were inclined to disbelieve us when we pointed out that newly-built housing was council property available for rent to ordinary working-class people.

Yours fraternally
G Smillie
Riverside South Labour Party Young Socialists



New council housing being built in the shadow of the 'piggeries' slums of the sixties.

Photo: Dave Sinclair

Simplistic argument

Dear Comrades,
There are now 10,000 known homeless people in London alone.

Recently I have been stopped in the street by people begging for money.

However, on last Saturday's street sale I got into a chat with two girls from Roedean private school in Brighton.

For them things were simple: Daddy owns a company

and works 18 hours a day; If you get qualifications at school you will get on; Those on the dole (all 4.5 million) are lazy sods.

They did get one thing right though, to them Thatcher had done what she said she would and Labour never does and always sells out.

Yours fraternally
Gary Nightingale
Maidstone Labour Party

Sweat shop industries

Dear Comrades,
One of the few growth areas in the economy under the Thatcher government has been a growth in the number of so-called "sweat shops".

This "twilight economy", employing a high proportion of women, Asian and young workers has little respect for health and safety regulations or for working conditions.

The government however, has abolished wage councils in an effort to drive wages

for workers in this area of manufacturing even lower, making Britain the only country ever to break with the International Labour Convention 26 on minimum wages.

If any comrades have experience of "sweat shops", or any information, could they call me on 0634 378217.

Yours fraternally
Dave Rowe
Gillingham Labour Party Young Socialists

John McCabe

JOHN McCABE died 23 August 1986. Born Saltcoats, Scotland in 1941. Served his time as a welder in the shipyards then moved down to London. Always bought the paper and was a good class fighter. Our love and support to Jo, William, Stephen and Frances.
From the Crimmins family.

Liverpool health campaign

An action committee has been set up at Walton Hospital to fight privatisation. They are not waiting for the axe to fall but are starting the fight now.

THE WALTON Hospital Joint Action Committee demonstration outside the Plessey, Edge Lane site in Liverpool on 14 August was an effective start to the campaign against privatisation of cleaning services in the local health service.

The demo was aimed particularly against the cleaning firm RCO which operate in Plessey. It has declared its intention of winning hospital contracts and has just got a contract in nearby Fazakerley hospital.

Over 50 members of Nupe and Walton Labour Party handed out leaflets explaining the threat to jobs, pay and conditions from the use of firms like RCO in the health service.

But the Action Committee leaflet also drew attention to the fact that contract firms threaten jobs in all sectors of the economy, including private industry.

Right cowboys

It called for local unions to jointly request employers who have contracts with RCO to take on RCO staff as direct employees and terminate the company's contracts.

Afterwards the RCO site manager complained about the leaflet referring to RCO as a 'Right Cowboy Organisation' claiming that they are one of the better cleaning firms. He was told that as far as privatisation in the NHS is concerned all cleaning firms are bad firms.

The experience of Addenbrookes hospital, with blocked drains and



Anti-privatisation lobby of Merseyside District Health Authority.

blood and bones being left in the operating theatre, shows that any attempt to turn hospital cleaning into a profit-making bonanza must be prevented—in the interests of patients' health.

A petition to the South Sefton Health Authority has now been distributed by the unions in Plessey

FOLLOWING ON from the Plessey demonstration about 250 people attended the first public meeting called by the Action Committee, in the local community school.

Irene Roberts, Nupe shop steward for the Walton hospital cleaners explained in detail why contract cleaners do not know how to clean hospitals properly and especially do not have the skills re-

quired for cleaning operating theatres.

Peter Ballard, Walton hospital Nupe branch secretary, described what privatised cleaning meant for Fazakerley hospital. Wards, for instance, were cleaned once a week instead of every day.

He highlighted the attitude of contract cleaners towards women workers in particular. The RCO job application form included the

By Graham Casey
(TGWU 6/643 branch)



Newcastle demonstration against privatisation—local struggles must be linked.

following questions: Do you suffer from painful periods? Are you on the pill? Can you carry a two gallon bucket of water?

Lesley Holt of Labour Party Women's section spoke about the general conditions of contract cleaners, the need to combat low wages by the next Labour government legislating a statutory minimum wage of £120 per week. It should also reverse all cuts in the

health service, she said.

