

# Militant

THE MARXIST PAPER FOR LABOUR & YOUTH

ISSUE 643  
25 March 1983

20p

Three weeks to go  
before £50,000  
Fighting Fund  
deadline!  
See page 4 on how  
to build Militant!

*Look what the Tories give you...  
Unemployment... Poverty... Despair...*

# FIGHT FOR YOUR FUTURE WITH LABOUR

The Tory press have hailed the Marplan Opinion Poll in March which put Labour in third place.

Yet they failed to report that in the 18 to 24 age group of those interviewed, support for Labour was way out in front—it took 31% of the poll.

However, representing the disillusionment of sections of

**Start NOW**  
**come to**  
**LPYS**  
**conference!!!**

youth facing the misery of Tory Britain, this age group also had the highest percentage of "Don't Knows" (12%) and a huge 10% who had consciously decided not to vote at all.

If these youth can be won to Labour's banner then the youth vote will be the decisive factor in the coming general election—and they can be won, not by weak-kneed promises but an enthusiastic campaign based on socialist policies.

Youth today are in the frontline. For this year's summer school leavers, April is a time for preparing for the coming end of term exams. Yet their studies and hard work will come to nothing if the Tories get their way.

A quarter of all school leavers will end up as dole fodder!

Anna Durham of Canterbury told *Militant* what happened to her when she left school last year: "My Careers Officer said 'With your qualifications you'll have no difficulty getting a

job'. But when I sat a test in a hall with 125 other 16 year olds for a job in British Telecom in London, I found they'd all been told the same thing.

"I was referred back to Canterbury BT where over 600 applied for the 16 jobs they had available—400 passed the required level but I had no luck there."

With such high levels of unemployment you would think that 16 year olds would at least be encouraged to stay on at school or go for further education—for example by giving FE students and sixth formers a £25 a week grant, a demand the LPYS are campaigning for.

But not in Tory Britain! This country has the lowest number of 16 year olds in further education in Europe (besides the backward European economies of Portugal and Ireland).

Industrial apprenticeships are drying up. Anna, now fortunately an AUEW apprentice said, "On block

"I went to LPYS conference last year and it was fantastic to see over two thousand young people with the same ideas. It was great to meet so many other black and Asian youth from all round the country."  
So Nilash Gokani, a Young Socialist from Leicester, explained why he will be in Bridlington on the Yorkshire coast on April 1-4 for the National Conference of the Labour Party Young Socialists, the largest socialist youth movement in Britain.  
"Listening to youth speaking was ten times more interesting than listening to the so called 'experts'. I learned more at the LPYS conference than it would have taken months to learn otherwise."

*continued on back page*



Photo: Militant

The Labour Party Young Socialists have actively campaigned on many issues affecting working people.

## Labour incomes policy would be disaster

The joint policy statement launched by the Labour Party and the TUC, "Partners in Rebuilding Britain", has all the hall marks of a new Social Contract.

After the devastation of the Tories' years in office, years in which manufacturing output has fallen by 20 per cent, Britain does indeed need to be "rebuilt" by a Labour government. But workers will be justifiably suspicious that in this new agreement, designed to cover economic policy, labour law and incomes, the "national economic assessment" will become in the end just an ambiguous cover for a Labour incomes policy like the policy of 1974-79.

Suspensions will be increased by the knowledge that at last Tuesday's special NEC

meeting called to endorse the agreement, the NEC voted down an amendment by Tony Benn that would have included the phrase: "we will not, however, return to any policies of wage restraint".

There is nothing in principle wrong with the Labour Party and the TUC meeting and hammering out a joint programme of legislation for a future Labour government, especially a programme based on the deliberations and decisions reached by the ranks of the movement. The vast majority of trade unionists would welcome, for example, the firm commitment to repeal all the anti-trade union legislation of this Tory government.

Moreover, democratic planning of the whole economy involving the trade unions, would be an essential element of a genuine socialist plan of production, in which

market influences were all but eliminated by the state ownership of the major industries, banks, finance houses and services. A "national economic assessment" under such conditions would have a real socialist basis.

But on the other hand, if the Labour government were to leave the fundamental basis of the capitalist economy untouched—and that is the whole logic of the policy of the right wing—then the burden of economic crisis inevitably falls onto the shoulders of working people. In such a context, a "national economic assessment" would be no more than an incomes policy, in other words, a means of reducing the living standards of workers.

Before the election of the 1974-79 Labour government, the Labour leaders, mindful of the opposition to Edward Heath's incomes policies,

dressed up the 'Social Contract' in much the same way as the TUC and Labour leaders are doing today. In the 1974 election campaigns, the Labour leadership insisted time after time that the 'Social Contract' was not an incomes policy, but merely an invitation to the trade unions to be "responsible".

Yet once firmly in office, the Labour leadership, under Harold Wilson and then James Callaghan, used the Social Contract as an incomes policy pure and simple. Harold Wilson's appeal to "give a year for Britain", became two years, and then three, and then four, with each successive "Phase" of the Social Contract.

No legislation was passed at any stage—except in so far as the Labour government's expenditure cuts limited public sector pay—yet for all intents and purposes there was a formal wages policy.

By mid 1977, the *Financial Times* economic correspondent, commenting on a fall in living standards of nearly 7 per cent, wrote, "Living standards in the UK fell to the lowest level for four years during the first quarter of this year—highlighting the intensified squeeze on real incomes during the present phase of pay restraint."

It was not surprising that the rank and file of the labour movement reacted against a policy that cut living standards, as the *Economist* also pointed out, more steeply and more rapidly than any government for decades.

The TUC and the Labour Party conferences of 1978 both clearly rejected any further wage restraint, but then Labour Prime Minister, Callaghan, insisted on going ahead with a 5 per cent 'norm' as inflation raged at 13 per cent. The subsequent

'winter of discontent', when very low paid workers fought a Labour government for a decent wage, was a major factor in the Labour defeat of 1979.

Despite the ambiguity and the dressing, there is no fundamental difference between the discussions around the "national economic assessment" now and that around the 'Social Contract' prior to 1974.

Labour's rank and file should be aware of all the implications of the new agreement. It would be a tragedy for the Labour Party if the Shadow Cabinet were to put forward policies that promised a repeat of the mistakes of 1974-79, instead of embarking on a programme of genuine socialist change as a means of laying the basis for higher living standards.

## The purge will be beaten

By a Militant Reporter

There is clearly no support for the witch-hunt of *Militant* among the rank and file of the labour movement.

Alongside the success of the 'Reinstate the Five' meetings, the many protest letters from labour activists and the resolutions condemning the purge from CLPs and trade union bodies, two regional Labour Party conferences have opposed the witch-hunt, London and Scotland. At Scottish conference the vote to oppose the expulsions was passed on a card vote with the support of the executive.

Yet the Labour leadership persist in the purge!

When the five expulsions took place in February, Jim Mortimer, Labour Party general secretary, assured everyone that this was a "controlled operation" and not a witch-hunt.

Yet on Wednesday, 23 March, right wingers John Golding and Denis Howell have put up proposals that confirm our warning that once a witch-hunt starts it has a dangerous momentum of its own.

They proposed the setting up of a special committee to discuss further action against *Militant* supporters and a motion ordering Labour Parties to "stop providing facilities to *Militant*".

The right wing will not be satisfied until they make their thought control a permanent affliction on the side of the movement.

Their 'special committee' has more in common with the Un-American Activities Committee from the dark days of McCarthyite reaction than the democratic traditions of the British labour movement.

Fortunately, their proposals were deferred after a motion moved by Alex Kitson of the TGWU. Perhaps the feelings of the rank and file of the Labour Party that purges and witch-hunts damage the party's electoral chances have filtered through to the leadership, with the nearness of the

NEC meeting to the Darlington by-election.

Even so, this proposal has only been deferred not defeated, so the threat remains.

While continuing the political campaign to reverse the expulsions and defeat the witch-hunt, *Militant* will also be continuing its legal action against the NEC's undemocratic moves. Following the earlier writ asking the High Court to reverse the NEC's declaration that *Militant* is "ineligible for affiliation to the Labour Party", *Militant* has instructed its solicitors to issue a further writ calling on the High Court to declare the expulsion of the five Editorial Board members unconstitutional, ultra vires, null and void.

A section of the Tory Press have had the gall to insinuate that *Militant*'s legal moves were aimed to 'upset' Labour's chances in the Darlington by-election. But it is the right wing who are calling the tune not *Militant*. It is the right wing who have pushed these expulsions and their timing. *Militant* has no other option than to fight the expulsions in every way possible.

And where were the articles attacking the right wing on the NEC when they announced the expulsions on the eve of the Bermondsey by-election, with the disastrous consequences that had?

When the working class is facing the worst crisis and most reactionary government since the 1930s our over-riding priority should be to fight the Tories and work for the return of a majority Labour government. Yet the right wing appear more concerned to defeat the left in the Labour Party than to defeat the Tories.

It is high time that the National Executive recognised the overwhelming desire of the labour movement ranks for unity around socialist policies, and called an immediate stop to the witch-hunt.



Photo: Militant

The incomes policy followed by Callaghan's Labour government was defeated by strikes such as the Ford's dispute of 1978 (see above) Whether disguised as "social contract" or "economic assessment", such Tory policies must not be repeated.

## Tories sting old, poor, jobless

The Tories promise to cut taxes has been the biggest con-trick since Paul Newman and Robert Redford used 'The Sting'.

In their 1979 election manifesto, they promised "we shall cut income tax at all levels" and many voters believed them. Four years and five Budgets later, most people are now paying more in tax than when the Tories came in.

After last week's Budget, the Institute of Fiscal Studies (IFS), in conjunction with the *Sunday Times*, analysed the net effect of Tory taxation policy. They found that someone on average earnings has seen their overall tax burden rise from 48% of wages in 1979 to 51% now.

The IFS also found that Howe has dramatically in-

creased the gulf between the highest paid and the unemployed. A typical company director on £45,000 a year, has had a real increase of £119.80 a week in real income after tax, a rise of 24.5%. But someone recently unemployed is now worse off by £15.30 a week a fall of 21.3%.

Tax changes have hit the poorest hardest, because they have concentrated on National Insurance increases, and because tax allowances have fallen behind inflation. The unemployed, and especially the short-term unemployed, have been dealt savage blows by the Tories. In 1980 the Tories cut benefit by 5%. Last year they abolished earnings-related supplements and began taxing benefits.

The Tories have tried to proclaim that last week,

Howe put all this to rights, and made up for previous cuts. The Institute of Fiscal Studies report finds that this is a lie. Their study shows that a:

★ Jobless man with family—gained 38p this Budget BUT lost £15.30 overall under Tories (4.6%).

★ Semi-skilled worker—gained £1.41 this Budget BUT lost £8.05 overall under the Tories (8%).

★ Unskilled worker—gained £1.79 this Budget BUT lost £4.24 overall under Tories (4.6%).

★ Couple on Pension—lost 91p this Budget AND £1.42 overall under Tories (2.3%).

★ Company Director—gained £11.64 this Budget AND £119.80 overall under Tories (24.5%).

By Colin Barber

## Unilateral vote lost

As was explained in the editorial of *Militant* two weeks ago, the draft campaign document of the Labour Party blurs the issue of unilateralism to a point that makes an absurdity of the conference call for "an unequivocal, unambiguous commitment to unilateral nuclear disarmament".

When the draft came up for endorsement at Tuesday's special meeting of the NEC, Dennis Skinner moved an amendment that would have deleted the following, one of the sections qualifying the unilateral commitment:

"We must work through unilateral steps by Britain to secure multilateral solutions at an international level. Unilateralism and multilateralism go hand in hand if either is to succeed. It is for this reason that we are against moves which would disrupt our existing alliances but we are resolved on measures which would enable Britain to pursue a non-nuclear defence policy."

### Skinner puts forward clear commitment

The amendment would have substituted in its place a much less ambiguous sentence from Labour's Programme '82: "We therefore intend that in the future Britain should adopt a non-nuclear defence strategy by becoming the first nuclear-weapons state to renounce unilaterally such weapons."

The amendment was supported by Laurence Coates, Tony Benn, Audrey Wise, Frank Allaun and Jo Richardson but their 6 votes were defeated by 11 others, including Michael Foot, Neil Kinnock and Eric Heffer.

# MARX RALLIES A GREAT SUCCESS

*Militant* has celebrated the 100th anniversary of the death of Karl Marx with a series of Marx Memorial Rallies held up and down the

country. Over a thousand workers attended these rallies with over £1,100 raised for the *Militant* fighting fund.

## GLASGOW

Ted Grant, the political editor of *Militant* who has been expelled from the Labour Party, addressed an audience of 230. During the discussion speakers from the floor, mainly industrial workers, raised the relevance of the *Communist Manifesto* today, written by Marx and Engels in 1848. A member of the train drivers union, ASLEF, explained the need for a Marxist leadership of the labour movement, drawing lessons from the ASLEF dispute last year. Over £200 was raised for the fighting fund.

## EDINBURGH

This was by far the biggest and best meeting ever arranged by *Militant* supporters in the city, with 130 attending. Speaking alongside Ted Grant at the rally was Lothian councillor Madelaine Monies, who attacked the Tories' Victorian ideology. £146 was raised for the fighting fund and there were songs from a Chilean folk singer and hilarious sketches from the Wildcat theatre group. This was followed by a debate on Marxism with Alan McCoomes speaking for *Militant* and Derrick Curran speaking on behalf of the Communist Party.

## BIRMINGHAM

Festivities here included a display on Marx and a performance by the Irish folk group 'Drops of Brandy'. 125 attended and listened to the speakers Lynn Walsh and Dave Cotterill. Many people new to the ideas of *Militant* came to the meeting and £150 was raised for the fighting fund.

## SWANSEA

This was one of the largest *Militant* meetings ever held in Wales. Peter Taaffe, editor of *Militant* told the 250 strong audience that there was no support for his expulsion from the Labour Party amongst the rank and file of the labour movement. He added that the size of the meeting was a clear warning to those right wing MPs like Allan Williams, MP for Swansea West, who were pushing for a witch-hunt.

Second speaker Ian Isaac, secretary of St John's Lodge NUM, took up the question of the South Wales miners' strike, and Phil Lloyd of the POEU described the work of *Militant* supporters in the labour movement.

During the excellent discussion, caretaker Len Thomas—the man who switched the lights out on Tebbit during the Gower by-election—was cheered when he condemned Labour's NEC for the expulsions. He added that after this meeting his wife would be joining himself and his son in their support for *Militant*. A collection raised £259.

## NOTTINGHAM

This rally had a local flavour with a display showing history of the Nottingham labour movement and a film of the events of the 1930s. Speakers were Keith Dickinson, one of the expelled, and Peter Jarvis. 75 people attended raising an excellent £147—many of the people new to the ideas of Marxism came along, some after seeing posters advertised in the meeting.

## BRISTOL

The speaker here was Lynn Walsh, assistant editor of *Militant* who has been expelled from the Labour Party. 65 people came to this meeting organised by *Militant*, 20 of them for the first time ever.

## HUMBERSIDE

Tony Saunois addressed the rally here with 65 attending. He spoke on the relevance of Marxism to the labour movement. After the rally the meeting was split into two seminars, on Marxism and Internationalism and the second on Marxist Economics.

## LIVERPOOL

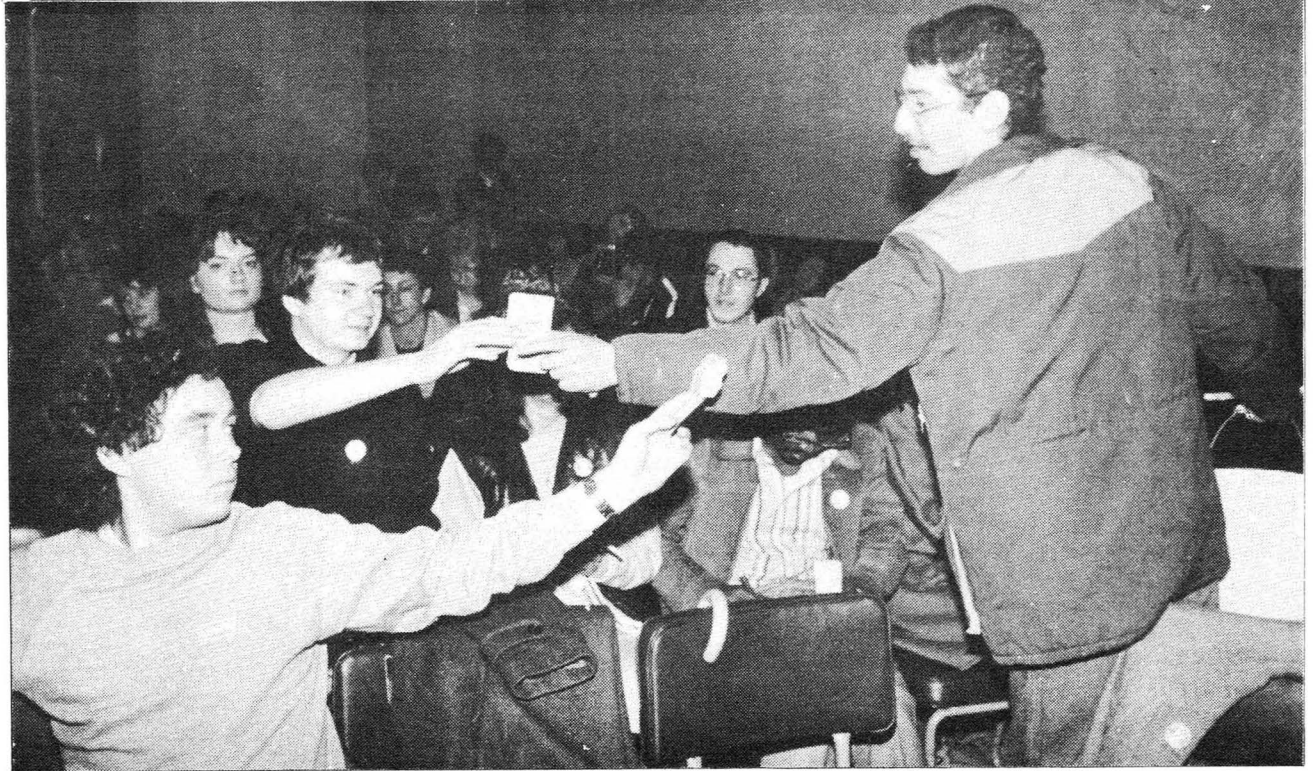
180 Young Socialists, Labour Party members and trade unionists crowded into the city's AUEW Hall, to hear Ted Grant. Ted explained the Tories were the 'new luddites' of today, as they had destroyed 20% of British industry.

