

DON'T BE FOOLED BY TORY LIES

On jobs, the economy, education, and all the vital concerns of working class people, the Tories have one aim, saving the desperately ill capitalist system. They are prepared to go as far as working people let them in their attacks if they think it will help their profits.

Lie 1 Jobs

kept press, the Tories have built a smooth propaganda machine to mask the ugly reality of their policies.

The press print reams about the promised economic recovery and the new hope for the future but have to rely on lies to hide the real future the Tories have in store for us.

Lie Number One is that Tory measures aim to halt unemployment.

The weekly magazine, *Time Out* published papers last week from the Central Policy Review Staff, the 'Think Tank' showing that as early as 1981 the government were quite aware that their policies would allow unemployment to top 3 million by this year, even though they denied this in public.

The 1981 report also for-

saw what Tory Britain had in store for youth. "The prospects for young school leavers are bleak. By the end of 1983, between 50% and 70% of the labour force under 18 might never have had a proper job. The effect in terms of future training skills, attitudes to work and opportunities for crime and other forms of social disruption is undoubtedly a matter for justifiable concern."

Not only did the Tories know the effects of what they were doing, they have even worse in store if they can win a second term in office, according to the Think Tank. They want to widen the gap between low wages and unemployment pay (by cutting benefits of course, not raising wages), by attacking union rights and employment protection laws, by cutting wages of unskilled workers and women, and possibly by doing away with statutory redundancy pay.

Lie 3 Education



"GIVING parents more power is one of the most effective ways of raising educational standards. We shall continue to seek ways of widening parental choice and influence over their children's schooling", says one of the typically bland inoffensive-sounding phrases in the Tory manifesto.

Very nice it sounds if you're affected by Tory education cuts. Perhaps you think this is designed to help

you find a school with better facilities. No, there are precious few of those in the state system after four years of Thatcher's attacks. The scheme is designed not for the eight million in the state schools but for the half million in private education.

The Tories' *Daily Notes*, a briefing for candidates, last week talked of the "introduction of education 'vouchers' or 'credits' whereby every parent with a child of school age would be issued with a 'voucher of credit' equal to the cost of educating the child in a maintained school, which could be used to pay for the child's education at a maintained school of the parents choice."

In reality, they want to give this money, about £1500 a year to those who can already afford to send their kids to private schools charging up to about £4000 a year. It is an indirect subsidy to the American Express set out of our taxes and the resources available for working class education.

Lie 4 Defence

HESELTINE'S attempt to portray the Tories as the protector of jobs in the defence industry is a nonsense.

No-one's job is safe from the Tories. Since they came into office, over 20,000 jobs have been slashed in the dockyards and related industries. There was no talk of finding these workers alternative jobs; the Tories

ELECTION '83

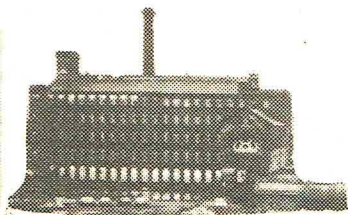


Full election campaign reports inside:
Labour's manifesto — p2
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Tory attempts red-scare — p7



USING the wealth of their big business backers and the distortions of their

Lie 2 Economy

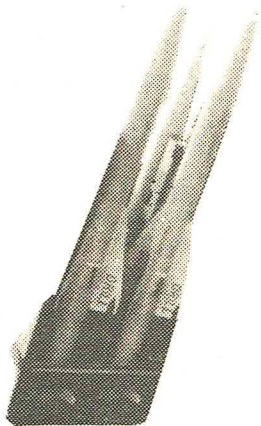


THE Tories claim to be seeing the light at the end of the tunnel. A report by the National Economic Development Council

(NEDC) shows how dim that light is.

Over the last few years, Britain has had the lowest growth rate of any advanced capitalist country other than Switzerland; unemploy-

ment rising twice as fast as the average; the biggest switch of all away from manufacturing industry and the devastation of job prospects for youth. Sir Campbell Fraser the chairman of the bosses' "union" the CBI said it was so gloomy that "people reading it would want to get the first boat out of the country". The bosses themselves see no chance of improvement under Tory policies!



consigned them to the scrap-heap as ruthlessly as they did the other 2 million made jobless since 1979.

Continued on back page

VOTE LABOUR JUNE 9

LABOUR'S MANIFESTO - 'How can it be done?'

LABOUR'S election manifesto, *The New Hope for Britain*, promises to rebuild the economy and provide the basis for all the necessary reforms outlined. But many will be asking "how can it be done?"

The answer that the Labour leaders give will make an important difference to whether they can persuade workers to vote Labour, even despite the horrors of four years of Tory government.

Few would argue with the reforms proposed in the manifesto—reducing unemployment, increasing child allowance and pensions, reducing fares, freezing rents, expanding education and so on. But there are still millions of workers who are sceptical of the ability of a Labour government to pay for these things.

The Tories have tried to goad the Labour leaders with cries of, "how much will it cost?" and unfortunately the replies have sounded all too much like the policies and methods that failed in the past. Labour's economic strategy draws heavily on the "orthodox" methods of reflation in a capitalist economy—borrowing, i.e. budget deficits, devaluation, import controls and exchange controls.

Labour's commitment to "rebuild Britain"—laudable in itself—is still based upon the hopeful expectation that in order to create expansion capitalists will willingly invest where they do not want to. Yet that will not happen.

From the standpoint of the capitalists, there is little incentive to invest, with unused capacity, high interest rates and insufficient profits. Hence, while investment in British industry has fallen 35% in four years, they have been willing to invest overseas at a rate of £11 billion a year.

The capitalists, who under this system own and control the bulk of the economy, will not be prepared to co-operate with a Labour government which tries to make them invest where they do not want to.

In 1974, the bosses' representative, Ted Heath, was prepared to see industry go to a three-day week to stop only the miners. If it were necessary, big business would embark on a complete strike of capital, closing down factories by the thousands, in order to "sober up" a Labour government that threatened their fundamental powers and interests.

The capitalists would find 1001 ways to take capital out the country, to de-invest. "Whatever else exchange controls might do", remarked Jock Bruce Gardyne in *The Times* last week, "they would not stop the outflow of money from this country; nor would they apply to any other money."

Bruce-Gardyne, ex-Tory Economic Secretary to the Treasury, was not scoring an election debating point here, but was speaking as one confident of the economic and financial powers of his friends in the City.

"Exchange controls" he continued, "won't stop the outward stampede of overseas investors when the markets take fright at the performance of a British

government; nor can they do anything about the propensity of international traders who get the wind up to pay bills early and delay the collection of their debts.

"All exchange controls can do—and that imperfectly in the modern world of computerised communications and international banking—is to restrict the outward movement of funds in British ownership."

Labour's election manifesto hints in places at the need for a Labour government to control the economy effectively, but only, as it were, in passing. "We expect the major clearing banks to co-operate fully with us in these reforms, in the national interest. However," it continues, "should they fail to do so, we shall stand ready to take one or more of them into public ownership".

This small section is a tacit admission of the possibility, Marxists would say the *certainty*, that big business will not go along with Labour's plans. The capitalist class, for the most part, are hard-headed businessmen, guided by the need to make the greatest profit in the shortest possible time, and not motivated in the least by any feelings for the mass of the British people.

The lessons of the general reflation in France

Labour, therefore, cannot take the anti-Tory vote for granted. Workers have to be convinced by the Labour leaders that a Labour government will not simply do what was done in 1974-75, when the previous Labour government did an about turn, went cap in hand to the International Monetary Fund and began to put the squeeze on incomes.

Unfortunately, the same old ingredients are still there, at least in outline, in the new manifesto. The Labour programme will be based on borrowing, not from overseas, but from domestic sources. It is not explained how the Labour government will force reluctant City institutions to lend money against their will.

The lesson of France is

THE CRISIS OF BRITISH CAPITALISM

THE SUPPRESSED report of the National Economic Development Council, which gave the gloomy truth about the crisis facing the British economy, has been reinforced by the publication this week of the latest review of the National Institute of Economic and Social Research.

The NEDC report had pointed out that "of the 24 OECD countries, all had higher growth rates than the UK in the earlier period (1964-73) and only Switzerland had lower growth in the second period (1973-82)."

It showed that the growth of manufactured imports and the much slower growth of non-oil exports had made Britain a net importer of manufactured goods for the first time since the industrial revolution, and adds that the competitiveness of British industry is still declining... "The UK has steadily lost ground to major competitors..."

"In 1980 the UK (productivity) figure was barely half the OECD average...not only does the UK invest less than its competitors, but its productivity of capital is also lower." The UK has ex-

perienced a contraction in the rate of return on capital, it goes on, from 12 per cent in the early 1960s to 2 per cent in 1981.

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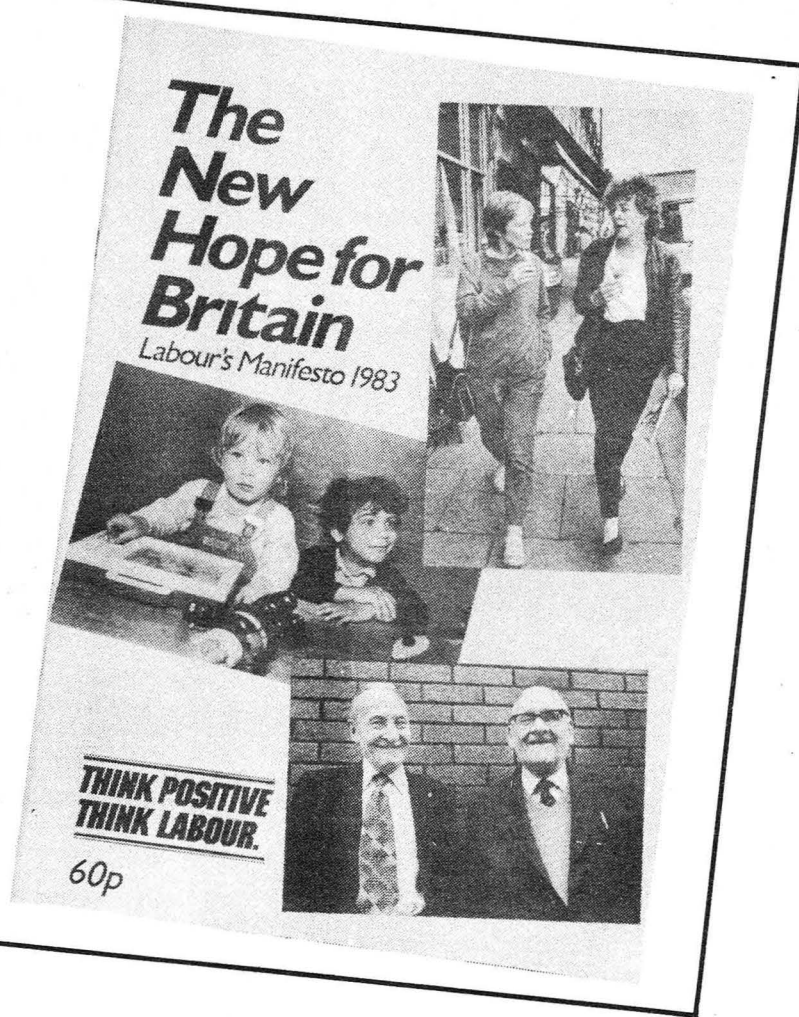
The National Institute report gives no more comfort to the Tories than the one they kept quiet. It warns that although economic growth will probably reach 2.4 per cent this year, this to a large extent reflects the "upward revision of official statistics" for past output, and growth in any case will fall back to 1.2 per cent in 1984—and this will not stop unemployment from rising to well over three and a half million by the end of 1984.

Even Thatcher's boast about inflation rings hollow alongside these official forecasts. Inflation, the NIESR report says, will rise to 6.5 per cent by the end of this year and 8 per cent by the end of 1984.

The official figures, both those hidden away by the Tories, and those regularly released by other bodies, all give the lie to the Tory claim about "putting Britain back on its feet", and show the real depth of the crisis of British capitalism.

clear: no matter what the sincerity or the intentions of the Labour leaders, if they restrict their economic policy to within the rigid confines of the capitalist system, they will inevitably be forced to "bend the knee" and introduce counter-reforms.

In France, a general reflation has resulted in a small decrease in unemployment, but at what cost! The "socialist" government have not taken the levers of the



1974-79.

On a capitalist basis reflation like deflation means cuts to workers' living standards. How else can workers interpret the National Economic Assessment, with its clearly implied incomes policy?

Workers are rather sceptical about the so-called National Economic Assessment, which after the trimmings are removed, looks for all the world like a 1983 version of the Social Contract. It is an incomes policy, held in reserve, and ready to be wheeled out and put into practice as soon as 'economy' dictates.

Where would the Labour government be then, if not back to cuts in living standards, back to the cycle of disillusionment and disappointment that lost it the election in 1979?

Labour must explain that there is no way forward on a capitalist basis

In 1973, before the last election of a Labour government, Tony Benn said in a speech that "the crisis we inherit should be the occasion for fundamental social change, and not the excuse for postponing it." Those words fell on deaf ears as far as the majority of the Labour leadership were concerned. But they must be the basis of Labour's election strategy today, if it is to convince workers that it means to carry out its promised reforms and cut unemployment.

Labour must spell out clearly that there is no way forward on a capitalist basis and that fundamental socialist change is needed to rebuild the economy on a sound footing.

The enormous waste of resources tolerated by capitalism, could be absorbed and put to use on a socialist basis. The £17 billion now being used to keep three million unemployed, the £11 billion a year

leaving the country in overseas investment: these alone could provide for a big increase in direct living standards and in the social wage. The extra wealth created by three million new jobs would be equivalent to £30bn a year.

But the reforms outlined in the manifesto can be possible and *permanent*, and the unemployed can be found work, only within the context of a genuinely planned economy. A Labour government cannot plan what it does not control, and it cannot control what it does not own.

Labour must, therefore, explain that the basis of its policies must be the nationalisation of the 200 or so big monopolies, which, along with the main banks and insurance companies, are at present the real controllers of the economy. The manpower, wealth, resources and skills of the whole economy could be genuinely harnessed and democratically planned for the benefit of all and not just the few.

Labour must advance itself as the party of change, as the party that will really "break the mould" of British politics, to offer a real alternative to the various methods of cutting living standards that seem to be on offer.

Some workers may even have swallowed the arguments of the Tories and their kept press—that there is nothing that can be done about economic recession and unemployment, like the wet spring weather. It is up the Labour Party to show different.

It is not the *management* of the economy which is at fault, but the *nature* of the economy. There is not the earthliest reason why, in an age when science and technique are making giant strides forward, it is necessary for living standards to be taking giant strides backwards.

Capitalism cannot deliver the goods. The Labour Party must begin to argue for a new system altogether, for fundamental socialist change.

Election campaign round-up

Liverpool

Around 2,000 people attended the North West Regional Labour Party rally in St. Georges Hall, Liverpool, on May 17 where Michael Foot spoke along with all the Liverpool Labour candidates in the forthcoming election.

The mood of the Rally was summed up at the start by **Eric Heffer MP** when he said, "The time has come to vote Labour and get Thatcher out."

The burning need to kick out the Tories and replace them with a Labour government pledged to socialist policies was the main theme of the meeting. **Terry Fields**, Labour candidate for Broad Green, pointed out that working people have one alternative to vote for in this election: "The only alternative to the Tories and the Liberals is for the Labour

Party nationally to take a leaf out of the sort of campaign waged in the local elections by the Liverpool Labour Party." He added, "Go out to the working class and explain the ideas of socialism."

Michael Foot spoke of the need for worldwide disarmament and the need to end the disaster of Thatcher, saying "Push these ignorant barbarians out of the way and go on with the job of saving the country."

Over £2,200 was collected for the Party to fight the election. Despite the unfortunate fact that there was no youth speaker allowed on the platform, 17 people applied to join the LPYS and the Labour Party, and a further 50 signed a YS address list expressing interest in joining the YS.



Terry Fields, Labour candidate for Broad Green, speaking at the rally alongside Michael Foot

Coventry

WITHIN 48 hours of the dissolution of Parliament the 27,000 houses in the Coventry South-East Constituency received a leaflet introducing the Labour candidate, Dave Nellist.

The only response that Labour's opponents could make was that the leaflet was printed by Cambridge Heath Press. This red-scare story was carried in the Tuesday edition of the *Coventry Evening Telegraph*.

But they also reported on the content of the leaflet, in an article headed, "I'll give away half a salary," vows Nellist". This repeated the pledge that Dave Nellist would only take the wages of

a skilled worker, around £6,300, and would donate the rest to building the labour movement.

This report got the following comment from Sylvia Tebbut, a civil servant: "When I got the leaflet through the door I didn't even read it. MPs are all the same. They're only out for their own ends. But now I've seen the report in the *Telegraph* I'll have to get the leaflet out of the bin and read it this time."

Brighton

CUP Final week fever in Brighton has had to compete with election fever in the town. Many houses have blue posters in their win-

dows. Not supporting the hated Tories, who locally have not been seen, but for the Seagulls, their local team. But incredibly, there are more red posters supporting Rod Fitch than even the mass of blue.

Coaches were leafletted on their way to Wembley and many local people are hoping for the Seagulls/Fitch double.

Reflecting the determination of the pensioners and organisational talents of the Labour Party the postal vote has trebled. Instant discussions have been struck by people coming up to canvassers in the street asking for window stickers.

By Barry Lewis

WHEN out canvassing for Terry Fields in Childwall, Broad Green, I was approached by a policeman. He asked what I was doing and selling.