Terry Fields MP, Eddie Loyden MP and Les Huckfield MEP also came to speak and give their support. Workers in Walton hospital have well and truly begun the fight to defend jobs, conditions and their health service.

By Steve Soper
(Walton hospital Joint Action Committee, personal capacity)

Addenbrookes strikers demand new union leader

SYLVIA BURTON, chair of Addenbrookes Strike Committee told *Militant*:

"The fight Kevin Mullins has been leading for health service workers all over the country shows he is the sort of person willing to take up the fight and not let the NHS go down the drain.

"We need someone who has the interests of the members of Cohse at heart. He is very much a man who does not worry about the state of the union as well as our jobs."

The Addenbrookes strike committee voted to call off their 22-month strike on 1 August.

The domestics refused to work for the private contractor OCS. They refused to work in shoddy conditions and they refused to accept lower cleaning standards.

The final blow was the decision of the Cohse hierarchy to withdraw support on 20 February this year. The lesson we have learned is the role of the union leadership who failed to give full support and link up local struggles through national coordination.

No so cosy

One NEC member who has given consistent support throughout the strike is Kevin Mullins from Yorkshire. He has been down to Cambridge many times and helped us at meetings and conferences.

At Cohse conferences and the TUC he made us welcome, helped to collect money and introduced us to union leaders. For many it was a costly introduction which benefited our hardship fund.

The commitment, courage and determination of the Addenbrooke domestics in continuing the strike without strike pay until August emphasises the need for a Cohse leadership worthy of them and all the other



Sylvia Burton.

health service workers fighting against privatisation.

The Addenbrooke's strike must have taken its toll of the existing general secretary David Williams who is taking early retirement.

We need a union that is democratic and a leadership accountable to the members. The election gives us the chance to get such a general secretary. Kevin Mullins is the candidate of the Broad Left, Group '81.

Kevin has worked in the health service for fifteen years at High Royds hospital in Yorkshire where he is now a charge nurse.

He became a shop steward when a three year student nurse during the 1974 campaign of industrial action leading up to the Halsbury commission.

He first became branch chair and a regional delegate in 1976. He was elected to the NEC in 1982. Though he lost his seat by one vote in 1985 we know the work he has put in—and some of the backs he's put up in the process. That's why we have no hesitation in recommending him.

By Graham Heneghan
(Addenbrookes Strike Committee)

Hull council stewards organise

HULL CITY council joint shop stewards committee (JSSC) was officially recognised in September 1985. It came after bitter opposition from right wing Labour councillors.

We started off with a group of shop stewards meeting regularly on an informal basis and held a couple of public meetings.

Ian Lowes, chair of Liverpool council JSSC and organising secretary of the National Local Authority Coordinating Committee spoke at one of them, bringing the lessons of council workers' experience from around the country.

Hull city council has a massive Labour majority (52 seats out of 60). There is a

workforce of over 5,000. Although we are not affected by ratecapping, privatisation is making its mark.

It was recognised that the key to building a JSSC was campaigning work. A drive by the Youth Trade Union Rights Campaign (YTURC) for the council to top up the pay of its YTSers was taken up by the JSSC with some success.

A Labour Party recruitment drive was launched aimed at getting local authority workers involved. The theme was "select your own employer."

Disputes in private industry have been supported financially and physically (on the picket line) and international issues such as South Africa taken up.

Perhaps the most impor-

tant development during the short history of the JSSC was the support given to the bus drivers in their dispute over terms and conditions under privatisation.

In April, over a thousand council workers took to the streets to attend a protest march and rally. A threatened half day stoppage in July was called off at the eleventh hour after the pressure won a significant improvement in bus workers' terms and conditions.

The way forward must be to consolidate union involvement. Seven are currently involved: GMBATU, TGWU, Nupe, Ucat, EETPU, AUEW and Nalco, covering several departments.

Greater involvement from the white collar unions, the Direct Labour Organisation

and telephones department is vital. It is hoped this will be rectified shortly.

Plans have been made to produce a JSSC 'manifesto' calling on the Labour council not only to defend jobs and services, but to look at ways of expanding services.