The audience then enjoyed a showing of the film 'October' about the Russian Revolution in 1917. The enthusiasm for the ideas of *Militant* was shown in a collection of £183 for the fighting fund, and also by the children in the crèche who had their own 'Marx Centenary Party'.

## LONDON

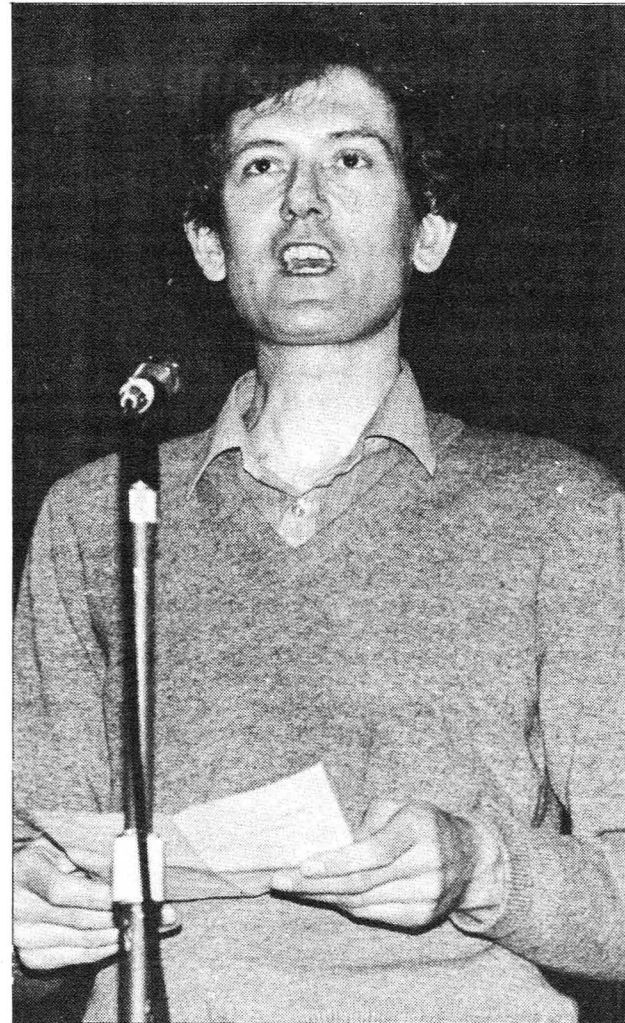
This was the largest meeting in the series of centenary rallies with 600 mainly young workers coming to hear Lynn Walsh and Bob Labi, a member of the Greater London Labour Party executive. Bob attacked the Stalinist regimes of the East and showed how they were far removed from the true ideals of Marx. Lynn Walsh was applauded when he attacked some of the nonsense that appeared in the Tory press on Marx. He went on to emphasise the power of Marxist analysis of capitalist society.

Before the rally there was a performance by the CAST theatre group of 'Sam the Man', which to the laughter of the audience traced the career of 'left' Labour MP Sam Kier Hardie Muggins through the post war period. Panels portraying the life and works of Marx were also on display. The collection raised £450 with another £50 being made in the tea room.



Taking the collection for the *Militant* Fighting Fund at the London Marx Centenary Rally. Below: Lynn Walsh speaks at the rally.

Photos: Militant.



## TGWU stewards oppose expulsions

The following letter has been sent to Moss Evans, General Secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union, by TGWU activists from the Birmingham area;

**Dear Brother,**

We are appalled that Bro. Alex Kitson our representative on Labour's National Executive Committee voted for the expulsion of the *Militant* Editorial Board, when last year the General Executive came out incontrovertibly against witch-hunts.

We believe the interests of the TGWU membership will best be served by a Labour victory at the general election. The maximum unity against the Tories is therefore vital, and unity and purges are incompatible.

We demand that in future Bro. Alex Kitson

adheres to the spirit of union policy.

Yours fraternally,  
**Brian Moore** (Convenor, Davenport's Brewery);  
**MH Jones** (Convenor, Land Rover, Acocks Green);  
**J Stewart** (Convenor, Delta Tubes, Ladywood);  
**Chris O'Gorman** (Shop steward, Delta tubes);  
**Peter Carolan** (Shop steward, Land Rover, Solihull);  
**Simon Heather** (Vice-Chairman, Liverpool St. Garage, West Midlands PTE);  
**JA Byrne** (Shop steward, Lucas Gt. King St.); and the following  
**Austin Longbridge** stewards:

**RC Howell, Ray Wilkins, R Clarke, M Wolley, P Taylor, L Gaffney, P Finam, M Waldron, ES Henden, J Shannon, Neil McGeevy, R Ward, R Turner.**

## Witch hunt backfires on right wing

The outrageous decision of Labour's right wing in Manchester to ban two meetings at which *Militant* speakers were due to speak has met with a storm of protest from the Manchester labour movement.

At Wythenshawe CLP's General Management Committee last week, a resolution deploring the ban and supporting the 29 councillors who broke the whip on this issue was overwhelmingly carried.

A demand for the reinstatement of the *Militant* Editorial Board was included in the resolution and it was agreed to donate £20 to the *Militant* fighting fund. This donation, the first to the fighting fund from my constituency, was a real blow to the handful of right wingers present who questioned giving money to what they called 'a proscribed organisation'!

The constituency chairman pointed out that as far as he was concerned the only criteria for expulsions was

opposing official Labour candidates. *Militant* supporters had never done this he said.

As if this wasn't a big enough blow to the right in my constituency—who had voted for the ban on the Young Socialists meeting—two wards meeting this week have given a total of £65 to the LPYS conference fund. Another resolution informed the NEC that we would not expel individual members who might have political disagreements with the National Executive.

The right's bureaucratic manoeuvres have really backfired. Apart from doubling the attendance at the Lynn Walsh meeting they tried to ban, they have inadvertently strengthened the support for the ideas of *Militant*. The superintendent of the Social Centre, where the meeting was banned has agreed to take a regular copy of *Militant*!

By Martin Lee  
 (Wythenshawe CLP, personal capacity)

## Solidarity shows true colours

The last meeting of my local ward, Cambuslang East, provided particularly revealing insights into the thinking of the right-wing group, Solidarity.

Initial nominations for the Glasgow District Labour Party panel of council candidates were called for. Although already an approved name I, along with others, had to be re-nominated in the run-up to next year's local elections.

To the incredulity of many members, what should have been a formality was developed into an example of witch-hunting in practice. Opposing my nomination the local Solidarity group

treasurer stated that, "We shouldn't nominate someone whose continued membership of the Party was in doubt".

Although this particular move was defeated later in the same meeting a pro-witch-hunt resolution was passed.

The irony of the meeting was that as debate on the witch-hunt took so long the proposed discussion on Labour's policy, to be introduced by myself, was forced off the agenda!

By Larry Flannagan  
 (Rutherglen CLP)

# £50,000 needed by April 9

Area	Received	% of target achieved	Target 9th April
Eastern	1674		2700
East Midlands	1276		2850
Humberside	607		1500
London East	1596		3300
London West	718		1650
London South	1282		2500
Manchester & Lancs	1222		3000
Merseyside	1574		3100
Northern	1091		3750
Scotland East	564		1850
Scotland West	902		2800
Southern	1703		4000
South West	720		2000
Wales East	385		1500
Wales West	645		2000
West Midlands	1334		2800
Yorkshire	1475		3700
Others	996		5000
<b>Total received</b>	<b>19773</b>		<b>50000</b>

## £30,000 in 3 weeks!

**£10,000 a week to get us back on target. In the final week of the previous quarter we raised £18,000; it can be done again. Don't let Howe's cuts in living standards defeat us.**

A letter from a supporter in Berlin, T O'Donnell, sums up most working people's feelings: "I'd like to enclose 10 marks (£2.50) to help fight against the Tories. I know it's not much but I haven't got much money." The majority of people who send us money are in the same situation—hard up but desperate to donate something to help us fight the Tories.

There have recently been some great donations at public meetings this week. In addition to the collections raised at Marx Centenary Rallies (see p1) there has been: £166 from the public meeting at North West Regional Labour Party Conference, £167 from a meeting in Littlehampton, £154 from the meeting held at the Yorkshire Regional LP Conference, £77 from a "Rock Against Witch-Hunt" in Cardiff and £53 from a meeting in Dundee.

Supporters have also been out with their Appeal Sheets. £68 was raised at the Scottish LP Conference, £51 collected so far from supporters

in Gosforth, £10.60 from AUEW-TASS, NUPE supporters in South Tyne and over £10 from Blyth.

Thanks to all the Labour Party Young Socialists branches that sent us donations, especially those who donate regularly. This week we received: £10 Sheffield Park YS, £5 NW Leeds YS, £5 Garston YS, £3 Farnworth YS, £2.50 Middleton YS and £1.22 from Coventry YS. Thanks to Liverpool University Labour Club for donating £28 part of a £50 promise, and £20 is on its way from Wythenshaw LP.

Thanks also to all the individuals who made donations this week too; £20 Ossie Farr (Wallasey), £10 Maureen Brown (Knowsley NALGO), £5 A Judd (Beeston), £5 L Sidwell (Old Aged Pensioner, Hounslow), £5 J Greechan (EETPU Edinburgh), £5 L Arnell (Marden LP), £5 C Baker (Brighton), £3 J Simones (Bethnal Green Hospital NUPE), £2.50 J Dobbins (Glasgow), and £2 both from Harry and Stan from Walton).

Thanks to those who donated £1: Dave Eadie (Macclesfield CLP), Bob Byard (AUEW Basildon), N Addison (Stafford TASS), Julia Morgan (Vange Ward LP), Ken Stump (Worthing), and Carol and Dave (Basildon), Peter Thompson (Basildon) and a bank worker from Leicester who

### THIS WEEK: £3,233

all gave £1 for their papers.

Thanks finally to all those who couldn't donate £1 but nevertheless made just as much sacrifice: Keith Evans (Cardiff) 65p, a student from Newcastle 70p, E Westmore (Isle of Wight) a low paid NHS worker 50p, and M Barnett (Brent East YS) 30p. Remember the pennies will build *Militant* as much as the pounds.

Has your area held a public meeting yet, have the supporters been out with the Appeal Sheets, round the local meetings with rattling tins like Bath supporters who raised £4 from their GMC?

How many papers have been so far sold for £1?

Have any socials been organised? How about a 'curry night' or 'spaghetti evening'? There have been more than enough examples of excellent ways money can be raised.

Get your area to take up some of these ideas now! There is no reason why with a little initiative and plenty of enthusiasm we should not be back on target within the next two weeks.

By Kath White



## STICK WITH MILITANT

"The paper's yellow adhesive labels visible at fifty yards distance, were plastered all over the land; among some favourite spots for them were the sides of grazing cows, the backs of tramps and publicans and huntsmen riding to a meet, railway carriage doors, hotel looking glasses and graveyard tombstones." (From "Poor men's Guardians" by Stanley Harrison. The paper referred to is the *Clarion*, Blatchford's socialist paper of 1891-1932).

Of course we would never

suggest any of our readers defacing any public building, cows or publicans. But you can get *Militant's* new stickers to advertise the paper and sell them for the fighting fund. They're printed in red and black on a yellow background. Send for yours now. Price (including postage) £11 for 1,000; £5.60 for 500; £2.30 for 200. Cash with order please, cheques payable to *Militant*. From: *Militant* Circulation, 1 Mentmore Tce., London E8 3PN

# ads

NEW RATE  
CLASSIFIED: 10p per word, minimum 10 words.  
SEMI-DISPLAY: £2 per 2 column centimetres.  
All advertisement copy should reach this office by SATURDAY.

## Militant readers meetings

CARLISLE: Marxist Discussion Group held fortnightly. For further information contact: Ian Campbell on Carlisle 21068.

HALIFAX Marxist Discussion Group. Fortnightly Wednesdays, beginning 6 April at 7.30 pm at Halifax Labour Rooms, 44 Prestcott Street (near swimming baths on Huddersfield Road). For more information phone Phil Crossley, Halifax 822814.

ROCHDALE: 'Fight the expulsions'. Tuesday 29 March, 7.30 pm. Lamplighter Club, Dane Street, Rochdale. Speaker: Peter Taaffe.

RAYLEIGH Militant supporters meeting 'Against the Witch-Hunt'. Tuesday 26 April, 8.00 pm. For details phone Des Heemsker, Rayleigh 770116.

SHIPLEY Marxist Discussion Group.

Thursday, 24 March "Socialism and war". Shipley Pride, Shipley at 8 pm.

NEW MILITANT LEAFLET  
Out now! It's an election year special! Advertise your local readers' meeting with this new leaflet. Free, from 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN.

Militant Readers Meeting. NORTHWICH: Thursday 24 March at 7.30 pm, at the "Lion and Railway", opposite Northwich BR station.

WRITE OFF THE TORIES WITH US

Militant biros with slogan: "Read Militant, Tories out, Labour to power on a socialist programme." Normal price 20p (plus 20p p&p). Bulk orders: 10 at £1.30 (post free).

### CLASSIFIED

KARL MARX CENTENARY BADGE

Only 20p each (in: red, white and brown). Bulk orders: 20 for £2 + 50p postage/packing. Send cash with order (cheques payable to *Militant*) to *Militant* Badges, 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN.

SNOWDONIA: Bed and Breakfast in comfortable cottage. £4.50 nightly, £28 weekly. Telephone Llanberis 870062.

NEW POSTER

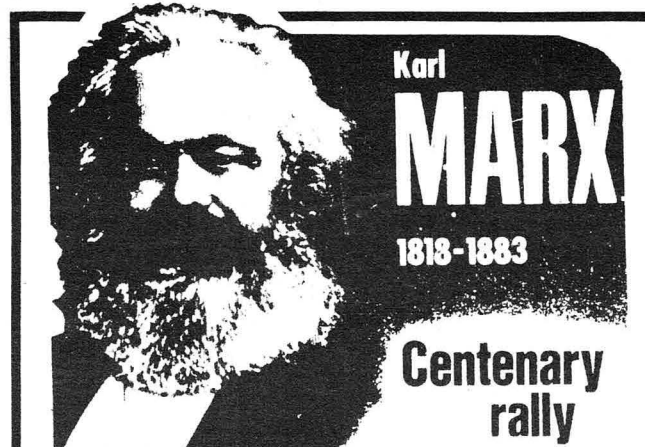
Historic 'Murmansk' poster featuring Bolsheviks' appeal to British troops who invaded Russia after the Revolution. 25p each (+ 15p p&p) or 20 for £3 (including p&p). Available from E Phillips, 66 Sprindale Road, Broadstone, Poole.

LABOUR CAMPAIGN FOR GAY RIGHTS National Conference. Saturday 9 April, 11am-5pm, at Shepherd's Hall, Old Market Street, Bristol 2. For more information about LCGR, contact 3 Raleigh Road, Bristol, tel. 0272-634203 (evenings)



MISTY IN ROOTS  
Top Reggae band will be playing at LPYS conference which takes place over Easter weekend, 1 to 4 April, at Spa Theatre, Bridlington.

For further details about Conference, contact: LPYS, 150 Walworth Road, London SE17.

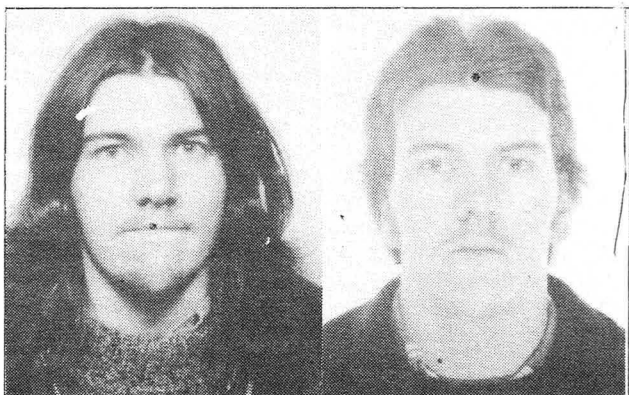


NORTHERN REGION: Saturday 26 March, 10.30 am. Speaker: J Pickard. The Oval Community Centre, Concorde, Washington, Tyne and Wear.

### MILITANT MAY DAY GREETINGS

Show your solidarity with a socialist newspaper. Get your trade union, Labour Party, LPYS, Women's Council, Shop Stewards Committee or Trades Council organisation to send greetings to *Militant*, on the traditional workers' day.

All copy to reach Circulation Department, *Militant*, 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN by WEDNESDAY 20 APRIL. Rates: 3 col. cms £4; 6 col cms £6; 1/16 page £10; 1/8 page £20; 1/4 page £40.



When Samson lost his hair, his power left him. But when reader, Greg Reed was shorn, we gained in strength through the £50 pledged for the fighting fund. Greg now urges "all long-haired readers to have a total transformation of their heads for the total transformation of society." (Above) Before and after Greg's shearing.

# £100 Donation to LPYS branch

A new YS branch in Woolwich was set up in January of this year and already we have eight visitors and one delegate going to this year's LPYS national conference.

After a 700-strong Tony Benn public meeting, which was organised jointly by the YS and the Labour Party, we collected 25 names of people interested in the ideas of the Young Socialists.