I told him we were building support for the Labour Party and showed him my copies of the *Militant*. He said, "Oh you don't like us do you." I replied that I had nothing against him personally, but felt that the police should be made democratically accountable to the community as a whole, and explained that we were in favour of trade union rights for the police force.

I asked him how he felt having to break strikes and let scabs through the picket

line. He answered by saying that he didn't enjoy doing that type of work and that he knew what it was like to be made redundant and put on the dole.

Although he said policemen had to be non-political, he nevertheless, informed us that he personally would be voting Labour in the forthcoming General Election.

During a canvass in Broad Green a Franciscan Monk bought the paper and gave thirty pence to the fighting fund. He wanted to take a poster but he said that the other monks wouldn't let him put it up!

By Leo McDaid

ELECTION '83



On the doorstep

"Tell me this—are homicidal maniacs meant to vote in elections? Well how the hell did the Tories get in in the first place?"

"I've suffered under the Tories all my life. I was seven when they sent the police in against the miners of our village in 1926. And they didn't just have clubs

you know, they had bloody big stakes. But my dad and the rest of the miners were ready for them, the police got second prize.

"There was nowt for me to do when I left school so I was forced to leave Wales. I came up to Yorkshire, served my time and went into engineering for forty years. We were lucky I suppose—youngsters today have no hope.

"I feel very, very bitter. Five and a half years of my life were taken from me fighting in the war. I thought we'd won. I thought we'd got rid of dictatorship, but here we are with dictator Thatcher, she's literally ruining people's lives. Yes I'm bitter but I'm forced to be.

"The Tories are liars, the SDP are traitors and as for Ben Ford well bugger him. We'll be voting for Pat Wall, he's a good man."
—Reg, from Bowling Ward, Bradford North.

Three women discussing the election with canvasser in Bradford North. One said, "That Pat Wall is a bit left though." The other replied, "I don't care if he's got green feathers coming out of his head—I'll still vote for him."

"I voted Tory last time, I have to admit that, because they promised jobs. That

was nothing but a pack of lies. I'm 46 and when I go down for a job they just say there's nothing for you. It's the first time I've ever been unemployed. I used to work at Armitage textiles but now there's no jobs in textiles at all.

"I now see that the Tories are only interested in the rich getting richer which means the poor get poorer. So I'm keen to get stuck in with Labour's campaign."

—James Cheers, living on the Thorpe Edge estate (which has 60% unemployment), Bradford North. Volunteered to canvass for Labour.

When asked what she thought would be the result of the general election, an old woman in Thorpe Edge, Bradford North, replied, "I think they'll have a hanging parliament." She could be right if the Tories get in.

"The way I look at it now, if I'd known what was going to happen, I wouldn't have had any kids. There's nothing going for them, there's no point them staying on at school. The YOP schemes are useless. They take them on for a year, work them to the bone and then send them back on the dole. I mean, why should they pay a full wage for a permanent job when they



Above, Coventry South East Labour candidate Dave Nellist speaks to Graham Payne senior: TASS rep, while canvassing GEC.

can use the kids as cheap labour?

"I'd like to see a few of those Tory MPs manage on £40 a week with three kids. I'd like to see Thatcher cope in my position. I think it's right that MPs should live like we do. If they don't how can they understand what it is like? How can they fight for us if they know nothing about our lives."

—Mrs Lee, Broad Green, Liverpool.

"I've got a soft spot for Mrs Thatcher. The pond in Newsham Park."

—Mrs Lee's son, Robbie.

"I've been waiting for you to call, this street is full of Tories but I'm a Labour man and proud of it. Give me one of your posters. That will sicken them..." This worker in Bolton Ward, Bradford North, was actually wrong. That night six posters went up in this so-called Tory street.

What their papers say

As the Fleet Street press find it harder to justify the Tories' policies, so they are increasingly raising the "red scare". The most obnoxious story this week must have come from the *News of the World* (May 22). Their page two article claims "Strongarm extremists posed as voters to swing a vital Labour victory" in the Liverpool local elections. It adds "Left wing heavies were accused of casting crucial false votes and threatening electors backing other candidates".

This hysterical report came from an outburst by Liberal Rosemary Cooper, who lost her seat to Labour by 481 votes in the (surprise, surprise) Broad Green Ward. These libellous remarks have of course been rejected by the Liverpool Labour Party—it was after all a secret ballot. It seems the Liberals just can't face the fact that their policies of cut-backs in Liverpool were decisively rejected and have turned to unsubstantiated smears.

The *Sunday Express* (May 22) described the TUC in its editorial as "reactionary, dim and bloody minded". Most workers think it the other way around.

Back to Liverpool again. The *Daily Star* (latest reports say it is still masquerading as a "Labour" paper) complains on May 11 that the newly elected Labour council has done away with the Lord Mayor's parade and is to replace it with a "Kremlin style march past". Yes, but will the fur hats and row upon row of gleaming tank squadrons and missile carriers have to be paid for by the rates, we ask?

A nice example of how objective, fair and unbiased the Fleet Street press can be was in the *Daily Mail* (May 19). They described the Tories' proposals for Labour controlled local authorities thus:

"It is fair to say that if these strict financial controls on Labour councils had been operating since 1979, hundreds of thousands of inner city jobs would have been saved. By contrast the militant lesbians, babies-for-peace, Irish and black extremists, left wing theatre groups and revolutionary creators of all kinds, who have soaked up millions of pounds of ratepayers money in recent years, are going to find it much harder to collect their subsidies." There. You can't get much more "unbiased" hysteria than that, can you.

TARGET—£50,000 BY JULY 9.

Area	Received	% of target achieved	Target 9 July
Eastern	391		2700
East Midlands	490		2600
Humberside	305		1300
London East	471		3300
London West	524		1650
London South	1092		2500
Manchester & Lancs	581		3000
Merseyside	496		3400
Northern	380		3550
Scotland East	268		2100
Scotland West	365		3000
Southern	553		3150
South West	352		2000
Wales East	275		1500
Wales West	194		2100
West Midlands	330		3100
Yorkshire	309		3400
Others	1659		5000
Total received	9235		50000

End tory rule with Militant

OUR TARGET to raise £40,000 over the period of the general election campaign has made a start with reports of mass sales of *Militant* in many areas of the country.

But we think there must have been more donations made, many from first-time buyers of our paper, than have reached our offices to date! We appeal to our sellers, again many of whom have official positions such as Election Agent for their CLP etc, not to delay in forwarding on cash, however busy they are.

We don't want to delay sending out *Militant*! And with the way the Tories are trying to justify their record on the basis "it's not nice—but that's how things are", *Militant* is needed not only to support all Labour candidates but also to show that there is an alternative to the capitalist system. It's called socialism. No other paper can do the job of explaining and campaigning for socialist ideas.

Last week's paper mentioned the generous support from delegates and visitors to the CPSA Conference, and we are happy to show over £1,400 from them in our chart this week, and to remind those who gave IOUs...

The Branch Secretary of TGWU 7/17/157 Branch sent us £25 in appreciation of our support over the attempted sacking of the sub-convenor at Flexible Ducting Ltd (Central Scotland), and we've had our "usual" from TGWU 5/909 Branch. Many thanks.

Individual supporters who've assisted our funds this week included D MacKinnon (Ayr) who rounded his paper money up to £30, London reader I Riddell who promises us £25 each month, P Crack (Bristol) £15, G Smith (Dundee £10), and E Dinsdale (Camberley) £7. J Kerr (Govan, TGWU 7/200 Branch member), pensioner W Woodhead (S London) P Lilly (Huntingdon), Des (E Kilbride), C Thompson (Southampton), J Akers (Aberystwyth) and a Fife LP member were the sources of fivers.

Bermundsey readers S Webb, O Wallace, J Mulrennan and P Brooks deserve our thanks, as do Leicester

supporters N Hanney, G Webster (TGWU shop steward), Cllr G Parmar and K Jackson. R Duncan, C Comerford and J McKean (all Perth and Kinross LP) were some of the very many Scottish readers to pay £1 for their *Militant*. (Do you know someone who would be prepared to do that regularly?)

Other individual contributors, although we can't mention you all, included P Marl (Colwyn Bay), K Denry (Merseyside), Mr and Mrs M Taylor (Coventry), A Robson (Castleford), M Bolivar (Bromsgrove LPYS), readers in Ashby and Blackbrook Roads, Loughborough, Mr and Mrs Arnold (Nottingham), M Barnett (Brent E LPYS), P Millar (Isle of Wight), C Fryatt (Sunderland LPYS), P Reid (Blantyre EIS) and D Oliver (Motherwell ISTC), Mrs Ursell, Sittingbourne, and V McGrain (Liverpool W Derby).

Collections at *Militant* meetings sent in this week included those from Derby (£25), Dundee, Southamp-

ton (£34), Dudley and from a discussion group in Kent. A good geographical spread! Thanks to LPYS supporters who collected for us in Hayes, Croydon, Birkenhead, Garscadden and Portsmouth, whilst a £10 donation came from Ellesmere Port LPYS, and nearly £20 from student readers in Manchester, Swansea and Leicester.

With an extra £2,700 in this week, our chart is beginning to look a bit blacker, but to be blunt we're halfway through our "quarter" with just under one-fifth of our target raised! Surely every reader must know at least one person who can spare us a couple of quid (or more) this week?

If every reader helps just to this extent, the overall effect would be tens of thousands of pounds coming into our offices next week! What about it, comrades? Send crossed cheques and Postal Orders (payable to *Militant*) to Fighting Fund Appeal, *Militant*, 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN.

Record sales!

WITH the election campaign only just under way already thousands of extra sales of *Militant* have been recorded.

Along with the Sunderland sellers, Queens Park, Craigton and West Bradford have already sent in money for double their usual sales. Reports from Scotland indicate big support for *Militant* with Strathclyde reporting one sale at every four doors called on and excellent sales reported from Perth, Fife and Lothian.

A street sale in Glasgow on a Friday afternoon netted 120, other areas should try sales during the day. All sellers should sell outside election meetings and even pass a note around meetings to see if anyone wishes to become a regular reader.



We appeal to all our readers to campaign against Mrs T. and her gangsters in the most effective way by selling socialism i.e. selling *Militant*! Why not take an order out for the election, to sell at your meetings or in the committee rooms?

Record sales have been recorded at this week's trade union conferences with nearly 600 sold at CPSA conference, over 70 at NUPE and over 50 at IRSE.

Is there anyone who sold 100 in a week? Send in reports of your sales! For bulk orders (sale or return) post free contact: *Militant* Circulation, 1 Mentmore Terrace, London E8 3PN or phone 01-533 1822 anytime between 8.00 am-8.00 pm.

ads

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

SUNDAY 29 MAY

BARNSELY: at 7.30pm at Victoria Hotel, Sheffield Road, Barnsley.

TUESDAY 31 MAY

SWANSEA: Speaker: Ted Grant at 7.30pm at YMCA, Llewellyn Hall, Swansea.

WEDNESDAY 1 JUNE

LEICESTER: Speaker: John Pickard at 7.30pm at "DOREF" (formerly Dixie Arms) Vaughan Way, Leicester.

THURSDAY 2 JUNE

EDINBURGH: Speakers: P. Taaffe (Editor, *Militant*) and John Kegsie (Convenor, Robbs Shipyard) at 7.30pm Edinburgh Trades Council, Pricardy Place. BASILDON: Speaker: Peter Jarvis at 8.00pm in Room 4, Pitsea Leisure Centre.

GRIMSBY: Speaker: Jane Hartley at 8.00pm, Central Library, Town Hall Square, Grimsby.

STEPNEY: See local sellers for details.

WATFORD: Speaker: Tony Saunois. See local sellers for details.

FRIDAY 3 JUNE

GLASGOW: Speaker: P. Taaffe (Editor, *Militant*) at 7.30 pm at McClellan Gallery.

MANCHESTER: Speaker: Ted Grant at 7.30pm at Manchester Lecture Theatre, Poly Library, Oxford Road, All Saints, Manchester.

BURY: Speaker: Lynn Walsh at 8.00pm at "Old Bluebell", Bell Lane, Bury.

3 JUNE (CON)

BIRMINGHAM: Speaker C. Doyle at 7.30pm at Doctor Johnson's House, Bull Street, Birmingham City Centre.

BRISTOL: Speaker: Bryan Beckingham at 7.30pm in Central Hall, Old Market.

PLYMOUTH: See local sellers for details.

NOTTINGHAM: Speaker Keith Dickinson, at 7.30 pm, International Community Centre, 61b Mansfield Road, Nottingham.

SUNDAY 5 JUNE

STOCKTON: Speaker: Dave Cotterhill at 7.45pm at YMCA, Stockton.

LEEDS: Speakers: Ron Sedler (Labour candidate Leeds NE) and Bob Lee at 8.00pm at Springbank Community Centre, Wellington Lane, Hull.

SUNDERLAND: Speaker: Lynn Walsh, at 7.30pm at Shelter Deck, Southwick, Sunderland.

HULL: Speaker: Keith Dickinson at 8.00pm at Springbank Community Centre, Wellington Lane, Hull.

BURNLEY: See local sellers for details.

NORTH SHIELDS: See local sellers for details.

GATESHEAD: See local sellers for details.

NEWCASTLE: at 7.30pm at "Gingerbread", 214 Westgate Road, Newcastle.

MONDAY 6 JUNE

ASHINGTON: See local sellers for details.

CLASSIFIED

OXFORD MILITANT SUPPORTERS TOTE RESULTS

Week 639—No 14	Lorraine Shaw, Oxford
Week 640—No 81	Caine McDonnell, Oxford
Week 641—No 37	Unsold
Week 642—No 34	Unsold
Week 643—No 12	Phillipa Twomly, Abingdon
Week 644—No 92	Richard Tomlinson
Week 645—No 10	Hugo Donnelly, Headington, Oxford
Week 646—No 42	Unsold
Week 647—No 96	Unsold
Week 648—No 93	Kath Saxby, Witney
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Militant bios with slogan: "Read *Militant*, Tories out, Labour to power on a socialist programme." Normal price 20p (plus 20p p&hp). Bulk orders: 10 at £1.30 (post free).

MILITANT Marxist Weekend Schools. LONDON 2/3 July Queen Mary College Student Union. NORTHERN 9/10 July, Teesside Poly, Middlesbrough. Fuller details future issues.

This week: £2,743

SHOP STEWARDS DONATION

"Please accept this donation from my Shop Stewards Committee (£25). The help and guidance that you gave us during our recent strike was nothing less than priceless. So once again, thank you."

Yours fraternally,

Brina Christie,

Branch Secretary, 7/17/157 TGWU. (Flexible Ducting).

South Wales
8th
Militant

Summer Camp

South Wales Militant Summer Camp August Bank Holiday

Friday 26 August-Monday 29 August

For the eighth time we are organising our highly successful camp in the beautiful surroundings of Horton on the Gower Coast (10 minutes' walk from Port Eynon and Horton beaches).

It will provide not only an excellent introduction to the ideas of Marxism, but also a superb holiday for the family. Price £10. Write to 181 Hanover Street, Swansea SA1 6BP.

YOUTH SHOW THE WAY

Get rid of the Tories!

ONE THING has come across clearly so far in this election campaign—the hatred felt by youth towards this Tory government.

The Tories offer youth a future of nothing more than despair and their callous disregard for the prospects and hopes of young people was underlined last week with the publication of a secret government 'Think-Tank' report which completely exposed their fraudulent claims about their new Youth Training Scheme.

When this scheme was first announced it was claimed it would "provide young people with a bridge between school and work through broad-based foundation training". The report however shows that one of its main purposes was just to cut the dole figures—a conjurers' trick! "The essence of the proposal is to reduce the size of the labour force by raising to 17 the age of entry to the normal labour market".

The report confirms the fears of many young workers that the scheme was designed to force down the wages of young apprentices and trainees. It says "young people on the Training Year would receive a modest allowance well below the normal wage."

"It would be possible, in time, to prescribe a lower training wage for those being trained by their employer (including apprentices). This would be a means of achieving a particularly desirable objective—the lowering of the training wage, which is unlikely to be achieved voluntarily."

The magazine *Time Out* which published the leaked report described these

paragraphs as "chilling". The LPYS say they are scandalous! They stand as a crucifying indictment of this evil Tory government. They prove beyond doubt that youth have no future under Thatcher and her rotten capitalist system.

Indeed the report itself states that far from a recovery being around the corner "the prospects for young school leavers are bleak. By the end of 1983, between 50 per cent and 70 per cent of the labour force under 18 might never have had a proper job." They condemn themselves with their own words!

Every LPYS branch must ensure that the issue of youth is pushed to the fore in Labour's election campaign. Public meetings on the question of youth must be fought for in every constituency where this has not already been done. Major youth rallies should be held in every major city.

Above all else, however, we must ensure that the anger of youth against the Tories is translated not only into voting Labour but also into active membership of the LPYS. Swansea LPYS have reported that in just one week's election campaigning they have picked up twenty-four new members. This should be the case in every area.

Thatcher has likened herself to a General, and the Tory government have waged war on working class youth for four years. We must use the election campaign to build up our army, an army of young workers pledged to socialist ideas which through the labour movement will fight to rid mankind of the horrors of capitalism.

By Nick Toms



Join Labour's youth section, the Labour Party Young Socialists, and fight for the return of a Labour government committed to socialist policies. Photo: Militant

Peoples' March

THE HUMBERSIDE, Yorkshire and East Midlands leg of the Peoples' March for Jobs arrived in Leicester on May 19, having marched through Hucknall, Nottingham, Long Eaton, Derby and Loughborough.

Around 250 trade unionists turned out to greet the march as it made its way through Leicester city centre, in driving rain.