The formation of the JSSC is the most important development in the history of the Hull labour movement since the dockers became organised.

It is an essential weapon in the struggle to defeat privatisation and commit Labour to carrying out socialist policies.

By Alan Shadforth
(Hull city council JSSC, personal capacity)

Classified ads

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

○ **Nuclear Time Bomb or Socialist Energy Plan.** 60p including postage. Cheques payable to World Socialist Books. Write to World Socialist Books, 3/13 Hepscoth Rd, London E9 5HB.

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).

○ **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.

○ **Applicants wanted** (female applicants welcomed) to work on long-term political project in London. Wages: take-home £120 per week (approx). Please apply giving address and phone no. and other relevant details to: PO Box 780, London SE1.

Militant Meetings

□ **"Anglo-Irish Agreement—The Socialist Way Forward".** Monday 8 September. Salisbury Primary School, Salisbury Rd, London NW6. (Nearest tube, Queens Pk, Bakerloo line). Speakers: Militant Irish Monthly and Labour and Trade Union Group.

□ **Brighton "Fight the Tories" Militant** public meeting. Tuesday 16 September, 8pm. The function room, Greyhound Pub, Brighton Road, Redhill, Surrey. Speaker: Richard Barnett (Reigate Labour Party, personal capacity).

□ **Wroxall Marxist discussion group.** 2 Mountfield Rd, Wroxall, Isle of Wight. Every Wednesday. Phone Vic Dale on IOW 854759 for details.

□ **Sittingbourne Marxist discussion group.** Every second Tuesday at 29 Waterloo Rd, Sittingbourne, Kent. For further details ring Sittingbourne 72632.

□ **Northern Ireland Labour and Trade Union Group Public Meeting.** Monday 8 September 7pm. AUEW Hall, Mount Pleasant, Liverpool.

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

Industrial Reports

Smith Ships

SMITH DOCK shipyard on the Tees is now certain to close following the workers' vote by 832 to 48 to accept redundancy on a low poll of just 30%.

Before the ballot British Shipbuilders offered the men an average of £1,000 each if they voted to give up the fight to save the yard.

This obviously had an effect. But more important was the role of the local union officials and union leadership. They failed to mount any effective campaign against the closure.

They preferred to enter into alliances with the local bosses of British Shipbuilders to try and salvage a 'skeleton workforce' in a so-called rescue plan which is doomed to failure.

In the absence of any lead from the top the mood of the men was to take what they could—about £6,500, a year's pay—while they could.

This contrasts with the fighting mood when the closure of the yard was first announced. Then they voted for a campaign to save the yard and held a one-day strike.

British Shipbuilders' determination to close the yard, with government support, means that Teesside loses a further 3,000 jobs, bringing the unemployment rate up to 80% in some areas.

Drastic situations require radical solutions. The next Labour government must nationalise the whole of the shipping industry under workers' control and management. Ensure the re-establishment of shipbuilding in Britain and give a future to an area that was once known as the 'engine room' of industry.

By Andy Walker
(Redcar LPYS)

Left fights for engineers

Broad Left candidate in division six for exec

KEN ARMIN, Swansea convenor and Broad Left candidate for the division six executive committee seat in the Amalgamated Engineering Union talked to Alec Thraves about the issues in his election campaign.

'New Realism' may be all right for right wing full-time officials but it's no good for the members. It means lower living standards, worsening conditions and increased unemployment. Those are the results of forfeiting trade union rights.

The architect of this strategy was ex-CPSA general secretary Alistair Graham who ditched his members to double his salary with the so-called Industrial Society which works hand in glove with the bosses. That kind of attitude is typical of too many advocates of 'new realism'.

The AEU leadership should break its cosy relationship with the Engineering Employers and start fighting side by side with the members who are under attack.

The executive is consciously reducing the involvement of our members in union affairs. Branch meetings have been cut to one a month with the added threat of District Committees being held on a quarterly basis or even phased out completely.

The right wing argue that poor attendances and cost make this necessary but it reduces member involvement—which is now lower than ever. I believe that the EC wants to quietly emulate the straitjacket rule book of the EETPU.