Two of our members are school students who are horrified at the thought of leaving school to go straight on to the dole queue.

To raise money for the conference we have been appealing to Labour Party, local wards, councillors and union branches. We have

## By members of Woolwich LPYS

had donations of £5 from wards and £6 from a councillor.

But the biggest donation by far has been that of £100 given to the YS by our ward chairperson, Mrs Billington, who also gave £100 to her ward. She had donated this money, which she had been 'putting by' out of her overtime money, despite the fact that she will be made redundant in June/July of this year!

This is an enormous

sacrifice from an ordinary member of the party. If this enthusiasm was shown by our own Labour MP's we would be well on the way to building the resources for a thriving, campaigning Labour Party to take us to victory in the forthcoming general election. Because of this donation we can now send all 8 visitors to what will be the biggest and best conference ever.

## Come to LPYS Conference

"I am going to LPYS conference for the first time because I believe it's time something was done about booting out the Tories.

"I've recently been campaigning in my FE college for a £25 grant and I've had a good response from the students with three people joining the YS and hopefully going to conference as well."

—Bill Sinclair (17), FE student, Altrincham and Sale LPYS

**This year's Labour Party Young Socialists' Conference will be held in Bridlington from 1-4 April and will be dominated by discussions on the way forward for youth today.**

To any working class youth it is clear that Thatcher and the Tories must go. At LPYS conference the conditions faced by youth in every avenue of life will be graphically described and a socialist solution to all these problems outlined.

As well as debating the conditions of youth in Britain, the conference will debate international topics, including Ireland and the Middle East.

There will be a rally on the Sunday evening of conference with a Local Auto workers' leader from the USA speaking.

Social events already fixed up include top reggae band *Misty in Roots*, R and B band *Running Shoes*, theatre from Bermondsey and East Kilbride branches. The film *Missing* about the military coup in Chile will also be shown, and there will be the traditional Irish night, Geordie night and discos.

The words of Liz McDonnell (17), unemployed of Farnworth LPYS, really echo the sentiments of thousands of working class youth:

"I am going to LPYS national conference to join with other young people in the fight against the Tories and for a better standard of living. I've been unemployed for two years and can still see no hope of a job under this sort of a government."

If you want to begin to fight against Thatcher and the Tories, then start the fight-back by coming to LPYS conference.

For further information contact LPYS, 150 Walworth Road, London SE17.

## By Richard Knights

(Wavertree CLP Youth Officer.)



Photo: Militant

# NUS conference: Turn to Labour Movement

**The forthcoming National Union of Students Conference will give delegates the opportunity to discuss the issues facing Further Education students for the first time in two years.**

The major development since 1981 has been the campaign launched by the NUS for a £25 a week grant for FE Students—and the response this demand has had from FE Students and the labour movement.

The NUS Conference will have the opportunity of orientating NUS towards this campaign in the labour movement. A resolution has been submitted, moved by *Militant* supporters, calling on the NUS Executive "to organise a representation to the NEC of the Labour Party to ask for a commitment that the next Labour government would give a mandatory grant of at least £25 a week to FE and Sixth Form students, without means testing, equivalent to the allowance to be paid to those on the YTS."

This resolution must be supported. It outlines the basis for a serious approach to the labour movement, which contrasts with the "all

party non-political' approach of the NUS leaders—an approach which has achieved nothing for FE Students.

The events of the past 12 months have shown the willingness of FE students to fight for grants and against the cuts, and their preparedness to turn to the Labour movement for support. In Liverpool, the Central College Student Union Executive, lead by *Militant* supporters, organised a demonstration and lobby of the Liberal dominated City Council to protest at proposed Education cuts and the privatisation of council services.

In five days the Executive sent speakers to 12 different Colleges in Liverpool to organise support. Approaches were made to the Labour movement which were favourably received. The GMBATU No. 80 Branch agreed to help finance leaflets for the lobby. After hearing speakers from the Central College Executive, the GMBATU Joint Shop Stewards Committee in Liverpool Education and the Local Authority Trade Union Joint Shop Steward Committees gave their support to the demonstration.

On the day of the event there were a number of Trade Union banners amongst the 250 strong

crowd which 'greeted' the Liberal and Tory Councillors, some of whom crept in through a back door to attend the meeting.

Actions such as these show the potential to build links with the labour movement—and how the labour movement would respond to campaigns to build FE Student Unions.

The resolutions submitted by *Militant* supporters call on the NUS Executive to build support in the labour movement for a 'Charter for FE Student Union Rights' including the demands that all Student Unions with over 500 full time students should receive enough funds from Local Authorities to finance a full time Union Officer, and that FE Student Unions should have parity of funding by Local Education Authorities with Polytechnic Student Unions.

The adoption of such a programme, with a commitment to fight on it from the NOLS candidates who are standing for election to the NUS Executive, would mark a major step forward for FE students in NUS.

## By Dave Read

(NUS Conference delegate)

# Fight for £25 grant

**At the meeting of Labour's NEC the commitment to pay all 16-18 year olds in full-time education a grant of £25 a week was included in the campaign document.**

This promise of £25 a week is an update of the commitment made in Labour's Programme 1982 and will be greeted with tremendous enthusiasm amongst college and school students everywhere.

The move to get this demand into the document was put forward by the LPYS representative on the National Executive of the Labour Party, Laurence Coates. The fight must now be to ensure the demand for a £25 grant is included in the General Election manifesto. Working class students would see that it is only the Labour Party who will offer any alternative to the Tories.

In such an atmosphere it would be possible to win thousands of these youth to

Labour and to get them to actively campaign to kick out the Tories in the General Election.

Because of these possibilities, Youth Trade Union Rights Campaign have launched a campaign to win the youth vote for Labour in the Election. We aim to convince youth that it is only the Labour Party which offers them either a guaranteed job or a living grant, or decent training with trade union rights. To show Labour's leaders the support which their commitments have amongst youth, YTURC has launched a petition and is planning to have a **delegate lobby of Parliament of Labour leaders on 26 April.**

There will also be a major debate on FEs and education at this year's LPYS conference where the policies of the LPYS in relation to education and training, will be thoroughly discussed. It is, therefore, important that college and school students

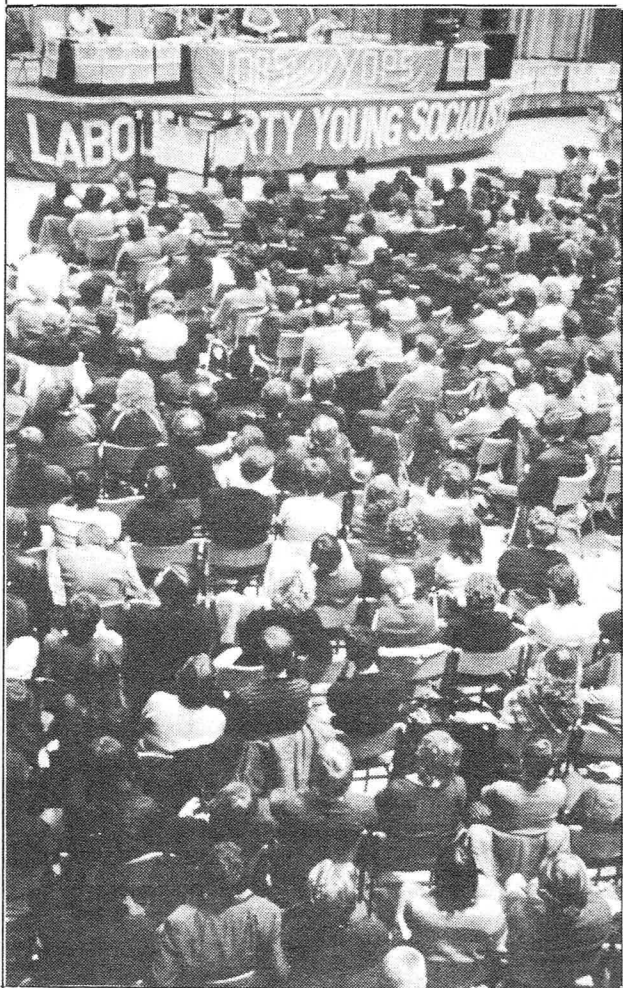
who support the aims of YTURC attend the LPYS Annual Conference.

In our campaign to win youth for Labour every YTURC supporter and LPYS branch, should visit college Student Unions with the petitions and ask to launch the petition at a Student Union General Meeting. Here the lobby should be announced and Student Unions asked to elect up to 5 delegates to go on the lobby. Where FE Labour Clubs exist, they should also be approached about the petition and the lobby and asked to send a delegate on the lobby in April.

But it is also important to visit colleges to try to get working class students to attend YS conference which will also be an integral part of the build up to the lobby of Labour's leaders on April 26.

## By Leo McDaid

Photo: Militant



Militant meeting at last year's LPYS conference

## LPYS raises cash at Ford's

Merseyside LPYS branches have faced increasing problems financing members attending regional and national conference.

This has been due to the rising costs of conferences, increasing unemployment amongst members and the drying up of trade union donations due to falling TU membership.

So we decided to go out to the workplaces to raise the necessary cash. Our first target was Fords, the largest employer on Merseyside. We contacted the shop stewards committee and asked them to allow us a day to collect. This was important because there are often collections at Fords. So once we were given a date, our collection became the 'official' collection of the day.

We passed on 20 YS posters giving the date we would collect to the shop stewards committee.

On the day of the collection, we put placards up around the fences and as the workers came out we shouted anti-Tory slogans, and the posters spelt out our appeal. We raised a magnificent £80. This is a good way to raise money as it involved all the LPYS members and showed that we weren't always asking TU branches for money but were prepared to work and raise the cash ourselves.

# LEFT and RIGHT

## Progress in the abstract

Times have changed in the KGB. And now in the Kremlin. According to George Costakis, recently retired from the Canadian embassy in Moscow, new Soviet leader and ex-KGB head Yuri Andropov is "deeply interested in abstract art". The many artists who have suffered at the hands of the state in its attempts to establish 'socialist realism' as the only school of art will be well pleased no doubt—if they're still around.

Still, it's progress of a kind—from Brezhnev's collection of flash motors to Andropov's abstract art. Unfortunately they aren't going to open any of it up to the rest of the population...that would be pushing progress a bit too far.

## In the Club

In the media glee following the miners' vote against national strike action there was even speculation that honest Joe Gormley (ex-miners' president) might be in the running for top job at the NCB. They like to rub it in when they've got the chance.

Whilst he couldn't have been much worse than Mad MacGregor it does tell you a bit about how far removed from their roots some trade union leaders can get. Still, though he's not really in the running there was a nice surprise for Joe last month. He was elected to the exclusive top people's club The Atheneum. Other newly admitted members were Kenneth Durham, chairman of Unilever Ltd and Sir Philip Moore, private secretary to the Queen.

## Disheartened

Bob Litherton's heart transplant operation was a great success. But when Bob went back to normal life he became another victim of Thatcher's Britain. After returning to his old job he was made redundant last year. "I've written after dozens of jobs and I'm still looking. It's tough for men of my age when they're unemployed but the odds are stacked even higher when you've had a heart transplant."

Ironic isn't it? Capitalism can give you a new heart but not a job.

## Out of tune

The military put on a big splash last week when they unveiled their latest piece of weaponry, the £1½ million Challenger tank. Generals from 28 other nations were present, including the British Army's Chief of General Staff, Sir John Stanier. As the unveiling ceremony took place the band of the Royal Dragoon Guards played the No. 1 chart hit of some two years ago, 'Stop the Cavalry'.

If it wasn't until all the pomp and ceremony was over that the Generals realised it was an anti-war song. So much for military intelligence.

## FIFTY YEARS AGO

Nowadays the British ruling class is falling over itself to honour Gandhi and the struggle for Indian independence, after Richard Attenborough's brilliant, but eulogistic film. But in 1933 it was a different matter. After four years in prison, Bombay textile workers' leaders came to trial, charged with conspiracy against the King. Before the trial began, the President of the All-India Trade Union Congress died in jail. The Labour government refused passports for defence witnesses to come from England. And the trial itself was held in an out-of-the-way rural district, well away from Bombay. Denied the right of trial by jury, the main defendants, in what became known as the 'Meerut Conspiracy', were sentenced to transportation for life, and transportation for between ten and twelve years.

Have you read something in the newspapers recently that would make a good *Left and Right*?

Why not send it to *Militant* (not more than 150 words).

Following the article on Bertolt Brecht in issue 641, Denis Doran reviews *Kuhle Wampe* (Slatan Durow, Germany 1931), a film scripted by Brecht with music by Eisler.

Berlin 1931: 5 million people are without work.

Following the suicide of their son, the Bönikes family are evicted for non-payment of rent and move into *Kuhle Wampe*, a tent settlement on the outskirts of Berlin taken over by the unemployed.

The film portrays the life of a working class family under conditions of mass unemployment. But the characters are not particularly heroic.

Brecht and the collective that made this film did not subscribe to the Stalinist aesthetic of socialist realism: absurdly simple characters, facile dialogue. Rather, the people are portrayed coping as best they can with the situation that they find themselves in.

## Filmed with protection from armed guards

Contrasted with the difficulties of everyday life is the Workers' Sports Organisation. The preparations for the sports festival, whilst traditional, also represent collective endeavour; even to the collection of the fare for one youth who can't afford to go to the festival.

It is here that an Agit-Prop Theatre Group perform a play that reflects the main characters' circumstances; the difference being that the play ends with a call for collective action.

Youth are shown afterwards reading and re-reading trade union and political pamphlets aloud in groups, the message being—organise and educate.

The final scene, in a train carriage is a sharp polemic between middle class passengers and the youth returning from the sports festival. The middle class, threatened with change, want things left as they are. The film has patiently and

# BRECHT FILM : UNDER THE SHADOW OF FASCISM



Moving into *Kuhle Wampe* after being evicted for non-payment of rent.

subtly built up to its message: organise and change.

The film was produced in extreme conditions, later

scenes being filmed with armed guards protecting the crew from prowling fascists.

It was banned shortly after its premier in Berlin

and the production crew and actors blacklisted. In Germany at this time blacklisting, in reality, meant the concentration camps.

Photo: Academy Cinemas Ltd.

# ASA'S LEGACY

IF you were planning to take a course in Marxism, courtesy of the BBC series 'Karl Marx: the Legacy' we've got one piece of advice. Forget it!

It should have been called the Asa Briggs show. We followed historian cum professional liberal Briggs in a variety of shirts and slacks through a turgid, not to say dishonest, set piece put-down.

Underneath the froth it had only one message. Marxism as a revolutionary programme for the mass of ordinary people, it kept telling us, is dead.

In the third of the world where capitalism has been blown out we had any number of pictures of militaristic, state dominated activities.

Whatever the differences, and the causes, from Cuba to China to East Berlin, it's

all the same, Asa told us. Marxism stands not for revolution but order; the revolutionaries of yesterday are the authoritarians of today.

In the West the only people interested in Marx now are the spoilt children of the middle class, who see Marxism as a tool of cultural criticism, said Oxford don John Gray. Marxism is the opiate of the intelligentsia said the blackboard.

And just to prove the point we were whisked away to a variety of student surroundings, a game of 'Class Struggle' and a load of barely intelligible academic gobbledegook.

The only glimpse of the real world of class struggle was a clip or two from Nicaragua. And there it was a worker priest, just to have a not too subtle dig at old style atheistic Marxist materialism.

It was all 'balanced' up of course by a 'Marxist' academic, a snippet of

Marx's background in Trier and a quick bit of Hegel and 'dialectics' at the end. Even there they couldn't resist telling us that Marx never did a 'proper' day's work in his life and Marxism is a religion, not the science it claims.

Marx's old university is now in East Germany of course so we got a good look

at the border guards. Then a quick hop over the fence to student slogans on a West Berlin wall.

If this one was anything to go by don't stay in for Asa's guided tour of 'Marx's London' next week.

By Ian Ilett

## The Verdict

IF you're looking for something to do with a night off, the new film, *The Verdict* with Paul Newman is worth a look-in.

It is the story of a hard up lawyer. He fights his way back from alcoholism and takes up the case of a girl left mentally handicapped as a result of negligence by doctors in a Roman Catholic hospital.

I won't give away the ending of the film. Lets just say it's unlikely—although the film is still quite enjoyable. There are small aspects of

the film that stick in your minds—such as the hypocrisy of the church and the cynical wheeling and dealing of the legal world.

It was refreshing to see a film show American charity-run hospitals as they really are—overcrowded wards in rundown, dirty areas of the metropolis. It all made a change from the usual presentation of Dr. Kildaire style spotless white wards and everybody smiling.

Well worth a watch.  
By Bob Wade

# FIGHT AGAINST RACISM



**On Sunday 27 March, thousands of black workers and labour movement activists will be demonstrating against the Nationality and Immigration laws. For centuries the British ruling class have consciously used racism to justify the super-exploitation of black people, and as a tool to divide the working class.**

**But from the outset black people have fought back. It is vital that workers in Britain absorb the lessons of those past and international movements as part of their struggle against racism today.**

**The two articles on this page contribute to this task. One deals with the evolution of racism and shows how the struggle against it is inextricably linked to the movement to overthrow capitalism. The other article takes up some aspects of the fight against racism in America, highlighting the development of black nationalism, analysing its strengths and weaknesses, and explaining its role in the wider struggle of the American working class.**

# BLACK NATIONALISM AND CLASS STRUGGLES

**The history of black people in America is one of struggle—against exploitation, and racial oppression. The ideas of black nationalism are a product of that struggle.**

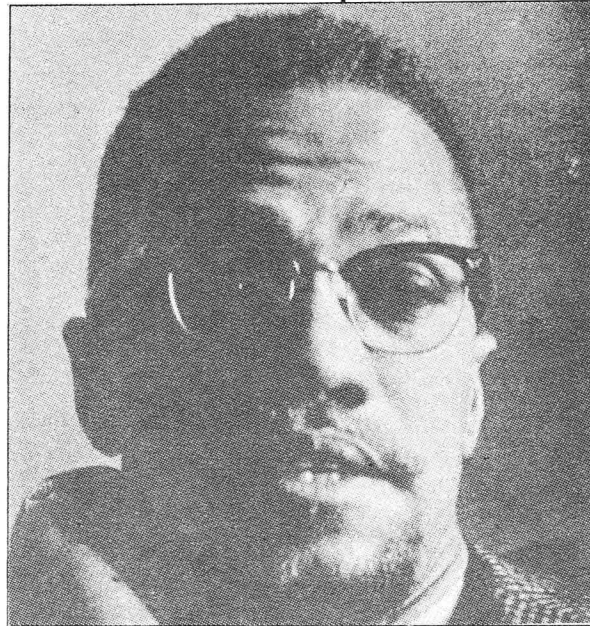
Throughout the 1940s, 50s and 60s there were tremendous battles for elementary civil rights. Voter registration drives were organised and there were mass campaigns against police brutality and for the desegregation of schools, shops and public transport. Many of these campaigns were led by churchmen, the most famous of whom was Martin Luther King.