The reception has been varied. A poor response in some areas can be laid at the door of that section of the labour and trade union movement who never wanted the march to take

place and who have of late, been intent in getting the march called off, or are in favour of making the campaign so low-key that it will have no effect.

On the other hand the march has only taken a real direction when local activists have seen the march for what it can be. A platform from which we can kick out the Tories and return a Labour government committed to carrying out the most radical manifesto since 1945.

The liberal regime on this leg of the march has meant that political slogans have been allowed and this is in line with what Ron Todd of the Transport and General Workers Union said at the

rally held in Nottingham.

The calling of a general election has completely changed the complexion of the march and if Labour is to succeed then the march has to be political. One of the marchers, Brian Smith, 28, from Keighley, told me, "As regards to the Keighley to Northampton leg of the march of which I'm a member, we have received practically *carte blanche* as regards political expression."

"I now feel, having received news of the call of a general election, that our crusade now takes on more political significance than when our leg first took conception at Keighley on 27 April".

By Alan Shadsworth
(West Hull LPYS,
Peoples' Marcher)

Win the 'Y' voters

IN BRIGHTON, the LPYS have got off to a flying start in the task of winning the youth vote to Labour and electing a working-class socialist MP in Kempton.

There has been an enthusiastic response to the ideas of the LPYS and *Militant*. Last Saturday a day of action featuring an impromptu street meeting sold over 60 papers and more than 25 young people signed up to the LPYS. The day after, over 200 attended a Youth for Labour public meeting—one of the first of many.

During the week the YS has been canvassing as a group, and aim to reach every young voter, finding names and addresses by going over the 'Y'-voters' list

for past years and checking them against the present register of electors.

We plan to hold more activity including leafleting at the local Tech, at the dole, the local record shop and the beach—weather permitting. We also plan to visit some local youth clubs.

The student vote will also be crucial to Labour, as Brighton has a large university and a polytechnic. Already Rod will be speaking at a University Labour Club meeting with a further meeting being arranged at the polytechnic. A debate was arranged at the Tech. The vice-principal put a block on that, but there are YS posters up inside the Tech and it will be leafleted regularly.

Labour Club and LPYS members regularly sell papers at the university on a Friday and last week over 50 were sold and the names of 25 students willing to help Labour in the election were taken. At Brighton Poly the Students' Union has been helpful in arranging meetings and printing material. Two special leaflets are being produced, one aimed at higher education students and the other at those in the Tech and sixth forms.

Kempton Labour Party has seen the crucial need to win youth to Labour. There will be four million new votes in this election, and their votes can play a decisive role. The party has allowed YS speakers at all public meetings, a youth rally and printed 20,000 leaflets aimed at youth.

By Mark Avis

Tottenham

"I'VE HAD enough of this Thatcher rubbish," commented one woman. "It's all right for these Tories jet-setting it in their Concordes."

"But what about the unemployed? I've got no money until my giro comes. Thatcher makes me sick. I can't wait to vote Labour."

Patricia Jarrett explained what the Tory cuts in the health service meant to her and her daughter. "If my child is ill and I have to get her to a hospital we have to travel miles to the nearest hospital in Edmonton. The

Tories have closed all Tottenham's hospitals. The Tories are only interested in themselves. They're getting richer and richer while they make us suffer."

Milton and Albert said, "Labour must sort out unemployment. If every unemployed person voted Labour Thatcher would be out. She's gone to the polls because she knows her popularity is going to run out. She goes on about the Falklands, but that won't help her forever. The Tories are offering nothing. That's why we have to vote Labour."

Workers on the Debden Estate, Tottenham, North London spoke to Jackie Walsh and Mark French

MASS CANVASSES

BRIGHTON KEMPTON: Sunday 29 May from 10.00 am onwards. All help welcome at 179 Lewes Road, Brighton.

LIVERPOOL BROAD GREEN: For details phone Labour Party rooms, 051-264 9116.

BRADFORD NORTH: For details phone Labour Party rooms, 0274 727224.

COVENTRY SOUTH EAST: For details phone Labour Party rooms, 0203 23851.

Are you arranging a mass canvass in your constituency? Advertise the details in *Militant*.

LPYS task force

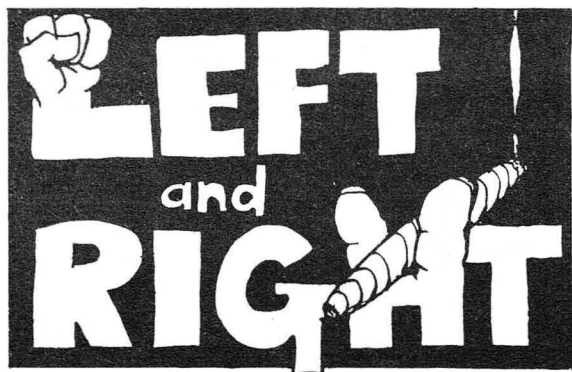
THE LPYS CANVASS team has been working in the Asian areas of Bradford Moor and Bowling, and has been giving out leaflets, stickers, halting football matches in the back streets and holding impromptu meetings and discussion groups on what another four Tory years will mean especially for youth unemployment, now eight times higher in Bradford than in the 1930's.

There is also the racist Nationality Act. There have been over eighteen attempts of deportation in Bradford under the Tories, only prevented by the power of the local labour movement.

Bradford North LPYS is organising days of action every Saturday in the city centre, with street meetings, stickers and rattling cans. One hundred *Socialist Youth* have been ordered for next week, 10,000 youth leaflets and 3,000 black and Asian youth leaflets. Plans are in hand to leaflet dole queues, cinema queues, youth clubs and schools.

A mini bus decked out with YS material will be used as part of the "task force", going from one ward to another and on the Saturday prior to the election an open-top double-decker bus will tour the main estates filled with YS canvassers. But it's not just enough to give out leaflets. Most of our success has come from approaching youth direct and asking them to work with us in the fight for Labour. So far 70 youth have agreed to help in the campaign.

A special letter has been drafted to send out to all YS members and contacts appealing to them to join us and strengthen Pat Wall's proud record of standing on socialist policies, supporting the ideas of the YS and struggling for the rights of youth. We believe Pat will represent working class youth in Parliament when elected.



Happy families

There must surely be a case for taking the SDP-Liberal "Alliance" to court under the Trades Descriptions Act. In the two parliamentary seats in Hackney, they are in total confusion, as not only are the 'allies' fighting each other, but members of the same party are threatening to contest the same seat.

In Hackney South the Liberals are putting up a candidate against Labour renegade Ron Brown, who defected to the SDP. They'll probably get more votes than Brown, so unpopular was the control exercised by Labour's right wing. In the North, the Liberals have just sacked their Chairman, after the local Labour Party pointed out that he had been involved in National Front activities. So the ex-Chairman's friends are now busy putting up another Liberal to oppose the official Liberal.

Can pay but won't pay

Bankers are notoriously keen to hold on to every penny they "earn" and tend to wage vicious campaigns against governments like those of France and Greece. They have recently got their hooks into another government, but this time it is none other than Ronald Reagan's "free enterprise" USA. A massive, expensive campaign has made the American House of Representatives drop a Bill to make banks withhold 10% tax on interest and dividend income. This was not a new tax, just a way for the Internal Revenue to collect money more efficiently and avoid tax dodges. The defeat of the Bill will cost the government £9,000 million over the next five years.

Tax avoidance amongst the super rich is such big business that a Washington insurance company pays up to \$100,000 to cover additional taxes to be paid following a tax swoop. The only problem is the taxpayer has to have been "honest and reasonable"...

A Tory opportunist

Black and Asian workers have been amongst the heaviest sufferers under Thatcher. But the Tories are trying to win the Asian vote in a number of areas. In Birmingham Ladywood they are standing Indian born Pramila Le Hunte, the wife of an English computer manager. She wears Indian clothes in the Asian areas and Western dress in the more Tory areas of the constituency.

She pins her hope on the fact that many Asian women can't speak English, presumably because she wouldn't want them to read the Tory manifesto. Unfortunately for her, poverty and unemployment are the same in any language and a fighting Labour campaign would show what effect Tory policies have had on blacks, on Asians and on women.

The common touch

Unemployed Royal Princess Diana got a temporary job last week, opening a new frozen food factory in Newcastle and a new bridge over the Tyne. She met some of her fellow unemployed, three jobless, cashless young people from Gateshead. When they told her they were out of work, she laughed and said, "So you must spend most of your time in the pub." Her Royal Highness, who has her own bar in her residences, was wearing the standard clothing of unemployed young people, a two-piece midnight blue velvet outfit and a matching ostrich feathered hat.

Fifty years ago

The sheer waste that capitalism brings is staggering. Fifty years ago, on 12 June, 1933, the League of Nations organised a World Economic Conference. The French Prime Minister, Deladier reported that the loss of production resulting from unemployment totalled over \$35,000 million. In the previous five years world output had fallen by a third, and there were 30 million wholly unemployed and 30 only semi-employed in the main capitalist countries. And just as in the forthcoming economic summit at Williamsburg, none of the 1930's capitalist "statesmen" had any solution to the crisis engulfing their system.

The tunnel at the end of the light

BOOM-TIME is on the way. That's Thatcher's election theme song. But throughout the last four years, while the Tory vampires have been sucking the blood of British industry the Prime Minister has been consistently telling us all it is "doing us good".

It would, she said, make industry "leaner and fitter". The growing army of unemployed are getting thinner, certainly, but fitter?

Before the 1979 election, with advertisements proclaiming 'Labour isn't working' Thatcher pulled an unlikely claim out of her handbag. "Another Labour accusation is that the Tories plan to increase unemployment. But we Tories believe in policies that will create real jobs"

From the very beginning that was just a lie. The first budget in June 1979 gave the "incentive" to the rich to make themselves richer by lowering the top rate of income tax from 83% to 60%, one of the lowest levels of top taxation in the advanced capitalist countries.

This, said the Tories would reward initiative, build investment and get new jobs. The budget also cut

£2.8 billion off public spending and started a real avalanche of job cuts.

On 29 November 1980, the Labour Party organised a massive demonstration against unemployment, which had topped 2 million officially a few months before. That morning's papers reported a speech by Thatcher; "We are reaching the trough of the recession and it will start to turn up towards the end of the year."

The next month saw 20,000 jobs disappear in British Steel, over 1,300 at BL Preston, 1,250 in GKN. 1,000 in Dunlop and hundreds more from each of Midland Motor Cylinders, BREL, Coventry Climax, Carrington, Viyella, Lockwood Canning, Metal Box, Albion Bottle Company, Courtaulds and Oxalid.

On 4 January 1981, Thatcher claimed "1981 will be the year when results begin to show." The "results" for the next two months included the following redundancies. In January British Steel (again) 3,700, Norfolk and Lincoln CC 2,500, Northern Ireland Civil Service 2,000, Tate and Lyle Liverpool 1,570, Fisons 1,100, Storey Bros Suffolk, 1,100.

In February Coal Board 5,600 (redundancies halted

at least temporarily by strike action) Talbot Linwood 4,800, Liverpool's Liberal Council 3,000, British Airways 2,500, Courtaulds 1,900, Lincolnshire CC 1,500, Littlewoods 1,300, Firth Brown Sheffield 1,250, London Brick 1,100. And those were just the sackings of over a thousand.

But Thatcher was resolute. On 25 June 1981 she told us all "There are now clear signs that the worst of the recession is over" Unfortunately it wasn't over for 15,000 civil servants whose jobs were axed the following month or for 2,000 workers each at Vauxhall and Enkalon and Stone Platt.

Since then hardly a week has passed without a Tory cabinet minister having hallucinations of "light at the end of the tunnel". Even the small boom which has begun to show itself in capitalism internationally will have only slight impact in Britain and will make little dent in the dole figures before the next downturn.

It is the Tories' system that is wrong and a Labour government will have to throw that out along with the Tory government with its weekly parade of false dawns.

From their own mouths

"The latest batch of official figures all point the same way—up!... Manufacturing output is 1½% above the last three months of 1982."

—Secretary of State for Industry Patrick Jenkin, in a speech on 17 May. The next day the official figures were released showing a drop of 1% in industrial production since March. In fact, since the Tories took power in 1979, manufacturing output has slumped as a whole by 18.5%.

"With Red Robbo in charge at BL the British car buyers would buy from Volkswagen, Fiat and Renault."

—Norman Tebbit, on 17 May.

"When I say less (public spending) on the NHS I mean less on the health workers and more on doctors and patients."—Tory parliamentary candidate interviewed in a *Sunday Times* survey, 15 May.

Also in the *Times* survey, another Tory PPC wanted Tebbit for Home Secretary while one wanted hanging "for anyone carrying firearms for use in crime", and another even said capital punishment "should be available for all crimes." Although he did say "but not mandatory". Thank heavens for small mercies!

WORKERS BACK LABOUR...



Dustmen at work in Brighton—what do they think of the Tories and SDP so far?

LOCAL dustmen in Brighton enthusiastically covered their dustcarts in Rod Fitch posters. "I'll vote for him. If the Tories win, we'll all be out of a job," they said.

The SDP complained to the council and got the council to tear off the posters. Rod Fitch said, "It's very bad the SDP had to resort to this kind of tactic, it was only done through enthusiasm and through the help the Labour Party had given in the past."

Last year Rod fought to get proper insurance cover for council refuse collectors when one was injured off

council property. This is the way that Rod has fought over the past year for workers in Brighton, and they won't be stopped from supporting him by the SDP's tactics.

Bradford support (1)

A MEETING of the Renold Factory Branch of the Labour Party in Bradford showed the seriousness with which workers are approaching the coming election. Members urged that other workers be encourag-

ed to canvass, that leaflets should be produced and a meeting with Pat Wall arranged.

The branch also agreed to meet weekly instead of fortnightly during the campaign. There was anger at Ben Ford's decision to stand as independent and risk losing the seat to the Tories. One worker said, "Ben Ford did nothing for us in the GEC strike in 1969." Jack Sharkey, branch chairman, said he would be working for Pat in Bradford North, as his constituency was solid Tory. Definitely a feeling of a hard task ahead but confidence in our candidate.

Bradford support (2)

"YOU can count me as a staunch supporter of Pat Wall, at least we have someone who will speak up for us. They call anyone who is a socialist 'extremist' or 'red under the bed', but Pat Wall is a workers' man, he'll do for me. Ben Ford goes on about democracy but he's been democratically beaten by Pat Wall twice and he won't accept the majority vote."

—Worker from Hindle Gears, locked out for nine weeks.

WITH THE calling of the general election, the obscure, right-wing "Foreign Affairs Publishing Company Limited" has brought forward publication of a 180-page booklet, "The Militant Tendency—Trotskyism in the Labour Party", by Peter Shipley.

While written in apparently neutral, academic language, the pamphlet is undoubtedly intended to fuel dirty red-scare tactics being used by Thatcher and the Tories to divert attention from their vicious anti-working class record. All the indications are that Shipley's pamphlet could be featured in the national and perhaps local press and media.

The real intention of this publication becomes blatantly obvious once the background of its author, who is one of Thatcher's aides, and the circumstances of its publication are known. Shipley has denied to journalists that publication has anything to do with the general election.

Yet the publishers have admitted that the booklet will be distributed through the Tory Central Office!

Shipley's right-wing background

Shipley has been at various times a civil servant and a journalist, writing for the *Telegraph* and the *Spectator*. According to the note on the book cover, "For most of the period from 1977-82 Mr Peter Shipley worked for the Conservative Party and since September 1982 has been a member of the Prime Minister's Policy Unit at 10 Downing Street."

However, there is a murkier, much less publicised aspect of Shipley's career. In October 1982 the anti-fascist magazine *Searchlight* revealed that, "In the late 1960s, while a student at York University, he (Shipley) was listed as a National Front member and given the membership number 8699. The NF registered his membership from his parents' Leicester address.

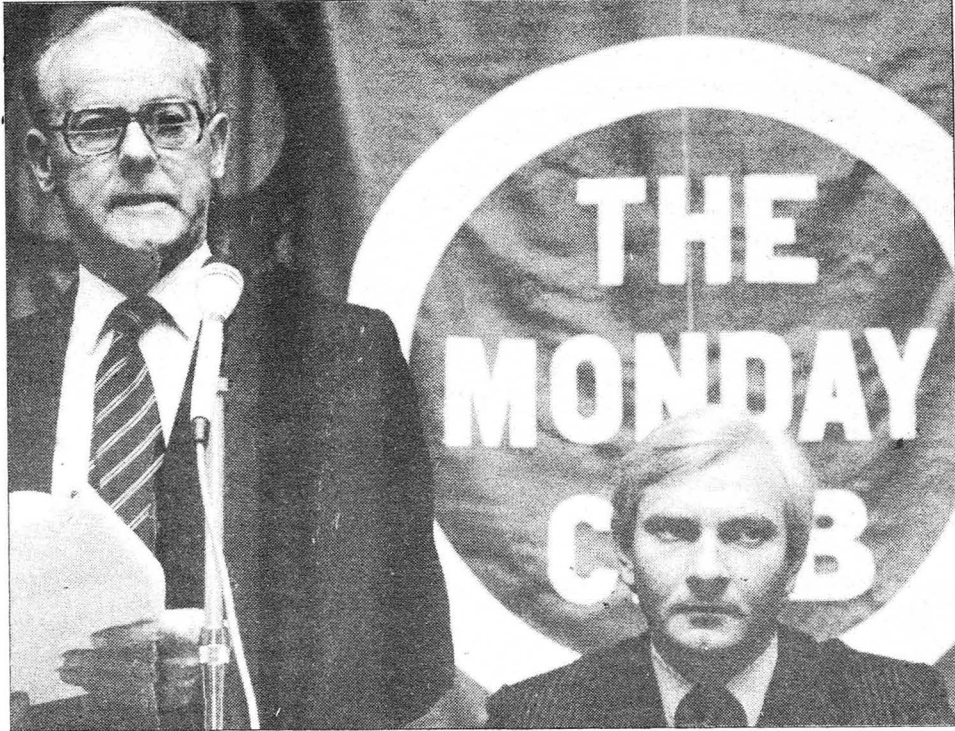
"Shipley, however, denies the allegation, and told *Searchlight* that he has no knowledge of how he came to be listed as a member." The question of how Shipley appeared on the membership list of the National Front, the main fascist party in Britain, remains to be explained.