I am not against

amalgamation with the EETPU or any other industrial union as long as our democratic structure and procedures remain intact. Amalgamation with the EETPU on present conditions, with their undemocratic rule book and the disgraceful role of their leaders in the Wapping dispute is completely ruled out.

The low poll of just 27 per cent in the presidential election shows the flaws in these people's arguments for postal balloting. The bulk of the membership are not involved in the election of our full-time officials.

I am in favour of a system of workplace balloting which will involve a far larger proportion of the members, reduce media involvement and allow our shop stewards to officiate over the elections.

I have stated in my election address that I will take only the average wage of a skilled member plus necessary expenses which will be vetted by the members.

I strongly believe that if an elected full time official has the interests of the members at heart and intends to fight alongside them he or she must live the same life-style and not be economically divorced from the members.

I am confident, despite the media and financial support which the right wing receive, that an active and open Broad Left campaigning on socialist policies can win the support of the membership. Building such a Broad Left is the vital job for activists in the Districts and Divisions.



Last year's lobby of AEUW/EEF wage negotiations

Lobby of Confed negotiations

THE LONDON North District Committee of the AEU have called a lobby of the next negotiating meeting between the Engineering Employers Federation (EEF) and the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions (CSEU) 9am 8 September at Tothill Street, Westminster (nearest tube St. James Park).

At the last meeting of the CSEU executive Bill Jordan, AEU president reported on the negotiations, noting that opposition is building up on the shop floor against the way the negotiations are being conducted and the concessions being offered by the unions.

On top of this Jordan and the right wing made it clear that their abilities as negotiators were so great that while they had offered to give up virtually every basic right and condition of work, the employers have still given no indication as to how much of a reduction in hours they are prepared to concede in return.

These brilliant 'new realists' are dragging our union and its members over a precipice at the bottom of which lies conditions of work and union organisation more like the 1880s than the 1980s.

Already the employers have extended their demands to include a new procedure agreement. It is the basic agreement on the union's right to organise and represent its members. Any attempt by the employers to change this can only be in order to weaken the union.

Concessions

Every concession from the CSEU will bring further demands from the employers, until they destroy us. The only way that we have ever bettered our conditions and pay is through organisation and willingness to fight. Our leaders have displayed neither in these negotiations.

They continue on the 8 and 19 September. The lob-

by on the 8th needs to be well attended in order to put our leaders straight about the members' priorities.

Other engineering unions apart from the AEU should be there as well since they are also involved in the negotiations. The leaders of the TGWU, GMBATU, Tass, etc, need to be asked why they are allowing the AEU right wing to get away with these proposals.

Our members in the engineering industry have been faced with what seems like a perpetual slump for the last ten years. We have enough on our plate fighting closures, low pay and bad conditions, with many brave and bitter battles fought. The strikes, lock-outs, sit-ins, work-ins, marches and demonstrations are too numerous to list.

Let our 'leaders' be warned, we don't give up anything without a fight.

By John Edwards
(London North AEU District Committee)

Victimised journalist demands union backing

VICTIMISED *Militant* supporter, Jimmy Roberts, sacked by local government union Nalگو from his journalist job in their press office, is fighting to retain the support of his union the NUJ.

On 6 July the NUJ's Finance and Resources Committee met to consider Roberts' victimisation benefit which he has been paid since July of last year, after strike action by Nalگو staff failed to achieve his reinstatement.

The committee voted to continue his present level of benefit until the next NEC meeting (12/13 September) but to recommend to the NEC that it should halve Roberts' benefit for three months and then stop payment altogether.

Roberts, who is married with a baby son, told *Militant*: "I have made exhaustive efforts to find new employment but it is clear Nalگو's action against me has put me on the black list. I haven't even had an interview in over twelve months of seeking work."

"Now my own union

leadership is threatening to add to my problems by cutting, and then stopping, victimisation benefit. My family has come to depend on this money.

"Instead of discussing my victimisation benefit the union's NEC should be discussing my victimisation and how to force the Nalگو leadership to agree a satisfactory settlement of the dispute.

"I was promised that the union would take my case to the TUC if Nalگو refused to budge, but apparently this is not to be done."