In many states, blacks were actively prevented from voting. Often they were made to pay a "poll tax", undergo a "good character test", a "literacy test", a "perfect form test", and provision was made for publishing the name and address of prospective voters in the local paper. This was at the time when the activities of the Ku-Klux-Klan was at its height. In 1963, in elections in Mississippi 70,000 blacks attempted to register; 7,000 succeeded.

In 1950 average black incomes were only 61% of average white incomes. By 1964 this had declined to 59%. Over 32% of blacks went through the 1960s classified as poor compared to 13% of whites. 71% of the poor in metropolitan slums were black.

Blacks were not only unemployed in greater numbers but for more prolonged periods. In 1962 blacks represented 11% of the workforce, yet they were 46% of the long term unemployed.

Between 1963 and '65 in the Watts ghetto area of Los Angeles, 60 blacks were killed by the police, half of them shot in the back. In all but 2 cases the juries returned verdicts of justifiable homicide.



Malcolm X—assassinated for his revolutionary ideas

Thus, the barbarous conditions of poverty, denial of civil rights, victimisation by the police and racial inequality provided the breeding ground for the revolt of America's blacks, and with it the birth of the modern "black power" movement in the mid 1960's.

The tension simmering in the city ghetto areas came to a head in two days of rioting in Harlem in July 1964. Between 1964 and 1968 215 cities had 239 race riots. In August 1965 a riot savaged the Watts ghetto. It lasted three days and cost 34 dead, 1032 injured, 3,439 arrests and \$40m worth of damaged property.

Before the 1960s, separatist ideas were put forward by groups such as the Black Muslims, who, as early as 1913 raised the demand for separate territory for blacks. The black Muslims recruited Malcolm X, who became one of America's most important black leaders.

But by 1965 Malcolm who had been radicalised by the civil rights movement, had moved beyond black nationalism. He came to reject the simplistic notion of "evil whites" being the cause of the sufferings of blacks. Racist oppression was caused not by the attitude of the

mass of whites, but by a political, economic and social system which had trapped them both.

Malcolm, of course, always stuck to his nationalist beliefs, in the sense that he saw the need for black people to unite as a group into a movement of their own, to fight for freedom, justice and equality, with the right to determine their own destiny. But this position was qualified in a speech given by him three days before his death:

"We are living in an era of revolution and the revolt of the American Negro is part of the rebellion against the oppression and colonialism, which has characterized this era. It is incorrect to classify the revolt of the Negro as simply a racial conflict of black against white, or as a purely American problem. Rather we are today seeing a global rebellion of the oppressed against the oppressor, the exploited against the exploiter."

It was while attempting to build an organisation on the basis of the ideas of a united revolutionary movement of the poor, the exploited and the oppressed against American capitalism that Malcolm X was assassinated.

The Black Panther Party saw themselves as the heirs

of Malcolm X's ideas. Founded in 1966 in Oakland, they developed in response to the monstrous conditions prevailing in the ghettos, particularly the brutality which the youth suffered at the hands of the police. They elaborated a ten point programme taking up the major issues facing black people such as unemployment, housing, education and police harassment.

The Panthers found a wide echo, particularly amongst the black prison population, and also among the youth in the ghetto areas who were propelled towards revolutionary politics because of the daily murders, tear gassing and blatant racism of the police and prison guards.

From the start the Panthers came into conflict with black nationalists over their reactions to white organisations. The Panthers castigated the Nationalists' for obscuring the real struggle with ethnic differences and thereby aiding and maintaining the exploitation of the masses. They understood the need to link up with the rest of the working class in a movement to challenge American capitalism.

But the leadership of the American labour movement refused to challenge the bosses. They saw their role as co-operating with their class enemy at the top, rather than uniting in a common class struggle from below.

Isolated, and without a clear theoretical understanding of the processes taking place in American society, the Panthers had to face up alone to the repression of the American state machine. They were drowned in a hail of police bullets. By 1970, 38 Panthers had been shot dead, and scores of others imprisoned.

The ferocious repression led some despairing Panthers to the blind alley of terrorism, whilst others went the other way, disregarding the ten point programme and engaging solely in charity activity. But the evolution of the Black Panther Party and other black movements towards a class position is an indication of how the movement for the emancipation of blacks will develop in the future.

Blacks comprise an integral part of the working class, and as Malcolm X and the Panthers shows the struggle for their emancipation is inextricably linked with the struggle of the working class to abolish capitalism. Their example bears testament to the role the black working class in America is destined to play in that struggle.

Oppressed both in racial and class sense, all the indignities and the cruelties of a diseased capitalist society bears down on them with a special intensity. The tenacity, courage and tremendous spirit of self-sacrifice which has characterised the Black Panthers, Malcolm X and other black workers will be an enormous plus in the coming struggles to transform American society.

## ROOTS OF OPPRESSION

**Discrimination solely because of skin colour is of recent origin. Far from it being a permanent part of history, such poison arose from the development of capitalism.**

In school text-books racism is often confused with the existence of slavery, and it is often assumed that the old slave societies of were based on colour prejudice.

Certainly these societies were ruthless in their exploitation of the mass of slaves for the benefit of the few. Based upon a surplus extracted from working on the land, slavery was a common factor to all the ancient civilisations.

But the antagonism was not based upon colour characteristics. Often the slaves and their masters were of the same race.

The Egyptians, for example, scorned all their neighbours, some of whom

were as light or lighter than themselves. Many of the pharaohs were black. In fact, Egypt was eventually ruled by an Ethiopian dynasty.

The ancient Greeks used cultural, rather than colour, differences as their definition of who was civilised. The world was divided between 'Greeks' and 'Barbarians' where a 'Barbarian' was defined as someone who did not possess Greek culture.

### Slave empires

Everywhere Greeks went, they made tremendous efforts to assimilate the people to their culture. Alexander the Great, after his conquests in the East, took a Persian princess for his bride and encouraged his men to inter-marry with the natives—a total opposite to

modern imperialism.

In Ancient Rome, citizenship was the method of differentiating between peoples. Anyone in the Roman Empire could strive to become a citizen of Rome and many of the later Emperors came from outside Italy.

In all class societies the ruling-class have always practised discrimination against social groups to keep in power. But it is only with the development of capitalism on a world scale do we witness the growth of a universal racism based on colour.

In Western Europe the slave empires had been replaced eventually by feudalism, another but different kind of exploitation based upon an agricultural economy. In time this too came under threat from the new power of merchant capital and urban manufacturers. Vast resources and power were now available to enslave people in the drive for profit.

From the seventeenth century onwards, the up and coming capitalists resorted to old forms of exploitation to get profit. Slavery was reintroduced to develop the Americas.

To justify slavery, the theory of 'inferior races' was concocted. As virtually all slaves were taken from Africa racist ideas were developed to justify the barbarous trade. This poison was gradually extended to cover other non-whites, who could be exploited. Such was the origin of modern day racism.

### Bosses use racism

But slavery itself is an inefficient system. In time capitalism found it far more profitable to replace it with a system where the market is king and everyone has to offer themselves to the boss, who will buy their labour for as cheap as he can.

Under capitalism formal

slavery has been replaced in effect by universal 'wage slavery'. But the bosses have learnt that in such a situation of antagonistic classes, they can use colour prejudice to divide worker from worker.

Thus racism, based upon colour which arose from the growth of capitalism remains essential to its continuance. As long as the system of class exploitation exists, so will racism.

Only a socialist society, would have no use for such racism. It would consciously seek to eradicate racism and all forms of discrimination, which have arisen in class society. For the first time in history, it would be possible to build a society free from such divisive antagonisms—a society that would enable the full flowering of the human personality and culture.

**By Chetan Patel**  
(Peckham LPYS)

**By Sam Brown**  
(Bermondsey LPYS)

# VIETNAM 1973



American casualties in the war

# The end of the 'AMERICAN CENTURY'

**Ten years ago American imperialism—the mightiest power world capitalism has ever produced—admitted its abject humiliation.**

In early 1973, its representatives signed a peace agreement in Paris, guaranteeing a ceasefire with the government of North Vietnam and the ragged peasant guerrillas of the National Liberation Front (NLF) in the South.

American capitalism had poured \$1400m into the war in Vietnam over a period of a decade, suffered the loss of 46,000 dead and 303,000 wounded, and had won nothing.

By the end the Americans were so desperate to extricate themselves from Indo-China that they threatened their South Vietnamese stooge—President Thieu—that all aid would be cut off, unless he signed the Paris agreement. That would have meant the immediate end for the capitalist regime in the South.

As it was the war continued for another two years before the inevitable victory of NLF and its Vietcong guerrillas, and the North Vietnamese. Thieu bitterly complained that the Americans “ran away and left us to do the job that you could not do”.

The best armed military power in the world had aimed its most ferocious modern weaponry at the Vietnamese people. 6.8 million tons of bombs were dropped on Vietnam (only 2 million tons were dropped on Germany in the whole of World War II). 20 million gallons of defoliants were dropped and 750,000 fertile acres were denuded. Even 47,489 silver iodide cannisters were used to alter the weather. And all this as part of what Thieu called a “fight for freedom”.

But saturation bombing and napalm could not halt the Vietnamese revolution. The Ho Chi Minh trail, down which the NLF moved supplies from N Vietnam,

**By Jeremy Birch**

was not disrupted. The peasant guerrillas even constructed vast underground labyrinths for protection.

The reactionary commentator Brian Crozier, in his book on Vietnam, wrote that “by concentrating on the gimmickry of ‘counter-insurgency’, from helicopters to chemical defoliants, while overlooking the need for political action, the South Vietnamese government and its American advisers played into the hands of the Vietcong guerrillas”.

The historic task of capitalism was to drag society out of medieval backwardness, break the political power of the feudal landlord class by a revolutionary redistribution of land, and to establish unified democratic nation-states under the rule of the capitalist class themselves.

But the South Vietnamese regimes, after the partition of the country in 1954, were incapable of any such progressive action.

They were completely dependent on imperialism, and intimately linked to the 2½% of Vietnamese landowners who held half the land. Yet 600,000 of the South Vietnamese peasants owned no land at all.

The motive force of the Vietnamese revolution over more than a generation was the land hunger of the masses. They were impelled into the most heroic and self-sacrificing revolutionary struggle by the poverty and misery of their everyday existence. They were fighting for their national and social liberation, for an end to exploitation and foreign intervention, so their willingness to fight overpowered superior arms and their own heavy losses.

The Viet Minh guerrillas launched their first campaign in 1941 against Japanese imperialism, which

took over Indo-China from the French during the Second World War. Ostensibly a broad nationalist front, encompassing different classes and political viewpoints, including Vietnamese capitalists, the Viet Minh, like the NLF twenty years later, was completely dominated by the ‘Communist’ Party, under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh.

With the conclusion of the World War and Japan’s defeat, Ho established a provisional government in Hanoi and declared Vietnam independent. To outward appearances the government was a Popular Front, a coalition of the leaders of the workers and peasants, along with representatives of the capitalist class.

But as in E Europe at this time, it was a *phony* Popular Front, with real power being held by the Communist Party. The only state forces were the armed bodies of the Viet Minh, and their General Giap, later to be the architect of military victories against the French and the Americans, had the key post of Minister of the Interior.



Ho Chi Minh, a state modelled on Stalin’s Russia.

Ho Chi Minh was in the process of constructing an entirely new state apparatus, taking as his model the Russia of 1945, where a privileged, unaccountable bureaucracy presided over a nationalised and planned economy. Stalin had to resort to repression, purges and concentration camps to destroy workers’ democracy including the soviets of the

revolutionary period, to prevent the working class acting as a check on the bureaucracy.

In Vietnam, however, there had at no time been the intervention of democratic working class organisations comparable to the Russian Soviets that could have held Ho to account. Stalinist methods included the murder of Vietnamese Trotskyists.

The policy of Ho did not stop Stalin agreeing at the allies’ post-war Potsdam Conference that French imperialist rule could be re-established in Indo-China. Following this the Viet-Minh actually welcomed the British troops sent to hold the Southern part pending a French return, although the British very quickly turned on them.

France began now to try to reconquer Vietnam from the South northward, but Ho Chi Minh conducted a semi-revolutionary war as Mao had done in China and as the Vietcong were to repeat later. When an area was liberated, land was distributed to the peasants. Ho’s forces even introduced their own schools and taxes, in these areas.

Brian Crozier recognised that “revolutionary war is in fact a struggle for the minds and bodies of the people among whom the irregulars live.” That was a struggle that French imperialism could never win, upholding as it did, the grip of the landlords, money-lenders and urban capitalists.

The French debacle came with their devastating defeat at the battle of Dien Bien Phu in 1954. The big powers convened a conference at Geneva which conceded a partial victory to Ho Chi Minh, confirming his authority in the North by the partition of the country. But the conference under the co-chairmanship of the Soviet Union handed back the richer South to France and to capitalism. The conservative Soviet bureaucracy again preferred to maintain some international consensus with imperialism.

Provision was made in the

Geneva agreement for the re-unification of the country following nationwide elections to be held within two years. But how could the weak, corrupt capitalist class in the South accept genuine elections? What could they offer the mass of voters, but a continuation of poverty, exploitation and a continuation of themselves at the head of society?

In any national election Ho Chi Minh would have secured an overwhelming victory, as a prelude to the incorporation of the South into the social system of the North. So this, the most important part of the Agreement, remained a dead letter.

The French now decided to cut their losses, to withdraw from Indo-China. They had been taught the lesson that Trotsky had anticipated before World War II, that imperialism would come to find that the cost of maintaining direct colonial rule of its possessions exceeded the financial tribute exacted from them. It took the American capitalists almost twenty years to appreciate the burden.

**“Indo-China will fall like dominoes”**

American President Eisenhower, one month before Dien Bien Phu, had warned US big business that “the loss of Indo-China will cause the fall of South East Asia like a set of dominoes.” At this stage they unanimously approved a stand in Vietnam. American intervention was steadily escalated under Kennedy and Johnson, from ‘advisers’ and military aid to daily B52 bombing raids. The numbers of American military personnel in Vietnam shot up from 15,000 in 1962 to a peak of half a million by 1968.

The Americans, however, were not fighting a regular army, but a whole nation. The Vietcong suffered losses of 45,000 in the Tet Offensive in 1968, but they launched an even more

devastating offensive at Easter 1972. Fighting for a better future for themselves and their families their morale never seemed to flag, whatever military might was aimed against them.

As for the American troops, far from home, fighting an increasingly unpopular war, one US General considered that at the finish they were more demoralised than the Russian Czarist Army had been in 1917. They witnessed at first hand the hunger and poverty of the peasants, and saw the brave ragged Vietcong fighters.

Increasingly, they treated with contempt the politicians and their justification of the war. But what could the ordinary GI do about it? The N. Vietnamese forces, hidebound by the same narrow nationalist vision as the regimes in all the bureaucratic workers’ states, made no class appeals to the US troops. Seeing no way out in despair, a third of the veterans, it was reported, returned home addicted to drugs.

The 1973 agreement to withdraw did not indicate a pang of conscience on the part of the American ruling class, but rather their anxiety at the political implications of an army that was no longer reliable. At home too opposition to the war, once the preserve of students and intellectuals, was growing throughout society.

But not least among their considerations was the increasing financial burden of a never-ending war, with no prospect of victory at the end of it.

The USA was forced to the Paris negotiating table, forced to accept that after 12 wasted years it could not win. A year after the ceasefire the London *Times* commented that “its contribution was that it enabled the United States to disengage—to get its prisoners and war weary troops out of Vietnam without a catastrophic loss of face.”

Of course once the Americans left the cease-fire



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Guerrillas of the Vietcong taken prisoner by American troops

did not hold. The Southern High Command estimated a further 100,000 dead, missing or wounded between the two sides by the end of the year.

In words, this Agreement conceded a role to Southern capitalism. It was agreed that the 'Communist' Provisional Revolutionary Government would control the liberated areas of the South while Thieu would continue to hold the rest. There was even talk of a coalition government.

The 1973 negotiations fitted in with the entire strategy of the NLF and North Vietnamese leadership. After all, with the American withdrawal their complete victory was inevitable at

some stage, in only two years as it turned out. In April 1975 Thieu resigned, the South collapsed militarily and the Vietcong entered Saigon. Within a year the reintegration of the two parts of Vietnam was complete.

The alternative for the NLF would have been, rather than concentrating on a rural guerrilla campaign and peasant soldiers, looking to the cities to try to mobilise the urban workers. But throughout the struggles in Vietnam there was no attempt made by the Vietcong to actively involve the working-class.

Yet undoubtedly the Southern working-class thoroughly despised the rot-

ten Thieu regime which was only sustained by continuing financial transfusions from an American life-support system. Nauseating evidence of corruption emerged, even from the war front. Helicopter pilots, for example, apparently demanded cash for rescuing the wounded from the battle-field—three pounds for an ordinary soldier and nine for an officer.