Throughout his career, Shipley has been associated with a number of right-wing organisations, and several Tory MPs on the extreme, ultra-right wing of the Conservative Party are associated with these groups.

In 1970 Shipley is known to have been at an "Anti-Subversion Conference" organised by Geoffrey Stewart-Smith, of the Foreign Affairs Circle, and Ian Grieg of the right-wing Monday Club. The Foreign Affairs Circle was a parliamentary pressure group of right-wing commentators and ex-military personnel, and published the monthly *East-West Digest* which was distributed free to all MPs.

The *Digest* was aimed at exposing an alleged world conspiracy orchestrated

Shadowy past of red-scare merchant



One of the many right-wing organisations Shipley has been associated with, the Monday Club. In the chair is extreme right-wing Tory MP, Harvey Proctor, who has been connected with racist groups.

from the Kremlin, which, in their view, worked through Communists, Trotskyists, Anarchists and the Labour left.

The Foreign Affairs Circle was also the British section of the World Anti-Communist League, which was largely financed by South African and South

Korean capitalist interests. Stewart-Smith, who was Tory MP for Belper from 1970 to February 1974, apparently broke away from WACL in 1974.

He now concentrates his energies on the Foreign Affairs Publishing Company, which publishes ultra-right, Anti-Communist propagan-

da by Stewart-Smith and Grieg. One of their other current titles is *Chile: The Crime of Resistance* by Suzanne Labin.

Significantly, the Foreign Affairs Research Institute subtleties an office at its premises in Arrow House, Whitehall, to the Coalition For Peace Through Security

(CPS). This is another propaganda organisation, in which Winston Churchill MP and others on the Tories' extreme right, have been involved. CPS has been very active recently in organising the scurrilous campaign to blacken CND as a "Communist front organisation", "Tool of the KGB", etc.

Shipley's latest pamphlet

During his time at the Tory Central Office, Peter Shipley wrote at least two pamphlets for the Institute of Conflict Studies, another right-wing organisation. ICS was set up by Brian Crozier, and had its origins in Forum World Features, which was hurriedly wound up in 1975 when its secret funding from the CIA was revealed in the press.

Crozier, who is also associated with the so-called Freedom Association is well known for regurgitating CIA disinformation and propaganda in the columns of Tory newspapers like the *Telegraph* and *The Times*. *The Times*, for instance, carried an hysterical attack on

Militant by Crozier in 1982.

There is nothing new in Shipley's pamphlet: it rehashes all the fairy stories presented to the Labour Party's National Executive Committee in Lord Underhill's report, documents which have nothing to do with the *Militant*.

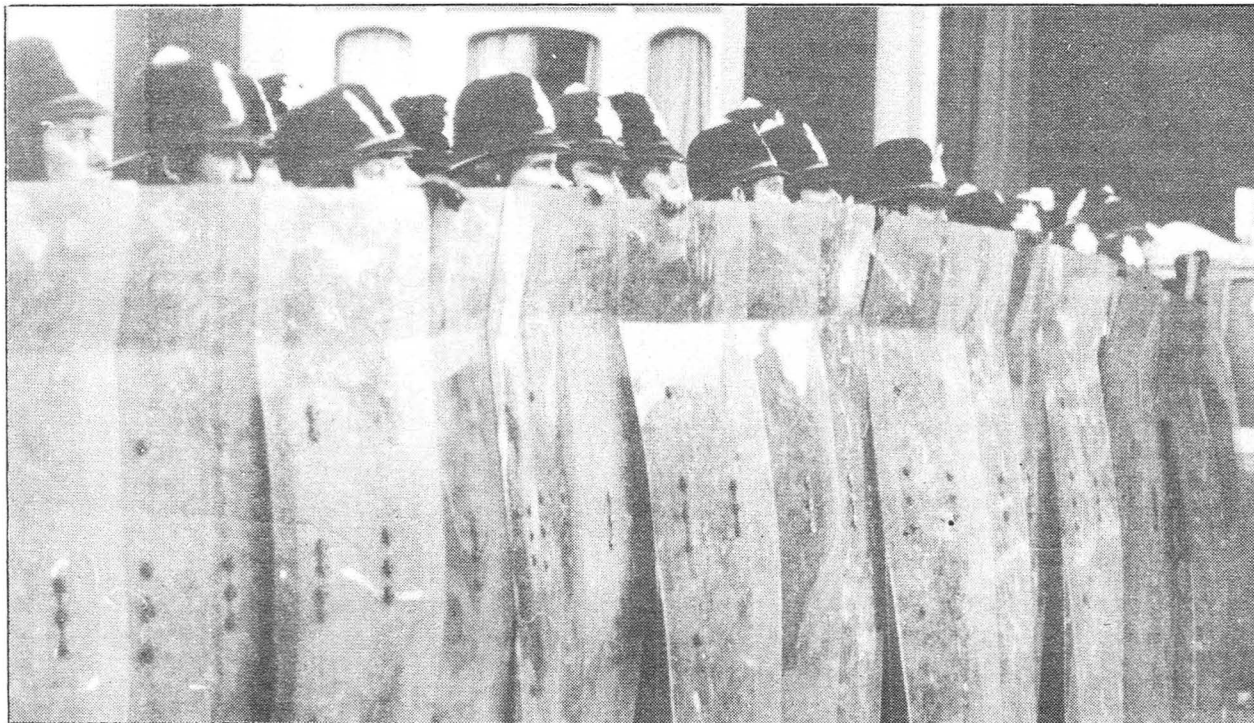
Militant's policies are well known and the activities of our supporters are known to all active members of the Labour Party and the trade unions. Ironically, Shipley's own material makes it clear that support for the *Militant* newspaper has grown because *Militant* has won the argument over policy in the party and the trade unions over recent years.

Whatever Shipley's intentions, his book shows that *Militant* has gained support through a long period of activity and campaigning in the Labour Party and the trade unions, and he produces no evidence whatsoever to support his innuendoes of undemocratic methods.

The pamphlet has a foreword by Neville Sandelson, the former Labour MP for Hayes and Harlington who defected to the Social Democrats. In recommending Shipley's book, Sandelson whines about "the folly and cowardice of the right in the Labour Party..."

However, in virulently attacking the *Militant*, Sandelson makes no attempt to explain why the right-wing policies he stands for were rejected by the rank and file of the Labour Party or why he refused to accept the democratic decisions of his Constituency Party to replace him as their parliamentary candidate.

POLICE PLAN FOR FUTURE UNREST



Police with riot-shields on the streets of Brixton in 1981. The Tories have imported the police methods of Northern Ireland onto the streets of mainland Britain.

ALL THE THREE major parties on the surface apparently "agree" on one thing. If the Tories get in there will be growing social unrest.

The Labour Party has pointed out that far from the Tories being the party of 'law and order', under Thatcher's rule, crime has rocketed, primarily as a result of rising unemployment. Roy Jenkins has prophesied that if the dole queues continue to grow there will be more social

By Angela Anderson (Southend West CLP)

unrest than at any time since the Civil War of the seventeenth century.

The Tories too recognise the consequences of their actions—not so much in words, but in deeds. They are preparing now for future riots, disturbances, strikes and social unrest.

They are secretly preparing to equip the police with water cannon if they win the election. Last week it was reported a British prototype was delivered to the Ministry of Defence Vehicle Engineering Establishment in Chert-

sey, Surrey, where it will be tested for the Home Office. Three West German water cannons are already on loan to London's Metropolitan Police.

Another indication that the authorities are expecting unrest is the decision to give specially selected ambulancemen in South Yorkshire "riot training". Trent Regional Health Authority, which controls the South Yorkshire service, have apparently asked Merseyside ambulancemen to give them the benefit of their experience gained in the Toxteth riots two years ago.

But one of the clearest examples of the class nature of

the new repression came here in Essex. Labour members of the police authority, including the Party's spokesman, County Councillor John Pollard, were excluded from a recent demonstration of anti-riot weapons and tactics.

Explaining why only "selected members" of the Essex authority were invited, Chief Superintendent Barry Devlin told the local *Evening Echo*, 17 May: "It is essential to preserve the element of surprise. It's a foolish general who reveals his plan of campaign to a potential enemy."

So there we have it. Labour councillors represent

a "potential enemy" as far as the top layers of the police are concerned, an admission that, it is not so much spontaneous riots which terrify the Tories, but the organised strength and power of the trade union movement.

Engels explained that the whole machinery of the state can be reduced to special bodies of men, whose role is to protect and preserve the interests of the ruling class in society. In a capitalist society this means protecting the interests of the bosses, the giant monopolies who dominate society.

The tops of the police forces in Britain understand that in the future the crisis of capitalism will lead to enormous class struggles as the bosses try to make the working class pay for the crisis. That's why SDP leaders such as Jenkins are worried about the consequences of Thatcher's policies.

The Tories' "solution" is clear—increased repression. *Militant* has repeatedly warned that the Tories are importing to the mainland methods tried and tested on the streets of Northern Ireland over the last fourteen years. But just as 14 years of military-police methods have not solved a single problem for the ruling class as far as Northern Ireland is concerned, so such methods are incapable of solving the capitalist crisis in Britain.

The labour movement must oppose all forms of repressive policing. Instead of the '1984 world' which the Tories wish to establish, Labour must establish a police policy which genuinely meets the needs and requirements of ordinary people. And eradicate mass unemployment which is the main breeding ground of crime.

Tories and Alliance-

THATCHER:

Thatcher tries to portray herself as an ordinary, middle-class person, comfortably well-off, but not rolling in it. In reality she is a millionairess more than twice over.

Eighteen years ago her husband sold off his family firm, Atlas Preservative Co Ltd to Castrol for £56,000. This was ploughed into new investment estimated to be worth £2,800,000 two years ago. In addition, her husband held directorships in Burmah Oil, Chipman Chemical Co, Halfords Ltd, Quinton Hazell (Holdings) Ltd.



PYM:

Pym represents the more traditional Tory. His home at Hazells' Hall, has been the family seat for 250 years. He owns 500 acres in Berkshire, was educated at Eton and is a member of the Bucks Club.

TEBBIT:

Tebbit is meant to represent the new image of Thatcher's Tory Britain. Although his public image is more akin to Dracula it is not for want of trying. He is a former director of Grafton Public Relations (Mayfair) Ltd. When he went into Parliament, he became the Parliamentary advisor to Walter Judd (Public Relations) Ltd and for a subsidiary of an American multinational, Digital Equipment Ltd.



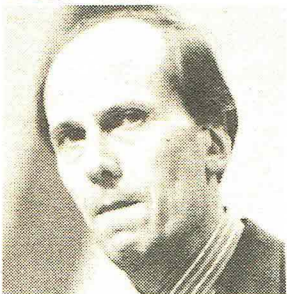
Despite all her rhetoric, Thatcher, in her private life is more than prepared to "sponge off the state". She leases a National Trust home at Scotney Castle, Kent for the ludicrously low rent of £16 a week. In addition she owns a £250,000 town house in Chelsea.

HESELTINE:

Reportedly Heseltine did not see himself having a secure foundation for a political career in the Tory Party until he had millions of pounds (not votes) behind him. He got his millions in the '60s. Up until the 1964 Labour government came into office, Heseltine was a property developer. He stayed a shareholder in three property companies: Bastion Properties, Yoke Developments, Kensington Freeholdings.



In the late sixties he made more money through the Haymarket Press Group. In December he was paid £1,750,000 for some of his shares. With his wife he still holds (through trustees, whilst in government) 52% of Haymarket Press Ltd. He owns a 30-acre farm at Thenford House and leases a luxury house in Belgravia.



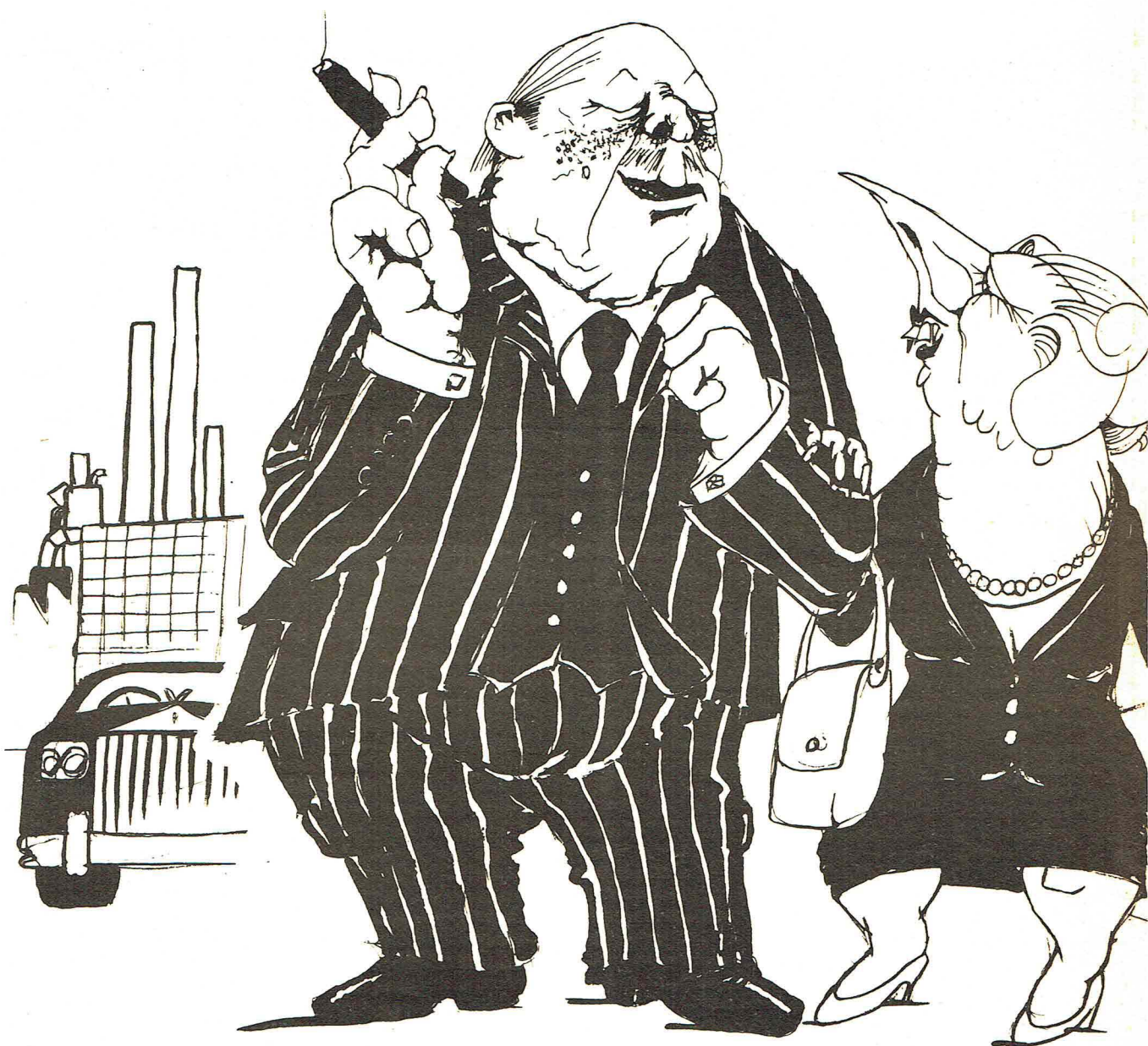
He supplemented his Parliamentary work whilst in opposition by being the Assistant Director of Information to the private building bosses, the National Federation of Building Trades Employers, 1975-79.

PARKINSON:

His former firm, Metal Box have followed true Tory principles. They have cut back on investment in Britain, sacked hundreds of workers in London and built up their investment in apartheid South Africa. Parkinson though won't be affected. He has got a comfortable country home at Westfield House, River Hill, St Albans.

HOWE:

Howe's policies have devastated manufacturing industry, but his former companies have still got plenty of funds to sustain Tory organisations. Howe was a director of seven companies. One of these Sun Alliance and London Insurance last year donated £28,000 to British United Industrialists and £3,500 to the Economic League.



The family of big business

The Tory party claims to be the "national party". The only way this is true, is that its backers actually own the country.

Cecil Parkinson, Tory Party chairman, has stated they will spend up to £20 million in this election—more than six times the amount Labour is able to raise. Virtually all Tory Party funds come from big business, much of it through secretive front organisations.

None of these donations are made with the agreement of the company's workforce, its customers, and often without the knowledge of the shareholders. The Tories talk about 'democracy' in trade union donations to the Labour Party but there is no comparison.

Trade unions have to make a democratic decision to affiliate to the Labour Party, and people can refuse to pay the political contribution. But no one who buys a product has the choice whether or not they want to pay their bit to the Tory Party.

In 1981 the Tories admitted over 2,300 companies gave them money. The

amounts publicly declared in company statements are only the tip of the iceberg. Last year, for its regular expenses, 339 of the top 1,000 companies donated £1,954,830 to the Tory Party, front organisations and sympathetic bodies.