Roberts has the backing of the Nalگو NUJ chapel and his NUJ branch, press and public relations, who have unanimously supported the continued payment of full victimisation benefit and urged the NEC to reach a satisfactory solution with Nalگو's leadership.

Messages of support to: Barry White, Nalگو NUJ chapel, 1 Mabledon Place, London WC1H9AJ. Letters of protest to the NUJ's NEC, Acorn House, 314/320 Grays Inn Rd, London WC1X8DP.



Photo: Trevor King

Silentnightmare gets Militant

'THE SILENTNIGHTMARE', a *Militant* public meeting which took place on 27 August in the Civic Hall, Barnoldswick, Lancashire, was attended by 70 people, including many Silentnight strikers, other local people, and even one of Silentnight's scab workforce.

Despite efforts by some local councillors to have the meeting stopped, the event was a resounding success, with lively speeches from Labour MP Dave Nellist, South African SALEP worker Mohamed Patel, and Silentnight striker and FTAT Cravendale branch chair Terry Bennett.

Videos on the launch of South African trade union congress COSATU and on the miners' strike were shown. And there was an exhibit of photographs by Silentnight strikers telling the story of the 15 month old strike. A collection for the *Militant* Fighting Fund raised £65, including two £5 and several £1 donations from strikers. Silentnight strikers have been lobbying the TUC which passed an FTAT resolution calling on the Co-op to black Silentnight goods.

By Linden Stafford

I'm a
capitalist
pig

"WHAT ARE you talking to me for? I'm a capitalist pig." That was the comment of Nove Leather boss Ron Novellis to pickets as he stumbled over a pile of rubbish outside his factory.

The pickets also expressed their feelings about someone who employs young workers on poverty wages.

Nove workers have been buoyed up by the support they have received this week. Over £300 was collected at Ford Halewood and the council workforce are continuing to give support.

Sixty TGWU members also heard the Nove workers' case alongside strikers from the British Legion and A1 Feeds at a TGWU coordinating committee.

The morale of the strikers remains high but the blacking of Nove products must be stepped up by Usdaw.

Industrial Reports

CPSA election battle

THE SHOCK waves from John MacCreddie's election as general secretary of civil service union the CPSA are still reverberating throughout the labour movement.

The result, which has been welcomed by the rank and file CPSA members, has been greeted with horror by the ruling class and their shadows in the right wing of the labour movement.

The inevitable cries of ballot rigging have gone up from the right wing. It was not unexpected, given the appearance of a group calling themselves the "DHSS Ballot Riggers" at a social at the CPSA conference in May, well before voting had even started.

CPSA members have been at the sharp end of the Tory government attacks for the last seven years. 150,000, mainly lower grade jobs, have been axed in the civil service.

The Tories, who claim they have no incomes policy, have tried to use the civil service as the pace setter for lower pay settlements.

They have even scrapped Pay Research, the tool successive governments have used for 24 years to keep down civil service pay. The Tories considered the system too generous.

Add to this the attacks on trade union rights at GCHQ and the day to day oppression of new, harsher management attitudes which have been introduced and it is no surprise members feel the need for a fighting leadership.

When the disastrous failings of the right wing leadership of the union are considered the reasons become even clearer. Successive pay campaigns have failed, in large part due to the sabotage of the right wing and union bureaucracy.

The Treasury are now trying to ensnare CPSA in discussions on regional pay variations. This is not even on the basis that the cost of



John MacCreddie

living varies around the country but on the employers' ability to recruit and retain staff. In other words Tebbit's philosophy that areas of high unemployment should be low wage areas.

The right wing have shown themselves incapable of fighting these attacks. Their main activity seems to be a barrage of circulars from head office trying to discredit John MacCreddie.

They seem to have finally been forced into tacit acceptance that there is no basis for complaint in the GS elec-

tion. But they have gone ahead and placed Mrs Losinska on the General Council in defiance of the election result.

In the general secretary election nearly 35,000 members voted for candidates considered to stand on the left—20,000 for the Broad Left and 14,000 for the 'BL 84' group candidate.