Veterans' associations, war widows' organisations and trade unions in the South launched campaigns on prices. They would have responded to appeals for revolutionary action. Southern capitalism would have been rocked by internal opposition; and the Vietnamese revolution could have been shortened by several years.

But the failure to attempt to draw in the industrial working class was no oversight or mere tactical error by the Vietnamese Communist leaders. Once workers decide to participate in the struggle for the transformation of society they naturally bring with them hostility to all inequality and privilege, and the elementary rules of workers' democracy.

Their activities in the organisations of the labour movement—trade unions, and even workers councils (or genuine soviets)—equips workers to introduce the best democratic norms of those bodies into the running of a healthy socialist state. All this is anathema to the existence of any bureaucratic caste.

### Political revolution now needed in Vietnam

It is impossible to explain the developments of the Colonial Revolution in countries like China, Cuba, Vietnam and Ethiopia without understanding that capitalism on a world scale has become an out-moded system, which cannot further develop the

productive resources. Temporarily, for some decades, the capitalist economy grew in the metropolitan capitalist countries. But the colonial countries found themselves in an impasse, and that explains the enormous development of the colonial revolution in the backward countries. But the *form* it has taken can also only be explained by international factors.

The Russian revolution was the first revolution where the bourgeois-democratic revolution was transformed into a socialist revolution, with the capture of power by the working class. The failure of the revolution to spread to the advanced capitalist countries of Europe, due to the leadership of the organisations of the working class, meant the inevitable degeneration of the Russian revolution.

It was the degenerated, Stalinist Russia which in turn became the model for the revolutions in China, Cuba, Vietnam and other colonial countries. These revolutions ended with the overthrow of capitalism firstly because of the inability of capitalism to develop society, but also because of the Russian Stalinist model.

The peasantry in the backward countries became the instrument of ex-Marxist, petit-bourgeois intellectuals, generals and other riff-raff. The peasants could carry through a revolution because of the inability of the capitalist class to carry through the bourgeois democratic revolution.

Basing themselves primarily on their peasant armies, they involved the working class only to the degree necessary to wipe out the enfeebled capitalist class. But they used their peasant forces against the industrial working class, preventing any independent workers' initiative that would have paved the way for workers' control over all officials in the new state.

But the *socialist revolution* requires the conscious effort



Widespread and horrifying attacks by US military could not "save" Vietnam for capitalism

of the working class, in order to establish workers' democracy and prepare the way for socialism. Whereas a peasant war can be a means to carry through the abolition of landlordism and capitalism, it can only do so with a version of military-police dictatorship which, for want of a better term, Marxists describe as "proletarian bonapartism".

This is because the peasantry as a class can support generals and guerrilla leaders in a peasant war, but cannot act independently, whereas the working class is the only class that can ensure the democratic control of society when they make a revolution because of their collective role in society.

Where the peasants are a big majority, as they were in Russia in 1923, and where the workers are backward, then that can prepare the way for the collapse of workers' democracy and the establishment of Stalinist control. Thus, the peasant revolution in China, Vietnam, etc. could only take the form they did without the assistance and leadership of the working class taking power in an advanced country.

Before even workers' democracy can be establish-

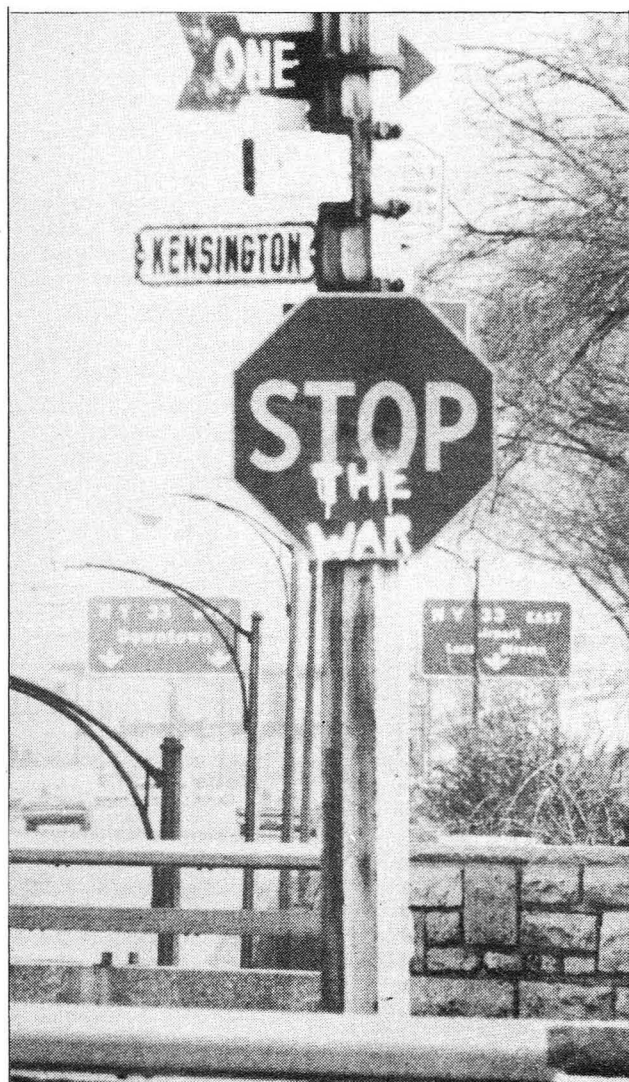
ed in China, Cuba, Ethiopia and Vietnam, before it can begin to move towards socialism, it requires a new *political* revolution. That would require the aid of a socialist transformation of an advanced capitalist country or the political revolution in Russia.

The proletarian bonapartist states in backward countries remain progressive, in so far as they abolished landlordism and capitalism, but they are barbarous in so far as they remain totalitarian dictatorships.

Events since 1975 have merely confirmed the bureaucratic nature of the workers' state in Vietnam. The state is riddled with shortages, mismanagement and corruption. The bureaucracy's internationalism only goes as far as extending its own national prestige and income.

In 1978 Vietnam invaded Cambodia and virtually occupied it, while a year later China launched an armed incursion into Vietnam. Yet all three are ostensibly 'socialist' states! Vietnam has since conducted a racial persecution of its Chinese population.

CONTINUED ON  
 PAGE TEN



The growing anti-war movement and the financial burden to the USA hastened the end of the conflict

# VIETNAM 1973

## The end of the 'American Century'

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9



Communist troops riding through the streets of Da Nang in 1975

Healthy socialist states in South East Asia, basing their relations on complete equality, with no one state striving for national domination would move towards a socialist federation of Indo-China linked to a Socialist China, allowing for the mutual, co-operative development of each. But at present the national vested interests of the bureaucracies of all these countries stand in the way of real co-operation. Victory against capitalism and imperialism in Vietnam has still not led to the complete emancipation of the masses.

### Dramatic effect on US economy and politics

In the United States, the Vietnam War had a dramatic impact. The disintegration of their armed forces was arrested by the ending of the conscript army. After the secret bombing of Laos and Cambodia and the Watergate scandal, the American capitalists moved to reduce the powers of the president. Against Nixon's wishes Congress passed a bill prohibiting acts of war "in, over or from the waters of Indo-China"

But the defeat in Vietnam also decisively altered the role of America as the policeman of world capitalism. Not that her leaders were now squeamish about the use of force or, at least, covert operations against other countries.

But they were unable to convince the American population of the justice of full scale military intervention in later years—in countries like Angola or Iran.

Only if their life-line were cut off by the emergence of radical regimes in the Gulf or Saudi Arabia, might the American ruling class throw caution to the wind and risk a new overseas adventure.

The Vietnam War, closely followed by the end of the post-war boom in 1974, ended all the smug complacency about the strength of the US economy, lording it over the 'American Century'. The mere 50% turnouts for recent presidential elections shows the disillusionment of the working class with all capitalist politicians.

In Britain *Militant* consistently supported the Vietnamese revolution, the only section of the Labour Party

to do so. The right-wing, to their eternal shame supported American intervention.

Harold Wilson, when Prime Minister, supported the bombing of the North saying "we have made absolutely plain our support for the Americans' stand against Communist infiltration". At the same time the very first edition of *Militant* in October 1964 carried an article headed "Get US troops out of Vietnam".

*Militant* supported completely the struggle for national liberation in Vietnam, and indeed would have done so even if the leadership had been in the hands of a party of nationalist capitalists. While *Militant* supported the social content of the struggle taking place i.e. for land and the elimination of capitalism, it always warned of the character of the regime that would inevitably emerge, given the nature of the 'Communist' leadership and their use of the strategy of peasant guerrilla war.

Nevertheless, despite this, the untiring courage of the Vietnamese fighters was an inspiration to the labour movement internationally.

The Vietnamese revolution unfolded during the three decades of capitalist prosperity following 1945. These were years of relative social peace in the developed world. Social upheaval was pushed to the outer limits of capitalism—to the colonial and ex-colonial countries, where economic 'boom' brought no relief from poverty and misery.

Now economic crisis and political instability has struck once again in the industrialised heartland of world capitalism. The workers in the West will be compelled to take to the road of socialist struggle once again.

The overthrow of capitalism in these industrial countries is still the key to the future of the planet. But here, because the working class is the overwhelming majority of the population, a socialist transformation will guarantee from the very start a healthy socialist state.

Moreover, it will mark the end of those aberrations of socialism in the underdeveloped countries, like Vietnam, and assist the workers and peasants there to carry through the necessary political revolution, for power to pass finally into their own hands.

**THE UNITED National Party of President Jayawardena "won" the recent referendum in Sri Lanka, thus enabling the postponement of another General Election until 1989.**

The "victory" was a product of intimidation, thuggery and mass impersonation. The shameful nature of the impersonation was proved, when the main contender in the last Presidential election, Hector Kob-

### By a special correspondent

bedaduwa, was himself impersonated at the referendum. Despite all such dirty tricks, the UNP secured only 38% of the total votes!

Repression is increasing. Young Tamil militants in custody, over the last 3 years, have been subjected to diverse forms of torture—such as hanging upside down for hours and being beaten up, suffocation with fumes of burnt chillies, and the insertion of iron rods into the penis and the rectum.

Now, Rev. Fr. Singarayar, one of the Catholic priests arrested in November last year and still in custody has revealed that he was tortured at the Gurunagar (Jaffna) Army Camp. After his subsequent transfer to Welikade remand prison in Colombo, a police officer had attempted to interrogate him behind closed doors.

"Father Singarayar has appealed to the Chief Jailer not to allow the police officer to question him saying that he (the police officer) had tortured him in Jaffna...The CID Officer had continued his interrogation but Father Singarayar refused to sign the statement which he said had not been truthfully recorded"—so reported the *Island* on 1 February.

### Blank cheque for armed forces

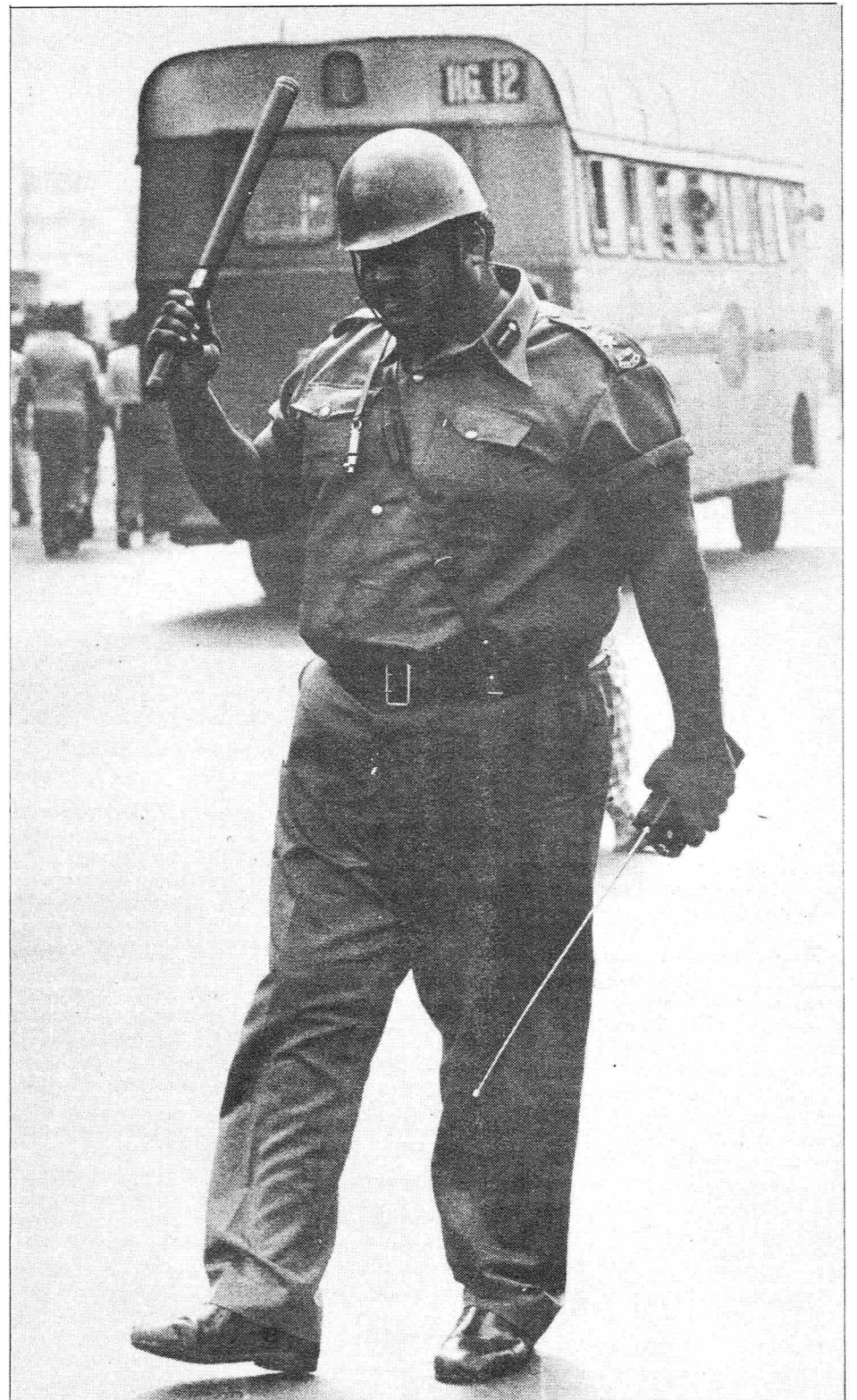
The same report stated that the police officer concerned first disregarded the Chief Jailer's instructions to keep the door open and interrogate him in the presence of a Jailer. The Chief Jailer had to intervene to demand compliance with his instructions.

It is easy to imagine the plight of those suspects still held in custody for months and even years at the Panagoda Army Cantonment where the Army and Police have absolute freedom.

There have been campaigns for the release of the priests and those others in custody. Jaffna University students held a massive protest march recently and followed it up with a hunger strike. The Defence Ministry has since instructed the service personnel to exercise strict surveillance over student activities. This is as good as a blank cheque to the Armed Forces.

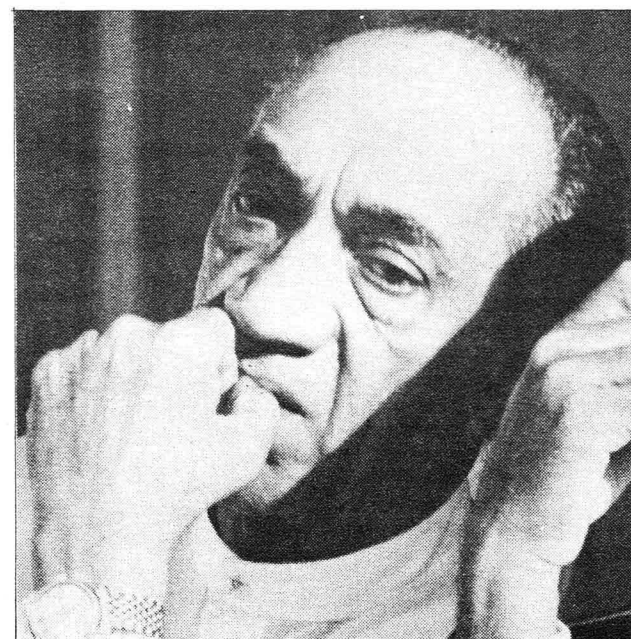
Recently, even a Tamil District Judge was held up on the highway by an Army officer and humiliated even after he had introduced himself and offered to establish his identity. The Army officer concerned later refused to heed the instructions of his superior officers

# SRI LANKA - A STATE OF TERROR



ABOVE: Police thug in action in 1980 General Strike

BELOW: Jayawardena, UNP President, has vastly increased the state's repressive apparatus



to apologise to the Judge.

Some months ago, a retired District Judge was stopped on the highway by Army personnel and questioned. When he introduced himself, the Army men damaged the rear screen of his car and said: "Take this also, D.J."

There have been other instances, particularly during

the Army rampage in Jaffna in 1981, where lawyers and doctors have been attacked by Army personnel. So even bourgeois professionals are not safe under this bourgeois regime if they happen to be Tamils.

But the real enemy of the regime is the left. "A leftist is more dangerous than a terrorist" said an Army officer

in Jaffna. A student leader studying in India had just returned to his native Jaffna, when he was whisked away by Army personnel even before he reached home.

His father went to Gurunagar Army camp where his son was held and interrogated. The father was told by the Army officer that his son was not a terrorist but that he was possessed of leftist tendencies, and cautioned the father to wean him away from such ideas. The Army officer epitomises the thinking of the UNP Government.

Does his statement show the shadow of coming events? Perhaps the UNP understands that while terrorists could be cowed down by the state terrorists the left on the other hand are a potential danger in that they would sooner or later mobilise the masses.

Certainly, the people will face little alternative but to rebel against the government, given the magnitude of the economic burdens that are going to be heaped on the masses in the not too distant future.