Topping the list was £95,810 from British and Commonwealth Shipping. Its chairman, Nicholas Cayzer, got a peerage in the 1982 honours list. Its Deputy Chairman is brother-in-law to Sir Brian Wyldbore-Smith, Director of the Conservative Board of Finance.

All sections of industry give money to the Tories from banking and insurance, to hotels, leisure and construction. Trafalgar House, owners of the *Daily Express*, *Daily Star*, *Evening Standard* and *Sunday Express* donated £40,000 last year. Its former chairman, Victor Matthews, was given a peerage by Thatcher in 1980.

United Biscuits, James Prior's old firm, donated £33,500 last year. Over the last two years Trust House Forte have given £67,500 to the Tories. Charles Forte was given a peerage in the last New Year's Honours List.

An analysis of one industry gives an indication of

how the Tories are funded. Last year the breweries gave £93,045 to the Tory Party and their front organisations. They did this, not surprisingly, without going into any pub and asking Britain's beer drinkers if they would like part of the price of a pint going to the Tories.

Allied Breweries gave British United Industrialists £70,000, the South-West Industrial Council £2,000 and London Tories £500. It is a similar story for the other large companies. And smaller local companies, such as Ruddles, also make their donation (£200) to the Tory party.

Six Tory MPs have prominent brewery connections: George Younger, Secretary of State for Scotland (ex-director of the Bass subsidiary which bears his name); Paul Dean (director Watneys); Robert Rhodes James (consultant Allied Breweries); J Stradling Thomas (ex-consultant Bass); J A Farr (shareholder Home Brewery); Paul Shannon (ex-director Arthur Guinness and heir to part of that family's fortune).

In addition to making donations directly to the Tory Party, which have to be publicly declared, companies also give money to a number of other anti-trade union organisations.

British United Industrialists

This collects money for 'free enterprise'. They admit that most of their money goes to the Tories.

Regional Industrial Councils

These highly secretive organisations launder sums for the Tories. Last year £140,000 was traced as having been sent through nine industrialists' councils.

None of them appear in the telephone book, but most of them operate out of Tory Party area headquarters. A key figure linking the Councils to the party is Sir Brian Wyldbore-Smith, who is secretary of the City Council and on the board of at least two more.

AIMS

Formerly known as Aims of Industry. Chancellor Howe gave out its 40-year awards recently. In a letter appealing to businessmen for funds for possible legal action against the Labour GLC, its director, Michael Evens, stated, "I hope you will find it possible to send us financial support—which will not be classified as a political contribution."

Economic League

Founded after the First World War, this organisation provides a blacklist on trade union activists, available to subscribers on an ex-directory number. With substantial staff and six regional offices its records go back more than twenty-five years. Amongst the donations it received last year were: £8,280 Barclays Bank; £8,200 National Westminster Bank; £7,563 Midlands Bank; £5,000 Lloyds Bank; £4,783 Whitbread and £5,000 Vickers.

the bosses parties



WHO OWNS BRITAIN?

ONE OF the biggest Tory myths is that if the wealth of the rich was re-distributed equally, everyone would only get a minuscule amount. Socialists who advocate it are accused of just practising "the politics of envy".

Well, who wouldn't prefer a life of luxury, rather than eking out an existence on the dole or on a low wage? But actually official statistics also explode the Tory government's own myth.

According to the 1982 Inland Revenue Statistics, if the total marketable wealth in the country was shared out equally, every single adult would be able to pay off all debts, mortgages/liabilities and still have £13,000 spare.

The report also shows how far this is from the actual situation. The richest 1% (about 400,000 people) own 25% of all personal wealth, and the top 2% own 33%.

Half the population have about £1,500 in personal wealth, one eighth of an amount they would get in an equal society. But the richest 1% own, on average, £300,000 each, or 23 times an equal share and 200 times the amount owned by the poorer half of the population.

The Tories' belief in privilege, inequality and opulence for the few is quite open. Thatcher has defined her ideology thus: "the pursuit of equality is a mirage. What is more practical than the pursuit of equality is the pursuit of equality of opportunity. And opportunity means nothing unless it includes the right to be unequal".

The Tories have certainly put that into practice. Since they came to power they have widened the gap between the rich and the rest.

One of their first acts was to wind up the Diamond Commission which provided regular reports on the distribution of wealth in Britain. Then they gave £2,405 million in tax concessions to the rich, and took away

Britain's richest man

Probably the richest person in Britain, outside the Royal family, is the Duke of Westminster. He has never had to do a day's work in his life, and it is him and others like him, whom the Tories are protecting.

Still in his twenties he has inherited: 15,000 acres in Cheshire, 14,000 acres in North Wales, 100,000 acres in Scotland, 900 acres in Shropshire. He has an estate in Fermanagh,

Northern Ireland, a 10,000 sheep farm in Australia, a shopping centre in Vancouver and a 12,000 acre industrial estate in Canada.

His 330 acres in Mayfair and Belgravia are estimated to be worth over £1,000 million: when the American Embassy offered him 12,000 acres in Florida in exchange for the freehold on their embassy in Grosvenor Square, he refused.

£2,405 million from the poor.

The rich benefitted by: change in the income tax, investment income surcharge, capital transfer tax, capital gains tax, retirement annuity and business start-up schemes. The poor lost out by: cutting out the 25% tax band for low earners, increasing VAT and NI contributions, cutting the pension link with earnings, cutting child benefit, abolishing earnings related supplement, cutting benefits and new 'sick pay' schemes and making all these meagre benefits liable to tax.

Since the Tories have come into office, the numbers of people living on the 'official' poverty line has

virtually doubled; in 1979 four million got supplementary benefit—now the figure is over seven million. Overall living standards have fallen by 2%, and when one considers this includes the lavish concessions to the wealthy, it is clear there has been a dramatic decline in the quality of life for ordinary people.

The numbers of unemployed have trebled and their position worsened. BBC's *Nationwide* (19 May) revealed that a person who has been unemployed for three months is £15 a week worse off in real terms than in 1979.

If the Tories get re-elected, more the same will follow.

ALLIANCE - Tory second eleven

BIG business and the Tory media lavished attention on the Gang of Four when they formed the SDP. Their aim was clear. "Wreck the Labour Party" screamed the big business weekly, *The Economist*.

The bosses' purpose was to create a reliable capitalist second XI when the Tory first XI had got too unpopular. The Labour Party was moving towards radical socialist policies, under pressure from workers who had experienced the failure of past Labour governments.

The SDP was launched when the spectre of a massive Labour majority haunted the strategists of big business.

There was nothing new about the SDP's policies. Far from "breaking the mould", their policies are those that had been followed for the previous decades. They had been tried and found wanting. And or-

dinary workers were demanding that Labour governments carried out policies which were not based upon maintaining a diseased capitalism, but were aimed at removing it.

Lord Sainsbury, one of the main business supporters of the SDP made the new party's intentions plain: "we are quite simply offering a more stable environment for business" (*Sunday Telegraph*, 20 September 1981).

Up to £15 million was reported to be available from big business if the SDP looked like achieving its aim of destroying the Labour Party. The party was backed by a virtual *Who's Who* of big business.

In addition to Lord Sainsbury, there was John Harvey-Jones (chairman designate of ICI), Clive Lindley (ICL Group), Michael Shanks (British Oxygen), Leo Dodd (Scottish Young Businessman of the Year, 1981), Edmund Dell (ex-Labour Cabinet Minister, now merchant banker), Claude Wilson (Rothchilds).

Its leader, Roy Jenkins was a director of the merchant bank, Morgan

and directly exercise influence if the Tory government was replaced by the SDP-Liberal Alliance.

But, the SDP has totally failed to wreck the Labour Party; at Parliamentary by-elections it has only taken seats from the Tories. So this second XI of capitalism is treated like the Liberals—kept in reserve and given enough money to tick over.

The Economist complained that far from breaking the hold of the Labour Party, it had "gone mouldy"! Only three companies have publicly announced finance for the Alliance: Marks and Grenfell. The Chief Executive of the party was Bernard Doyle, former head of Booker McConnell.

A clear indication of the SDP's perceived function was the response of companies which funded the Tory party. The chairman of a number of these companies told SDP fundraisers the names of sympathetic directors on their board, that the SDP may wish to cultivate. That way the company was able to hedge its political bets: Spencers £5,000 (compared to £25,000 for the Tories), Thorn-EMI £5,000 and Hogg Robinson £2,500.

The Liberals are just another Tory party. Cyril Smith MP has often pointed out to businessmen, that the Tories are not the only 'free enterprise' party in Britain.

In some senses they are even to the right of the Tories; the stand for a permanent incomes policy, which means permanent cuts in living standards. When they get into office at a local level, their thin veneer as a radical party is stripped away.

During their years in control of Liverpool City Council, they were as vicious as any right-wing Tories. In fact some Tories in the recent local elections, advised their supporters to vote Liberal because the Liberal council was carrying out Thatcher's policies admirably.

Like the Liberals it is not just in its financing that the true nature of the SDP is revealed. Only one council in Britain has ever been controlled by the SDP, Islington in London. After they got control, by defecting from the Labour Party but refusing to resign and fight in by-elections, they took a leaf out of the allies the (now ex-) Liberal council in Liverpool.

They tried to cut social services by closing playgrounds, children's nurseries, library, swimming pools, sell off council property and cut down on the number of porters and caretakers looking after council flats. When the election came round, they were annihilated, with Labour winning every seat bar one.



WEALTH

- ★ Top 1% own 80% of all private shares.
- ★ Top 8% own 91% land.
- ★ Top 1% own 25% all wealth.
- ★ 1980 Census shows top 20% had disposable income of £56 billion (out of total £148 billion).



POVERTY

- ★ 1980 Census showed bottom 20% had disposable income of £9 billion (out of total £148 billion).
- ★ 33% full-time adult workforce get under 66% of average wage.
- ★ In 1979 10% male and 66% female manualworkers on low wage, in 1981 16% male and 75% female manual workers on low wage.
- ★ Overall tax burden on average worker's income risen from 44% earnings 1979 (Labour government) to 48% (Tories).
- ★ 500,000 youths at age 16 are living in extreme hardship according to DHSS survey.

NICARAGUA/CENTRAL AMERICA

"No pasaran! No pasaran!"

200,000 Nicaraguans, a fifth of the capital's population, streamed through Nicaragua to show their determination to resist the counter-revolutionary attacks organised against their government by the USA.

To ram the message home, that "they shall not pass", the demonstrators wielded rifles, handguns, even machetes, spades, hammers and sticks. "If necessary," announced Interior Minister Tomas Borge, "we will mobilise the masses again to combat the enemies of the people."

The overthrow of the Somoza regime in 1979 was the first mass mobilisation he referred to, achieved at enormous cost to the Nicaraguan workers and peasants. 50,000 were killed and the economy devastated. But despite the costs, the vast majority of the population are relieved to see the end of the monstrous Somoza regime.

The hated dictator amassed a huge personal fortune for himself and his family, even exploiting earthquake relief donations. The regime, backed to the hilt by the USA, was only kept in power by the National Guard, the remnants of which now form the backbone of the counter-revolutionary force, 'the Contras', based in Honduras hoping to overthrow the Sandinista government.

After the revolution the Sandinista government introduced many tangible reforms: for the mass of peasants, it has meant major advances in literacy, health care, general welfare and in food distribution, and to mention the fact that their daily lives are no longer threatened by the arbitrary and bloody repression by the Somoza National Guard.

The mass of the population have enthusiastically welcomed the change of regime in Nicaragua in the last few years, but the revolution threatens the basis of all US economic and strategic interests in Central America. The US, therefore, have been arming, financing and organising the incursions by former Somoza Guardsmen into Nicaragua, from bases in Honduras.

The most recent attacks, involving around 1500 armed men, have been all but thrown back and the 'Somozistas' dispersed, but the remaining Honduran bases contain as many as 7,000 more counter-revolutionaries. The USA has also sponsored similar attacks on Nicaragua across the border from Costa Rica in the South.

Reagan has tried to justify his support for those murderous gangs by the most transparent hypocrisy, describing the raiders as "freedom fighters". Yet even the most sober representatives of American capitalism, not to mention the capitalist press in Britain, have acknowledged that these so-called "freedom fighters" do not have any support among the population.

The counter-revolutionaries, the *Financial Times* correspondent writes, "have ignited no spark of sympathy or enthusiasm among the mass of Nicaraguans...there

REAGAN WILL FAIL



The Sandinista militias demonstrate their opposition to US imperialism

Photo: J Matthews

cannot be more than a handful of Nicaraguans who would want a return of the Somoza dynasty or its National Guard." (May 6 1983) The same correspondent wrote in the *Observer*, "Nothing...looks capable of shaking the loyalty of the mass of Nicaraguans to a government which, whatever its many faults, is theirs."

The American government's attempts to destabilise Nicaragua form a part of their general Central American strategy, of trying to hold back the growing tide of social revolution by support for the most repressive military regimes. Leaked Pentagon documents, published by newspapers in the USA, show that the present covert CIA operations in the area, involving hundreds of agents, are the biggest since the USA efforts to destabilise the Allende regime in Chile between 1970 and 1973.

Central America

Following the example of the Nicaraguan revolution, the whole Central American region is threatening to plunge headlong into revolution. The right wing regime in El Salvador has been responsible already for the deaths of 40,000 of its population and it only hangs on with US military backing, without even a vestige of support among the mass of the population. In Guatemala, the military government was recently denounced for slaughtering tens of thousands of Indians, forcing thousands more to flee for safety into Mexico.

The government of Honduras, it seems, is now acting as the main 'policeman' for American imperialism in Central America.

The possibility of a war between Nicaragua and Honduras, however, has spread alarm among the more far-sighted strategists of imperialism. Most of the main European capitalist governments are in favour of "negotiations" to deal with

the questions of Nicaragua and El Salvador and four Latin American countries, Mexico, Columbia, Venezuela and Panama, have tried to promote similar efforts.

What these governments are afraid of, especially the Latin Americans, is the possibility of the spread of social revolution. Referring to the need for "democracy, reform, freedom and economic development" in central America, the *Financial Times* even commented that US policy "could prove counter-productive." From a capitalist point of view, 'counter-productive' means the consolidation of the Sandinista regime and the further growth of revolutionary unrest.

Whatever Reagan may think or pretend to think, the more serious representatives of capitalism realise that the Nicaraguan regime will not be overthrown by the 'Contras'. The Somozistas have caused renewed suffering through the invasion from Honduras—murdering 500 Nicaraguans in the first three months of this year alone, and causing tens of millions of dollars of damage—but they will only cause the mass of the population to rally around the government to keep at bay the nightmare of the former regime.

The Nicaraguan economy is facing tremendous problems. Despite a rapid economic recovery after 1979, when the country was virtually bankrupt, production has still not reached the level of 1977. Last year, Gross Domestic Product fell by 3.5 per cent, to the same level as ten years ago when the country was devastated by an earthquake.

At the same time, revenue from exports fell by \$228m between 1977 and 1982, while imports in the same period rose by \$779m. This has led to a massive debt of \$2.8bn, the interest of which amounts to the equivalent of 46 per cent of exports.

The economic problems are exacerbated by the conscious sabotage of imperialism. The world banking in-

stitutions are 'freezing out' Nicaragua from further loans and the US government, repeating the blunder which twenty years ago helped to consolidate the Castro government in Cuba, is cutting back the Nicaraguan sugar quota—the amount it is allowed to export to the USA—and redistributing it to other more 'friendly' governments in the region.

The economic and military sabotage by imperialism will only reinforce the conclusions that are already being drawn by many workers in Nicaragua—that there is no way forward for the economy on the basis of capitalism.

The Sandinista movement, a split off to the left from the Communist Party, stands in name under the



Reagan—attempting to hold back the tide of revolution

banner of Marxism-Leninism, but in reality the leadership have not arrived at the ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky: they represent, instead, a version of Castroism, replacing the mass movement of the working class with that of an armed elite. Their struggle has never based itself on genuine workers' democracy or internationalism.

But the very depth of the crisis itself could nevertheless push them towards the nationalisation of the economy, in order to plan and utilise the meagre resources to the full advantage.

Eighty per cent of

agriculture and 60 per cent of industry is still in the private sector, but the Nicaraguan capitalists are incapable of developing the economy. As if to prove the point they are refusing to invest, leaving their companies only on a 'care and maintenance' basis.

The possible development could be the expropriation of industry by the Sandinista government, as the only way to get the economy moving forward to guarantee even modest reforms. If they did not do this, then after a period of time, they would themselves be overthrown by a new revolutionary movement.

"The real problem with this (US) policy," the *Financial Times* editorial lamented, "is that it may push the Nicaraguan govern-

ment's democracy, it would be unable to solve all the social and economic problems it would face.

The more intelligent representatives of international capitalism have recognised that in all probability, they have now "lost" Nicaragua: but they hope they can at least prevent Reagan's stupidity from "losing" them El Salvador and the rest of Central America as well. A civil war fought to the finish in El Salvador would create the conditions for the establishment of a revolutionary government like the one in Nicaragua, one that could move to expropriate land-lordism and capitalism. Then there would be Guatemala, then Honduras, and so on.

On the other hand, they hope a "negotiated" settlement in El Salvador, involving land reform and democratic change, would provide at least a chance of defusing revolutionary discontent, so that some of the economic interests of capitalism may be kept intact.

Whether a negotiated settlement is possible remains to be seen. At the moment, however, it does not look as if Reagan is prepared to do anything other than support the 'bunker' element in the El Salvadorean military. Even that is not having great success. The El Salvadorean army is melting away as fast as the USA arms and trains it.