This is a clear rejection of the failed policies of the right wing. But the left is being prevented from carrying through the job of removing the right wing by the split in the left.

Now more than ever there is a clear need and reason for those who split from the Broad Left to form BL 84 to rejoin on a principled basis and help build a fighting union.

- ★ For a living wage
- ★ For a 35-hour week
- ★ For a new technology agreement which protects jobs, pay and workers' health
- ★ For a democratic union under the control of the members.

By Frank Bonner
(CPSA personal capacity)

Ceramic workers fight bosses and union leaders to defeat victimisation and democratise Catu

Armitage Shanks workers efforts to fight the sacking of their lodge secretary Rupert Oliver are coming up against the dirty tricks department of this Rugeley, Staffordshire company.

By Bill Mullins

A leaflet issued by the management in response to the decision by the lodge to organise a ballot (see *Militant* 811) purported to quote ACAS as saying "that any action taken as a result of a formal ballot would be in breach of contract and members involved would be facing dismissal".

Following this the bosses refused to give the lodge permission to conduct its ballot, instead they conducted a 'consensus exercise'. Unfortunately, the lodge president allowed himself to be used by the management in this sham.

It consisted of the president warning the workers that if they were in favour of industrial action they could be putting their jobs at risk, all done under the gaze of the management. This undemocratic and intimidatory exercise produced the result the bosses wanted.

The membership of the Ceramic and Allied Trade Union (CATU) are learning that it is not just a case of taking on the bosses but also of having a trade union leadership that will fight on their behalf and not do the bosses' dirty work for them.

The victimisation of Bro. Oliver and the role of the national Ceramic and Allied Trade Union (Catu) leadership was the main talking point at the lodge meetings that took place in Stoke on Trent a week last Tuesday night. The union leadership were desperate to rubbish Bro Oliver's reputation.

Outright lies were told

about him being sacked before, and the company having a "25-page dossier" on him. All this was as a result of *Militant* supporters in Catu giving out Armitage lodge leaflets explaining Bro. Oliver's case.

A veritable storm is brewing amongst Catu members about the role of the leadership, not just in this case but in general.

The recent wage settlement was only pushed through with a two per cent majority. 50 per cent of the membership has traditionally been women workers, the attitude of the bosses and the union tops was that they were working for 'pin' money.

But now with mass redundancies in the mines and other industries it is these same women workers' wages that have become the sole source of income in thousands of Potteries working class households.

In the past discontent with the leadership has not been organised but now the victimisation of Rupert Oliver has given impetus to the idea of launching a Catu reform movement.

Top of its agenda would undoubtedly be the need to make the union more democratic, with the regular election of all full-time officials, with no official being in receipt of a salary in excess of the average skilled wage of a Catu member. The membership of Catu have not been noted in the past for militant action, but all this is changing.

Spread South Wales pit overtime ban

THE SOUTH Wales miners overtime ban is now in its third week. John Munn, Six Bells NUM Lodge Secretary talked to Kevin Dupe about the action.

What issues brought about the overtime ban?

The main factor is the Traedegar Workshop closure. The biggest percentage of the men want to keep their jobs. It's a thorn in the side for the NCB.

The second is the outstanding wage claim. We haven't had any luck through the law courts. Then there has been the none response of the Board to the union on major issues such as sacked members.

What effect has the ban had so far?

There's the obvious economic effect. The NUM estimate £1m. The Board bandy figures about but don't say anything specific.

Would you say it's just a local issue?

No. One factor which is locally relevant is Traedegar Workshop. But the same thing is happening throughout the country. I think it will be left to

individual areas and the rank and file. There's already talk in Yorkshire and Durham of trying to follow our example.

What's the mood of the men like?

That's a hard one. The general body realise the Coal Board is kicking us now after the strike. They're resentful. But they're definitely not ready to take any stronger action. We must be realistic, it's not the right time. The members haven't had enough time.

What about the rumours of closure of Six Bells?

Rumours are rife. It's a general thing throughout the coalfield. The targets are getting harder to achieve to satisfy the Board. Six Bells NUM still refer to it as the NCB and not as British Coal as we see it as a step towards privatisation, which is something anyone who has lived through will never want to see again.