# Zimbabwe three years on since independence

**THE ENDING of Ian Smith's racist white minority regime was hailed enthusiastically as a great victory by black people throughout Southern Africa.**

**But Zimbabwe is for the time being trapped.**

Reliance upon capitalism has meant that it is unable to solve any of the major problems facing the country.

This year there will be cut-backs as the economy declines. Land reform stagnates. And the two main African peoples, the Shona and the Ndebele remain politically divided. To try to cope with existing and potential dissent the government is turning more and more to repression as recent events in Matabeleland indicate.

So far the government has retained considerable support amongst the majority of the population, and is not likely to be replaced. Its guerrilla armies, after all, fought the Smith regime to a standstill.

But instead of ending the power of the capitalists, Mugabe's government decided to come to an agreement with them. The guerrilla armies were merged with Smith's forces, to create a new army modelled on the old. Other institutions of the state were not transformed, but taken over and filled with members of the African middle class.

Private enterprise was encouraged and Mugabe held out the hand of welcome to foreign investors. Twenty years of capitalism lay ahead for Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe told *Panorama* last April.

## Boom goes sour

At first the removal of sanctions (which had distorted the economy) and the demand for Zimbabwe's minerals led to a boom. In the first year after independence the economy grew by 14% and the following year by 10%.

On this basis the government was able to introduce welcome and needed reforms. Free primary education was introduced, thereby doubling the numbers going to school. Free health care was given to anyone earning less than £100 a month. The minimum wage was raised by 66%. All these measures reinforced support for the government.

## IMF loan sought

But now economic prospects are turning sour. 1982 saw only 3% growth and this year the country's largest banking group, Standard Chartered, forecast there will be a fall of 3%. "1983 is shaping up to be the most difficult year for the economy since 1977-8," predicted Standard Chartered in February.

The solution, they argue, is austerity, and the government is treading warily down this path. The currency was devalued by 20% in

By Jim Christie

December. A wage freeze has been introduced, whilst food subsidies have been withdrawn. This has won the approval of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the government is now negotiating with them for a loan to help its balance of payments deficit.

It is a far cry from the heady Keynesian rhetoric of three years ago. The experience of Zimbabwe since independence shows that there is no way forward for a Third World country on the basis of capitalism.

## No decisive victory

Zimbabwe was one of the most developed countries in Africa. But in the midst of world-wide recession, capitalists have been chewing over the advantages of fresh financial commitment. About the only totally new investment to come in has been for a bubble-gum factory. Over the last 18 months, net foreign investment totals £18m—hardly a sure basis to launch growth.

The government's policy of spending their way out has also backfired. The cost of their welcomed social welfare reforms and other public spending has been a substantial budgetary deficit and an inflation rate of 20% and rising.

With economic storm-clouds ahead the government is battenning down the political hatches. Even during the post-independence boom, the ZANU government never won over the majority of the Ndebele people, who supported the rival nationalist movement of Nkomo's ZAPU. In their policy and programme there was little to choose between the two nationalist movements. The rhetoric of both leaders was often anti-imperialist and ZANU even proclaimed itself to be guided by Marxism-Leninism.

But neither party mobilised workers and rural labourers in a clear class struggle to end capitalism. Instead both ZAPU and ZANU relied upon guerrilla struggle in the countryside. The role of the rural population was essentially passive, giving moral and material backing to the guerrillas. They fought the old Smith regime to a standstill, but they did not overthrow it.

Before the war could have a decisive victory, a compromise was reached at the Lancaster House conference. Both ZANU and ZAPU accepted the compromise based upon safeguarding of capitalist property rights.

In the elections which followed, there was little



At the Lancaster House Conference (above) and afterwards both Nkomo (left) and Mugabe (right), despite differences with each other, accepted the basic capitalist framework of Zimbabwe

PHOTO: Militant.

# THE TRAPPED REVOLUTION

policy difference between the two main parties, and people chose the nationalist party of their ethnic area. ZAPU won the 20 seats in the Ndebele area, and Mugabe's ZANU was triumphant virtually everywhere else. Subsequent local elections have shown that, despite the reforms introduced, support for ZAPU remains dominant in Matabeleland.

The ZANU leadership has always wanted to introduce a one-party state and since independence has been trying to get ZAPU to merge. The fruits of office have been held out to ZAPU leaders. Even when Nkomo was dismissed from office in the first year of independence, other ZAPU members remained in government, although in junior positions. But with the carrot has gone the stick. One year after independence the power of the old ZAPU battalions was decisively broken in an armed conflict which left over 300 dead. The integration of the army proceeded apace, but the military leadership of ZAPU was beheaded when its army commanders were imprisoned to face charges of treason. This led to isolated guerrilla action by small bands.

## Crack-down on ZAPU

Although there was no chance of the regime being toppled, the government decided to use the opportunity to crush ZAPU as an effective independent force. At the end of last year it launched 'Operation Octopus',

sending in the 5th Battalion, the only part of the army not to include Ndebele troops.

All reports show that they did not limit activities to hunting out bandits. The prominent Catholic magazine *Moto*, which opposed the old Smith regime, recounted this month that: "There is now an air of fear and terror in certain areas of our land—worse, as one witness put it, than even during the war."

## South African threat

Government Ministers have called for the banning of ZAPU. Even before his flight abroad Nkomo was declared to be "public enemy number one".

The end result of government policy has been the decapitation of ZAPU. The party may not be banned. Instead it may be absorbed, once it has been rendered powerless.

With some of ZAPU's leaders in jail, others in the army, the old guerrilla army is divided. It is very unlikely to be able to mount a co-ordinated military threat to the regime. In an all-out civil war it would be crushed. Far more likely is the continuation of small isolated attacks by guerrilla bands, without any clear political purpose.

Politically, with Nkomo now absent, there will be fresh moves to win over sections of the ZAPU leadership to the government, with the aim of merging the two parties. Chinamano, who has taken over as acting head

of ZAPU, has already hinted he may be prepared to play that role. By such means the government may be able to claim unity, but it will not prove to be genuine.

Whilst the middle class leaders of ZAPU join up with those in ZANU for a share of the pickings, sullen discontent is likely to remain in Matabeleland. And this could be reflected in time by opposition elsewhere in the country to the government's austerity measures.

Such a situation will only encourage the South African regime to intervene to weaken the Mugabe government. Already they have sent commandos into the country on terrorist raids. Their aim is not to bring down the Mugabe government, which might result in a revolutionary explosion which could threaten them. Their aim is to destabilise it, pressurise it and use military operations as a bargaining counter.

## Independent class action needed

This is the grim picture facing the Zimbabwean working people: a stagnant economy, attacks on living standards, growing repression plus small-scale guerrilla war and destabilisation from the South. The only class that can break this impasse is the working class—in both Zimbabwe and South Africa.

The biggest strike wave in

Zimbabwe's history greeted independence. Miners, factory, textile and bus workers moved into action to demand the fruits of liberation, but the government told them to go back to work and 'wait' for reforms.

Since then rail workers, bus drivers, teachers, nurses have come out on strike, but the government response has been to sack them and arrest their leaders. With an industrial workforce of over 150,000, the potential power of the Zimbabwean working class is strong, but historically the leadership have always refused to stand on independent class issues.

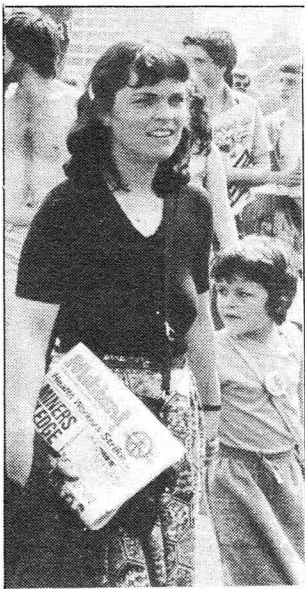
During the liberation struggle, the leadership of both ZANU and ZAPU made class issues subservient to the 'national' struggle. Since 1980 the government has tried to prevent any independent movement of the class. The trade union movement has been put under strict government control and workers told to settle their differences with their boss, not by relying on their own strength, but by accepting the decisions of Wages Councils.

Such an approach is disastrous for Zimbabwean workers, and there can be no doubt that opposition to such class-collaborationism will arise. This opposition must be organised around a clear socialist programme. It would need to link up with the dynamic movement of the black South African workers to defeat the power of the capitalist class in Zimbabwe and South Africa. That is the way to break the impasse of Zimbabwe's stalled revolution.

# Letters

**VIEWS? COMMENTS? EXPERIENCES?  
 CRITICISM? WRITE ABOUT THEM TO**  
**MILITANT, Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN**

## Socialists against extinction



I HAVE decided that I do not want any children now or in the future. Would it be possible for me to be sterilised? I do realise the risks that I might change my mind, but I see no point in bringing children into a world with no future. I am nearly 22.

Dear Comrades

The above letter, which appeared in the agony column of *The Sunday Mirror*, 27.2.83, gives an indication of the despair of young people growing up in a world of no jobs, no money and no future under capitalism.

Yours fraternally  
Mandy Tokelake  
Glanford & Scunthorpe  
LPYS

## Voluntary redundancy

Dear Comrades,

I would like to comment on the article on voluntary redundancies in the *Militant* 25 February 1983.

I used to work in a shipyard where voluntary redundancies were accepted and have seen the effect it has.

As Brother T Carty commented, as the workforce becomes smaller, management begin to implement new working practices. Men become withdrawn, and begin to let safety aspects of their job go. They are frightened to complain to the foreman.

In my yard management introduced a new system of selective overtime, doing away with the old system of one in to work all in, thus stepping back 20 years.

Then the workforce begin to get fed up, and you start to hear, 'I've had enough give me my redundancy'.

The time to unite brothers is now.

Yours in unity,  
Bro. P Errington.

## General Synod's army

Dear Comrades

As an ordinary member of the Church of England I was, if possible, more disgusted than Comrade Young (*Letters*, issue 640) with the failure to back unilateral disarmament.

However, comrades should be aware that the General Synod, particularly in the house of laity, is not typical of the C of E as a whole. The laity are to some extent self-selecting, in that only those capable of attending several mid-week meetings, usually in London, need bother standing for election.

The result is predictable:

## Vicarious

Dear Comrades

Although we have never sold dozens and dozens of papers on our Saturday sale in the High Street, the response has always been friendly, with some encouraging results this last weekend.

One young lad approached us saying, "Give us one of your papers. I saw Peter Taaffe on TV the other week, he took them press men to pieces."

## Forced to fight

Dear Comrades,

Last Wednesday I was selling *Militant* outside the dole when a man aged about 40 came up and congratulated me.

I asked why and he explained that he had been out

in this diocese, which has nine lay members of General Synod, only three come from the Potteries and Black Country conurbations, and of those, one is the diocesan head deaconess while a second is from the "gin and Jag" outer suburbs.

The remaining six, including a retired air force officer, are from small towns or the rural areas. The result is not entirely dissimilar to the rigging of the NEC by right-wing union barons!

The Church of England is not, and does not pretend to be, a socialist body, but Comrade Young is unfair in representing it as sympathetic to Toryism.

Yours fraternally  
Alan T Harrison

Another youngster whose father had bought a *Militant* earlier shouted in passing, "I'll buy ten if you keep the pits open." Yet another young lad gave us a quid for a paper with the comment, "I'm with you all the way." And finally to cap it all we finished off by selling one to a vicar—dog-collar and all.

Yours comradely  
Peter D Marsden  
Steve Brown  
Ashington  
Northumberland

of work for a year, and although he had always voted Conservative in the past he now classed himself as a Labour supporter. He went on to say, without any prompting, that he thought that you needed Militants—fighters as he called them, in any organisation.

## Police seige

Dear Comrade,

I live in the Speke area of Liverpool with my wife and her children of a previous marriage, one of which is presently attending an assessment centre.

On Thursday 3/2/83 myself and wife were not at home, the police called at our home banging on the door and the windows. My step-daughter who was alone at the home opened the door and was confronted by four police officers.

One of the men produced a warrant saying the boy in question had been involved in a break in and that they had received from a "reliable source" information that a search would prove fruitful.

They then proceeded to turn the house over with little or no respect for privacy until eventually having to concede nothing was to be found. What ever happened to an "Englishman's Castle"?

John Tobin,  
GMBATU Shop Steward,  
Liverpool.

## Making sense

Dear Comrades

I would like to see a Labour Party that reflects real socialist values, like Keir Hardy, one of the founders of the Labour Party who wanted no more money than the people he represented, so that he would not become detached from them as the NEC has become.

I think the NEC see that through the constituencies more and more real socialist policies are coming through. They don't like what they see and are beginning to get frightened of joining the 4 million club. They see expulsions as a means to an end.

But they cannot expel every person who happens to think differently than they

do, that's one of Thatcher's policies.

I support the Militant Tendency, and the policies of the Broad Left of the Railway Workers because they make sense not because of what Trotsky, Marx or Engels said. It's what I believe is right and if I get expelled from the union or the Labour Party for my beliefs then so be it. Expulsions only serve to make me fight harder.

I hope you don't mind me writing as I felt such anger at the expulsions being heard on the eve of the Bermondsey by-election.

Yours in comradeship  
Greg Hewitt  
NUR  
Brighton

## Renfrew unemployed

Dear Comrades,

Last summer when I was unemployed a group of us started a campaign for an unemployed centre.

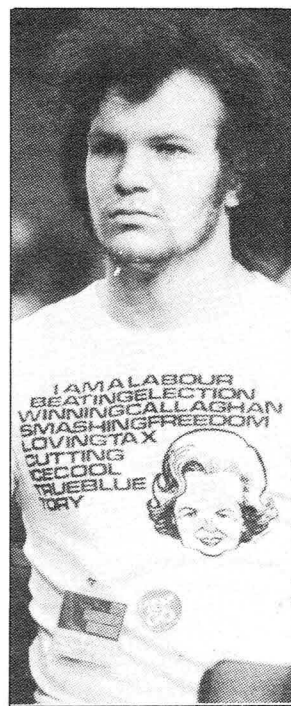
Local Labour councillors were behind us all the way and a grant was going through the district council.

At a meeting last week we were shocked and disgusted to hear that Mr George Younger Secretary of State for Scotland stopped the grant going through, because he didn't think Renfrew was a deprived area and therefore did not need an unemployed centre.

I would just like to say to Mr Younger—rubbish!!

Yours fraternally,  
Jacky Hamill,  
Renfrew.

## So open it's empty



## By your friend...

Dear Comrades,

I was recently told by a jubilant individual: "I think Healy and Co are doing a great job, witch-hunting the *Militant*. By carrying on like that, we're bound to stand a good chance in the General Election!"

The individual is a prospective City Councillor—for the SDP.

Fraternally,  
W Slattery,  
West Nottingham CLP.

## Motability

Dear Comrades,

The media only explain the benefits that are available to disabled people.

One shining example is Motability 'means cars for disabled people'. Motability allowance was originally supposed to help offset annual motoring expenses. To lease a Motability car means that the disabled recipient forfeits his or her mobility allowance and their freedom of choice regarding the insurance company.

They are obliged to insure with the Zurich insurance company on a policy that is designed exclusively for disabled people. There is not any 'no claims bonus' available, therefore to keep the motability car on the road means saving money for the extortionate insurance premium, out of one's pension.

I am also a socialist but why won't other socialists make a few enquiries on our behalf?

Yours fraternally,  
S Doyle,  
Plymouth.



Steel fixers at work. Today plenty aren't. A basic industry like this in recession has disastrous spin-off effects on the economy and employment.

## 'Hit the road'—hit back

Dear Sirs,

I note with interest the growing campaign in the Tory press for workers to move south to find work.

Do they not realise that digs will cost in the region of £50 per week, and when one

adds on the money a man must send home he has got to find a very well paid job indeed.

It is questionable whether this work is available anyway, I speak from some experience as I am a steel erector by trade and work all over the country and have now been unemployed since last October.

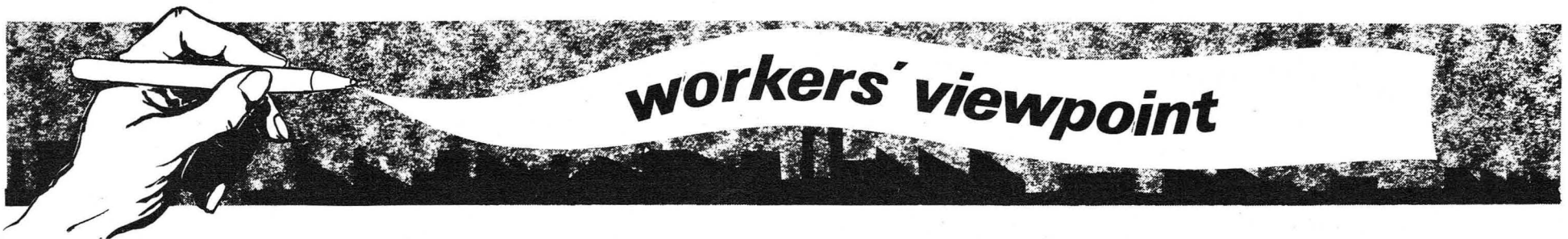
Another point is that under Mrs Thatcher my mortgage has risen from £63 a month to £107.

My unemployment pay in 1981 was £36 per week with earning related supplement plus £25 per week income tax rebates. In 1983 my total income is £25 per week due to the removal of earnings related and non-payment of

tax rebates until I return to work.

Does she not realise that the attitude building up in the unemployed is that when we get back to work then she will pay the price for the misery she has inflicted on us.

Yours sincerely,  
PB Hill,  
Stourport-on-Severn.



## Tories attack women at work and in the home

# Hounded for union activity

The courts don't need Tebbit to act against trade unionists.

Take the case of Dot Quirk, TGWU 5/612 member. She got a six months sentence, suspended for two years, as a result of her trade union activity.

Dot organised the J&A Bingo and Social centre in Kirkby late in 1981. As a result of her trade union activities, the women got a minimum 20% rise, back-dated for two years, since they were so far below minimum wage council rates.