Because of the overwhelming opposition to the use of US groundtroops in El Salvador, leading to another 'Vietnam', it is unlikely that Reagan would go down that path. But he will be forced to realise that no amount of military aid, propping up what is in effect a mercenary regime, can stop a movement supported by the mass of the population. Reagan's policies may delay the victory of the revolution in El Salvador, but they will not stop it.

By Pat Craven

SOUTH AFRICA

BOTHA'S INSOLUBLE CRISIS

THE RECENT by-election results in the Transvaal reveal the weakening hold of the once-monolithic Nationalist Party over the white minority electorate of 4 million.

Though not a clear defeat for Botha's National Party (NP) government, they are a setback. Botha himself was forced to admit that his proposals for constitutional "reform", which led last year to a huge split in the NP and the formation of the more right-wing Conservative Party (CP), have divided white South Africa almost down the middle.

At the same time, the hollowness of the government's "reform" intentions are again exposed by the deaths of two more blacks held in police detention—taking place just weeks after police in the same area had shot and killed Saul Mkhize, a black community leader.

The constitutional proposals will further tighten the screws of political powerlessness of the overwhelming 23 million African majority. By establishing two additional (but toothless) "chambers" of parliament for the Coloured and Indian minorities, the proposals are a new form of the old "divide and rule" tricks of the SA regime. Their major effect will be to shift power away from all the three chambers of parliament (even the white one) into the hands of an Executive President.

The parliamentary by-elections resulted from a challenge by a government minister, Fanie Botha, to the leader of the new Conservative Party, Andries Treurnicht, who was originally elected as a NP candidate, to resign his seat and seek a new mandate from the voters.

Fanie Botha, who resigned also, was re-elected, but with a drastically reduced majority. Treurnicht, on the other hand, increased his vote—and he will now claim that the CP has proved itself as a respectable right-wing alternative to the NP.

The NP also held on to a third by-election seat, warding off a challenge from the PFP, party of "progressive" business, which is finding its own "reform" platform gradually appropriated by the NP. In a provincial by-election on the same day the NP candidate won, but with fewer votes than the CP and ultra-right HNP combined.

Overall, in the four results, the NP secured only 43.7% of the vote. The figures, taken nationally, would have given the CP 35 seats in the 177 seat parliament.

But not only has Botha staked his own political future on carrying through the new constitution. His government is under the pressure of big business (in the West and locally) to take this path in the vain attempt to head off revolutionary confrontation with the growing strength of the black working class, and other layers of the oppressed, fighting for political rights

By Beverly Simpson

and an end to oppression and exploitation.

The insoluble contradiction this poses for the South Africa ruling class, and their roots in the impasse of capitalism in South Africa, were frankly spelled out in a recent interview with Professor Sampie Terre'blanche, a key advisor to the government.

"Once a country has an electoral democracy," he explained, "there is inevitably a welfare state—health, education, medical services. The crucial factor then is whether it can afford this economic price...Democracy coupled with a trade union movement generates massive demands through parliament on the economic system and only highly industrialised countries are able to support the burden.

Insoluble contradiction

"Even at a 15% growth rate," he concluded, "the economy would be overstrained under the demands that would come from whites and democratised blacks." (*Jo'burg Sunday Times*, 27.3.83)

With the world capitalist crisis causing right-wing governments to attack democratic rights even in the "highly industrialised countries", the message in South Africa is clear: the ruling class will continue implacable opposition to genuine democracy with all the means at its disposal. Even at the height of the world post-war boom, the economy could never attain growth rates of 15%—which the government apologist openly conceded would be inadequate to satisfy popular aspirations.

These are the constraints within which the regime has to manoeuvre in the impossible task of retaining white support for its dictatorship over the blacks, while attempting to win new support from the tiny upper layers of the black community. In the short term, the NP government is likely to retain sufficient white support to implement the new constitution. The majority of whites will give the traditional party of government its chance at "reform" schemes. Botha is likely to win the referendum he has promised to call among whites, though only by picking up the votes of PFP supporters. After that, elections for the Coloured and Indian parliaments will go ahead.

Police brutality continues

The real nature of the regime is underlined in the police murder of Saul Mkhize, and the deaths in detention in the Dreikoppies police station in a period of ten days, of Timotheer Manaha and Zofomia Sibanyoni, adding two more names to the long list of

those dying in police hands.

Saul Mkhize was shot as he led a peaceful mass meeting of a community, protesting against the plans of the regime to forcibly remove them from their homes, and join the 1-2 million who have been uprooted and "resettled" in the desolation of the Bantustans during the last twenty years.

But neither the blood-stained guns of the police nor constitutional juggling can do more than temporarily postpone the huge explosions of mass struggle which are on the agenda. Even with the economy in severe recession, more black workers took industrial action in 1982 than every before in South Africa's history—and this is only a foretaste of what is in store for the capitalists and their regime on the industrial and political fronts.

By building the independent non-racial trade unions from their present numbers of some 300,000 to a mass force of millions; by building the African National Congress as a mass organisation on a programme for the democratic and socialist transformation of society, the black workers can build the force that can consign the capitalist system to the dustheap of history.

On the basis of a planned nationalised economy under workers' control and management, growth rates of far more than 15% will secure a decent life for all working people. Neither the present Botha government, nor the alternative of a Conservative Party government, offers secure future for the ranks of whites either.

A mass movement for national and social liberation led by the black working class could cut away white support for the regime, and win white workers to a joint struggle for real democracy and freedom, for the mass of South Africa's population.



Botha has staked his political future on pushing through the new constitution. These 'reforms' however cannot head off the coming revolutionary upheavals between the apartheid regime and 23 million African workers.

Bomb campaign no way forward

ON FRIDAY 20 May a car bomb exploded outside the South African airforce and military intelligence HQ in the centre of the capital city of Pretoria.

Occurring at the height of the afternoon rush-hour, the explosion is reported to have killed at least 16 people and injured at least 197, both black and white. Some were military personnel, but most appear to have been casual passers-by.

At the time of writing, no organisation has claimed responsibility for the bomb. The apartheid regime has accused the banned African National Congress. Hitherto, the leaders of the ANC have confined their armed adventurism to attacks on property, police and military personnel, and informers—though there is believed to be criticism of these 'limits' within the ranks of the ANC military wing, Umkhonto

We Sizwe.

In February, a bomb exploded in government offices in Bloemfontein, injuring at least 76 black workers. When the regime blamed the ANC, the ANC leadership accused it of a "Malicious propaganda campaign...intended to depict the ANC as a terrorist and reckless organisation." However, it did not explicitly deny responsibility for the action. In reality, whether the car bomb represents right-wing or state provocation, a mistimed detonation, or a change of policy by the ANC, such injuries and deaths of civilians are an inevitable consequence of the methods of urban guerillaism.

These actions, however sincere or courageous those who carry them out may be, do not advance the struggle for democracy, for national and social liberation.

Instead—as is shown by the immediate deployment of the army through Pretoria in the wake of the

explosion—they give excuses to the regime to step up repression against the black working people. This hinders the building of class-based mass organisation, which is the only force that can achieve the armed overthrow of the regime and the profit system which it defends.

Air Force in reprisal attack

The BBC reporter in Pretoria spoke of "scenes reminiscent of Belfast"—where the escalation of sectarian terror and counter-terror over a dozen years has led only to demoralisation and division of the working class. The lessons of the Middle East, of Argentina, of Uruguay show also the disastrous effects of the methods of urban terrorism in setting back the movement of the working class.

Already in response the

apartheid regime has unleashed the Air Force with a bombing mission into Mozambique. In December they raided Maseru and 42 were killed. Along this road there are the dangers of an escalating cycle which will turn the whole of Southern Africa into another, and worse, Lebanon.

While urban terrorism drives whites further into the camp of reaction, a mass movement led by the black workers, for democracy and socialism can split the white workers away from their defence of a system fit only for the scrapheap, and win them into joint struggle against the barbarous apartheid regime and the handful of monopolists who profit from it.

By Richard Morgan

Letters

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

SOCIALIST TRIUMPH IN LIVERPOOL

Worlds eyes on Liverpool

Dear *Militant*

Labour's sweeping victory in Liverpool has had a big impact internationally as well as within the Labour Party.

The Swedish Social Democratic Party's daily, Stockholm's paper, *Tidningen* commented in an editorial that:

"The most interesting development is exactly what will happen in one specific council, namely Liverpool, where Labour took power and where the party is dominated by its Trotskyist wing. Not least from outside, this test of what a radical council leadership can and cannot achieve will be interesting to follow." (10 May 1983).

Yours fraternally
Arne
Stockholm

Trotskyite tide... washed out Libs

Dear Comrades

I read with interest your article in last week's *Militant* dealing with the magnificent

victory of Marxist candidates in the council election in Liverpool.

In it, you quote Sir Trevor Jones on "the Trotskyite tide" which "will eventually lead to the complete overthrow of the free society as we know it."

However, I wonder if comrades are aware that in the *Daily Telegraph* article dealing with the same subject (May 9) really let the cat out of the bag?

According to the *Daily Telegraph* the Liberal ex-leader of the council accuses *Militant* supporters of attempting to overthrow "the fee society"!

How unfortunate for Sir Trevor to have been betrayed so completely!

Yours fraternally
J Goodby
Leeds

Brighton election

Dear Comrades

I have just been canvassing for Labour in Brighton Kempton, it makes a real change canvassing for a genuine socialist.

However, even though our

campaign is being fought on socialist policies many working class voters are sceptical about what voting Labour will achieve.

The main sticking point was not, as the right wing would have us believe, that Rod Fitch is too left wing (only one woman mentioned this), but the trail of broken promises left by previous Labour governments.

The message is quite clear: it is the right wing and their failure to cater for the needs of workers that have driven away Labour voters, not socialist policies.

Yours fraternally
Clive Walder
Hove LPYS

Make Way!

Dear Comrades,

I had the privilege of being in Birkenhead Town Hall at the count for Geoff Barker, a new Labour councillor in Wirral.

The vote for Labour increased by over 30% from last year. This proves that a move to the left is no

obstacle to people voting Labour.

In fact it is very positive because it can galvanise comrades to come out and work for the Party.

One of the points which is noticeable is that most of the workers for Geoff were young. This to me is a healthy sign. Any party disregarding the young and the new does so at its peril. The Labour Party to me is going through a process of renewal.

The old guard must if it is concerned for the Labour Party itself must seriously consider, and allow the process of renewal to continue. Regarding the expulsion of the five members of the Editorial Board. This to me is a step by the old guard in the Party to seek to impose its will on the new developments. The very fact that they have had to do it proves that they have lost the argument.

Yours fraternally
Colin Lee
Birkenhead CLP.

High price of Health

Dear Comrades

Recently I was cornered with an unwanted pregnancy and had to pay £105 to have an abortion privately.

When I was 16 I had an operation which meant I couldn't use the safer birth control methods.

I tried to get an abortion on the NHS but was told basically they didn't want to know about the fact I was unemployed—and it was my own fault I had got pregnant! So we scraped up the money and I went to the clinic, where their 'caring' treatment was awful.

The doctor couldn't give a toss about my special problems and tried to bung me

on a 'high dose' pill that could have been quite dangerous to me.

I am disgusted by the high profits they make out of unfortunate females (the majority of the girls in my ward were unemployed) so they can run schemes like BUPA for the rich!

A footnote: my dad took part in atom bomb tests at Maralinga, Australia. My sister and I have had some quite rare problems with our health, though he is quite fit.

They never found the proper cause of me needing the operation, because of which indirectly I got pregnant and had to cough up for an abortion.

Quite 'Catch 22' isn't it.

Yours fraternally
Ann Ford

Congratulations *Militant*

Dear Mr Taaffe,

Thank you very much for your most excellent and extremely well turned out paper, *Militant*.

We also think that the attacks made on you militants are both spiteful and no way could we agree with those people who should be attacking the Tory Party and the SDP.

We were always under the impression that every single person and member of our party should have the right to express freely their own views.

After all I fought in the Army during World War II for that very freedom so may we both wish every supporter of *Militant* our very best wishes for continued success.

Respectfully yours
Mr & Mrs J Maxwell-Taylor
Coventry

All the old crap

Dear Comrades

While waiting for a bus, two oldish men joined me. One said he preferred to employ Pakistani workers to English ones—they were non-union so he could pay lower wages.

He also said some of us four million were scroungers and the Unemployment Benefit Office sent cheques without the person signing on.

I was so angry I told him it was untrue, you had to go and sign on or you wouldn't get your cheque.

The bus came and the creep kept looking me up and down.

Never was I so glad to get home.

Sandra Recklie
Leyton LPYS

Socialist candidate in East Belfast

EAST BELFAST'S election contest is well underway.

Last Saturday forty members of the Labour and Trade Union Group and Young Socialists canvassed Cregagh Estate in the heart of the constituency.

An excellent response was received on the doorstep and thirty-five copies of *Militant* were sold in the area in the space of two hours.

Many people expressed total discontent with their present political representatives.

One pensioner summed up the prevailing mood when he said, "I voted for the Unionist Party for almost fifty years and never got anything in return. I just might vote 'Labour' this time."

Muriel Tang, the Labour and Trade Union candidate is fighting on a clear socialist programme. In her election manifesto she explained why she had decided to stand.

"Coming from and being brought up in this area I know the problems of East Belfast. I am standing on Labour's socialist policies because I think it is about time the working class was given an alternative. The major political parties are not our parties. They do not fight for us.

"For eight months last year I was active in the National Health Service strike. In that campaign we got no support from any politi-

cians. Where were the MPs on the NHS pickets? I want to see a Labour government on socialist policies. If elected I will vote with Labour for the workers."

Certainly, from the early canvass results there is a crying need for a mass party of Labour.

If such a party existed and was seen as an alternative having a real chance of success then industrial areas like East Belfast would be Labour strongholds. Unfortunately at this time such a party does not exist. Muriel Tang is likely to be the only 'Labour' candidate standing in Northern Ireland.

Various other organisations have virtually disappeared. The Northern Ireland Labour Party has publicly declared that it can no longer be described as a party and now exists only as a pressure group.

The bankruptcy of the sectarian and Tory parties in Northern Ireland is complete. They have nothing to offer the working class and youth.

Muriel Tang is not looking for a career in Parliament, she is giving a lead in the fight to achieve socialism and to defeat the Tories.

Messages of support and donations should be sent to: Election Appeal, 4 Waring Street, Belfast.

By B Adams

(Labour and Trade Union Group)

ISLE OF WIGHT



Photo: Militant

CATHY WILSON, Labour's candidate for the Isle of Wight hammered home the contrasts between rich and poor, the potential and the reality under capitalism at a meeting in Cowes last night.

From this 'temporary accommodation' (left) in White Pit Lane to the wealthy 'yachties' homes in Cowes the contrasts are sharp on the Island.

About eighty people heard Cathy Wilson, Peter Tatchell (ex-Bermondsey candidate) and YS speaker Dave Leigh.

The 'Newsnight' TV crew was filming, so keep an eye on the tele for 'extremists at work on the Isle of Wight'.

A couple of Liberal councillors came along to heckle. One of them got a flea in his ear when Cathy told the meeting that he had been elected to the council on a Labour ticket, then deserted to the Liberals because, he said, Labour wasn't left wing enough!

WATERLOO STATION

IN the run up to the general election it is vital that all Labour Party and trade union activists set up local campaigns in workplaces to fight for a Labour victory.

At Waterloo railway station a few local YS members who work there joined forces with local trade union (ASLEF, NUR, TSSA) activists to set up a meeting to discuss working for a Labour victory.

From this meeting we have now decided to build for a

larger meeting at County Hall, Waterloo, to involve all the local trade unions and Labour Parties.

Local campaigns like this are a necessity if Thatcher and Co are to be defeated and if the labour movement is to remain solid as a strong force both locally and nationally before and after the election on June 9.

By Steven Nally

(TSSA, Waterloo, London)

OBITUARY: GINA SMITH

We are saddened to report the death of Gina Smith, a comrade who fought as hard for socialism as she did against the terrible disease of cancer which took her life at the young age of 27. Despite suffering years of painful treatment, Gina played an active part in the labour and trade union movement.

As a long-standing *Militant* supporter, she helped build the LPYS in Wales and was until recently the Manpower Services Commission NUPE branch secretary, where many youngsters turn-

ed to her for assistance.

The obvious pain she suffered over the past years was hidden by her determination to fight for the overthrow of a system which allows such diseases to exist.

Gina may go down as just another statistic under capitalism but for the many socialists who were privileged to have met her Gina's courage will remain as an example to us all. Our deepest sympathies go out to her husband, Ken, to her parents, Mr and Mrs Sterlini and her sister, Carla.

Tories will not shackle the unions

By Wayne Jones

"If the...Tories...are returned to power, the trade union movement would have no other course but to defend itself—and defend itself in a way we have never seen since 1926."

Labour Party Chairman Sam McCuskie's sane and sober warning against new Tory attacks on the trade unions has raised a storm of hypocritical protest.

Tory Chairman Cecil Parkinson hissed, "You may own the Labour Party Mr McCuskie, but you don't own this country. It is still a free country and we are determined to keep it free."

Chairman Cecil's right about one thing. This country certainly doesn't belong to Sam McCuskie or the millions of workers in the trade unions. It couldn't could it? The richest 10% of the population own 58% of personal wealth. That's Cecil's lot. Not us!

But it certainly isn't 'free'. Ask the millions of council tenants whose rents have doubled under the Tories.

Yet Thatcher and Tebbit have the audacity to shout about making trade unions more 'democratic' and 'accountable.' For that read 'weaker' and 'under our thumb'.

Tim Renton MP, 'Conservative Trade Unionists' President, let the real cat out of the bag.