What do you think of the setting up of a national Broad Left and its conference on 20 September?

Obviously it's a good idea. I'm in favour of all means of uniting the working class. I think the BL will achieve their aims given the chance.

Durham election

MINERS IN the Durham coalfield will be balloted next week to elect a new National Executive Committee member following the departure from the industry of the sitting member, Billy Stobbs.

The Durham area NUM has undergone a transformation over the last few years which has seen it turn from a bastion of the right wing into a leading left-wing area, one of the few to have stood firm behind Arthur Scargill's leadership.

Part of this process has been the establishment of a new tradition of the election of a rank and file miner to the NEC position. A leading contender in next week's election is Stan Pearce who has been nominated by Monkwearmouth and Murton NUM lodges.

Stan, who sits on the Durham area council as the delegate from Monkwearmouth lodge, is a long standing rank and file activist in the coalfield who played a key role in organising the Durham area's pickets during the 84/85 strike.

He is well known amongst activists in the coalfield for his determination to maintain the fight against pit closures, an issue which still looms large in Durham, an area which has lost five pits, since the end of the strike and has a sixth seam now facing the axe.

Stan has also consistently fought for the interests of the sacked and victimised miners and is at present in the forefront of the campaign to achieve a big majority in the forthcoming area ballots for an overtime ban on the issues of wages and pit closures.

He has a long history of campaigning

MINERS BROAD LEFT

Open to all TUC affiliated mining unions

First national conference

Saturday 20 September 10.30

Barnsley College of Technology
Church Street, Barnsley



For conference details and credentials contact:

1 Hiltorne Close, Columbia
Village, Washington, Tyne and Wear.
Telephone 091416 5060.

Stan Pearce (right) will be chairing the Broad Left conference

for the further democratisation of the NUM and for measures to encourage greater participation of rank and file members, especially the youth.

His commitment to the principle of workers' control and management of the mining industry and for the integration of the industry into a democratically planned, national energy policy is long standing.

To this end Stan has been an active member of the Labour Party, fighting the witch-hunt and for the election of a Labour government committed to

socialist policies.

He has represented the Durham area as a delegate to the NUM conference, most recently in 1985 when he seconded the resolution which won recognition for the South African NUM.

Other candidates in the election are: David Guy, the recently elected full-time Area President, Alan Cummings, secretary of Easington lodge NUM and Bobby Embleton of Westoe Lodge NUM.

By Kevin Miles

Militant

Moscow trials
See centre pages



Visas: Thatcher panders to bigots

THE TORY Government has shown its true racist colours in its decision to require visitors from five countries, overwhelmingly black, to have visas before coming to Britain.

While entry from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nigeria and Ghana will be restricted in this way, this does not apply to white commonwealth countries like Australia, New Zealand and Canada or to other non-EEC states like the USA. Even visitors from South Africa will continue to enjoy visa-free entry rights.

The visa restriction is clearly intended to discourage black visitors to Britain. It will mean the transference of long queues from the immigration desks of British air and seaports to even longer queues in the country of origin. It will mean the virtual elimination of visits arranged at short notice, for example for special occasions or family funerals. It also means that whereas visitors detained at present can contact British friends or MPs to seek their assistance, this would be impossible in their home country.

Appeasement

The whole exercise is an attempt by Thatcher, who spoke in the 1979 election campaign about Britain being "swamped by immigrants", to appease the blue-rinse racials now preparing to attend the forthcoming Tory Party conference. They have been whipped up by rags like *The Daily Express* which has

By John Pickard

recently conducted a campaign on the issue of "illegal immigrants", with a two page spread on "the scandal of the vanishing immigrants".

In fact the 1985 figures show that the numbers of "illegal immigrants"—those "absconding"—are insignificant, at 222, alongside the total number of visitors—450,000 from these five countries.

This week, Tory MP Terry Dicks of Hayes and Harlington, made a disgraceful comment about West Indians being "bone-idle and lazy", and this remark is an indication of the depth of prejudice inside the Tory Party. No carefully engineered Saatchi and Saatchi image can disguise the extent of its racism or hide the door-step bigots in its ranks.