She also contacted anyone who had left or had been sacked in those two years, and many had, to get them to claim their underpayment. Turnover was high because of the way the women were treated. Once when the heaters broke down the emergency heaters could only be put on when customers were in.

The management dismissed her on 7 November 1981 for "gross misconduct". They said it was for refusing to attend a staff meeting called to warn staff of the pitfalls of joining the union.

The union meeting the previous evening had decided to boycott the staff meeting. Andrew Sale, the manager, wrote down the reason for dismissal at Dot's insistence. When Dot spotted several inaccuracies in the letter, Sale tried to retrieve it, allegedly using considerable force. Dot complained to the police of assault.

The women at the J&A struck in support of Dot. ACAS was called in. Sale said that he would reinstate Dot if she promised not to take part in union activities for twelve months. This was obviously unacceptable.

After three days on strike, Dot recommended to the women that they returned to work while she continued to fight for reinstatement.

The T&GWU took the case to an industrial tribunal. She won in January 1982. It ruled that the real reason for dismissal was trade union activity. In April 1982 Dot was charged with attempting to pervert the course of justice, accused of getting someone to punch her on the arm so she could claim assault by the manager.

Between April and November 1982 Dot appeared at Kirkby magistrates three times, pleading 'not guilty'. On 17 November 1982 the case came up in Liverpool Crown Court.

### Dot Quirk talked to Alan Kelly, Croxteth Hill Labour Party

When the prosecution attempted to alter the wording on the indictment to meet the defence's arguments the judge dismissed the case.

It came back again on 4 January 1983 with the fourth change of indictment.

One of the witnesses was the assistant manager, one a cashier (since promoted to trainee assistant manager). The main prosecution witness now works for J&A.



Last year women workers from Lyons Maid Liverpool took their first strike action since 1947 in protest at the closure of the Liverpool works. Photo: Militant

She was previously unemployed. She alleged Dot asked her to punch her, wearing four rings. She admitted buying one of the rings off Dot in the middle of the strike, but the strike was over the assault, so she hadn't owned the ring at the time she claimed.

The judge (Judge Tampo), gave her a six months suspended sentence. He felt this was lenient.

Dot was treated like a criminal, taken down to the

cells and her body searched during these sessions. The sentence means that if Dot is arrested on a picket line or helping at Croxteth school where she is actively involved, she could be sent down.

### Fighting back

Dot is hoping to appeal. She's had to fight to get legal aid even now. At one stage

this was refused. Though she's unemployed, a single parent of three children, she had to raise £50 to help out towards legal costs.

Many rank and file T&G activists went to the court to give moral support, but the trade union movement must not let a tin-pot manager get away with victimisation, especially where women and other newly organised sections of workers try to set up a union.

Cases like this need

widespread publicity, with pickets and demonstrations outside the courts and full pressure of the labour movement to show that women like Dot do not stand alone.

Messages of support to TGWU 5/612, Islington, Liverpool 1

# No right to choose

### I WORK for the local authority in the social services residential section.

Our hostel caters for mentally handicapped adults, many of whom have been in some form of caring institution since they were young.

It is essential when dealing with the mentally handicapped that they and their families receive support, care and training at the earliest possible stage in childhood. A mother who has just given birth to a mentally handicapped child or discovers that her child is not a normal healthy child can be devastated by the news.

There is a strong need to establish community care for the mentally handicapped but the Tory Family Policy Group suggestion that individuals take on their own responsibilities is an absolute crime.

Many of the people at our hostel have elderly parents. For them to be asked to cope alone would be a monstrous act. One young man in his thirties has had to be allocated to hostel places on a 'rotational care' basis, to give his mother a break. She's an elderly widow, and lives almost in fear of her son.

He continues to physical-

### By Lyn Armitage

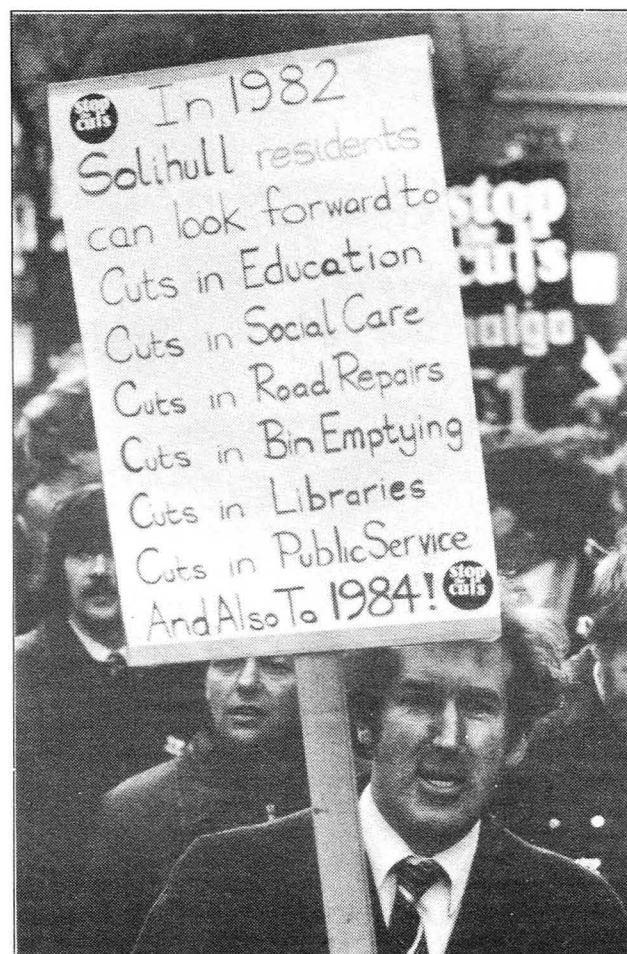
(Chairperson, Bradford West Labour Party Women's Section)

ly attack her when she tries to assist him with daily personal hygiene. He refuses to leave the house and attend the Adult Training Centre. On his recent admission he had blacked her eye so badly she was wearing a pad over her face.

Should we say to this woman—sorry you must take on your own responsibilities, it's your job to see to your son's needs, irrespective of his violence and the general distress he causes you?

Another mother in a similar position suffers bouts of depression and has recurrent admissions to a psychiatric hospital. Enormous care and guidance has been given to this family to help with their disturbed son of twenty-eight.

Home visits are set up on a regular basis. With the help of staff he is able to visit his mother at home. She lives in fear that he will be discharged home into her care and once again she will be left to



Cuts in social services force women to give up paid employment to look after relatives. They do the job unpaid.

cope with his disturbed bouts of behaviour. She can illustrate this with stories of broken windows and furniture and kitchen knives being hurled towards her!

Mrs Thatcher suggests that women should return to the home, to their role as mother, homemaker, nurse and dogsbody and that people should learn to be "responsible". It's just another blow against the working class and would put even greater strain on working class women.

This wonderful phrase 'the right to choose' has no meaning when you have no right to economic freedom. The ruling class can afford private care for their sick and disabled. Tories can always afford to pay their way out of the crisis.

Why not write to Militant about your union organisation, your workplace or issues discussed among your work-mates?

# Industrial Reports

## Tebbit's puppets rob low paid

Employment Secretary Norman Tebbit thinks a pay demand for £66 basic is greedy. And he has put pressure on the "independent" members of the two retail Wages Councils to stop workers getting their rise.

Wages Councils cover some of the lowest paid workers in Britain. Normally when a wages council order is made it is confirmed. Within weeks, though, two orders affecting over a million workers have been cut after objections to the principle of a rise after Tebbit sent a letter to "independents" on the wages councils opposing the offer.

"All they'd offered back in January was £5 a week from April, a rise of 8%. As usual they put out the proposal giving 21 days for unions and employers to object. All you usually get are technical faults not arguments about the principle. There were hundreds of representations this time from employers who claimed they hadn't had a holiday for years!

"These were all photocopied by the wages council, and seemed to come from an orchestrated campaign. On the workers side they just listed '45 workers Carlisle'



or something like that but I worked out that with union branches putting resolutions in favour of the proposal there were letters from 12,000 workers.

"At the meeting discussing the claim by food workers in the retail trade on 22 March we put our pro-

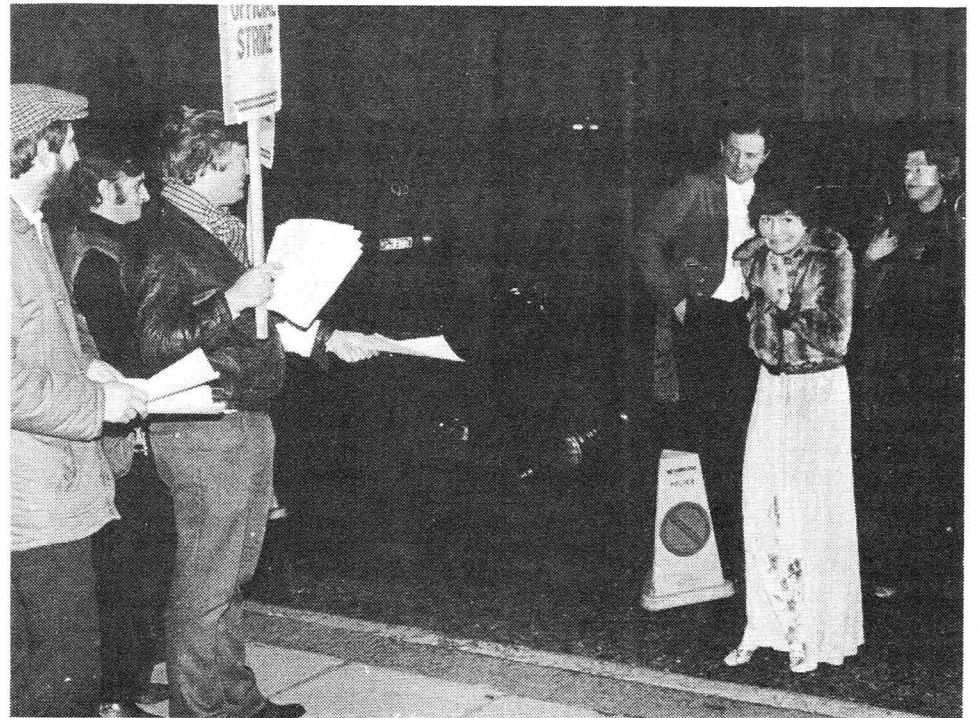
posal for £5. The employers then put their case for £4 (6.4%) and pro rata for juveniles etc. with the £1 left over till October. The 30 workers and 30 employers vote by side and it's all up to the "independents" to decide, it's called 'pendulum bargaining'. They went with the employers.

"They tried to make out that Tebbit's letter was just one "representation" amongst many but it obviously wasn't. Tebbit has no power to intervene in the wages council but he sent a letter to the Chairman more or less trying to intimidate him.

"The independents accepted it. They didn't have to agree. The chairman William Monaghan is an economics professor, the deputy is a Mr Morris who has been involved with industry and David Churchill writes on the retail trade for the *Financial Times*.

"So food workers got £4, non-food workers a few weeks ago got £3.75. In the meeting we compared the treatment of over 1 million workers with Howe's budget handouts to the people who employ them. Our union members will be very angry."

**An USDAW official spoke to Roger Shrivess**



Every day, every night, the rich pass picket lines at the Grosvenor House Hotel in Park Lane.

## GROSVENOR HOUSE: Police defend Monopoly profits at Park Lane hotel

ON SUNDAY night, 20 March, flocks of camera operators from television stations, Fleet Street reporters and autograph hunters swarmed round the Grosvenor House hotel to watch the "stars" in their finery troop into the TV awards ceremony.

The stars and media were not moved on. Strangely just three pickets protesting at the scandalous treatment of workers at Grosvenor House hotel were arrested and charged with obstructing the highway. Two were full time officials of the union GMBATU and the third

Steve Poole of Paddington Labour Party.

Harassment of pickets is nothing new to this dispute. The chief security officer William Fairweather, an ex-policeman with a less than illustrious career spends his time photographing and questioning pickets who have the audacity to demand contracts of employment for Trust House Forte, one of the top hundred firms in Britain.

The management at "Forte Towers" have put a sign outside the hotel reading, "There is no strike here, the pickets are not our

staff. Our 800 permanent staff are ready and willing to serve". Some pickets have "served" at Grosvenor House for as long as 20 years.

**Financial support is needed, money please to Grosvenor House strike committee, GMBATU Area office, 46 Dukes Road, WC1 9AD.**

## LITTLEWOODS

WORKERS at Littlewood's are waiting with trepidation for the outcome of talks between management and officials of USDAW. They have been told that 1,900 jobs must go, five hundred from the JM centre, Liverpool, nerve centre of the John Moores Empire, 600 from Littlewoods' chain stores, 800 from the mail-order sites, and 122 from the John Moores centre in Crosby.

Sir John Moores said he was heartbroken about the redundancies, and management have generously pledged to give up their Rolls Royces as their contributions to the cut-

backs! Workers want to fight against their own involuntary "contribution". USDAW representative, Marjorie Carey said: "If people lose their jobs now, there is nowhere in this city for them to go. We must fight".

Workers feel angry, that a company making good profits is still prepared to send honest working people to the dole queue, in order to keep shareholders happy. USDAW are responding by raising the question of an overtime ban as the first step in fighting against these redundancies.

## MILITANT NATIONAL MINERS' MEETING

Ian Isaac (Secretary, St John's, South Wales)  
John Dunn (Branch Committee, Markham, Derbyshire)  
will speak on:  
"Lessons of the Ballot"

John Cunningham (Ellington Colliery, Northumberland)  
Stan Pearce (Lodge Committee, Wearmouth, Durham)  
will speak on:  
"Building the left wing at rank and file level"

Peter Taaffe (Editor: *Militant*)  
will speak on:  
"The fight for the socialist alternative"

(All NUM members will be speaking in their personal capacities)

Chairman:  
Tyrone O'Sullivan  
(Secretary, Tower Lodge, South Wales)

Saturday, April 9th 11.00 am to 5.00 pm  
Main Hall, Centre Against Unemployment,  
Bridge Street, Sheffield (near Sheffield City Centre).

## LONDON TRANSPORT— No cream for AMOS!

WHILE the capitalist class blame workers in London Transport for problems within our industry, they have now shown how they intend to make a fast buck out of it.

The privatisation of bus services in London is too hot a potato for the Transport Minister to directly intervene. So the Tories are awaiting results from a hearing held by London Transport Executive into proposals by the Associated Mini-Bus Operators, AMOS, who are applying for a license to run private mini-buses along profitable commuter routes.

The enquiry's first stage has passed, saying that too little information had been provided as to the backing of the company, what conditions of service would be provided, and what responsibility they would show London people particularly on unprofitable routes.

It has been reported in the management's *LT News* that if AMOS found routes unprofitable, they would then hand them back to London Transport, who would have to supply a service as before! AMOS would cream off the most profitable routes. A fellow worker in my bus garage told me: "It's a bloody cheek, it can disman-

tle a service and if it's not paying LT has got to pick up somebody else's cast offs".

Mr Sheppard of AMOS has himself stated it would

not be possible for him to compete in Paris as that city has a better transport system! Continental systems like Paris receive 60% sub-

sidy from central government, far higher than in Britain.

Last year's "Fares Fair" was effectively reduction into line with a city like Paris, it also increased the number of passengers using busses, by 11%, and tubes by 7%.

That policy would have made it impossible for AMOS to compete in London too. Workers in LT, due to lack of investment, don't have the back-up to do the job we are capable of and would like to provide for the public. This campaign of privatisation of bus maintenance and transport services must be fought as a top priority.

We must fight to reverse all cuts in service, to re-invest in suitable rolling stock, for extension and investment of LT Direct Works and facilities for bus garages and tube stations. We must call for a fully-integrated transport system of rail, road and underground with a cheap fares policy and special concessions for the old, the unemployed and disabled.

Under workers' control and management, we would be able to provide the better transport system LT's workers and passengers need.

**By Pat Atkinson**  
(TGWU 1/951 branch)

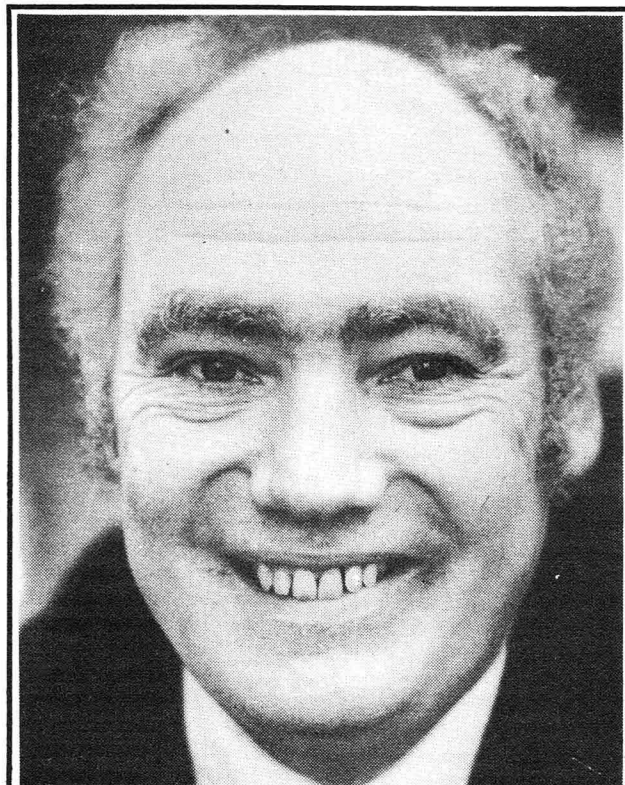


PHOTO: Andrew Wiard (Report)

THE VICTORY of Jimmy Knapp in the elections for general secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen was a decisive rejection of the policies and methods of NUR's former right-wing leader Sidney Weighell. Jimmy Knapp won on the first ballot with 90,078 votes. Charlie Turnock, backed by Weighell was way behind on 35,353 votes with 11,131 to Andy Dodds and 6,203 for Benny Entwistle. Knapp has pledged his support for a united fight by all rail unions against threats such as the Serpell proposals. See also report of Railworkers Broad Left page 15.