He told their conference that his idea of 'more democratic' didn't include a ballot for leadership of the miners between Arthur Scargill and Mick McGahey.

"There is no settling precedence between a louse and a flea" he said, "What we are interested in are ballots between two or three moderates." That's how 'moderate' the Tory parasites' plans are.

They intend to shackle the trade unions by even more vicious legislation than their so-called 'Employment Acts'. What they really intend is an 'Enabling Act' to weaken workers' defences against a further Tory onslaught.

Their manifesto proposes giving "union members the right to: hold ballots for the election of governing bodies of trade unions..."

The aim is not, as the manifesto claims, to stop trade union leaders' "abuse of power against the wishes of their members". In that case they would support those fighting within the unions for regular election of officials, the right of recall over them by the membership, and for officials to be on the same wages as their members.

It is the ability of trade unions to stop the bosses' "abuse of power" that the Tories wish to undermine. As they said in the recent Green Paper on trade union reform, since 1913 the trade unions have become larger, richer and more powerful.

The *Financial Times* confirmed this in the irrefutable language of pounds and pence. "Increased unionisa-

tion has thus raised both the average and the union wage...Average wages for male manual workers would have been only about £117 per week compared with £140 actually."

Despite mass unemployment the level of trade unionisation remains at 53% of the working population. The ten million trade unionists and their families are the very 'general public' the Tories try to appeal to.

The 'democracy' of the dole queue, the sharp point of the crisis, reveals the class nature of the capitalist system and the value of 'freedom' under the Tories. Millions more of the population will turn to the labour movement for leadership.

The Tories hope by the introduction of compulsory ballots for election of trade union leaders to ensure a 'moderate' leadership.

'Daily Mail Democracy'

But conspicuous by its absence from their manifesto is a set of similar proposals for the election of Army Chiefs, Police Commissioners, Fleet Street Editors, Tory Party leaders or the directors of the big companies. Surely that is just as "vital...in ensuring that this power is used democratically and responsibly."

In the trade unions every member has the right, and is encouraged, to attend, speak and vote at regular meetings.

The Tories proposals would reduce voting to 'Daily Mail Democracy' where unaccountable editors exercise extensive influence, especially in the case of postal voting, which the Tories are pushing.

As an electrician at Leyland Vehicles put recently "The trouble is, all you get is a list of names on a ballot paper. It means nothing to you, so most blokes who bother, vote for the man from the nearest area."

In the trade union branch it is possible to debate and discuss the merits or otherwise of particular can-

An apt comment on the hypocrisy of the Tories' proposed trade union legislation was recently reported in the *Financial Times* (4 May). "A politically-motivated group of Tories has had the gall to take the Green Paper and use it as its own in a campaign to introduce—wait for it—democracy into the Conservative Party.

"Using the Employment Secretary's own words...the dissident group has neatly excised the work 'union' all the way through the original Green Paper and replaced it with 'Conservative Party'."

Tebbit recently spent twenty minutes attacking this heretical bunch at a central council meeting of the National Union of Conservative Associations.

didates' record and policy—and not from the misleading mudslinging of the gutter press.

What about "a fair and secret ballot" before strike action can be taken?

It's 'fair' only to the bosses. Again they want to remove decision-making from the discussion and shared experience of the work-place. Away from the stark class contrasts—the noise and dirt of the machine shop with the plush executive suite, the gleaming company cars with the bike sheds. Away from the knowledge and experience of the shop stewards and branch officials to whom the members look.

It is strike action that reveals most clearly the unbridgeable gap between workers and bosses. For this reason, and of course the loss of profits when production is halted, the Tories are trying to forestall such action.

The experience of the US, however, proves that this does not work either. Of 163 ballots held in the thirty-five years in which the Taft-Hartley laws have existed 155 have rejected the employers' last offer.

Government interference often only serves to harden the workers' determination to fight. That would be the result if the Tories try to outlaw strikes in "essential services".

Will the Tories insist on balloting workers over proposed sackings, redundancies and closures? Will workers be "consulted" on planned investment, the directors' salaries and management strategy?

If the Tories want to stop

strikes they should champion the demand for a national minimum wage of £100 a week, a shorter working week, longer holidays.

The idea that unions should "decide periodically" whether to "have party political funds" is a blatant political manoeuvre. The Tories want to disarm the working class industrially and politically. This is the 'political' flank of their attack. They aim to financially cripple the Labour Party.

The Labour Party was created by an embattled working class which realised that victories on the shop-floor were not sufficient to secure permanent change and a better life for all.

It is inextricably linked to the trade union movement. As Sam McCuskie put it in the speech quoted above, "The Labour Party is our son. It is our daughter. And we are entitled to support that son or daughter in which ever way we see fit."

Tories' 'political funds'

It is noticeable that the Tory manifesto does not propose any "periodic ballots" on company donations to their party.

Over 340 companies are known to provide millions of pounds for the Tories. They have a £20 million election fund compared to Labour's £2¼ million.

Despite Tory blather about ensuring that "individual members are freely and effectively able to decide for themselves whether or not to pay the political levy", the Society of Post Office Engineers, a manage-

ment union in British Telecom recently voted in favour of setting up a political fund, with 84% participation.

The POEU, the last union to set up a political fund reports a **drop** in the number of members contracting out of the political fund. In both cases this was a direct result of Tory attacks on their industry.

But even when workers had to 'contract in' to the political fund, between 1927 and 1946, the number paying the political levy remained high.

Although it did drop in that period from 3.2 million to 2.6 million, the main

manual and industrial unions maintained their support. The miners, with half a million members, had 77% of their members affiliated.

More importantly, it did not stop Labour winning a landslide victory in 1945 on the basis of a radical manifesto.

The entire history of the labour movement internationally has proved that if workers are inspired by the vision of a new society then no sacrifice is too great. If the Labour Party arms itself with socialist policies and an iron determination to carry them through it will overcome any obstacles the Tories can drag in its path.

Leading trade unionists back Labour

JOE MARINO, General Secretary, Baker's Union.

"This election is vitally important for working people. The prospect of another five years of Tory government is unthinkable. We've had it bad over the last four years but we ain't seen nothing yet.

"As always, our union is helping Labour financially on a national basis, and we're releasing full-time officials to help in the constituencies. Executive Commit-

tee members will also be in the field. The National President is going up to Bradford to help Pat Wall in his campaign.

"We'll be working flat out for a Labour victory, and expect an incoming Labour government to break with the past and implement its policy pledges in full. In particular we want swift action on the anti-trade union legislation passed by the Tories."

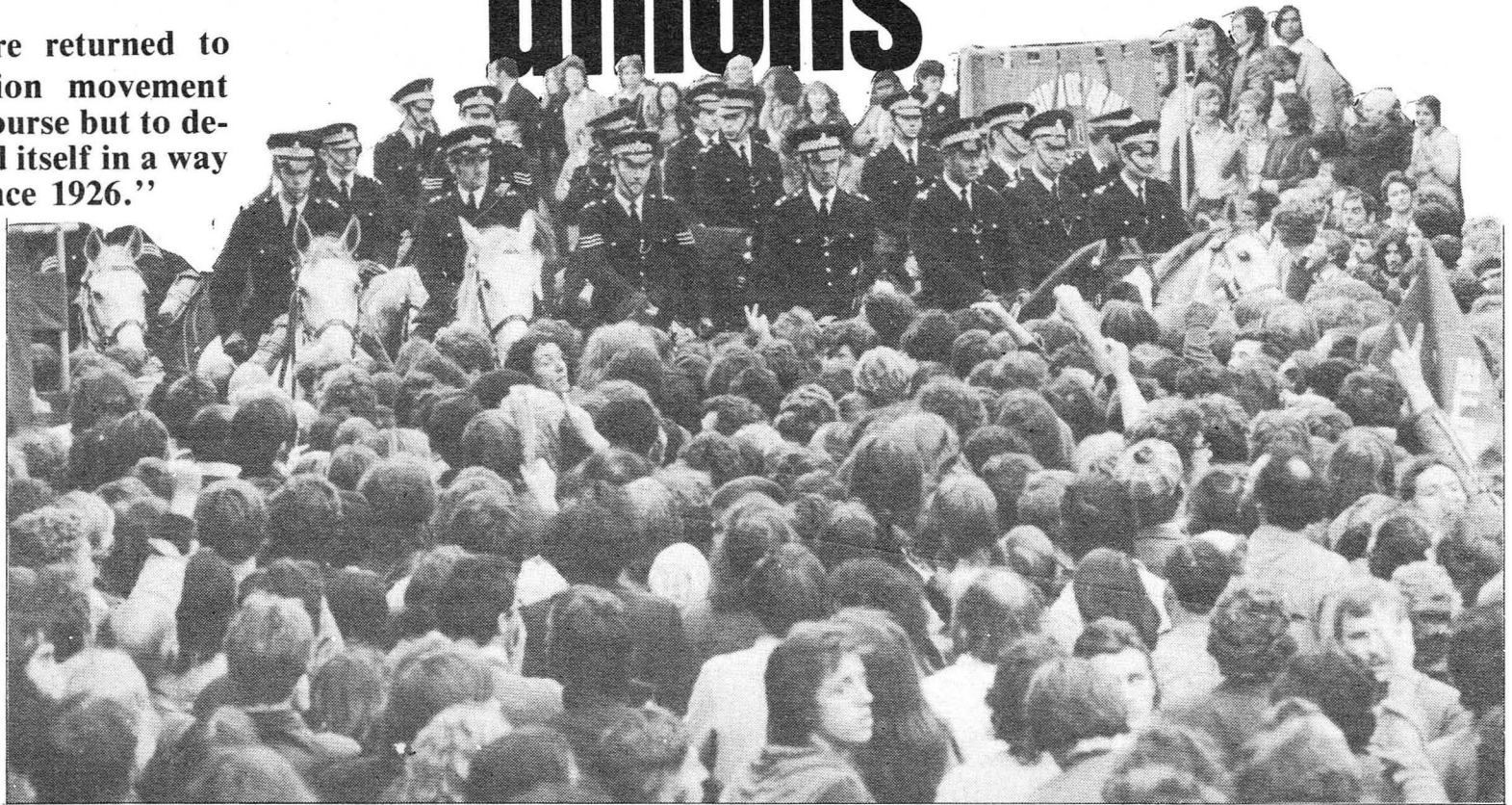
ALAN QUINN, Transport and General Workers Union NEC, oil industry.

"The return of the Tories would be disastrous for our industry. Oil is used throughout industry, particularly by those which have been devastated by Tory policies over the last four years. Demand for oil has fallen off so we pay for it.

"The oil companies have been fat cats for years, really lapping up the cream, so, in the recession they're screaming, and we're at the receiving end.

"Shop stewards from all over the Wallasey area have met to work out what we can do to help ensure a Labour victory. Stewards from Vauxhalls, Cadburys, Spillers, Mobil Oil and other sites are coming, and we'll be doing our best to get the Tories out.

"We want Labour's energy policy carried out, and the multinational cartels broken up. We've got to stop the oil companies plundering the North Sea. Public ownership is the only answer."



Mounted police are forced back by the mass ranks of pickets during the Grunwick strike battles in 1977. The united mass strength of the trade union movement can defeat attempts to shackle the unions.

Industrial Reports

Shipbuilding HENRY ROBB

"OUR INDUSTRY has had enough...a sit-in will start as soon as the first man is made compulsorily redundant in any yard" declared John Keggie, shop stewards convenor at Henry Robb's shipyard in Leith.

He was speaking at a public meeting to mobilise support for the workers' fight against the 474 redundancies. This would leave the yard without a viable workforce.

"Last year they closed the yard's training centre. 25 apprentices were taken to Telford College. Now it is being suggested that they may be kept out of the yard." Such a move would prove that management see no future for the yard.

Appropriately, on the platform were two

workers participating in the Timex occupation in Dundee.

Inevitably there was also a political aspect to the meeting. "We want jobs" said John Keggie, "and the only way to get them is a change of government."

He was supported by the Labour candidate for Leith, Ron Brown. "There are 474 reasons to fight back in Robb's. But that is an understatement; there are millions of reasons to fight back."

He put the Robb's fight in the context of the worldwide crisis of capitalism, and outlined the efforts he had been making to secure an order for the yard. "The jobs belong to the community" he concluded "they belong to the future."

By Pat Craven

Engineering Construction STRIKE FOR DEMOCRACY

ENGINEERING construction workers took strike action recently for one day in protest at the lack of democracy within their own unions, EETPU, AUEW (Construction), GMBATU (Boilermakers).

Workers from these trade unions, employed on large construction sites throughout Britain, decided on this action after their national executive officials had thrown out amendments democratically put forward by shop stewards, to the agreement for 1983.

Many members feel they are fighting with one hand tied behind their back.

The Tories have exacerbated the crisis in an industry with a history of low investment. Engineering construction workers have seen hard won gains systematically taken back by the employers.

To add insult to industry the trade union leaders have

signed the 1983 agreement for 5% without any consultation of the membership. As one member pointed out, "The tail is wagging the dog."

The strike, however, had nothing in common with the Tories' proposals 'to give the unions back to the members'. Engineering construction workers are opposed to Tebbit's trade union legislation which is seen as an attempt to put shackles on their organisations.

There has been almost complete silence about the strike in the Tory press.

Until full-time officials both at local and national level are accountable they will continue to defy the membership. Only by periodic elections can the rank and file have control over their full-time officials.

By an EETPU shop steward

Metal Box

250 T&GWU MEMBERS at the Metal Box factory in Hackney have been on strike since 12 May.

Following 170 redundancies Metal Box moved 137 TGWU members on 3 May from shift work to day work. This would mean a loss of between £17-£22 per week in shift premium.

At the same time the company wants to introduce new manning levels which would result in redundancies. Since 3 May long-standing agreements have been breached, supervisory staff have acted 'like goon squads'.

On Wednesday 11 May the members decided by a

four to one majority to strike. There is now a 24-hour picket on all gates. The strike has been made official and is 100% effective.

Frank Clunie, the convenor, told *Militant* "We had a meeting with management. An offer was made which was totally rejected by the negotiators and the members."

Messages of support should be sent to Jim Wills, 22 Thomas House, Morning Lane, London E9 7LB. Donations to Dave Rowe, Treasurer, at the same address. Cheques made out to Metal Box Strike Committee.



March against BREL closures, London 11 May. Biggest NUR-organised event for years.

Photo: Militant

Save British Rail Engineering

"The days when the NUR got involved in public squabbles with other unions are over" said the new NUR General Secretary

He received loud cheers and applause from the large audience of railway workers packed into Central Hall Westminster. They were protesting against government and management plans to close several major BREL workshops and cut back massively at several others.

The Rally, held on Wednesday 11 May, came at the end of a march through London streets organised by the NUR and supported by the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions

Some five thousand

workers turned out, exceeding many expectations. Banners indicated how widespread was the support with large contingents from NUR, TSSA, AUEW and EETPU.

Workshops facing immediate threat such as Hornwich and Shildon, York, Swindon, Doncaster, Derby, Temple Mills and others were also present. So too were NUR members from the regional workshops such as Hornsey and Edge Hill, and from major stations such as Kings Cross and Euston.

The organisation of this demonstration marks a real step forward for the NUR. It is the first time that the union have organised such a

national event for several years. It is also the first time that the unions within BREL have taken firm steps to bring together workers within all the workshops nationally to fight the closure threat. National action is essential to success.

The ready response shows that workers are prepared to fight if given a lead. As one young NUR member from Doncaster Works said, "We've got about 200 here, but we would not have had

so many if the Divisional Officer hadn't spoken to the men the day before. All that's needed is some communication to the men".

At the rally there was a good response when Jimmy Knapp pointed out that rail workers had accepted change and delivered their side of the bargain, whilst the government had broken their promises. "That is a policy we intend to change" he said, amid cheers.

BROAD LEFT FOR RAILWORKERS CONFERENCE AND RALLY FOR LABOUR VICTORY

Speakers: Arthur Scargill (President NUM); Jack Lanwarne (NUR Divisional Officer, Midlands); Les Johnson (ASLEF Org Sec.); Terry Fields (Labour PPC, Broad Green, Liverpool)
Saturday 4 June 11am, AUEW Halls, Mount Pleasant, Liverpool

Unit Superheaters

By Roy Davies

ON Tuesday 17 May British Steel Corporation served an injunction on the striking Unit Superheater workers in Swansea to end the occupation of their workplaces.

The injunction was the last in the line of a load of intimidation from BSC management, ranging from landing helicopters in the works to putting quarter-

page advertisements in the local rag, warning the men that the strike was unofficial and they were to return to work.

A meeting of the strikers was called and decided it would be in the best interests of the workforce to go to the High Courts on Friday 20 May. At the back of this decision was a report from

the AUEW leadership, that they would not support the occupation in face of the High Court injunction, fearing they could incur enormous costs due to Tebbit's law.

As is nearly always the case the judge ruled in favour of the BSC and ordered the strikers to leave the factory at 12 noon Sunday 22 May. BSC management asked if they'd be awarded costs, but this was refused.

At the report-back it was decided by the workforce to vacate the work-place and to

carry on the strike outside the gates. An appeal for trade unionists in the area to go on Sunday and give support for the strikers was well received, with over a hundred local activists turning up and applauding the evacuation of the works by the workers.

Management and unions inspected the premises and it was all found to be in order. On the first day outside the gates only nine men scabbed. Steps will be taken to branch them and this action only further hardens the dispute.

Thousand hours overtime

THE WORST staffing ratios in any Scottish hospital—yet 18 student nurses will be sacked when they qualify.

1,000 hours of overtime in one week is being worked. Management at Lennox Castle Hospital even concede that overtime is costing 20 full time jobs.