The Tory leadership turn a blind eye even to the known links between sections of the Conservative Students and open fascist organisations, while denouncing the "extremists" in the Labour Party.

The Government explains the new visa regulations as a response to the campaign by the Immigration Service Union for more staff. It is true that the conditions for



Prisoners at the Ashford Remand Centre near Heathrow, waiting to see if they can stay in Britain.

the staff are appalling—and even worse for would-be visitors.

Enormous queues—and an unfriendly and unwelcoming immigration department—face any black visitor arriving in Britain at Heathrow, in particular. If certain conditions cannot be satisfied, they may be held at "detention" centres—sometimes for months—until their status is sorted out.

Abolition

But the answer to these problems is not more immigration staff or tighter restrictions: it is the abolition

of immigration controls. While the Tories are unstinting in their efforts to keep black visitors out of Britain, they cut the number of customs staff at a time of increased drug smuggling. It is easier to get into Britain with a suitcase full of heroin than with a black face.

The Labour movement must take up this issue of

immigration controls, which are only a part of the arsenal of measures introduced by the Tories to assist the harassment and abuse of black people in Britain.

The Labour Party must make its own position clear: that immigration is not and has never been the cause of unemployment and economic problems. There

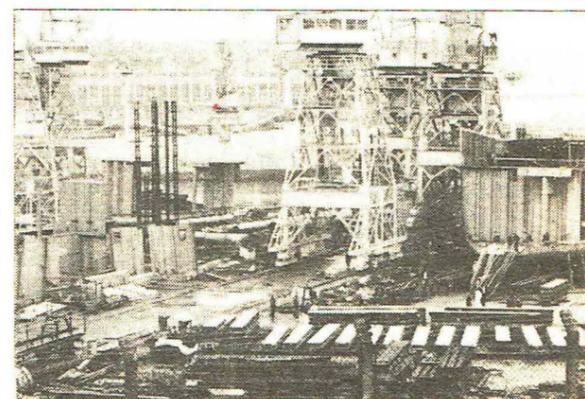
must be a firm commitment for the abolition of all immigration laws, a campaign of explanation and education about the real causes of unemployment and poverty in Britain: the capitalist system itself, and a policy of redirection of resources and staff from the immigration service to customs, to stop the flood of drugs.

Shipyard workers victorious

SHIPYARD workers at Austin and Pickersgill, Wearside, have won a resounding victory against local management. They had voted 16 to 1 to walk out after management had laid off 20 permanent workers who were considered surplus to requirements.

The workers were concerned that a new production director, transferred from Smith's dock Teesside, which faces imminent closure, was attempting to smash union organisation at A & P and introduce widescale subcontracting, short term contracts and selective overtime.

The magnificent vote showed that the workers are prepared to take action in defence of their jobs. Their stand, including a two-day walkout, forced national



British Shipbuilders' management to instruct local management to back off.

All previous working conditions established by A & P unions are intact. Any surplus labour required will be supplied by transfers within British Shipbuilding

and not subcontracting. Parity of overtime is also maintained, ie all workers to receive same overtime in three month periods as against selective overtime.

By Pete Marsden

Youth

from page one

for the march. The National Committee has set the target of contacting as many as possible of the young and first time voters.

London LPYS have been quick off the mark in organising for the march. Following in the traditions of the Jarrow march 50 years ago, London Youth Trade Union Rights Campaign are organising a youth march for jobs around London.

The London youth march for jobs will take a circular

route of over 100 miles. It will bring to the high streets, the communities, workplaces, schools and colleges, a message from London's youth "we demand a future!"

24 boroughs

The march will start from Bermondsey on Saturday 4 October and will march through 24 London boroughs in 14 days. The final leg is on Saturday October 18 from Tower Hill to Southwark Park where the marchers will lead the national demo with Tony Benn and other Labour MPs and

trade unionists.

Labour Party bodies and trade union branches are being asked to sponsor the march around London. Leaflets, posters, a youth charter and further information are available from Mick Moore, 53 West Avenue Southall Middx UB1 2AB.

With seven weeks to go to the national demo there is still time to copy the London LPYS' initiative and come up with your own ideas to make this the biggest and best demonstration of youth against the Tories ever seen.

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