# HALEWOOD - 'WE WON'T BOW OUR NECKS'

**FORD management at Halewood are risking escalation through the calling out of UCW postmen. Every day more un-solicited and unwanted mail darkens workers' doorsteps.**

Another letter from "Uncle Ted" Rayment dropped through thousands of letter boxes on the morning of Tuesday's mass meeting. It tried to undermine the resolve of the workforce by distorting the union's case and his own.

The unions say this dispute is a put-up-job to avoid pay-out to workers on "down days". Management claim this is unfounded. "No down days are scheduled". No one would deny that none were "scheduled" but because of overproduction, down days are now on the cards for any time from now until the end of the year.

They also claim that "the target of 1,300 volunteer redundancies is being met." This is to say the least an exaggeration; the last we heard they are 600-700 short and most of those have been from the trim where lads have been getting an hour off the track and going to see what was on offer.

"It's no surprise they're short, people aren't exactly stampeding to get a £4,000 pay out for 9 years service". They have also tried to smear Paul Kelly, whose victimisation started the dispute by dragging up an old disciplinary matter which

**Jim Hollinshead  
(GMBATU No 5)  
spoke to Ford's  
workers**

they themselves admit they didn't press. They are now trying to say that because they didn't press it there is obviously no hard feelings. This is obviously no more than mud slinging.

The most laughable point of the letter is where they say "the company has elaborate procedures to ensure that disciplinary action cannot be taken on the basis of personal dislike". "This is a load of crap, people can be disciplined for 'lack of effort' or 'lack of application', where the foremen decide how much effort you have applied.

"A man can be sacked in three days or less if as in this case, they forget to use the disciplinary procedure. If the foreman is out to get you, he will get you.

"In this case Paul Kelly was sacked first and then disciplined. I've always thought that a person was innocent until proven guilty. Paul Kelly has had to prove himself innocent after sentence was passed."

Ford's workers have refused to be intimidated by the management threats. "The meeting had a good turn out of 3-4,000 and there was very little argument against the union case, just a small section fell for the idea of going to industrial tribunal. Billy McGuire, a

convenor pointed out this would have been accepting defeat at the beginning of the struggle.

"The vote to stay out was in my opinion at least 3-1. The mood now is one of quite resolve, if you like a Ford worker's got to do what a Ford worker's got to do."

Since the meeting senior stewards from the plant plus Paul Kelly and Ron Todd from T&G nationally have met management to tell them that nothing short of reinstatement will be accepted. The call is now for an official strike with a

threat of pulling out all 54,000 of the combine workers.

"The strength of support from national leadership has come as a surprise to many of us. It's partly a need to win back credibility. The leadership have had a think to themselves and seen that over the last two years ridiculous things have happened.

"For some time, rather than calling for action, stewards have said 'the Germans are at the front door, the Japanese are at the back and the Spanish are landing on the roof. We'll lose our

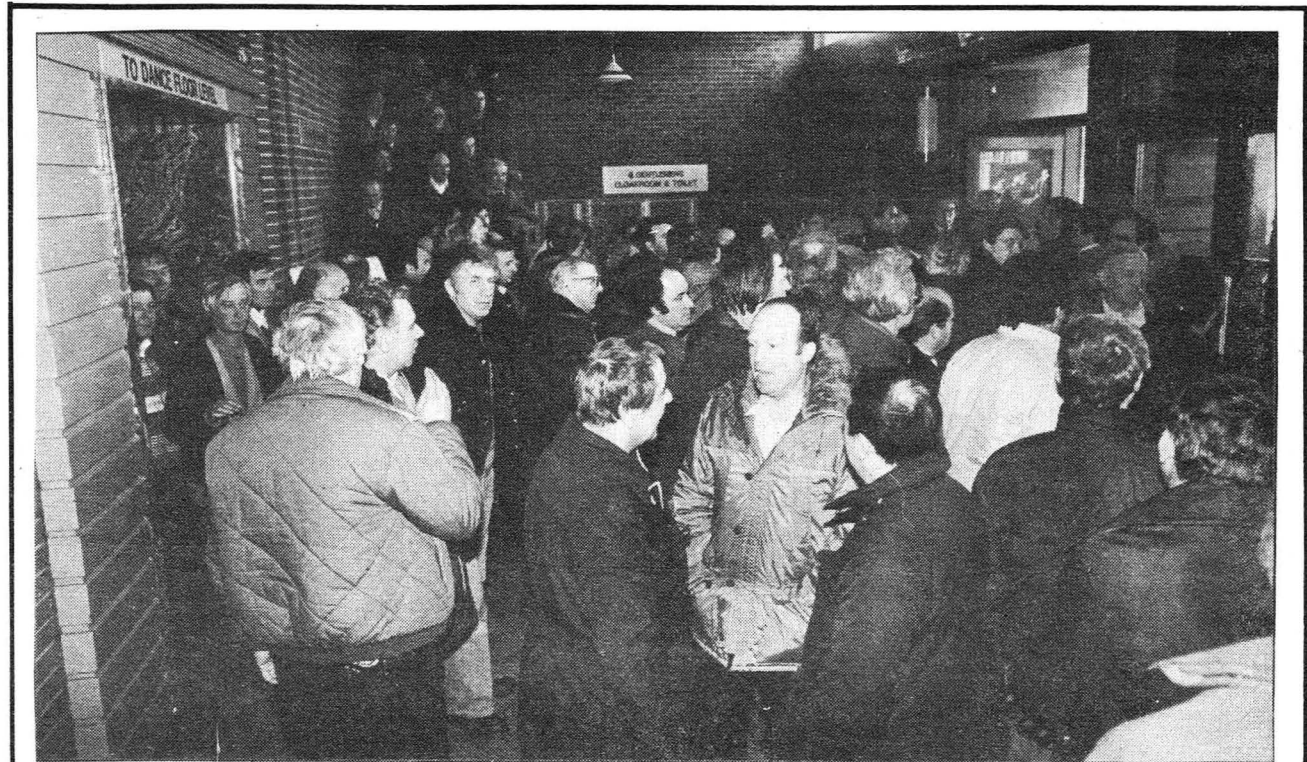
plant. We can't fight this one lads, back to work'."

"The leadership now realise that if Fords want to close their decision will be clinical and economic and what's more it will be made four or five years beforehand. Of course, we could bow our neck to the management so they'd keep it open longer but at what cost? Conditions like Spanish Ford workers'."

Recent television reports has shown that Spanish workers are working long (double-day) hours for considerably less than British workers. There are many

differentials artificially set up within the plant to sow dissension and splits, setting worker against worker. In one plant, there are two half-hour breaks during the full day and armed security guards patrol the plant. That is Spanish Ford's disciplinary procedure.

"A really firm stand in this dispute could have a real effect on the combine. When we have asked for support in the past a lead has not exactly been forthcoming. But if the kind of support we're getting now is put to the rest of the combine we can hope for success'."



London wharf dockers' meeting on 22 March in Poplar, East London, voted to come out in support of Tilbury dockers

PHOTO: MILITANT

## UCW Special Conference

**THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL of the Union of Communication Workers (UCW) is recommending to Postal Officers/Assistants an "Incentive Scheme", a productivity deal by a nicer name, in direct contradiction of amendments carried at the last two union conferences.**

On the surface, the incentive scheme may look attrac-

tive with a £150 carrot held up but the surface is where the attraction ends. The lump sum is not even being consolidated into pay.

The deal is an "incentive" to workers to assist management in a massive privatisation scheme, closure of crown office counters, the introduction through the back door of new technology and the shedding of thousands of jobs. The scheme states there will be no

## JOBS NOT FOR SALE

compulsory redundancies. But there will be job losses. The emphasis is on work measurement, improved throughputs, fewer staff on Post Office counters and writing duties.

Delegates to this weekend's conference should study the lessons of the Improved Working Methods productivity deal for postal grades. This included a 'no compulsory redundancy' agreement. Yet during 1981

the Post Office saw a reduction in staff of over 3,000.

The agreement says, "The union will agree to the use of computers." New technology plus a productivity agreement will not "protect jobs" if it is introduced without a reduced working week, it will only add to the millions of unemployed workers. We should welcome technological change, for the price of a guaranteed thirty hour week,

By Eddie Thorpe  
(UCW Oldham,  
personal capacity)

increased annual holidays and the creation of more jobs.

It is management's intention to close or privatise 200 to 300 crown offices leading to the loss at the very least of 2,000 jobs. They hope for UCW "co-operation".

Threats of privatisation and government interference with imposed cash limits for investment and pay awards are all part of Tory strategy to weaken our union and smash the resolve of the workers to defend jobs.

Yet over the past two and a half years despite cash limits and fierce competition from the private sector the Post Office increased its profits from £23.4 million in 1981 to £96.2 million by March 1982. This year, half-year results show a profit of £42 millions, on course to achieve the previous year's figure.

Postal Officers and Assistants should reject the report, give the Executive Council a thumbs down to any productivity deal that sells the livelihood of Post Office workers. There is money available not for a "soundly based Incentive Scheme" as the EC describes it, but for a soundly based living wage for all Post Office workers without a wholesale loss of jobs.

## GAS WORKERS

**NEGOTIATORS for workers in the gas industry have turned down a pay offer from British Gas after consultation at branch level.**

The increases on offer ranged from £3.97 to £6 together with slight rises in holiday and sick pay. There has not been the substantial increase in basic rates demanded or improvements in shift pay, shorter hours or the introduction of a paternity leave scheme.

A GMBATU gasworker told Bob Wylie before the negotiations broke down "Let us follow our comrades in the water industry and inform the union negotiators we are ready to fight to overcome the restrictions placed on the Gas Board by the government. We won't be intimidated by the threat of legislation to make strikes illegal.

"Our priority should be an increase in basic rates of around 8%, a further decrease in the working week by 15 minutes a day and an increase in shift payments.

"The Gas Board seek to introduce stand-by payments to wage negotiations, but historically these are discussed outside annual wage bargaining and should continue to be so. We should discuss this after a satisfactory outcome to wage negotiations."

## RAIL WORKERS BROAD LEFT

**RANK and file unity of all rail unions, the building of the Triple Alliance, and a fighting leadership in the trade union movement.**

That was the priority for fighting attacks by the Tories and BRB on all rail workers said the best attended Rally of the Broad Left for railway workers. The vital question of unity was taken up by Derek Fullick, President of ASLEF speaking in an official capacity. He called for an end to historic differences and the need to get the long awaited Rail Federation off the ground, not just at national level but at local level as well.

"Visit each others branches, try and understand

By an NUR member

each others problems. Let's go forward together with solidarity and pull together at all levels or we won't survive." The theme of unity and solidarity is vital to rebuild the confidence of working people after the setback of last summer's strike when the TUC leaders betrayed ASLEF and dealt a blow to all workers.

Denis Green, Chairman of Horwich Joint Works Action Committee, had earlier opened the meeting with a stirring call to save Horwich, Shildon and Temple Mills workshops with joint action

and full support from all unions organising in the workshops.

Both NUR members Bill Esmond and Tony Benn MP, the final speaker, after hammering the hypocrisy and pro-big business policies of the BRB and the government raised the urgent question of investment and re-organisation of the industry. They stressed this could only be done by a Labour government armed with socialist policies to release the massive resources squandered and diverted into the pockets of boardroom parasites in industry and commerce.

Tony Benn reminded the audience of the Labour Party's pledge a few years ago

"we must use the crisis (of capitalism) as an opportunity for change not as a reason to postpone it".

The Broad Left's growing authority was attested by the many new faces, including TSSA members, and the growing number of rank and file union leaders representing thousands of members in the workplaces and branches, both regionally and nationally.

A resolution was passed unanimously against the expulsions from the Labour Party of the five members of the Militant's Editorial Board and demanding they be reinstated immediately and that NUR representatives campaign for this. The collection at the meeting raised £110.



Photo: Andrew Ward (Report)

# Militant

## Militant meetings great success

The marvellous response to the public meetings held by *Militant* to answer the witch-hunt, underlines the extent of opposition to the expulsions of the five members of the Editorial Board.

Since the expulsions, *Militant* has held 45 meetings from one end of the country to another, at which one of the five have spoken.

Altogether these public meetings have been attended by over 4,700 people and a total of over £6,500 has been collected for the fighting fund. This shows the growth of support for the ideas of

Marxism.

One of the last in the series of meetings to be held was in the Medway town of Chatham, recently devastated by the closure of the Royal Navy dockyard. A magnificent 150 people attended this meeting.

The local Tory rag described *Militant's* ideas as 'crackpot'—yet it couldn't explain why this meeting attracted five times the number who went to listen to Labour right winger Merlyn Rees who spoke in the area two days earlier!

For more reports see inside. Marx rallies great success—page 2

The fight against the purge—pages 2 and 3.

## YOUTH FOR LABOUR

*Continued from front page*  
release to my college I find the apprentice class down from 16 to 9 this year, yet next door the 'New Training Initiative' class has about 25 in one workshop!"

Rather than giving youth proper jobs or further education, the Tories are pushing the YOPs and other schemes. The Tories are providing the bosses with a source of cheap labour. Jobs and apprenticeships are being replaced by these £25 a week schemes.

In Sheffield for example, there are now 2,000 such schemes—the MSC has admitted they have replaced at least 600 real jobs.

Ian Shelley of Stafford LPYS said, "The glossy posters say YOPs give you work experience etc. The last YOP I was on was sweeping up and cutting string. The technical term for the 'training' I was receiving was 'printing'!"

"Last time I went to a Job Centre they only had four jobs for about three hundred youth. I was privileged to be offered two of them. One was re-pressing tyres and I was warned it was boring and involved a lot of carrying. The wage was £25! The other job was little better at £35 per week."

Even where schemes have something like a decent wage, the Tories are cutting back. David Maples of

Newcastle North LPYS said, "At present I'm on a Community Enterprise Programme and get paid £89 a week. But under the new scheme my employers have been told that wages must average £60. So to keep me on two other people will have to be paid £45 per week!"

Yet despite all the Tories' temporary schemes, and with the unrelenting upward climb of mass unemployment, for many youth there is no escape from the dole. At present the 18 to 25 year old group of unemployed is witnessing the quickest growth of long term unemployment.

It is no wonder then that youth are looking to Labour for a way out of this Tory nightmare—the Labour Party Young Socialists will be there to meet them with a programme of socialist action.

The LPYS, the largest socialist youth movement in the country, has the socialist answer to the problems facing youth today—from grants for FE students, trade union rights for YOPsters and the policies that can end mass unemployment once and for all.

Join the LPYS in this fight. Come to the LPYS conference to be held at Easter and take part in the debates and discussions on burning issues that face youth today. Join Labour's youth in the fightback against Thatcher now!

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The Labour Movement must campaign against the new Nationality Act and immigration laws.

# FIGHT RACIST LAWS

The new Nationality Act, which came into force in January, is designed to reinforce the myth that social problems are linked to the presence of blacks.

At the same time, the Act is being used to frighten and intimidate blacks already settled in Britain.

The Nationality Act will:—

- ★ bring in a 3-tier system of nationality—British Citizen; Citizen of British dependent territories

By Kevin Fernandes

and British overseas citizen

- ★ mean only the first category—British Citizen—brings with it the automatic right to settle in Britain
- ★ strip thousands of blacks, Hong Kong Chinese, and Malay-

sians of the right to settle in Britain

- ★ mean that birth in the UK will no longer bring with it an automatic right of citizenship

- ★ remove the previously held right of Commonwealth blacks to gain citizenship after being resident here for 5 years. Citizenship will be discretionary and subject to a language and "good character" test.

The Tories and the capitalists will use the Nationality Act, like the Immigration laws and Rules, to intimidate and harass

blacks and divert attention from the real causes of the economic crisis.

The immigration laws have never, and will not, better the conditions of ordinary working people. Only the socialist transformation of society could bring fundamental and lasting changes in the living standards of workers and youth.

Labour must fight for workers unity against racism, for the repeal of the Immigration and Nationality Acts, and oppose all racist laws, as part of a socialist programme to win decent conditions for all.

**CAMPAIGN AGAINST RACIST LAWS**  
Demonstration against racist laws: and the Nationality Act  
Sunday 27 March  
Assemble 12 noon at Jubilee Gardens (next to County Hall) Waterloo, London SE1

# Deported for Divorce!

Muhammed Idrish, a Bengali faced with deportation talked to Brian Beckingham about his battle against racist laws.

BB: Tell us the background to your situation.

MI: I came to this country in 1976 as a student. I met my wife at college and lived in Bristol for five years. Unfortunately our marriage broke down and I am threatened with deportation. For the past two years I have been employed in West Bromwich as a social worker and I am

an active member of my trade union NALGO. As of May this year I have been seven years in this country.

BB: What has the defence campaign done?

MI: We have held public meetings and gained wide support: Brighton and Birmingham TUCs; 21 Labour MPs; and Labour Parties and Ethnic organisations are supporting my right to stay in this country.

The aims of racist laws is to keep black and Asian people forever fighting for their rights. It is to make sure they do not get active in their

unions or in politics. I am threatened because I am active in my union. Last year 1,000 were deported, and another 1,000 left under the threat of deportation. This year so far the rate of deportation is 18%.

BB: What happens next?

MI: The 27 March CARL demonstration is very important. The Birmingham and Bristol contingents will be carrying banners highlighting my case. Our first priority is to win and keep me in this country. Secondly, we aim to educate people on the nature of these laws, so that

more and more people understand and join in the fight against these attacks which are a threat to the entire labour movement.

We plan numerous activities on the date of my deportation. My case must be won. Pass resolutions and organise meetings in support of my case. Send copies to the Home Secretary, your MP and the press.