"This is the reality of health under the Tories," said Jim Dering, CHOSE's Scottish officer.

"Four weeks after they proudly announced that £70 million will be spend on health services 18 nurses will get their cards. A further 68

will finish training this year in this hospital alone. By implication they too will be sacked. There just isn't enough money to pay their wages.

"If this is multiplied throughout the training establishments you could see 4,000 job losses.

COHSE members at Lennox Castle have been given full backing by the Scottish Area to take whatever action is necessary to save the jobs.

"We have the membership behind us, a mandate to exhaust negotiation procedures, we will camp out-

side the health administrator's door if need be", said Jim.

Lennox Castle has had notoriously poor staffing levels for years. An independent inquiry two years ago recommended an increase of over 100 nurses. That never happened.

This hospital provides care for mentally handicapped patients, in four wards with 30 patients in each one nurse is on duty.

Health under the Tories!

By David Churchley
(Cathcart CLP)

Telecoms

THE CALLING of the general election and the dissolution of Parliament means that the Telecom bill has now been lost. This does not mean though that the POEU can afford to drop its guard or stop fighting.

If the Tories win the election this must be the signal for major escalation of the action. If Labour wins or if there is a hung Parliament then the union must make it clear to BT that it will continue to take action to defend jobs threatened by measures such as Project Mercury.

By Roy Wenborne
(POEU, Post Office Railway and Postal Met Branch)

No more OMO

THE INTRODUCTION of One Man Operation of trains on the St Pancras-Bedford service was a serious blow for all railworkers.

The National Union of Railwaymen Special General Meeting late last year decided to accept this scheme and also allow experiments to proceed for Driver-only operation of freight trains.

That decision was taken on the advice of the NUR leadership. They in effect abandoned a large section of the membership, giving the BRB the opportunity to eliminate twelve thousand guards and increase the pressure on loco crews and power box signalmen.

Guards on the St Pancras-Bedford services are currently being trained for ticket duties on the new electric trains, but an enormous shadow still hangs over their future.

Already many locomotives are unfit for normal duties because of heart and other stress-related diseases resulting from the strains of higher speeds, modern signalling, intensive suburban working and other modern driving conditions.

Drivers going it alone on the St Pancras-Bedford service will now be responsible

for passenger safety, operating the doors and timekeeping.

The absence of a guard increases the prospects of a rise in violence and vandalism with consequent risk to passengers and driver alike.

What arrangements have been made in case of accident or emergency? Who carries out protection? Who reassures passengers?

The cab to signalbox radio is being hailed as the panacea but what happens if the driver is severely injured or the cab radio is smashed?

The stress on signalmen in West Hampstead power box is enormous, and threatens to become intolerable with the responsibility for maintaining radio contact.

Similar proposals for freight trains would also pose great risks, especially the movement of highly toxic or flammable loads.

A stand can and must be made to defend jobs and health.

OMO cannot be seen in isolation. It is part of BRB's package of demands.

Further acceptance will only embolden the Board. Next it will be the total elimination of guards, with no guarantee of retraining, the elimination of Drivers'

Assistants, then drivers working alone on flexi-rosters of four to twelve hours, split shifts, etc.

The Guards and Shunters Grades Conference offers the chance to launch a fightback, with a campaign to explain the issue to the NUR membership, whilst preparing the guards for action, if necessary, to defend jobs.

Links must be made with ASLEF, who refused OMO until the NUR accepted it.

Pressure must be placed on the NUR leadership. If Jimmy Knapp's election slogan, "Together a new start", is to be meaningful, the following policies are essential:

- ★ Reject all further OMO or Driver Only proposals.
- ★ Cease all present experiments for Driver Only freight trains.
- ★ Reject all further BRB productivity proposals.
- ★ Defend existing conditions and manning levels.
- ★ End the Joint Approach.
- ★ Maximum unity of rail unions to help defeat the Tories and ensure the return of a Labour government on a socialist programme.

By Martin Elvin



John Kydd in Timex machine room

Photo: Militant

Timex victory

THE SIX-WEEK-long struggle of the Timex workers at the Milton plant Dundee, ended in victory last Wednesday.

The workers occupying the plant, against 197 compulsory redundancies, are to be reinstated with full rights and the redundancy notices withdrawn.

A further 200 people dismissed for supporting the sit-in will be reinstated. The proposal from shop stewards to accept the plans worked out by the unions and management was put to the members and was unanimously accepted.

John Kydd of the AUEW, deputy convenor of shop stewards, described the mood at the meeting.

"There was no dissent, the workers are absolutely delighted, it was a very emotional meeting. When the

workforce heard that they had maintained their jobs everybody stood up and clapped and cheered, it was really very emotional."

The workers at the Milton Plant will be redeployed in other Timex plants. As a watchmaking industry it will no longer continue.

The Timex workers have shown that working people are still prepared to stand up and fight for their rights despite the four year-long onslaught by the Tories.

John Kydd was in no doubt what the main lesson of the struggle was; "When working people are prepared to stand up and fight, victories can be won, at the end of the day struggle is the only thing for working class people if they want to defend their rights."

The solidarity and confidence of the workforce never slackened said John.

"Throughout the six weeks there was never a low point, we were all solid throughout, the massive support from the labour movement obviously helped us."

John stated that the next struggle for workers is against the Tory Government in the forthcoming election, "The Labour Party should be supported to save jobs, the leaders of the Labour Party should show the same loyalty to the working class as the Tories have shown to the ruling class. They should in no way shrink from the task in front of them."

"I call on workers up and down the country to vote Labour. Thatcher must go!"

John shook our hands, thanked the YS and *Militant* for their help and said he was off to have a few pints in celebration.



Hindle Swindle

DEPARTMENT of Employment and DHSS strikers in Hackney held a mass meeting on Friday 19 May.

The DE strikers are demanding new office accommodation and non-implementation of management's proposed shorter signing-on cycle.

The new cycle would mean claimants having to call in every four weeks instead of eight at an already overcrowded office. DHSS workers are taking solidarity action.

Management now accept that the strikers' demand for increased office space is justified but are not prepared to compromise on the signing-on cycle.

Management's offer was rejected unanimously. The action is to be stepped up.

A regional DE day of action will be held on Thursday 26 May. We will be calling on all Unemployment Benefit and DHSS offices throughout London to join the action.

A mass picket will take place from 6am at the Hackney UBO, Spurstowe Terrace, E8, and a mass rally will assemble there at 12 noon.

It is vital that all activists in DE and DHSS offices organise support for this action.

By Bill Boyle

(Hackney and Tower Hamlets CPSA branch)

THE ENGINEERING industry in Bradford district came to a standstill for one hour on 19 May, in support of 45 workers sacked by Hindles engineering company.

Hundreds of workers turned up to a solidarity rally at the factory gate.

Both Hindle and the Engineering Employers Federation, confident of victory, chose to make an example of this small group of workers in dispute over a pay claim, but the plan backfired.

Since 13 March, a constant picket has been maintained.

Ray Andrews, AUEW Divisional Secretary, explained to the rally, "this dispute has been deliberately and carefully planned, not just by Hindle but by the Engineering Employers Federation."

"Over the years we have made concessions to the bosses but now they're trying to screw us into the ground. We can't afford to lose."

In the words of Henry Wilkinson, Regional Officer, "A district of this size can beat a company the size of Hindles."

Pat Wall, Labour candidate, Bradford North, addressed the rally on behalf of

Bradford Trades Council.

"This company should be called Swindles not Hindles. What we're talking about here is not a group of striking militants but a small group of ordinary decent workers who went through the normal industrial procedure over a just pay claim. Because they dared to disagree with the dictates of the boss they've been flung on to the dole."

"The bosses are using the fact we have 30,000 unemployed in Bradford to intimidate and threaten workers. 'Either accept our orders or you're out, and we'll give your jobs to someone else.' This struggle is not just one for trade union rights but one against blackmail, not just an industrial struggle but also a political one."

"These dismissal notices were issued with the full backing of the Tory government thanks to Tebbit's legislation. We must stand firm, we must win, you have my full support and that of the Trades Council."

The rally ended with a suggestion by chairman Peter Walker that the workers shouldn't dash off but wait to say "how do" to the scabs still at work!

By Keith Narey

Rexco dispute

WORKERS at a smokeless fuel plant, Rexco in Wellow and New Ollerton, near Mansfield, are in dispute after being offered a 3% pay rise.

This wasn't acceptable, so they decided to black a recently built loading plant.

The plant broke down and the fitter, Barry Cobb, was asked to repair the plant. When he refused, he was suspended until further notice without pay.

There was a walk-out in protest at the suspension. Some of the men came to work later that morning and they too refused to work.

The workers wanted Barry Cobb re-instated plus an improved pay offer. The management offered them 4.5% but his was rejected by the men.

I was told it would take 6% to get a return to work—not a large amount for management to give.

The strike has lasted for over two weeks. The strikers are receiving £16.10 per week strike pay. It was met with, "well, it's better than nothing. I thought we'd get about £12."

All the men on the picket line bought copies of *Militant*. Ollerton and District LPYS have been keeping the men supplied with tea, sugar, coffee and milk within the last week. We support them all the way.

Martin Benn
(Ollerton YS)

Lady at Lord John, Liverpool

THE PICKET of 'Lady at Lord John' in Liverpool city centre in protest against a case of sexual harassment is continuing.

Thousands more names have been collected on petitions and very few customers have crossed the picket line.

The TGWU picket is made up of unemployed members as well as Audrey White, which shows the real value of unions maintaining the unemployed in trade union membership and involving them in the work of the union.

The owners tried to cut their losses by offering Audrey two alternative jobs, one in a small shop in Liverpool, another in a shop in Warrington.

She had no hesitation in refusing these. They represented a wage cut of £50 a week and demotion. If she had accepted it would have implied guilt on her part in the dispute, nothing short of reinstatement will end the dispute.

The firm has taken out injunctions to stop the picketing. But no action has been taken.

None of the pickets has been intimidated by the injunction. Eight pickets were arrested last week before they were issued, and an of-

ficial complaint has already been taken out against the police by the parents of the young girl picket who was strip-searched last Saturday.

The picket has already attracted support from local Labour Councillors and prospective parliamentary candidates and has received wide publicity in the local papers and regional television and radio.

The response has been almost entirely sympathetic. There is no doubt that the vast majority of working people in Liverpool feel it is about time the bosses had it made clear to them that there are limits to the kind of behaviour women workers will tolerate.

It is very important that the T&G wins this dispute. As one picket explained, he's used to picketing docks and car factories but shops are something new.

Yet many shop workers and office workers have explained when signing the petition outside the shop, that they too experience sexual harassment at work.

When they are asked about joining a trade union they reply, "We'll see what happens here first".

Please send messages of support to the T&G offices, Islington, Liverpool.

Militant

Black voters TORY HYPOCRISY

TORY hypocrisy reached new depths with their 'British not black' advertising campaign launched this week.

Before the last General Election in 1979 the Tories' racism was exposed publicly when Thatcher made a speech referring to Britain being swamped by an "alien culture". We're now told, on their election campaign poster placed in selected ethnic newspapers, that: "With the Conservatives there are no 'blacks' no 'whites' just people."

The Tories' racist record speaks for itself. In 1981 they passed the British Nationality Act, legislation that provoked enormous opposition from Britain's black community and the labour movement. The Act tore up existing nationality commitments (already restricted by previous legislation) and replaced it with a complicated three-tier system of citizenship. In practice this

protected the right of entry for whites, while blocking blacks.

This Act, and the new Immigration Rules of 1980 and 1983, have led to increasing harassment and detentions of black people entering the country. There are now elaborate checks on the status of black parents before accepting their British-born children as British citizens, and extensive checks and prying when relatives or fiancés of black British residents wish to join them here. These checks included the disgusting practice of virginity tests for fiancées, to ensure they were 'genuine'.

Wrongful arrests, detentions and searches in the pursuit of 'illegal immigrants' are now commonplace. New NHS regulations introducing charges for overseas visitors have meant that 'foreign looking' people have their eligibility for free treatment checked. Social Security offices are now supposed to check the passports of 'persons who appear to have



A demonstration by the Campaign Against Racist Laws last year. Muhammad Idrish, a Birmingham social worker faced deportation by the Tories

come from abroad'. Suspected illegal entrants may be reported to the Home Office.

Labour is committed to repealing the 1971 Immigration Act and the 1981 British Nationality Act when it comes to office. It is essential, though, that Labour clearly answers the lie that immigration causes unemployment. Labour leaders fudged the issue earlier this week by saying that they would replace these laws with more liberal immigration controls.

Unemployment is caused by the failure of the profit system and not the numbers of people entering the country (which in any case is lower than the numbers of people leaving it).

If Labour maintains immigration controls they will be giving credence, albeit unintentionally, to the racists' arguments. Opposition to such controls must be a central element of the fight against racism.

By Paul Traynor

TORY LIES

Continued from page one

Some workers have found out the hard way the reality behind the Tory lies. When Ministry of Defence workers at Llangennach learnt that the Tories were planning to close their workplace, they formed an Action Committee to oppose closure, save jobs, scrap Trident (thereby saving over £7,500 million) and called for a future Labour government to provide alternative useful work in the public sector.

When HMS Illustrious visited the Tyne three weeks ago to thank workers for finishing it in time to go to the Falklands, there was no one to greet them. They had all been made redundant.

It is rubbish for Heseltine to claim that ending Britain's wasteful expenditure on nuclear weapons must result in loss of jobs. At the end of the Second World War, Britain demobilised 7 million people from the Armed Services and war industry in sixteen months, with no rise in unemployment.

In the United States 10 million were demobilised and found work. Alter-

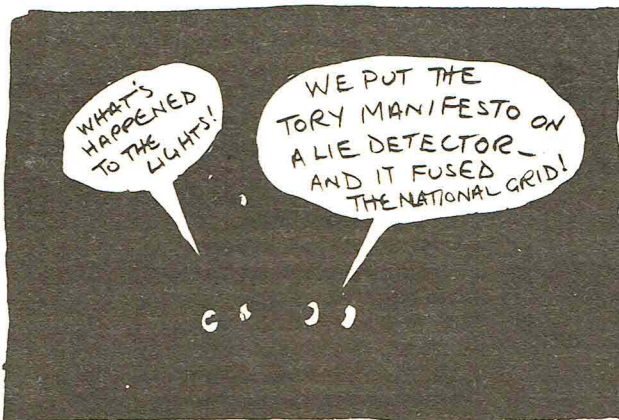
natives can be found. From 1961 to 1973, the American Office of Economic Adjustment dealt with the closure of 1,387 military bases and successfully re-allocated jobs.

Workers in the defence industries have drawn up plans for alternative employment. At Vickers, Lucas, Rolls Royce and Hawker Siddley, workers in the factories have drawn up a list of useful social products they could produce given the chance.

Three trade unions in the defence industry, the CPSA, SCPS and TGWU, have produced papers showing that if there was proper planning, not one job would be lost in the transfer away from production for war and towards production for peace.

In fact the vast amounts squandered on "defence" have held back the modernisation of British industry, and resulted in British industry falling behind its competitors. Apart from the USA, Britain spends more on defence than any other capitalist country in the world.

Over 50% of all of Britain's scientists are employed by the Ministry of Defence, mostly on nuclear weaponry. It is a staggering waste of talent. That is the kind of priorities which Heseltine



and the rest of the Tories wish to continue.

The socialist alternative is clear. Labour must carry out unilateral nuclear disarmament and drastically cut back spending on conventional arms.

But in today's recession, the policies followed in the '40s and '60s to provide employment for those shifted away from the 'defence' industry would prove insufficient. Clear socialist policies are required.

If national defence is needed, then the defence industry must be a national property. The arms manufacturing firms must be taken out of the hands of private profiteers and na-

tionalised under workers' control and management. A socialist plan of production could ensure that no-one lost their job.

The Tories and SDP cannot guarantee that.

All defence industry workers' jobs could be guaranteed by planned conversion to socially useful production. The scientists are there. The workers have drawn up plans to use everyone's expertise for the benefit of all. It should all be combined for constructive purposes, not for fashioning new and deadlier means of destruction.

By Roger Shives and Colin Barber

Photo: MILITANT



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WHAT WE STAND FOR

- ★ The immediate introduction of a 35-hour week without loss of pay as a step towards the elimination of unemployment.
- ★ Reversal of all Tory cuts and a massive programme of public works on housing, education, the health service, public transport and other services.
- ★ A minimum wage of £100 a week, including for pensioners, the sick and disabled.
- ★ Opposition to anti-trade union and other legislation that restricts workers' democratic rights.
- ★ Opposition to all forms of discrimination against women, black and Asian workers and minority groups in society.
- ★ Massive cuts in arms spending, now running at £15bn a year.
- ★ Unilateral nuclear disarmament.
- ★ An end to the devastation of basic industries like coal, rail and steel.
- ★ Workers' control and management in the nationalised industries, run by boards to be made up of one third of each of representatives from: the unions in the industry; the TUC, representing all workers; the government.
- ★ Opposition to dictatorship of the national press by a handful of rich press barons. Printing facilities should be nationalised and access given to political parties except fascists on the basis of their electoral support.
- ★ Nationalisation of the top 200 monopolies, including the banks and insurance companies which control 80-85 per cent of the economy. This should be done through an Enabling Bill, with compensation based only on proven need.
- ★ A socialist plan of production, in which the enormous resources of the country are democratically planned for the benefit of the whole population.
- ★ Opposition to the capitalist Common Market. For a United Socialist States of Europe, as a step forward to a World Socialist Federation.

IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT

The next two issues of *Militant* will be printed earlier than usual
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Issue 654 - Sunday 5 June

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